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THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPORT  
IN GLASGOW, 1850 - 1914

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Peter Bilsborough

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## Abbreviations

### Sports clubs

Once a sports club has been mentioned in the text the latter part of its title has been abbreviated. For example, Glasgow Golf Club to Glasgow G.C., Victoria Baths Club to Victoria B.C., etc.

### Other organisations

Once mentioned in the text, the following abbreviations are used throughout:

A.S.C.G.	Associated Swimming Clubs of Glasgow
F.A.	Football Association
G.C.A.	Glasgow Cricket Association
G.D.J.C.L.	Glasgow and District Junior Cricket League
G.D.S.S.C.L.	Glasgow and District Secondary Schools' Cricket League
G.F.A.	Glasgow Football Association
G.J.F.A.	Glasgow Junior Football Association
G.P.J.F.A.	Govan and Plantation Junior Football Association
R.F.U.	Rugby Football Union
S.A.A.A.	Scottish Amateur Athletic Association
S.A.A.U.	Scottish Amateur Athletic Union
S.A.S.A.	Scottish Amateur Swimming Association
S.C.U.	Scottish Cricket Union
S.Cy.U.	Scottish Cyclist Union
S.F.A.	Scottish Football Association
S.F.L.	Scottish Football League
S.F.U.	Scottish Football Union
S.J.F.A.	Scottish Junior Football Association
S.L.S.S.	Swimmers' Life Saving Society
W.C.A.S.A.	Western Counties Amateur Swimming Association
W.D.C.C.	Western District Cricket Combination
W.D.C.U.	Western District Cricket Union
W.S.A.A.A.	West of Scotland Amateur Athletic Association
Y.M.C.A.	Young Men's Christian Association

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## Introduction

In recent years considerable scholarly attention has been devoted to the history of leisure and recreation in pre- and early British industrial society. Much of this work has focussed on the implications of economic and social development for the extent and character of the sports people played in their leisure hours.\* The story is still far from complete, however. The present study attempts to add another piece to the puzzle by examining the development of sport in the city of Glasgow during the period 1850-1914.

It would be impossible for one person to read and evaluate in detail the source material available for the whole spectrum of nineteenth century sport in Glasgow. Accordingly, seven of Glasgow's most popular sports have been selected for study : swimming, golf, athletics, cricket, rugby, football and cycling. The study attempts to describe, assess and account for the trend in sporting activity in Glasgow during the first half of the nineteenth century. It then examines the emergence of the more modern patterns of sport which began in the second half of the nineteenth century. As well as describing the extent of modern sporting developments, its main concern is with asking the question what were the most important forces which influenced such patterns. In particular, which social groups were involved in organised sporting activities, why they were involved, what form did their involvement take and what were the effects of their involvement on the development of sport in general?

\* The thesis is principally concerned with organised sport. Unorganised casual recreational pursuits are not considered.

CHAPTER ISPORT IN GLASGOW 1780-1850

From c. 1780 to c. 1815 all sections of Glasgow society played and watched a variety of sports. The working population was actively involved in football, handball, athletics and swimming, albeit in an informal irregular and spontaneous fashion, while pedestrianism and boxing attracted crowds of spectators. Wealthier groups took part in swimming, riding, golf and bowling.

Football was a notable aspect of Glaswegian life. Every Shrove Tuesday for over four hundred years an annual game was played on Glasgow Green.<sup>1</sup> An unlimited number of players took part in this rowdy and often violent event.<sup>2</sup> It appears that football was extremely popular because it required none of the skills or grace of aristocratic pursuits such as golf, riding or bowls. It was cheap to play and provided a useful outlet for relieving the standing tensions between local groups. It also provided a break from a conventional routine which revolved around the tedium and fatigue of the working man's daily labour. In the late seventeenth century, although civic and ecclesiastical authorities regarded football as a threat to property, church attendance and morality, impromptu casual games remained popular on Glasgow Green.<sup>3</sup>

Informal games of shinty, handball and highland games events were played on Glasgow Green during the late eighteenth century by Highland and Irish immigrants.

Shinty and handball were particularly common during the week of the Glasgow Fair when visitors came from the west coast, the Borders and the Highlands to do business. The Doocot section of the Green became a hive of ball playing activity. Although both shinty and handball were banned at the Fair after 1790 due to complaints of rowdyism and damage to property, more spontaneous informal games continued to be played by immigrant groups at other times of the year.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, highland games events which could be conveniently practised on the Green were a popular form of casual immigrant entertainment.<sup>5</sup>

During the summer months swimming was popular on the River Clyde with groups of boys and young men. The Fleshers' Haugh section of Glasgow Green was the busiest bathing spot. Here a grassy bank ran down to the water's edge which allowed a timid person to select his depth while on the opposite bank the river was deep enough for a good plunge. A few yards down stream was Dominie's Hole, a very popular 'plumb' or 'hole' for proficient bathers. Another favourite location was in the Gorbals area where a cotton mill poured out a steady stream of hot water into the river allowing youths to indulge in a hot bath free of charge.<sup>6</sup>

Swimming was popular since it was free from financial restraints, no specialist equipment was required and it was individual and improvised, relying upon no other person to enable it to take place. Furthermore, it was an extremely refreshing experience to swim in a clear river with a sandy bed on a hot summer's day.

"Yet Summer's heat drives frequent to the pool,  
The active youth their glowing limbs to cool.  
They dive, and distant far emerge again,  
Or easy float along the liquid plain."<sup>7</sup>

On a few days during the year two rather uncommon physical activities were practised by local youths. On New Year's Day in Govan a 'rowdy' mob traditionally spent the day "at throwing the cudgel for gingerbread cakes, and the like sports". The 'like sports' were probably single-stick and back-sword which were crude forms of dueling with simple sticks.<sup>8</sup> Stone fighting was also popular. In the late eighteenth century there was an island in the Clyde between Glasgow's two bridges which was the site for stone battles between boys from Glasgow and the Gorbals.

"The Gorbalonians claimed more than a forty years prescriptive right to the island, and defended it with the utmost pertinacity. If at any time they were likely to be worsted in battle, a messenger was sent to the Gorbals weaver lads, who, without fail, left their looms and brought aid to their discomfited friends."<sup>9</sup>

At the turn of the century a boy was killed by a stone during a battle and local magistrates immediately adopted and enforced measures to prohibit further fights.

Boxing aroused some interest amongst the crowds who visited the Glasgow Fair. By 1800 an improved commercial system had made the Fair's traditional market function redundant. It became a summer festival of fun, amusement and general revelry for the working classes.<sup>10</sup> The principal attractions were menageries, magical shows, theatrical performances, a waxworks, circus entertainments, juggling acts, gaming stalls and boxing booths. Exhibitions of 'the

art of boxing' attracted fair-goers. Since the Fair was also a natural place for the promotion of a variety of gambling activities, local men were invited to challenge the resident boxers and spectators were encouraged to place bets on the outcome.<sup>11</sup> However, in contrast to developments in London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham and Bristol where a vigorous and intense 'fancy' had developed, promoters and fighters who visited Glasgow met with little success in arousing a more regular interest for boxing. In 1828 the Glasgow Chronicle noted,

"The efforts of the London prize fight ring, to make boxing for money popular in Scotland, have hitherto been attended with very indifferent success."<sup>12</sup>

Until c. 1815 pedestrianism was also popular. The origin of professional footracing can be traced to the reign of Charles II. Groups of professional pedestrians were nurtured and encouraged by the fashionable gentlemen of the period who kept 'running footmen' in their service. Although the footmens' normal duties were to carry messages or run in front of a family coach to make arrangements for hospitality during a journey, they were also utilised by wealthy sporting men for private betting purposes.<sup>13</sup> During the eighteenth century athletes emerged who began to make a living out of the sport and by 1800 there were signs that the aristocracy had lost control of the competitors. Professionals began to travel around the country performing a variety of athletic novelties, attracting the backing of the new industrial rich. In addition to taking part in



conventional races over pre arranged distances, numerous endurance feats also created considerable spectator interest.<sup>14</sup>

Glasgow was one of many urban locations for feats of athletic showmanship. In 1808, Spence, a Paisley pedestrian went from Glasgow to Edinburgh, a distance of 42 miles, in seven hours and twenty minutes "without much apparent fatigue".<sup>15</sup> While working men watched, local amateurs such as army officers, peers and a number of professional gentlemen, took to performing in a variety of long distance matches. Pedestrianism was popular since both spectators and athletes could earn large amounts of money from betting and performing. Furthermore, events usually took place during holidays when there were few other sporting spectacles. The very novel and uncertain nature of the events also caused a great deal of spectator interest which was boosted by matches being held on public roads or open grass areas where no entry fees were required.<sup>16</sup>

In contrast to the working classes whose involvement in sport was irregular, spontaneous and informal, the wealthier sections of Glasgow society played a variety of sports in a more formally organised manner and on a more regular basis. Although the origin of golf is uncertain, it was a popular game in Glasgow by the late sixteenth century. Over the next two hundred and fifty years it continued to be played as an unregulated spontaneous activity on Glasgow Green. By 1750 the initial semblances of an organisational structure began to emerge. The first Scottish golf club was formed in Edinburgh in 1744 by a

small select number of enthusiasts who played over Leith Links. The club was established for the sole purpose of promoting a golf competition for a silver trophy.<sup>17</sup> It was only after several successful annual competitions that conditions changed and the notion of membership to a formally organised club developed. This occurred in 1764 when the Company of Gentlemen Golfers in Edinburgh decided that their competition for a silver cup should be more than a local affair and from this time the silver trophy became an intra-club prize.

The pattern was soon copied. In 1754 the Society of St. Andrews Golfers was formed. The society drafted a number of articles and laws to formalise play and established a competition for a valuable prize, the winner of which became the club captain who was responsible for organising the contest in the following year.<sup>18</sup>

Golf was first formally organised in Glasgow in 1787. Like its east coast counterparts, Glasgow Golf Club was formed in order to promote a competition for a silver golf club prize. The club adopted the rules of the Honourable Company of Golfers in Edinburgh and the winner of the trophy was captain of the club for the ensuing year. Although the original purpose was to play for a magnificent silver trophy, members soon began to meet and play on Glasgow Green on a more regular basis.

In 1789 the club had 25 members. By 1800 it had emerged as the city's first firmly established sports club with a total of 48 members. The establishment of a

club house on Glasgow Green in 1792 helped to consolidate growth.<sup>19</sup> Although the building was a rather basic structure, it served as a focal point for intra-club games. Players stored their equipment in the house which became a regular meeting place helping to reinforce group cohesion and bring a significant degree of permanency to club events. The establishment of a variety of club committees also brought more commitment from members. As club events became more numerous and club affairs more complex, officers were appointed and committees were formed to deal with a volume of unrelated matters.

Although the club was formed to promote an annual golfing competition, it also became the focal point for a series of social events. Heavy drinking, eating and betting emerged as important aspects of club life.<sup>20</sup> The membership was dominated by men who enjoyed relatively large amounts of leisure time. There was a group of army officers but the majority of members were local tobacco and West Indian merchants who had risen to prominence in the second half of the eighteenth century (Table 1.1). By 1750 Glasgow was dominated by these men who made enormous fortunes from importing cargoes of tobacco, rum, sugar and cotton from Virginia, Maryland and the West Indies and who formed a distinct class, emerging as the leaders of Glasgow society. Their enterprise transformed Glasgow from a rather poor lifeless place into an enterprising trading centre and a focal point for a variety of cultural events which took place in social clubs, debating societies and the theatre.<sup>22</sup>

Table 1.1 Members of Glasgow Golf Club, 1789.<sup>21</sup>

Name	Occupation	Father	Shares in manufacturing and industrial ventures	D
James Towers	Surgeon			
Captain Crichton	Army			
Captain Craigie	Army			
Captain Shanks	Army			
Captain Peters	Army			
Major A Campbell	Army			
James Muir	Surgeon			
William Clark	Customs Officer			
Mathew Orr				
John Hamilton	Golf Club Secretary	Rev. J Hamilton minister of the Church of Scotland	A partner in James Brown and Company - tobacco trade (a) Glasgow Tuke Factory Company (b) Stocking Manufacturing Company (c) Smithfield Iron Company	1756
Alexander Campbell		John Campbell	John Campbell, Son and Company (WI)	1753
George Munro				
Thomas Hopkirk	Merchant with McCall, Smellie and Co. (T)	Thomas Hopkirk, merchant in Glasgow	Anderston Brewing Company Greenock Sugarhouse Company	1774
William Cross	Merchant with John Cross and Co. (WI)	John Cross, merchant in Glasgow		
James Black	Merchant with James Black and Co. (WI)	William Black		

Table 1.1 Members of Glasgow Golf Club, 1789. (continued)

Name	Occupation	Father	Shares in manufacturing and industrial ventures	D
John Hill	Merchant	John Corbett of Tollcross, merchant in Glasgow		1776
Cunninghame Corbett	Merchant with Hastie, Corbett and Co. (WI); Corbett, Russell and Co. (WI)			
James Stirling	Merchant			
James Murdoch	Merchant			
Charles Grierson	Merchant			
George Hamilton	Merchant			
William Bogle	Merchant with Bogle, Jamieson and Co. (T); James Jamieson and Co (T)	John Bogle, writer in Glasgow	Anderston Brewing Company	
John Struthers	Maltman and Brewer			
Captain Lawrence Craigie		Merchant in sugar and tobacco		
William Bogle Jnr.		William Bogle		

Notes ( i) 'WI' denotes firms primarily concerned with the West Indian market.

( ii) 'T' denotes firms primarily concerned with the tobacco trade in North America.

(iii) 'D' denotes the date when a merchant registered as burgess and guild brother of the Burgh of Glasgow.

Glasgow G. C. was formed to provide members with regular opportunities to play golf and at the same time serve as a focal point for informal meetings between business and trading peers. The club was an important reinforcing agent which helped to consolidate an already well established web of business and social contacts. At a more basic level it also provided opportunities for heavy drinking, betting and high jinks.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, membership signified a belonging to an exclusive mercantile group whose members took every opportunity to emphasise their social superiority.

"On the 'plainstones' - the only pavement then in Glasgow - in the middle of the street fronting the Trongate piazza, those Virginia traders known as tobacco-lords - strutted in business hours, clad in scarlet cloaks, cocked hats and powdered wigs, bearing with portly grace gold-headed canes in their hands."<sup>24</sup>

This exhibition of tasteful opulence was carried onto the golf course where the players wore uniforms to illustrate their exclusive social tone. Club members adopted a grey jacket and the penalty for not wearing it was a fine of a bottle of rum.<sup>25</sup>

For a brief period at the turn of the century local merchants and traders were also attracted to swimming and bathing by a local businessman, William Harley, who attempted to make a profit out of the provision of indoor swimming and bathing facilities. Harley came to the city in 1789 to work for a local cotton manufacturer. In twelve months he had acquired sufficient knowledge and capital to set up his own business in the cotton trade. He also

purchased a piece of land on which there was a fast flowing supply of excellent water. Since this was a period when the city was rapidly expanding and the traditional water supply from old street and garden wells was threatening to run short, he saved Glaswegians the tedious task of pumping at public wells by selling his surplus supply from carts at 1d per stoup.<sup>26</sup> However, the profitable enterprise foundered when two companies began to pump water from the Clyde at Dalmarnock and Cranstonhill, distributing it through pipes into the city and suburbs.

Harley continued to use the water by constructing an indoor bathing establishment at the corner of West Nile Street and Bath Street. He attempted to attract the most wealthy sections of Glasgow society by providing a lavish set of baths and post-bathing social facilities.<sup>27</sup> He also devised an elaborate set of charges to encourage regular attendance. Entry to one of the cold swimming baths cost 1/- per visit, 10/6 for a monthly ticket, £1.11.6 for six months and £2.2.0 for an annual subscription.<sup>28</sup> The scheme was a commercial failure however, partly because it lacked the opportunities for betting and drinking which were offered by the golf club and partly because, since very few people could swim or appreciate the benefits of vigorous exercise, there was no demand for swimming facilities on this scale.<sup>29</sup>

During the next 35 years from c. 1815-50 one or two sports sustained their popularity but in general there was a narrowing of involvement in sport amongst all sections of Glasgow society. The working classes

used Glasgow Green as the principal venue for informal games of shinty, handball, golf and football. After 1814 however, they were chased off the Green by a ranger who was appointed by Glasgow Town Council to stop ball games because they caused damage to the turf and trees and encouraged the formation of large groups of noisy youths who annoyed the Green's other users.<sup>30</sup>

The working classes continued to participate in only two sports - swimming and athletics. Easy access to the River Clyde ensured that swimming remained popular. In July 1855 scores of 'duckers' were reported at Dominie's Hole and Rutherglen Bridge, while in the summer of 1870 owing to the exceptional sunny weather, "the number of bathers at the Green was very numerous, and more particularly on Sunday".<sup>31</sup> Informal river swimming was supported by the Glasgow Humane Society which had been formed in 1790 to reduce the number of drownings on the river. By erecting a boat house and a room for storing life saving equipment in 1796, it helped to reduce the risk factor in river swimming. By the turn of the century a life saving officer was based in the Humane Society House. In addition, members of the public attempting to save swimmers in distress were offered financial rewards.<sup>32</sup>

Participation in athletics probably increased slightly between 1820-50 largely because Celtic based activities such as weight throwing, stone pitching and tug-of-war were very popular with Irish immigrants who formed an ever increasing proportion of the population at this time.



Irish navvies always marked St. Patrick's Day with a holiday when they amused themselves, "at such sports as foot-races, tug-of-war contests and weight-pitching".<sup>33</sup> As their livelihood depended on muscular strength, such powerful events were a natural outlet in their brief hours of leisure. Similarly, among native Scotsmen, many of whom were drawn from rural backgrounds, there was a keen interest in traditional customs and practices including highland games events. Although evidence of informal involvement in athletics is rather scanty, Thomas Long, giving evidence at the trial of a group of cotton spinners charged with illegal combination, stated that he saw one of the accused, William McLean on 22 July 1837, "on the Green, putting the stone, along with several others".<sup>34</sup>

After c. 1820 Glasgow's two principal spectator sports took rather divergent paths. While there is no press evidence to suggest that pedestrianism retained its earlier popularity, Glaswegians increased their interest in boxing, at least for a short time. Between c. 1827-32 a number of prize fights were staged in Glasgow.<sup>35</sup> Many were between notable Irish champions and local challengers. Ethnic loyalties, betting interests and the dramatic visual effects of two boxers demonstrating skill and courage which only a few men could aspire to, drew large crowds. Interest often reach fever pitch. At a fight between the Glaswegian Alex Mackay and Paul Spencer from Dublin held at the West Craigs Inn during 1828, three thousand spectators vented their feelings.

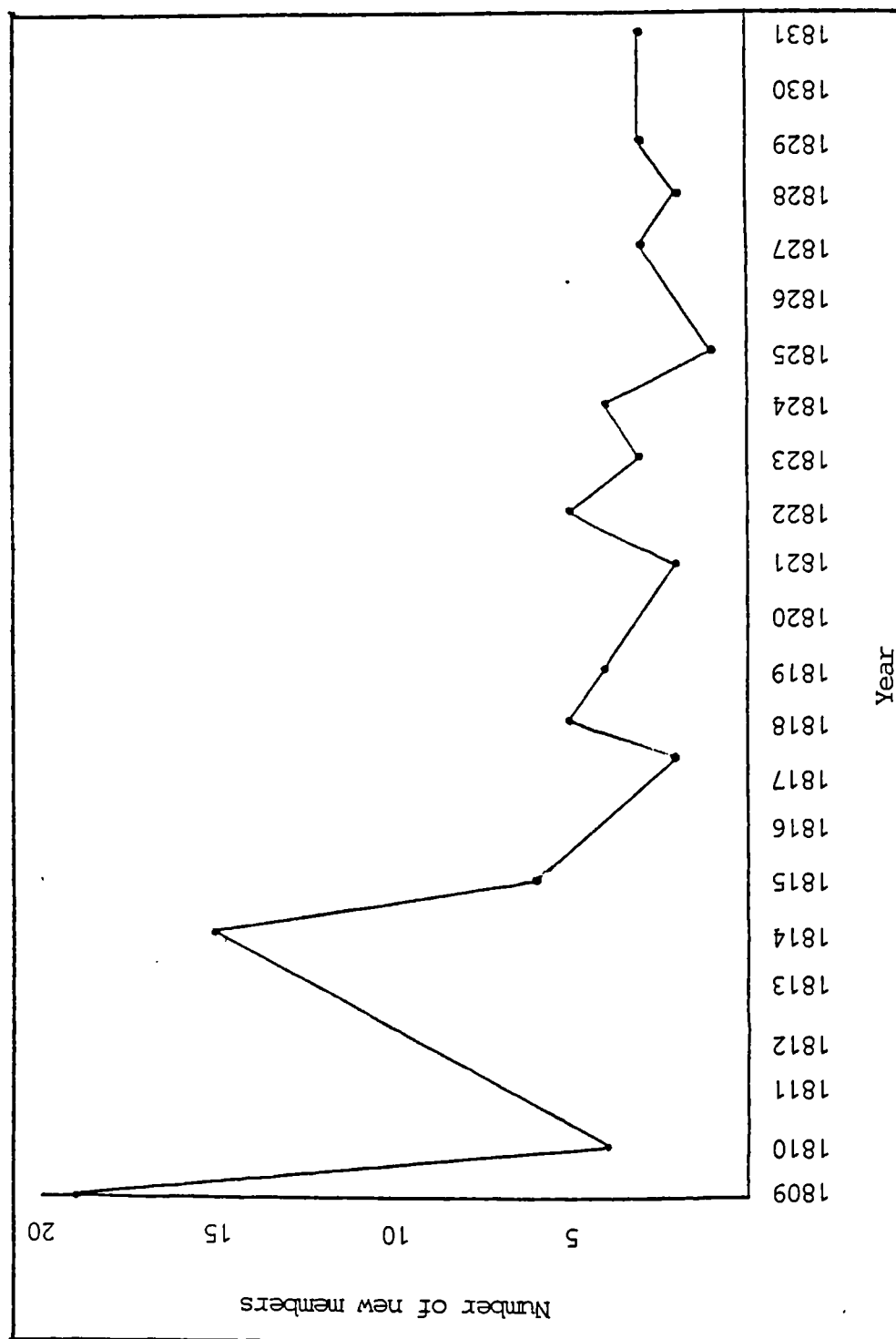
"During the progress of the rounds, each party cheered their champion, as they thought he had the advantage, and the noise, clamour, hissing, and cheering were incessant." <sup>35</sup>

However, because of increasingly effective policing, few fights appear to have been held in the city after the early 1830s.

Golf also suffered a decline in popularity. After 1815 Glasgow G. C. failed to attract sufficient new members to ensure the club's continued viability. (Graph 1.1.) By 1832 the club had ceased to function.

A number of interrelated forces were responsible for the contrasting fortunes of sport between c. 1780 and c. 1850. The most fundamental was the decline of the tobacco and associated colonial trades and the rise of the textile industry. Glasgow became conspicuously prosperous after the Union in 1707 when the American colonies became accessible to merchants. Local businessmen were not slow to seize upon this new opportunity for amassing wealth particularly since Glasgow was well situated for Atlantic trade.<sup>38</sup> Merchants became important middlemen for a range of colonial products such as rum, sugar, cotton and tobacco, all of which were in great demand in Europe. In return they exported a wide range of locally produced goods to Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas. Tobacco was at the centre of the trade. At the peak of trade in the early 1770s, of 90,000 hogsheads of tobacco entering Britain, 49,000 came to Glasgow. 98% of all Scottish tobacco imports came down the Clyde.<sup>39</sup> The outbreak of war with the colonies in 1776

Graph 1.1.1. New members of Glasgow Golf Club, 1809-31. 37



Notes (1) No figures are available for 1811-13, 16, 20, 26, 30.

brought an abrupt end to Glasgow's tobacco monopoly. Imports which stood at almost 46 million lbs. in 1775 dwindled to 7.4 millions the following year, and dropped to an insignificant 294,896 lbs. in 1777.<sup>40</sup> The decline was maintained after the ending of the war in 1782 and tobacco never regained more than a shadow of its former importance.

Local merchants sought new outlets for their energies. Many turned to West Indian products which still enjoyed the protection of the Navigation Acts and so they survived the collapse of tobacco without extensive financial losses. However, Glasgow's growth in the first fifty years of the nineteenth century was founded upon textiles. The rise of the tobacco trade had led to investment in and the subsequent growth of a local linen industry. With the contraction of tobacco outlets after 1774, new trade was sought in textiles. It was Glasgow's good fortune that just when the cotton industry was born, the city had the means to establish its own industry. With ideal natural resources such as a damp temperate climate and numerous fast flowing streams, a skilled labour force already experienced in the manufacture of linen, easy access to unlimited supplies of raw cotton and an adventurous and aggressive body of businessmen, the rise of cotton was assured.<sup>41</sup>

Part of the finance to build mills came from tobacco profits. Another source was the firmly established linen trade. Men who were already deeply involved in the world of textiles encouraged cotton manufacturing.<sup>42</sup> Forty years of hectic expansion occurred between 1790-1830. With

developments in steam power and loom improvements, mechanical advancement was rapid. By 1818 Glasgow contained 52 cotton mills with a production valued at £5 million per annum, eighteen steam weaving factories with 2,800 looms producing 8,400 pieces of cloth weekly, eighteen calico printing works and seventeen calendering houses.

The change and expansion of industrial and economic activity brought significant alterations in Glasgow's social structure. The Virginia merchants who had constituted an exclusive burgher aristocracy were swept away. By 1835 they had been replaced by a new breed of entrepreneurs who achieved social acceptance through their own drive and enterprise in the world of textiles, chemicals, shipping, soap and machine tool production.<sup>43</sup> At the same time a new urban working population was created. Glasgow emerged as the great wen of Scotland. In 1801 the population was 77,385. By 1851 it had risen to 329,097. The city far outpaced the country as a whole in its rate of population growth. In 1801 Glasgow contained 5.1% of the Scottish population: fifty years later 11.5%

Although a rising birthrate was responsible for part of the increase, the dramatic growth was also due to Glasgow's ability to attract large numbers of migrants. Between 1801 - 61 up to half the increase in population was due to additions by migration. Pulled by the prospect of employment and pushed by the reality of rural poverty, Highland Scots poured into the city. However, the substantial northern influx was overshadowed by a massive

entry of Irishmen. Large scale Irish immigration began in the 1790s when economic and political troubles at home coincided with the active recruitment of labour by factory masters for the expanding textile industry. Demand for labour from the linen, woolen, chemical, building, coal, iron and shipbuilding industries, improvements in communications and fare reductions on the short Irish Sea crossing sustained immigration levels. With a population of 274,000 in 1841, Glasgow contained 44,000 Irish born inhabitants - 16% of the city's population.

These large scale industrial and social developments affected all aspects of local life including sport. With one or two exceptions, during the first half of the nineteenth century there was a slow but steady narrowing of sporting activity. Industrial advancement loosened the small closeknit highly localised communal atmosphere of late eighteenth century Glasgow. A more mobile diverse impersonal industrial and urban world was created which offered little opportunity for the continuance of customary sporting practices such as Shrove Tuesday football or cudgel throwing on New Years Day at Govan. The fragmentation and eventual disappearance of a closeknit 'colonial aristocracy' resulted in the contraction of golfing activity. Although many merchants became members of Glasgow .G. C. in the period 1809 - 31 they were too few in number to ensure the club's continued success. Moreover, few new industrialists showed any interest in supporting the club. (Table 1.2) They operated in a different more diverse and impersonal

Table 1.2      Occupations of new members of Glasgow Golf Club,  
1810 - 31.44

Occupation				
Merchant 26	City	Writer 3	Manu-	Not traced 14
	Chamberlain 1	Agent 1	facturer 5	
	Surgeon 1	Collector	Brewer 2	
		of Excise 1	Tailor 2	
		Cotton	Butcher 1	
		Broker 1	Dry Salter 1	
		Insurance	Spirit-	
		Broker 1	Dealer 1	
			Warehouse	
			Owner 1	

business world which made membership both unattractive and unnecessary. They also had no time to play since it was essential to work for long periods to become established in the extremely competitive markets of cotton, linen, lace, rope or soap production.

The growing importance of manufacturing activity created a number of other factors which caused a narrowing of involvement in sport. Factory owners expected their employees to be as efficient as the plethora of expensive steam powered machines which filled their factories.<sup>45</sup> Employees were driven so hard that they were often too tired or ill to participate in any form of sport and particularly in such vigorous pursuits as shinty, football or handball. In 1833, Mr James Easton, a 25 year old spinner employed by the Greenhead firm of Messrs. Dougal, MacPhail and Company, Spinning and Powerloom Weavers, mentioned that,

"the heat and confinement of the works have made him weakly and produced pain in the breast [and] he is often so fatigued and exhausted with the work that he has no pleasure but in going immediately to bed."<sup>46</sup>

Glasgow Town Council's desire to maintain order and protect property in a period of rapid population growth also contributed to a narrowing of involvement in sport. Sporting activity often created the assembly of potentially uncontrollable and lawless groups and so the Council sought to restrict and control the use of the River Clyde, the city's principal streets and Glasgow Green, which were the major focal points for sporting activity. The city's streets had always provided open spaces for small, informal ball games. However, a Glasgow Police Act was passed in 1800 which created tighter control over street behaviour. The legislation specified that owners of property or the Dean of Guild were responsible for building pavements while the Magistrates and Town Council had to take care of street paving. As a result regulations were introduced which prevented the use of streets for anything apart from the business of transportation and communication. Control was so strict that by 1820 boards had been fixed at some street corners requesting pedestrians to keep to the right side on foot pavements.<sup>47</sup> The Town Council also gained considerable control over bathing in the River Clyde. It was so concerned about the number of bathing fatalities that it built attractive facilities to ensure that bathing took place in one relatively safe location.<sup>48</sup> By 1816 it had



erected springboards at Dominie's Hole and the depth of the river was inscribed on the boards for the benefit of intending bathers. Heavy brown stone slabs were also laid to allow bathers to enter the water free of mud. In 1834 additional boards were erected, wooden steps and stone seats were provided and the bank was re-seeded. The Council also gave regular financial donations to the local Humane Society.<sup>49</sup>

The Council's policy of allowing house builders and industrialists to encroach upon sections of the city's most popular sporting venue, Glasgow Green, also placed restrictions on involvement in sport. During 1784 part of the western section of the Green, which some six years previously "was a grassy lawn, pranked with daisies, fringed with old fine trees, and peopled with bleating sheep",<sup>50</sup> was converted into a new harbour and wharf. In 1793 an Act of Parliament was obtained which, inter alia, empowered the Magistrates and Council to sell for building lots, part of the High or Calton Green adjacent to Rutherglen Road. The Act also sanctioned the appropriation of a portion of the Laigh Green for the formation of a street from the Saltmarket to a bridge to be built under the powers granted in the same Act. Other portions were sold or feued and by the turn of the century a rope factory, a bottle works, a hospital and a justiciary building had eaten into the Green's grassy fabric.

Some other recreational areas were made available for building purposes. Under the 1793 legislation the Council

acquired a private bowling green on the east side of Candlerigg Street on which it planned to build a new church. The land was eventually utilised in 1816 when a public market was constructed. No alternative bowling facilities were provided.<sup>51</sup> Building activity was paralleled by work on improvements to the quality of the Green's surface which also affected sporting developments. Many areas were bumpy and poorly drained. The Calton Green was irregular and swampy while the Provost or Fleshers' Haugh was separated from the High Green and King's Park by a large ditch filled from springs which made the whole haugh soft and marshy. The task of improving the surface was inaugurated by the Council to alleviate social unrest amongst unemployed textile workers. Some work was completed in 1813. Three years later the Upper Green was turfed and levelled by over two hundred redundant weavers, while in 1819 "when thousands of workers paraded the streets in organised form, demanding employment or bread",<sup>52</sup> 340, mainly weavers, were employed by the Council for upwards of four months on additional surface improvements which included building a tunnel more than half a mile in length to contain the Camlachie Burn.

The improvements had a major effect on sporting patterns. The disappearance of natural features such as hillocks, marshes, holes, ruts and clumps of broom destroyed the Green's attractiveness as a site for local golfers. It was unexciting to play on a flat, unimaginative course. It was no coincidence that the marked decline in new

membership totals at Glasgow G. C. in 1815 began two years after initial surface alterations had been completed.

Although this concern for providing worthwhile tasks for unemployed operatives provided new level well drained areas suitable for other ball games, the Council took steps to prevent these developing. Once the first Green improvements had been completed, a ranger was appointed by the civic authorities to patrol the Green daily between 11 a.m. and 3 p.m. "so as to prevent any person or persons from injuring the trees, turf, or walks".<sup>53</sup> He also had to ensure that,

"the Golfers do not use the Green except at the times and in the manner prescribed by the Magistrates and Committee on the Green, and that no games be played there except such as have their permission."<sup>54</sup>

By 1819 when a large amount of the civic purse had been spent on wide ranging improvements, the Council passed a bye-law to prevent damage to the surface of the Green by indiscriminate use from local sportsmen.

"The Lord Provost and Magistrates do hereby strictly prohibit and discharge every person whatever from playing Golf, Cricket, Shinty, foot ball or any other Game whatever on the Green of this City from and after Saturday next the eighth of this month Certifying such as Contranence this prohibition that they will be prosecuted with the utmost vigour of the law."<sup>55</sup>

The enactment exemplified the new attitude amongst the local governing elite towards sporting customs. By 1820 the privilege of using Glasgow Green for popular sporting events, which had been sanctioned by usage from time immemorial, had been abolished.

A changing market economy had created civic and industrial leaders steeped in individualism. They were reluctant to recognise collective responsibility either in such vital matters as sanitary arrangements which affected the well-being of the whole population or in the relatively less important areas of public sporting provision. Freely available public areas implied a common sharing citizenship which was the complete antithesis of the notion of privatisation and private ownership which governed most social and industrial activity.<sup>56</sup>

The most visible sign of civic authority, and a most important agent in controlling and reducing sporting activity, was the Glasgow Police Force. Founded in 1800, it enhanced the power of a reforming magistracy.<sup>57</sup> The force was a most efficient agent in upholding all aspects of civil law and order. The control of sport was no exception particularly since the first two Masters of Police, John Stenhouse and Walter Graham, were local merchants and men of property who were concerned to protect their own livelihoods.

They were succeeded in 1805 by James Mitchell a former member of the Lanarkshire Militia. He was a strict disciplinarian. He soon trained his men into a similar mould. Armed with cutlasses and patrolling the streets in pairs, they were renowned for their uncompromising yet effective methods in securing law and order. The police were always alert for crowds which gathered to witness any kind of sporting event. They were particularly active in

prohibiting boxing displays which could easily be restrained under the law, either as a breach of the peace or an unlawful assembly. Contests invariably posed problems of public order. The 'fancy' was always large boisterous and volatile. If it was left unchecked it tended to undermine the assurance and reputation of the local police force, damage property and threaten the tranquility of everyday life. At a contest in 1828 on the outskirts of Glasgow, spectators who made their way to the venue on foot,

"appeared to have been rather unlimited in their trespasses on the turnip fields on the line of road, if an estimate may be formed from the number of turnip shaws which were for many miles strewn along the turnpikes leading to the scene of action."<sup>58</sup>

Moreover, there was always the certainty that where large crowds assembled there would be pickpockets, prostitutes and extortioners whose presence would be disguised by the peregrinations of the 'fancy'.

Intervention was also stimulated by a more general movement to restrict a sport in which bloodshed and personal injury were always present. A fight was won when one man could not come to the scratch in the centre of the ring when time was called after the expiration of the half minute interval that was allowed after any knock down. A man had to be so insensible as to be unconscious after thirty seconds before a fight ended since the referee never stopped a contest. The boxer was at the mercy of his two seconds who were expected to have backed him and who were reluctant to withdraw him unless he was actually

unconscious. Financial commitments caused many fights to degenerate into insensitive beatings. At the end of the fourth round of a local contest held in April 1827 between Simon Byrne and Alexander Mackay,

"the umpire of Mackay, quite satisfied that his man had no chance, requested the seconds would take the brave fellow away. This was refused, though it ought to have been done on the score of humanity, he being dreadfully punished."<sup>59</sup>

It was not surprising that opponents of boxing regarded it as being comparable to many animal sports. They saw both as being bloody barbarous uncivilised inhuman and generally at odds with enlightened morality. They also feared that boxing served to undermine the social order as cruel sports gave rise to cruel men. Their fears were confirmed in July 1831 when a report reached Glasgow from England that the Irish champion Simon Byrne had been convincingly beaten by the English champion Jem Ward. The result infuriated local Irish supporters.

"On Saturday night the lower part of the city which had been comparatively quiet during the whole of the fair week, was kept in a state of continued turmoil and disturbance, by bands of drunken fellows who issued from the Taverns, and commenced quarreling in the streets; frequently about the fight betwixt Ward and Byrne. The brawls appeared chiefly to be caused by hordes of low Irish."<sup>60</sup>

After a pitched battle on Glasgow Green, 176 arrests were made.

The police were very successful in expelling prize fighting from Glasgow. By 1832 promoters wishing to stage fights had been forced to seek sites outside the city. It was not easy to arrange and travel to venues in the country

and many supporters lost interest. Decline was accelerated by some internal malpractices. Fights were fixed by corrupt promoters and fighters while dishonest bookmakers tampered with betting odds. When crowds gathered for other sporting spectacles, the police were always present to ensure orderliness. The appearance of a bicycle in 1842 caused a crowd to congregate on the streets of Glasgow. The vehicle was a treadle-operated two wheeled machine. The design, a significant technological advance, was the invention and property of a blacksmith from Courthill, Mr Kirkpatrick MacMillan. To prove its viability he set out one evening in June 1842 to ride 140 miles to Glasgow and back.

Arriving in the city on a Saturday afternoon he "caused so much excitement in the crowded streets that he knocked over a child"<sup>61</sup> and was arrested by the Govan Police. The incident exemplified the efficiency of the police in dealing with threats to public order. Whether the unfortunate accident and subsequent police action discouraged MacMillan from developing his invention is open to speculation. It is certain that he never publicized the machine. Glasgow missed an opportunity of becoming the stage and possible centre for cycling developments and the emergence of cycling as a popular sporting activity was delayed by forty years.

Hours of work, the length of the working week and the infrequency of holidays were other aspects of industrialization which affected sporting practices. Until the third quarter of the eighteenth century most Glaswegians enjoyed relatively flexible working practices which were controlled

by the hours of available day light, the amount of work to be completed and the nature of the task. The growth of heavy investment in steam powered machinery, the utilisation of gas lighting and a change in local economic interests and industrial patterns served to break down this attitude towards time. In particular the regularity and even flow of mechanised industrial production brought a rigid dividing line between work and non work time. In some areas of Britain such as Birmingham and the Black Country where there was a predominance of small non mechanised industrial work units, irregular and flexible attendance and temporal patterns remained normal throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>62</sup>

In contrast, in Glasgow during the same period increasing numbers of workers were employed in a variety of mechanised industries such as textiles, printing, metal working and engineering which used systems of production that required new inflexible work habits.

Between 1800 - 50 the normal industrial working day extended from 6 a.m. to 6 p.m., including two hours for meals and the normal practice was to work six days per week. The exception was in the textile industry where longer working days of thirteen, fourteen or even fifteen hours were normal with only one hour allowed for meals. By 1816 this had been reduced to around twelve hours with between seventy and one hundred minutes for meal breaks.<sup>63</sup> It was 1850 however, before textile operatives achieved the twelve hour normal working day common to most other industries.



The 1833 Factory Act had imposed legal limits on the working hours of children but it placed no restriction on the length of the working day for adults, the majority of whom were at work from 5.30 a.m. to 7 p.m. daily - a week of 69 hours (Table 1.3). It was 1847 before adult hours were legally reduced when the 1847 Factory Act limited the hours of employment of women and young persons in cotton factories to 58 hours per week - ten hours per day and an eight hour Saturday. In reality all work ceased after ten hours since adult men could not handle the machinery alone.<sup>65</sup>

During the first quarter of the century most firms worked a full six days per week. One or two industries let their employees away one or two hours earlier on Saturdays but this lost time was often made up by working a quarter of an hour later on other days.<sup>66</sup> Near the end of the period, in 1841, skilled printing workers finished at 2 p.m. on a Saturday and by 1850 textile workers had been given a three hour concession.

For most Glaswegians throughout the period a twelve hour working day and six day week left no time to pursue any sporting interests. A typical operative rose around five every morning for a 6 a.m. start. Three meal stoppages of half an hour at 8 a.m., one hour at midday and twenty minutes at 4 o'clock were the only respites from labour which finished at 6 p.m. With time added on for returning home, changing, washing and eating supper, the average worker spent some fifteen hours on each of the six days of the week in pursuit of employment.<sup>67</sup>

Table 1.3. Hours of work and holidays in a selection of Glasgow cotton spinning and weaving companies, 1833. 64

Firm	Manufacture	H o u r s			M e a l s		Total Days Worked	Holi- days
		Week days	Satur- day	Total	Break- fast	Lunch		
J Bartholomew and Co., Barony	Cotton spinning and weaving	12h.	9h.	69h.	$\frac{3}{4}$ h.	$\frac{3}{4}$ h.	300	13
Barrowfield Weaving Co., Barony	Cotton spinning - light fabrics	12h.	9h.	69h.	$\frac{3}{4}$ h.	$\frac{3}{4}$ h.	300	13
D McPhail and Co., Barony	Weaving of cotton cloth	12h.	9h.	69h.	$\frac{3}{4}$ h.	$\frac{3}{4}$ h.	305	8
H Holdsworth and Sons, Anderston	Cotton spinning - light fabrics	12h.	9h.	69h.	$\frac{1}{2}$ h.	1h.	300-303	10-13
J Dennistoun and Co., Calton	Cotton spinning	12h 5mins.	8h. 35mins.	69h.	40mins.	$\frac{3}{4}$ h.	305 $\frac{1}{2}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
H Dunlop, Calton	Cotton spinning	12h.	9h.	69h.	40mins.	50mins.	297	16
H Monteith, Blantyre Works, Glasgow	Cotton spinning	12h.	9h.	69h.	$\frac{3}{4}$ h.	1h.	302	11
May and Dennistoun, Glasgow	Cotton spinning	12h.	9h.	69h.	$\frac{3}{4}$ h.	$\frac{3}{4}$ h.	307	5

Notes (i) H Dunlop gave his employees an extended holiday due to steam engine failure.

Sunday was the only period free from work when a family could spend the day together. Working wives employed in the textile factories spent the day washing and attending to other accumulated domestic tasks. For the rest of the family, the propensity to stay in bed was no doubt less a matter of choice than a necessary recruitment of strength. A local nineteen year old millinery shop employee was typical of many.

"When you get home at night, indeed you are scarcely able to eat anything - you feel quite sick and weary. Indeed at Sabbath mornings it was very often the case that you lay in bed and tried to rest yourself."<sup>68</sup>

Holidays provided the only realistic opportunity for the pursuit of sport. However, throughout the period up to c. 1850 Glaswegians enjoyed relatively few holidays.

"It is well known that the Presbyterian church takes no notice of the Christian festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide; hence the chief holidays at the public works are a few days at the new year, and near Glasgow at the Glasgow Fair, about midsummer; also a day twice-a-year at what is called 'the fast', i.e. the preparation for the Lord's Supper."<sup>69</sup>

Holidays were kept to a minimum by employers who regarded them as interfering with the maximisation of profits. Moreover, even with such few free periods of block time, many workers balanced the possible enjoyment of a holiday against the financial loss it incurred since New Years Day was the only holiday with pay.<sup>70</sup>

Glasgow's wealth, it was thought, lay in the creation of a large disciplined and hard working labour force - but not necessarily a prosperous one. Insignificant increases

in real income was another factor which restricted involvement in sport. Table 1.4 indicates that over a forty year period the weekly wage of a cotton spinner remained almost static. Although carpenters and masons enjoyed weekly wage

Table 1.4. Average weekly wages for a selection of occupations in Glasgow, 1790-1851.<sup>71</sup>

Occupation	Year and Wages				
	1790	1812	1819	1831	1851
Blacksmith	-	15s.	17s.	17s.	22s.
Carpenter	12s.	18s.	12s.	14s.	20s.
Labourer	8s.	11s.	7s.6d.	9s.	12s.
Mason	12s.	18s.	15s.	14s.	18s.
Machine Maker	-	19s.	19s.	19s.	22s.6d.
Female Spinner	-	15s.	15s.	15s.	-
Male Spinner	-	24s.	24s.	24s.	25s.

Notes (i) Wage figures take no account of (a) short time or overtime (b) losses due to slack trade or illness (c) the incomes of other family members. The figures are not offered for their specific numerical values but to show a general trend in wage development.

increases of 40% and 50% respectively, these rises were not particularly large when spread over a span of sixty years. Moreover, gains not only depended upon increases in money wages but also on improvements in the purchasing power of money. This was determined by price movements. Table 1.5 illustrates that a sample of basic budgetary items rose steadily in price up to 1841. In spite of price reductions in 1851 they were still between 10% and 20% higher than 1790 levels. Although money wages modestly outgrew price rises, any improvements in real wages were slight and confined to the highest paid who were numerically quite small.<sup>73</sup> For

Table 1.5. Average prices for a selection of commodities  
available in Glasgow, 1790-1851.<sup>72</sup>

Commodity	1790	1812	1815	1819	1831	1841	1851
Cheese (per lb.)	4½d.	12d.	5¾d.	6d.	6d.	4¾d.	5½d.
Beef (per lb.)	3½d.	6d.	4d.	5½d.	5d.	7d.	4½d.
Wheaten Loaf (4½lb.)	9d.	18½d.	10½d.	11½d.	8d.	9½d.	8d.
Potatoes (per stone)	-	-	4½d.	3½d.	4d.	4½d.	5½d.
Butter (per lb.)	-	-	8d.	9 d.	13d.	12d.	9½d.
Rent: 2 apartments ( <u>per annum</u> )	-	100s.	100s.	90s.	85s.	130s.	

Notes (i) No account has been taken of changes in the quality of commodities, weekly price fluctuations or the existence of price differences in various parts of the city. Consequently the prices are not offered for their specific numerical values but to show general price trends.

the majority of Glaswegians the rewards of labour were slender. Although all spending was optional, the need to satisfy basic physiological needs was paramount and consequently there was little or no surplus money to spend on sport.<sup>74</sup>

Large increases in population caused a considerable amount of overcrowding in Glasgow which led to the growth of numerous sanitary problems. Housing conditions were inadequate to meet massive population influxes and there was a decline in standards of personal health. Confined to slums and suffering from a number of diseases, there was little inclination to be involved in sport.

The solution adopted to cope with housing Glasgow's ever increasing population was the building of four storey tenement blocks. The need was for high density high rise

accommodation since immigration was occurring on unprecedented scales and the lack of adequate transport facilities meant that the new urban workers had to be housed reasonably close to their places of work.<sup>75</sup> Within the old town of Glasgow itself open space was at a premium and consequently tenements were built behind existing streets in a rather jumbled and unplanned manner. 'Backland' housing was not adequate in meeting the needs of its tenants.<sup>76</sup> Access to the open streets was poor, living accommodation overcrowded and privacy restricted.<sup>77</sup>

Although Glasgow had experienced a great rise in population the centre of the city remained geographically intact. The middle of the expanding conurbation still resembled a mediaeval town with its narrow winding streets and bye-ways which were totally unsuited to the requirements of a growing industrial city. Although there was of course no comparison between the ugliness and meanness of the new Glasgow and the beauty and civic life of its mediaeval predecessor, in their lack of sanitary requirements they resembled each other too closely. Life in the poorer parts could scarcely be imagined. Cellar dwellings which were insanitary airless and damp were common. The narrow dark alleys and wynds received all kinds of filth and refuse from private flats and many small businesses such as bone and tripe boilers, tanneries and slaughter-houses.<sup>78</sup>

The absences of any effective system of refuse removal led to the pollution of water supplies and the

creation of dunghills which polluted the narrow wynds in the backlands. Dr Cowan, writing in 1837, considered that these rubbish heaps caused much of the fever which was raging at this time. The streets and alleyways where the poor live were,

"filthy beyond measure; excrementitious matter and filth of every description is allowed to lay upon the lanes, or, if collected, it remains accumulating for months, until the landlord, whose property it is, is pleased to remove it."<sup>79</sup>

Water supplies were defective and such a thing as a household supply was unknown. Water was obtained from a stand-pipe or pump which was required to serve dozens and even sometimes hundreds of people and the supply was only available for a few hours each day. In conditions of general squalor outbreaks of infectious disease, particularly cholera and typhus, were frequent.<sup>80</sup>

Under the influxes of large scale immigration from the Highlands and Ireland and rapid population growth Glasgow's housing and sanitary problems were the worst of any industrial centre. As Chadwick noted,

"It might admit of dispute, but on the whole, it appeared to us that both the structural arrangements and the conditions of the population in Glasgow was the worst of any we have seen in any part of Great Britain."<sup>81</sup>

The labouring population clearly bore the weight of a rapidly expanding industrial city and they paid heavily in high mortality, poor health and squalid housing. Under such conditions the working classes became preoccupied with survival. Any notions of taking part in sport were

strictly limited.<sup>82</sup> Not surprisingly one of the few activities to remain popular was river swimming which on a warm sunny day provided a welcome source of refreshment and personal cleanliness.

The great decline of sporting practices during the first half of the nineteenth century was intimately associated with the breakdown of 'traditional society'. Sporting forms such as golf, shinty, football and handball were rooted in a social system which was strongly parochial and marked by a deep sense of corporate identity. They could not be absorbed into an expanding urban society which was governed by contractual relations, biased towards individualism and which was moulding its culture in a manner appropriate to the requirements of successful industrial production.

In Glasgow's new urban world of congested housing, disease, factory discipline and free enterprise, sport had to be reconstructed. It had to be shaped to accord with the moral conditions of a non-agrarian, capitalistic society.<sup>83</sup> This reconstruction was gradually accomplished over a period of several generations. The low point was roughly coincident with the second quarter of the nineteenth century when much of the traditional culture had disintegrated and new processes were only beginning to emerge. The reshaping of sport was a phenomenon of the period after 1850.



CHAPTER 2ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN GLASGOW 1850-1914

During the second half of the nineteenth century Glasgow's industrial and social environment was reconstructed. There were notable demographic and economic changes, developments in civic responsibility, improvements in industrial conditions and the formation of an elaborate transport system which provided an urban framework in which new sporting forms emerged.

Between 1801 - 51 the population of Glasgow increased by over 450%. During the next fifty years expansion continued albeit at a less dramatic rate. In 1851 329,097 people lived in the city. By 1901, despite boundary changes, the population had doubled to 761,709.<sup>1</sup> Glasgow contained 5.1% of the Scottish population in 1801, 11.5% in 1851 and 19.4% by 1891.<sup>2</sup> Immigration from the Highlands and Ireland continued to play an important part in this demographic expansion, though its significance declined over time and an increasing proportion of residents were born in the city. By 1871 there had been seven or eight decades of regular Irish immigration. The number of Irish born in Scotland totalled 207,700, 76% of whom lived in the west of Scotland. This was 13% of the total population. Ten years later by which time the biggest movements out of Ireland were over, one-eighth of Glasgow's population were Irish born. (Table 2.1)

Concurrent with demographic increases was a progressive expansion in the wealth of the city. The rental of Glasgow

Table 2.1. Birthplace of the inhabitants of Glasgow, 1851-1911.<sup>3</sup>

Place of Birth	Y e a r						
	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911
Glasgow	145,022 44%	201,555 <sup>*</sup> 51%	226,115 47%	262,146 51%	312,265 55%	-	482,455 62%
Scotland (excluding Glasgow and the crofting counties)	97,611 30%	112,130 <sup>**</sup> 28%	142,884 30%	151,971 30%	144,412 26%	-	180,688 23%
England	8,057 2%	10,266 3%	14,286 3%	15,677 3%	18,495 3%	27,535 4%	29,029 4%
Ireland	59,801 18%	62,084 16%	68,330 14%	67,109 13%	59,822 11%	67,612 9%	52,828 7%
Crofting Counties	16,534 5%	16,682 4%	21,849 5%	19,481 4%	24,749 4%	26,806 4%	24,714 3%
Total population of Glasgow	329,097	395,503	477,156	511,415	565,839	761,709	784,496

Notes ( i) \*denotes the number of people born in Lanarkshire.

( ii) \*\*denotes the number of people born in Scotland excluding Lanarkshire and the crofting counties.

(iii) People born in Wales, the Isle of Man, the Channel Island, British Colonies and Dependencies, foreign countries and those at sea made up less than 0.5% of the population of Glasgow between 1851 and 1911 and have therefore been ignored.

stood at £1,084,000 in 1851. By 1891 it had increased by over 200% to £3,456,000. Only London contained more houses and places of business. In 1801 only 382 yards of quay facilities were available on the River Clyde. By 1851 the docks covered 3,591 yards. By 1901 with continuing expansion such as the construction of the Stobcross Docks in 1877 and the Princess Docks the yardage had quadrupled to 15,109.<sup>4</sup>

In every department of economic and social activity the evidence of expansion was overwhelming. Glasgow's growth in the first half of the nineteenth century was built upon textiles. However, by 1850 the foundations of the industry had disintegrated. The 1830s had brought a wave of new investment but the result was a decade of overproduction when prices fell and profit margins contracted. Reinvestment was reduced and the industry's technological efficiency was damaged. Lancashire mills established a monopoly in cheap fabrics and simultaneously foreign competition made heavy inroads into Glasgow's overseas outlets. Problems of production and marketing were aggravated by the speculative financing and credit terms arranged by many firms. In 1857 when the Western Bank presented bills amounting to £1.6 million to three or four of Glasgow's leading cotton borrowers, they could not meet the demands. There was a run on the bank as depositors sought to withdraw their cash and the Western Bank was forced to close its doors. The succeeding bankruptcies and commercial distress came as a great blow to the prosperity of the cotton industry.<sup>5</sup>

The industry's problems were further intensified by

the impact of the American Civil War which cut off supplies of raw cotton from states in the new confederacy. By the summer of 1862 most cotton mills were either closed down completely or working only a few hours each week. When supplies began to flow again competition with the more efficient Lancashire industry proved difficult. As a result resources were diverted increasingly to the developing heavy industries and skilled operatives left to find better paid and more stable jobs in the shipyards and engineering shops.<sup>6</sup>

The second half of the century was a period of rationalisation and ultimately further contraction in Glasgow's cotton industry. After the American Civil War the industry stabilised at a reduced level of working. By 1885 Glasgow's textile machinery was out of date and inefficient. There was a loss of entrepreneurial drive amongst mill owners. Having made substantial fortunes many were no longer interested in maintaining their concerns at maximum efficiency by keeping abreast of the most efficient and up to date production techniques. Unable to produce cloth as cheaply as their main competitors they slid to a slow decline.

In comparison with spinning, the weaving branch of the industry did not suffer so badly but its volume and relative importance diminished appreciably. As in cotton, spinning the American Civil War halted developments and even when hostilities stopped there was no resurgence. Moreover, it was impossible to compete with Lancashire weavers who

had their spinning mills at hand and were not forced to pay the extra transit charges on yarn. Many famous establishments closed down. In 1884 Monteith's Barrowfield site was closed down and 12 months later Graham's Lancefield premises were sold to a building contractor. Survival in the last quarter of the century was concentrated on producing fancy fabrics. Relatively low labour costs gave local businesses an advantage in fine quality products. Yet this was a highly volatile market to cater for and further casualties occurred. Between 1861 and 1891 textile employment was reduced in absolute terms by 32.3% while the city's total labour force grew by 57.3%.<sup>7</sup>

In contrast to spinning and weaving, two ancillary branches of the textile industry displayed greater resilience. Calico printing and turkey red dyeing became local specialities because company proprietors were alert to technical developments. Unfortunately they were relatively small pockets of prosperity and could not compensate for the dismal decay of the parent industry.

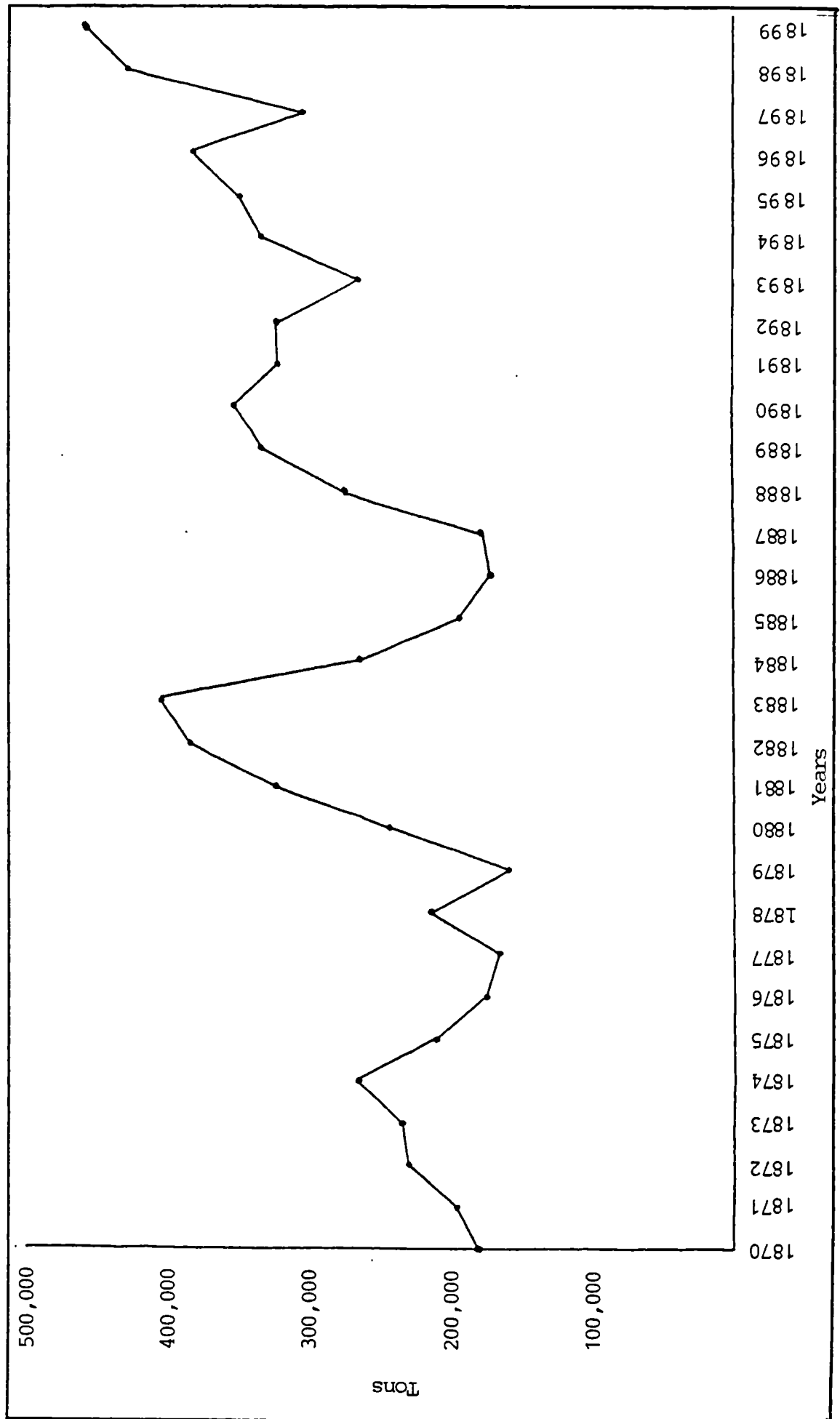
It was fortunate that in the very decade the foundations of the textile industry began to weaken, a new and more dynamic generator of wealth and prosperity received a decisive forward impetus. Heavy engineering and metal manufacturing provided a much firmer foundation for economic growth. It was no longer necessary to rely on exotic imports of tobacco and cotton. Glasgow began to exploit the rich store of indigenous wealth that lay buried beneath its own doorstep.<sup>8</sup> By 1870 the economic basis of the city had

been materially transformed.

Shipbuilding lay at the centre of Glasgow's new industrial core. The industry had been growing steadily in the 1850s. In 1852 6,200 men were employed in Glasgow yards with another 2,000 engaged in direct subsidiary work. They produced 78 ships with a gross tonnage of 52,900. Thirteen years later production had risen to 242 ships grossing 153,032 tons and thereafter, as graph 2.1 indicates, output rose sharply despite occasional lean years. Between 1870 and 1913 Glasgow's yards consistently poured out a third of the total British tonnage. Launchings averaged 250,000 tons each year between 1871 - 74 and this was more than doubled to 565,000 tons between 1909 - 13. In 1913 yards on the Clyde built nearly three quarters of a million tons of shipping, one third of the total British tonnage, almost 18% of world production, and more than the production of the entire shipbuilding industry of either the United States or Germany.<sup>10</sup>

The Clyde shipbuilding industry, which with over twenty yards Glasgow dominated, owed its success to several factors, the main one being its accessibility to essential raw materials particularly coal and iron. As early as 1778 ten collieries had been established around Glasgow. Soon after the coalfields of Old and New Monkland were developed some twelve miles east of the city. By 1836 the number of local pits had increased to 37. After 1850 over a million tons of coal entered the city annually to supply steam power to the iron and steel industries.<sup>11</sup>

Graph 2.1. Ships launched on the River Clyde, 1870-99.<sup>9</sup>



In 1801 the discovery of blackband ironstone in the vicinity of Glasgow marked the beginning of the modern Scottish iron industry. After 1828 when J B Neilson utilised hot air in blast furnaces the industry expanded rapidly. In association with Lanarkshire hard splint coal the production of pig-iron became a highly profitable undertaking. The number of furnaces increased from 27 in 1830 to one hundred in 1840.<sup>12</sup> When local pig-iron production began to decline it was replaced by steel making. In 1873 the Steel Company of Scotland, using imported non-phosphoric ore, built an open hearth plant at Hallside a few miles outside the city.<sup>13</sup> Seven years later four more works had been established. Another wave of firms began in May 1879 when Beardmore added steel furnaces at his Parkhead Forge. By 1885 there were ten works. With only one exception, all plants were set up with Siemens-Martin open hearth furnaces using acid or haematite pig iron. During the next twenty years local firms expanded their acid steel making capacities in response to local shipbuilders' preferences for ships' plates made of acid steel. Steel production and the needs of the Clyde shipyards were closely linked. In 1879 the open hearth furnaces turned out 50,593 tons of steel. Eleven years later 485,000 tons were produced. In the same period steel tonnage launched on the Clyde grew from 18,000 tons to 326,000 tons.<sup>14</sup>

The role of the Clyde as a principal shipping centre and artery also encouraged shipbuilding. By 1840 the river had been deepened to fifteen feet as far as Glasgow so that the



city could become a major port. Subsequent improvements maintained and extended its capacity. As berthage and quay facilities expanded during the century so the volume and value of trade handled increased commensurately.<sup>15</sup>

Glasgow's shipowners generated an increasing demand for new ships. In 1850 their share of the total U.K. tonnage stood at 4.2% By 1890 it had quadrupled to 16%. In the most advanced form of shipping, namely steamboats, Glasgow's proportion of the market was still higher, moving from 9.8% in 1860 to 21.3% in 1890.

The endeavour and foresight of Glasgow's merchants was matched by the inventive and entrepreneurial flair of the shipbuilders themselves. Many technical innovations were developed. Perhaps the most significant was J A Elder's work on the compound engine between 1853 - 67. His engine allowed fuel savings of 50% and so demonstrated the superiority of steam over sail in long distance shipping and thus justified the local commitment to iron and later steel in the face of opposition from conventional experts.<sup>16</sup>

Although the shipbuilding industry lay at the core of Glasgow's new industrial structure it supported and spawned a variety of other sizeable engineering and metal products which, by the high degree of specialisation, assisted in maintaining the efficient craftsmanship so vital to the Clyde's pre-eminence. Heavy iron castings and forgings were undertaken at some six centres including Finlay and Davidson's Port Eglinton Works, William and

Boyd's Blytheswood Foundry, David Napier's Lancefield Works and W I Beardmore's Forge at Parkhead. Employing over a thousand men, the latter two plants housed some of Britain's largest steam hammers facilitating the production of the largest crank shafts, propeller shafts, stern posts and rudder posts. Lancefield for example, was the only forge capable of producing the propeller shafts for the 'Great Eastern'.

Other companies concentrated on producing brass goods, boilers, apparatus for gasworks and distilleries, agricultural machinery, sewing machines, cranes, emerywheel and grinding machinery, iron piers, landing stages and wood working machinery.<sup>17</sup> The manufacture of machine tools was a particularly prominent local industry, expanding rapidly in the third quarter of the century as a result of demand from local shipbuilders for punching and shearing machines, lathes, boring and screwing machines, planes and plate bending equipment.

Other engineering units which grew up in the pre-shipbuilding era started to expand in the late forties. Colonial trading stimulated an interest in the production of sugar making machinery in which Glasgow had a virtual monopoly by 1870.<sup>18</sup> Locomotive engineering and the production of light iron castings developed in the late forties. A large concern like Walter MacFarlane's Saracen Foundry at Possilpark produced the whole range of domestic and ornamental iron appliances.<sup>19</sup> One of Glasgow's earliest pioneers in the development of locomotive engineering was

John M Rowan who built two engines in c. 1834. His factory produced engineers like John Yule, William Tait and Benjamin Conner who, through their initiative and skill, helped make Glasgow into a major centre for the manufacture of locomotives.<sup>20</sup> At a much later date electrical engineering was introduced into the city. By 1900 there were several firms engaged in the manufacture of electrical machines and appliances of various kinds for lighting, power, ventilation and other purposes.

After 1850 the decline of the textile industry as a major employer of labour was replaced by engineering concerns employing nearly 25% of the male labour force by 1911. Within the engineering industry there was a notable diversity of specialisation. At the same time Glasgow also possessed a full repertoire of other trades ranging from brewing and breadmaking to bookbinding and boat building. (Table 2.2). The economy was no longer dangerously poised on the narrow platform of two or three pioneer sectors - particularly textiles - but was broadly based producing a wide variety of capital goods. Glasgow had a broader and more diverse industrial base than even London. It was claimed that, "No other city in the Kingdom presents such a variety of manufacturing industries."<sup>22</sup>

Although manufacturing was important, Glasgow did not rely solely on industry for its growth and wealth. It was also a vigorous commercial centre and a principal distribution and service point for a spreading urban agglomerate. Throughout the century, city merchants displayed a

Table 2.2. Factories in Glasgow, 1891. 21

Factories/Works	No.	Factories/Works	No.
Makers of machinery	129	Tobacco pipe makers (clay)	13
Foundries	127	Engravers (metal)	13
Letter press printers	117	Cotton winding and warping	12
Calendering and finishing	73	Iron ship builders	12
Bread and biscuit makers	63	Wire workers	12
Sawmillers	59	Glass manufacturers	11
Picture frame makers	51	Metal and lead pipe manufacturers	11
Lithograph	48	Brass finishers	11
Smiths and wrights	47	Soap manufacturers	11
Cotton weaving	46	Waste (cotton and wool)	10
Furniture manufacturers	37	Coppersmiths	10
Bookbinders	37	Glass cutters and stainers	10
Chemicals	32	Nail and rivet makers	9
Carpenters and joiners	29	Brewers	9
Bleaching and dyeing	26	Coach and van builders	9
Brick and tile makers	26	Coopers	9
Paint, colour and varnish manufacturers	23	Carpet factories	8
Oil and oil cake makers	22	Electro-platers	8
Flour and grain millers	21	Blackening makers (Iron founders)	7
Box and packing case makers	21	Cotton spinning	7
Underclothing and mantles	20	Heddle makers	7
Potteries	20	Weighing machine makers	7
Tobacco manufacturers	20	Cotton doubling and twisting	6
Wood turners	20	Silk winding and throwing	6
Boiler makers	19	Paper stainers	6
Grinders	17	Cutlers	5
Boot and shoe making	15	Handkerchief hemming	5
Firewood makers	15	Engine packing	5
Tailors and clothiers	14	Cement makers	5
File, saw and toolmakers	13	Boat builders	5
Tanners and curriers	13		

Notes (i) Products with less than five factories have been omitted.

prodigious amount of ingenuity and skill in securing large foreign trading contracts. The growth of increasing numbers of administrative personnel owed much to their enterprise. Between 1861 - 1911 Glasgow's merchant houses employed ever increasing numbers of clerks and associated service staff.<sup>23</sup>

The existence of a mass market formed by the city itself stimulated both wholesale and retail department stores employing thousands of men and women. The building and food industries also expanded to cater for internal demands. The continuous rise in population, the growth of the central business district and large slum clearance and redevelopment programmes provided life long employment for thousands of building workers.

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century the coherent pattern of social life shared by a small traditional community was increasingly exchanged for a pattern of life notable for its discontinuities of experiences in terms of time, space and personnel. The expansion of the urban population and the development of a society ordered by the priorities of industrial growth resulted in the emergence of new social relationships.

At the top of the social pyramid was an upper class which was a purely local elite with no aristocratic roots. Members were first or second generation shipowners, iron masters, textile manufacturers, publishers or merchants - men with drive, enterprise, energy and talent who were all architects of their own fortunes. The higher liberal and

financial professions were also members of this social group. The latter, such as insurance agents and brokers, had risen to prominence to meet the needs of the city's vigorous trade and business community. Intra-group homogeneity was promoted by members often holding secondary business interests as directors of banks, railway or insurance companies which drew the elite together and provided them with a common perspective on many matters. Unity was enhanced by the proximity of their houses. They resided in the elegant terraces of the West End or handsome villas in Pollokshields or Langside on the south side of the river.<sup>24</sup> Many self-made industrialists were obsessed with the need to acquire refined manners and a taste for acceptable forms of culture such as an interest in art or foreign travel. A particularly significant trend was to send their children to public school to receive the formal education and social training which they had longed for but sadly lacked.

Next in the social pecking order was a middle class group encompassing three broad types of occupation: clerks (the number of commercial clerks alone rose from 2,685 in 1861 to 12,981 in 1911); retailers and shopkeepers; members of the lesser professions such as school teachers, land agents, surveyors and small businessmen. They all shared a similar lifestyle and income. The majority resided in the smarter tenements or the less ostentatious terraces in Dennistoun, Garnethill or Mount Florida. Unlike the upper middle class, they were seldom prominent in public affairs but they formed the bulk of many

organisations at the more humdrum levels.<sup>25</sup>

The working class can be divided crudely into three groups. Occupying the top tier was a large sector of skilled workers, the bulk of whom were employed in the metal and engineering industries where they formed the majority of the labour force.<sup>26</sup> The building trade also contained a substantial number of skilled men such as bricklayers, masons and joiners. There was also a large quota in the printing, baking, furniture and pottery trades.

These aristocrats of labour who lived in areas such as St. George's Cross and Govanhill formed the backbone of the working class with their concern for respectability. In aspiring to the norms and values of their immediate superiors, a thorough sense of independence, sobriety, thrift, honesty, orderliness, industry and self-improvement permeated their worlds. However, although trappings of respectability were readily assumed into working class life, they did not displace older conformities. Respectability was not an all encompassing lived ideal nor a permanent code of values. Labour aristocrats also shared in an independent working class culture with its own patterns of behaviour. Indeed it has been suggested that as the century progressed their culture became less influenced by middle class values. By 1900, "It seemed that the 'superior' working class was drawing away from the lower middle class and coming nearer to the rest of their own class."<sup>27</sup>

The middle sector of the working class was made up of machinists, factory operatives, employees in declining

or low paid occupations like weaving and tailoring, superior transport workers and non-manual workers such as the police and administrative functionaries. The unskilled or lower working class contained groups who carried out the heaviest manual tasks in the shipyards, docks, foundries, sawmills, gas works and engineering workshops. Also included were general transport workers, milkmen, newsboys, warehousemen, hawkers and assorted grades of messengers.<sup>28</sup>

A large group of Irish immigrants made up another quite distinctive community within the city's social system. Although there were Irish settlements in many British cities it was the size of the Glasgow contingent which was of particular significance. In 1881 over 13% of the population of Glasgow were Irish born.<sup>29</sup> They were segregated by a whole bundle of distinguishing characteristics including accent, occupation, residence and religion. The majority of Irishmen lacked any form of industrial training. As a result they found employment in the lowest paid unskilled manual jobs such as labourers in furnaces, rolling mills, metal works and building sites or as stevedores on the docks.<sup>30</sup> Low wages and high rents caused them to congregate in the cheapest and worst tenements in the most densely populated and insanitary city areas such as Bridgegate, Cowcaddens, Anderston, Maryhill and the Gorbals.<sup>31</sup>

The rise and growth of new economic and social patterns was paralleled by a steady improvement in public health provision and a slower but significant rise in the quality and quantity of housing particularly for the more



respectable elements of the working class.

The rapid increase in the size of Glasgow's population in the first fifty years of the nineteenth century without any regard for a planned programme of house building or improvements in sanitary provisions had created the twin problems of appalling living conditions and extremely low standards of personal health. Due to the effects of regular outbreaks of cholera and the disclosures made by the Poor Law Commissioners about the insanitary conditions in Britain's major industrial centres, health and housing became an increasingly significant governmental consideration. In May 1838 the Poor Law Commissioners forwarded a memorandum to the Home Secretary pointing out that if the condition of the poor was to be permanently improved then it was necessary to adopt preventive measures against certain fundamental evils by enacting and enforcing a systematic code of health in towns and cities.<sup>32</sup> As a result the Home Secretary issued a letter directing a commission of enquiry to be set up to examine,

"the extent to which the cause of disease, stated to prevail amongst the labouring classes of the Metropolis, prevail also amongst the labouring classes in other parts of the United Kingdom."<sup>33</sup>

The commission of enquiry was to be responsible to the Poor Law Commissioners, George Nicholls, George Cornwall Lewis and Edmund Walker Head. However, the driving force behind the final report was the Secretary of the Poor Law Board, Edwin Chadwick. From the voluminous amount of evidence collected, Chadwick constructed his famous 'Report

of an Inquiry into the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population of Great Britain' which was printed in the summer of 1842. The report was presented in three volumes, two being local reports covering England and Scotland while the third, based on the first two volumes, gave a general comment on the sanitary condition of the labouring population and proposed methods of improving the conditions which had been reported. Chadwick was severely critical of Glasgow's housing accommodation and the condition of its people. He pointed to inadequate and unhealthy water supplies, imperfect or non-existent systems of drainage, badly made streets and many other causes of squalor. At the same time he laid the onus for improvements with Glasgow Corporation.

The Corporation took immediate action to remedy the situation by adopting a Police Act to allow the Dean of Guild to demolish and repair decaying buildings. In 1846 an effective base for promoting a consolidated attack on sanitary and housing problems emerged when the Glasgow Police and Extension Act was passed. This brought the Burghs of Carlton, Anderston and Gorbals under one jurisdiction, abolishing an outdated pattern of sectional administration which facilitated a long term attack on the city's public health problems.<sup>34</sup>

The Act stimulated an enthusiastic concern in the new municipal council. A fresh civic consciousness emerged which resulted in the promotion of measures to improve the living conditions and personal health of the labouring population. A general fear of the reservoirs

of disease, crime and vice in Glasgow's slum areas was an additional significant force in promoting a new municipal initiative. Recurring outbreaks of cholera caused particular panic among the middle and upper class who administered the city. Cholera "stirred even the moribund, degraded, unreformed municipal corporations into fits of unwonted sanitary activity."<sup>35</sup> Two cholera epidemics in 1847 and 1848-49 stimulated the Dean of Guild to put into force the powers conferred by the 1843 Act to require houses which were insecure or structurally dangerous to be demolished or repaired. However, it was 1862 before effective action was taken to improve public health.

In order to control the outbreak of infectious diseases and improve the environment, Glasgow Corporation had appointed, within the terms of the 1856 Amended Nuisance Removal (Scotland) Act, a 'Committee on Nuisances' in 1857 under the chairmanship of Mr John Ure. Unfortunately, the Act was concerned with the removal not the prevention of nuisances. This was rapidly recognised by Mr Ure's Committee who set themselves the task of redirecting the energy which had formerly been applied to dealing with epidemics, to the very basic need for reforming the conditions out of which the epidemics arose. In 1859 Mr Ure submitted a scheme for improving the sanitary condition of the city by creating a special department under a Medical Officer with an adequate staff of inspectors for the discovery of nuisances and the oversight of disease. After careful consideration by the Town Council, Ure's scheme

which sought powers to regulate the construction of new buildings and to deal with nuisances, overcrowding, cellar dwellings, sanitary conveniences and water supplies was adopted and incorporated into the Glasgow Police Act of 1862.<sup>36</sup> Certain sanitary provisions were extended in a second Police Act passed in 1866 and enhanced by the appointment of a Sanitary Inspector in 1870. The completion of the Loch Katrine Water Scheme in 1859 which guaranteed supplies of pure water and the razing of many slums by railway developments in the sixties also helped to improve standards of public health.

By the third quarter of the century Glasgow possessed a vastly improved water supply and an effective sewage and waste disposal system. Many decaying tenement blocks had been demolished and badly planned streets had been cleared. As a result crude death rates and infant mortality rates fell sharply. Between the decennial periods 1865-74 and 1885-94, death rates fell from 30.5 to 23.2 per thousand while infant mortality rates dropped from 167 to 144 per thousand. Death from zymotic diseases such as typhus, smallpox, scarlet fever and diphtheria fell from 7.4 to 3.8 per thousand population.<sup>37</sup> By the end of the century Glasgow had a civic administration and a network of services which had successfully come to terms with the worst health hazards caused by large scale urbanization and had made notable strides in improving sanitary conditions.

Public health reform was paralleled by improvements in housing. The 1866 City Improvement Act exemplified the

civic concern for poor living accommodation and contained extensive long term provisions to improve it. Powers were given to set up an Improvement Trust under the control of the Town Council to clear out insanitary areas and to acquire new plots of land on which to erect and maintain houses for the working classes. Although the trustees lost no time in buying up land and clearing buildings, they made little use of their powers to build new houses. The depression of 1878 caused the property market to collapse and the Trustees could not sell or even feu the land they had cleared. It was 1888 before any new buildings were erected. Two blocks of tenements on the east side of Saltmarket were the first to be completed. By 1894 almost the whole area scheduled for demolition had been cleared and rebuilt. The Trust's property and powers were transferred to Glasgow Corporation in 1895 under the terms of the Glasgow Corporation and Police Act. Two years later a second private Improvement Act was adopted to clear and rebuild on six 'congested and insanitary' areas and to build houses for the 'poorest classes' on an additional twenty five acres of land.

By 1913 the Corporation had built 2,199 new houses most of which were larger than existing stock. The tenants of the new houses were mostly upper working class families such as clerks, engineers or skilled craftsmen who enjoyed regular work and earned sufficiently high wages to pay rents which ranged from £4.10.0 to £8.15.0 per annum for a single apartment and from £12.9.0 to £21.0.0 per annum for a house with three rooms. In contrast, the Trust's

activities achieved little for poorer groups. These were dependent upon private building schemes which provided a large amount of accommodation in two massive building booms between 1868-77 and 1893-1904. Most of the accommodation consisted of two or three roomed rented apartments though up to a quarter of all apartments built in Glasgow in the first boom had only one room. Moreover, since demand exceeded supply, the poorest families divided the larger properties into single apartments and merely recreated overcrowded conditions. After 1904 when private building slowed down in the face of high interest rates and building costs, the problem of overcrowding was intensified.<sup>38</sup> The working classes had to be satisfied with scanty domestic and sanitary facilities and little privacy. Nevertheless, significant improvements in housing conditions had been achieved by the early twentieth century. In 1861 34% of families lived in one apartment houses. Fifty years later the number had been reduced to 20%. At the same time the percentage of families living in three roomed apartments increased from 13% to 19%. Larger houses reduced overcrowding and offered greater privacy.<sup>39</sup> There were also improvements in domestic facilities including hot water, electric lighting, ventilation and water closets.<sup>40</sup>

Upper working class Glaswegians were the principal beneficiaries of housing improvements. They were also first to win substantial reductions in working hours. Until the early sixties most employees worked ten hours per day. However, from 1864 to 1890 there was a slow but

steady reduction in daily working hours. In 1864 organised groups of skilled men employed in the building industry successfully persuaded employers to grant a reduction in daily working hours. Masons obtained a nine hour day in 1866. Four years later carpenters received the same concessions. By 1874 the nine hour day was shared by all skilled tradesmen in the building industry. Other skilled groups worked similar hours after 1870. In 1871 engineers and shipbuilders worked  $9\frac{1}{2}$  hours per day. Three years later they were joined by men employed in a number of metal associated trades, rope and glass workers and coach builders.<sup>41</sup> Table 2.3. illustrates the rather slow fragmentary and uneven

Table 2.3. Hours of work for a selection of occupational groups in Glasgow, 1850 - 1880.<sup>42</sup>

Occupational Groups	Year and Hours of Work			
	1850	1860	1870	1880
Stonemasons	60	57	51	-
Carpenters and Joiners	60	57	51	51*
Cabinet Makers	60	60	57	51
Quarrymen	-	-	60	51
Glasscutters	-	-	60	$52\frac{1}{2}$
Bookbinders	60	60	57	54
Ropespinners	-	60	54	54
Engineers	60	60	60	54
Printers	60	60	60	54
Coach/Carriage Builders	60	57	51	-
Chemical Workers	-	-	57	57
Tobacco Manufacturers	57	57	57	57
Coopers	-	60	57	57

Notes ( i ) \*denotes the total for 1886

( ii ) 60 hours was usually made up of 6 x 10 hour days  
i.e. 6 a.m. - 6 p.m.

( iii ) 57 hours was usually made up of 5 x 10 hours days  
and 1 x 7 hour day i.e. 6 a.m. - 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. - 2 p.m.

( iv ) 54 hours was usually made up of 5 x  $9\frac{1}{2}$  hour days and  
1 x  $6\frac{1}{2}$  hour day i.e. 6 a.m. - 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. - 12.30 p.m.

( v ) 51 hours was usually made up of 5 x 9 hour days and  
1 x 6 hour day i.e. 6 a.m. - 5 p.m. and 6 a.m. - 12 noon.

nature of reductions in daily hours of work between 1850 - 80

It was after 1880 before significant numbers of unskilled men gained reductions in working hours. By 1885 masons' labourers, plasterers' labourers and general unskilled building site employees worked a nine hour day and general labourers in the engineering industry a 9½ hour day. Dockworkers gained a nine hour day in 1890.<sup>43</sup>

Several piecemeal developments were responsible for the slow and rather haphazard decrease in time spent at work. The strength of local craft and trade unions was of particular importance. It was strong craft unions who achieved the first significant reductions particularly at times of great prosperity and low unemployment when their bargaining power was relatively strong. At the same time employers began to realise that productivity might increase if hours were shorter, wages higher and the pace of work more intensive. The efforts of humanitarians who were primarily concerned with the welfare of women and children in industry also played their part.<sup>44</sup>

After 1890 most skilled and the majority of unskilled Glaswegians worked between 9 and 9½ hours each day for 5 days a week. Allowing 1½ hours for meals, time spent on rising, travelling to and from work, eating an evening meal, changing from working clothes and 8 hours for sleeping, a couple of hours a day during the week would have remained for time with the family, socialising, education and even sport.<sup>45</sup> More significant was the adoption of the Saturday half-holiday. Skilled tradesmen were first to acquire a Saturday afternoon free from work



during the building boom of the fifties. Slaterers finished work at 2 p.m. from 1852 and masons, carpenters and joiners by 1854. Encouraged by their success, several other trades formed "Half-Holiday Associations". But although shipwrights and coopers won a Saturday half-holiday in 1857, until after 1860 the Saturday half-day remained the preserve of a limited number of skilled workers.<sup>46</sup> In 1860 a Select Committee on Public Institutions commenting on a shorter working Saturday noted,

"It appears that the hours of business are still too late in some cases as to make it difficult for mechanics, artisans, and others, occupied in trade to go to any distance for purpose of recreation or instruction."<sup>47</sup>

During the course of the next ten years however, most local artisans, among them workers in the shipbuilding trades (in 1866), cabinet makers, coach builders, book binders, bakers, printers and tailors had won the right to finish work at 2 p.m. on a Saturday, though sometimes only after prolonged strike action.<sup>48</sup>

As the half-holiday became more common, resistance from employers decreased. They showed a new conciliatory attitude which was enhanced as local industry reached new peaks of prosperity in the seventies. By 1880 most trades enjoyed a 2 p.m. finish every Saturday with some skilled workers finishing at 12.30 p.m. In 1875 all local sawmills, chemical works, brickworks, textile and tobacco factories closed at 2 p.m., while shipwrights, carpenters and skilled iron trade workers finished between 12 noon and 12.30 p.m.<sup>49</sup>

By c. 1890 the notion that a regular part of the week was set aside for freely chosen non-work activity had become firmly established in the minds of Glasgow's skilled and semi-skilled workers.<sup>50</sup>

Time was not the only ingredient necessary for an expansion in leisure activities. Money was also important. From 1870 - 1914, despite the absence of information on unemployment levels, there appears to have been substantial increases in real wage rates for the whole of Glasgow's working population. The largest rises occurred in the 35 year period 1870-1905 when there was a broad advance in money wages and a steady decline in prices. Table 2.4 indicates that the net average increases in weekly earnings in a selection of local trades ranged from as low as 14% for bookbinders to 50% for enginemen working in pottery factories. The average advance was of the order of 30%-40%.<sup>52</sup> Simultaneously prices dropped steadily for virtually all commodities. Between 1871-75 and 1894-98, the average national price of sugar fell by 58%, tea 54%, potatoes 39%, butter 25%, pork 33%, bacon 26% and flour 41%. Local evidence indicates a similar trends. Between 1875-1900 there was a 31% decrease in local prices.

The evidence on which these statistics are based is rather fragmentary and consequently it is difficult to estimate local advances in real incomes. Calculations are further complicated since it is not known how consumer preferences changed in response to wage and price movements. There is also the additional complication of rent charges.

Table 2.4. Increases in net average weekly earnings for a selection of Glasgow occupations, 1866-1911. 51

Trade	Year	Net average weekly earnings	Year	Net average weekly earnings	Percentage increase in net average weekly earnings
<u>Engineering, Boilermaking and Ironfounding</u>	1870	28/-	1911	38/5	27
	1870	29/-	1911	39/4	26
	1870	25/-	1911	35/3	29
	1870	25/-	1911	36/4	31
	1870	26/-	1911	35/10	27
	1870	15/-	1911	19/7	23
<u>Building Trade</u>	1870	27/7½	1900	42/6	35
	1870	27/7½	1900	40/4½	32
	1880	29/9	1900	42/6	30
	1880	29/9	1900	40/4½	26
	1880	17/-	1900	23/4	27
<u>Shipbuilding</u>	1866	28/9	1911	35/3	18
	1866	25/10	1911	36/5	29
	1866	25/9	1911	26/5	29
	1866	30/7	1911	37/-	17
	1866	28/8	1911	35/10	20
	1866	28/4	1911	38/5	26
<u>Pottery Workers</u>	1870	-	1902	-	38
	1870	-	1902	-	50
	1870	-	1902	-	28
<u>Miscellaneous Trades</u>	1870	-	1902	-	27
	1870	-	1902	-	39
	1870	-	1902	-	14
	1870	-	1902	-	

Notes (i) It is not known if the original statistics assume a change in the regularity of employment.

As an item of expenditure rent took between 10% and 14% of a weekly wage in 1870. Thereafter, as rents rose, the proportion possibly increased. In the northern district of Glasgow, for example, the rent for a single apartment was £3.17.6 per annum in 1866 and £6.0.0 per annum in 1901 - an increase of 55%. Even so, most Glaswegians experienced a growth of between 30% and 50% in real income during the 35 years prior to 1905.<sup>53</sup> Except for certain groups of artisans whose skills ensured further substantial wage increases, the rise in prices which occurred in the course of the first decade of the twentieth century probably ended the period of rising real wages for most of Glasgow's workers.<sup>54</sup> Nevertheless, it remains the case that all Glaswegians were very much better off in terms of income per head in 1914 than they had been fifty years earlier. Almost everyone had some margin for expenditure on items other than the absolute essentials of life "and this was a fact of major significance in the evolution of new recreations".<sup>55</sup>

An important factor in the development of urban areas was transportation between and within towns and cities. It was the railway which heralded a new phase in the history of both the local and national economy. Although railway networks were established in response to economic demands they also had important effects on social experiences and in particular on the ways in which people enjoyed their leisure. In the pre-railway era travel was slow, expensive and painful. The age of the train saw journey times shrink, costs reduced and the disappearance

of the serious logistical difficulties involved in travelling long distances.

"The countryside seemed to shrink perceptibly, as the iron rails swiftly formed connections between cities, linking town and country, city and coast, and bringing together the far extremities of the land."<sup>56</sup>

The development of a railway system in the west of Scotland came in three short stages between 1825 and 1850. In the first decade up to 1835 a number of mineral lines were constructed. The provision of passenger services was undertaken in the second stage between 1838-42 when inter-city and town links were established. The Glasgow-Paisley-Kilmarnock-Ayr and the Glasgow-Paisley Joint lines were opened in 1840 and 1841 respectively and the Edinburgh-Glasgow connection began in 1842. The Glasgow-Ayr railway linked Glasgow to the Irish Sea and established a system of steam packet services to Clyde holiday resorts. The Glasgow-Paisley service linked the busy south bank engineering towns while the Edinburgh-Glasgow line established a high speed trunk connection between Scotland's two major cities. The third stage occurred between 1845-50 when the regional network was tied into a growing national system with the construction of several Anglo-Scottish routes.<sup>57</sup>

After 1850 the regional network was gradually filled out with branch lines. A line to Ardrossan was constructed in 1854. Four years later a north bank connection between Glasgow, Dumbarton and Helensburgh was completed. Other lines joined Glasgow to the upper Clyde valley towns of

Strathaven, Lanark, Douglas and Lesmahagow. By 1870 the region was served by a comprehensive web of railways.

Apart from its obvious benefits for the local economy, the construction of the railway network had a considerable influence on the growth of sport.<sup>58</sup> An ever expanding railway network transported a swelling army of sportsmen and their followers to a variety of local and national venues. Players and spectators took advantage of the opportunities which the railway companies offered to passengers travelling in special groups. Supporters were drawn to Glasgow from surrounding towns and villages in increasing numbers on a regular weekly or fortnightly basis to watch sporting contests. At the same time the parochial nature of early sporting events was transformed with the introduction of long distance excursions.<sup>59</sup>

Transport within Glasgow also became increasingly important as the urban area spread. In 1871 the Glasgow Tramway and Omnibus Company opened its first line, connecting St. George's Cross to Eglinton Toll. By 1894 when the Company was taken over by Glasgow Corporation the total length of track built measured 63½ miles. There were 50 horsedrawn trams running in 1873 while during 1894, 305 trams carried 53,729,472 passengers around the city. 1897 marked the start of a change to electrical power using overhead trolley wires and by 1902 all horsedrawn trams had been replaced by trolley buses.<sup>60</sup>

Using limited technical means, street tramways provided the most substantial contribution to Glasgow's

internal transport arrangements. They offered frequent stops and cheap fares on routes which ran to all areas of the city.<sup>61</sup> Between 1871 - 94 the minimum cost of a ride was fixed at 1d.. When the Corporation took over the tracks, ½d. fares were introduced and special services and concessionary rates were offered on popular sporting occasions.

By the turn of the century hours of work had been reduced; real incomes had risen; new transport systems created increased mobility; the quantity and quality of housing had improved; the Corporation had come to terms with the city's major public health problems and attention was shifting to personal health. Despite high increases in population there was general prosperity. A new framework had been created for the emergence of new forms of sport which met the needs of a mass market of urban consumers.

### CHAPTER 3

#### SPORT IN GLASGOW 1850-1914: AN OVERVIEW

It is impossible to provide a total coverage of the sporting activity which existed in Glasgow between 1850 and 1914 and so the following seven sports have been selected for study: swimming, golf, athletics, cricket, rugby, football and cycling. No selection can be entirely objective but an attempt has been made to strike a balance between the extent to which a sport was traditional or modern, indigenous or imported, casual or organised or participant or spectator orientated. The selected sports will be described in terms of the growth in the number of players and spectators, their appeal to particular socio-economic groups and their suitability for men and women. Changes in the number and quality of facilities will also be considered.

#### Swimming

During the first half of the nineteenth century swimming in the River Clyde was a popular activity with local youths. After 1850 however, its popularity receded as good riverbank sites were acquired by industrial companies and there was a considerable increase in river traffic.<sup>1</sup> The once peaceful Clyde became a thronging industrial artery in which swimming was not a particularly attractive prospect particularly since for some new industrial processes the river was an important dumping site



for waste products which caused large scale pollution.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, during the early fifties the Council conducted extensive dredging operations which created variations in the depth of the river and rendered some previously attractive bathing sites unsafe. Twenty years later the removal of a weir made the river faster flowing and tidal at the popular bathing spots near Glasgow Green.<sup>3</sup> Partly in the interests of the safety of its citizens and partly in an attempt to protect public decency from the common practice of naked bathing, the Corporation issued a code of laws in 1872, extended in 1880, to prohibit bathing at places considered to be dangerous. The laws confined swimmers to specific locations and restricted the amount of flesh they could expose. The Glasgow police were instructed to ensure that the laws were strictly enforced.<sup>4</sup> To further discourage river bathing the Corporation removed the spring-boards in 1877 and built a large open air swimming pool in Alexandra Park which proved to be extremely popular during the summer months.<sup>5</sup>

Running parallel with a decline in open air bathing was the emergence of an interest in indoor aquatic activities. Generally however, the decline of the former was not an impetus for the rise of the latter. The building of indoor swimming pools was due to a municipal and national concern for improvements in public health and a middle class desire for exclusive well provisioned swimming facilities. In the period 1870-1902 five private and ten public baths were built in Glasgow.

Arlington Baths Club was the first of five private clubs which were established during a fifteen year period between 1870 - 84. It was followed by the Western Baths Club which opened in 1875, the Victoria Baths Club (1878) and the Pollokshields and Dennistoun Baths Clubs (1883 and 1884 respectively).<sup>6</sup> The majority of club members belonged to Glasgow's manufacturing, professional and commercial elite.

A number of factors were responsible for the growth of private baths clubs. Frequent trips to fashionable west coast seaside resorts by the middle classes during the middle decades of the century created a growing interest in swimming. But the existing commercial baths built in the fifties and sixties and the earliest Corporation baths proved inadequate for the needs of Glasgow's middle classes.<sup>7</sup> The water was often dirty.<sup>8</sup> Mats and footboards in the changing rooms were unwashed and dirty spittoons caused much concern. During warm summer days the pools were overcrowded and there were long waits to use the inadequate changing accommodation. Some working men swam naked in the baths and this was also anathema to middle class patrons.<sup>9</sup> Graph 3.1 illustrates the popularity of the private baths clubs. Apart from several lean years in the late eighties and at the turn of the century, which coincided with the opening of several local public baths, the private baths clubs flourished, meeting the sporting and social needs of a wealthy middle class minority. After 1878 with the construction of a number of excellent public baths,

Graph 3.1. Male members of Arlington Baths Club, 1878-1910.<sup>10</sup>

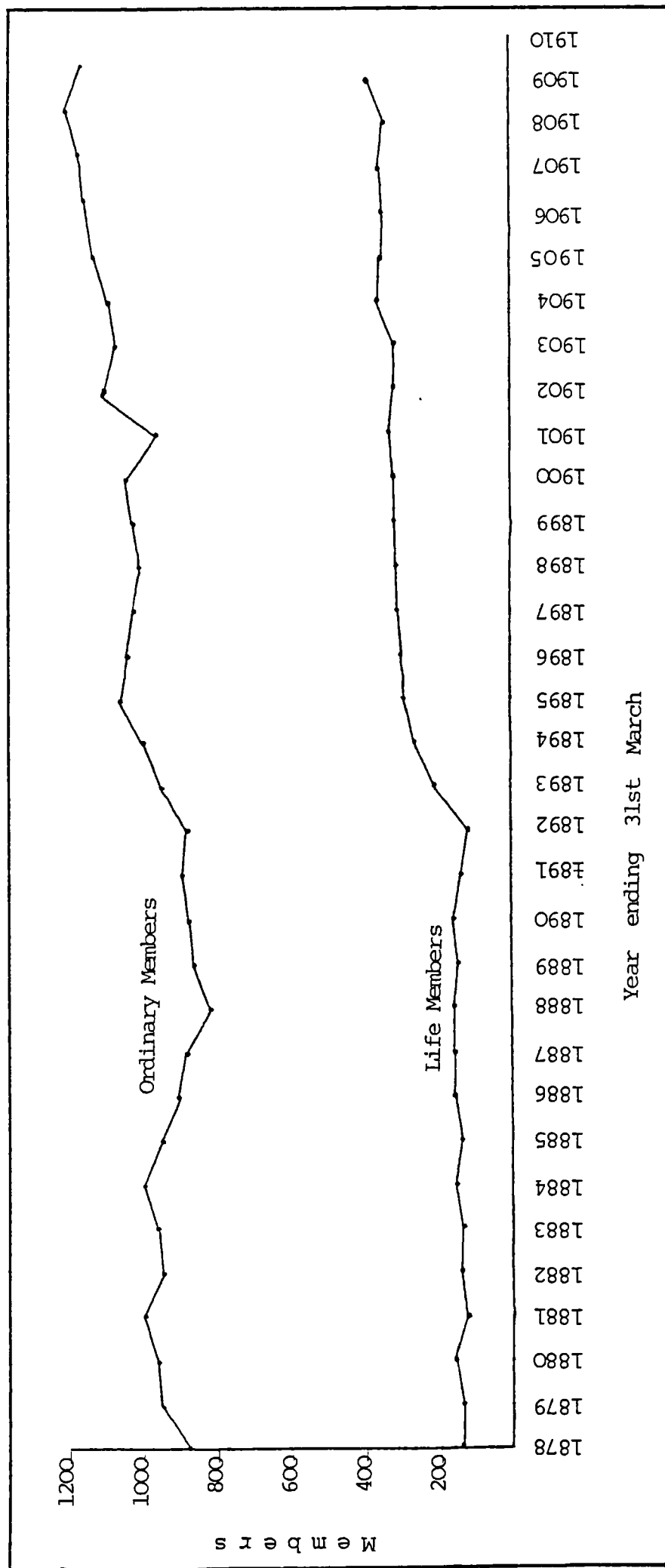


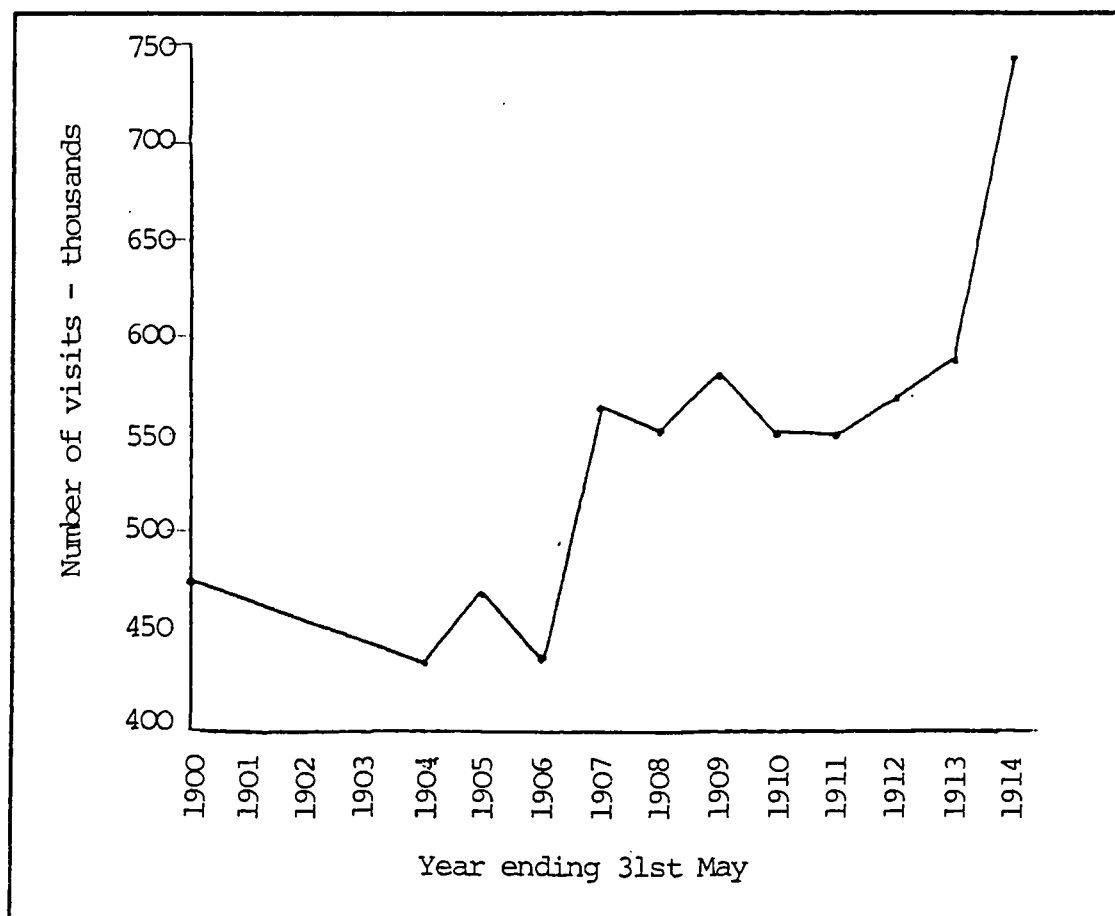
Table 3.1. Swimming facilities at Glasgow's public baths, 1878-1914.<sup>11</sup>

Bath	Date Founded	Large Pool				Small Pool			
		Length	Width	Deep End	Shallow End	Length	Width	Deep End	Shallow End
Greenhead	1878	75'	35'	6'	3'	35'	25'	5'	2' 8"
Woodside	1882	75'	40'	6' 10"	3' 6"	40'	24'	5' 4"	2' 10"
Cranston Hill	1883	78' 6"	42' 6"	6' 4"	3' 8"	52'	28'	5' 6"	3' 4"
Townhead	1884	75'	40'	6' 10"	3' 6"	44'	28'	5' 8"	3' 6"
Gorbals	1885	75'	39'	7'	4'	38'	21'	5' 6"	3'
Maryhill	1898	75'	35'	-	-		N O N E		
Springburn	1898	75'	35'	-	-		N O N E		
Govanhill	1901	75'	35'	-	-	75'	35'		
Whitevale	1902	75'	40'	-	-	50'	25'		
Kinning Park	1902	75'	37' 6"	-	-		N O N E		

swimming became increasingly popular with all social classes.

By 1910 ten public baths had been established. (Table 3.1). They enabled more and more Glaswegians to enjoy swimming. In 1900 male Glaswegians made over 475,000 visits to the local public baths while by 1914 the figure had risen to nearly 750,000. (Graph 3.2)

Graph 3.2.     Number of visits made by men to Glasgow's public swimming pools, 1900-14.<sup>12</sup>



Notes (i) No figures available for 1901-03.

(ii) In the spring of 1904 two baths were closed due to plant breakdowns.

While swimming was much more popular among men than women, the increase in the number of female bathers was even more startling. Approximately 30,000 visits were made by women to the public baths in 1900, 40,000 in 1910 and over 100,000 in 1914. (Graph 3.3).

Before the establishment of indoor pools, competitive aquatics had little opportunity to develop and expand. Although there were swimming races during the summer months on the River Clyde, they were few in number and rather unorganised.

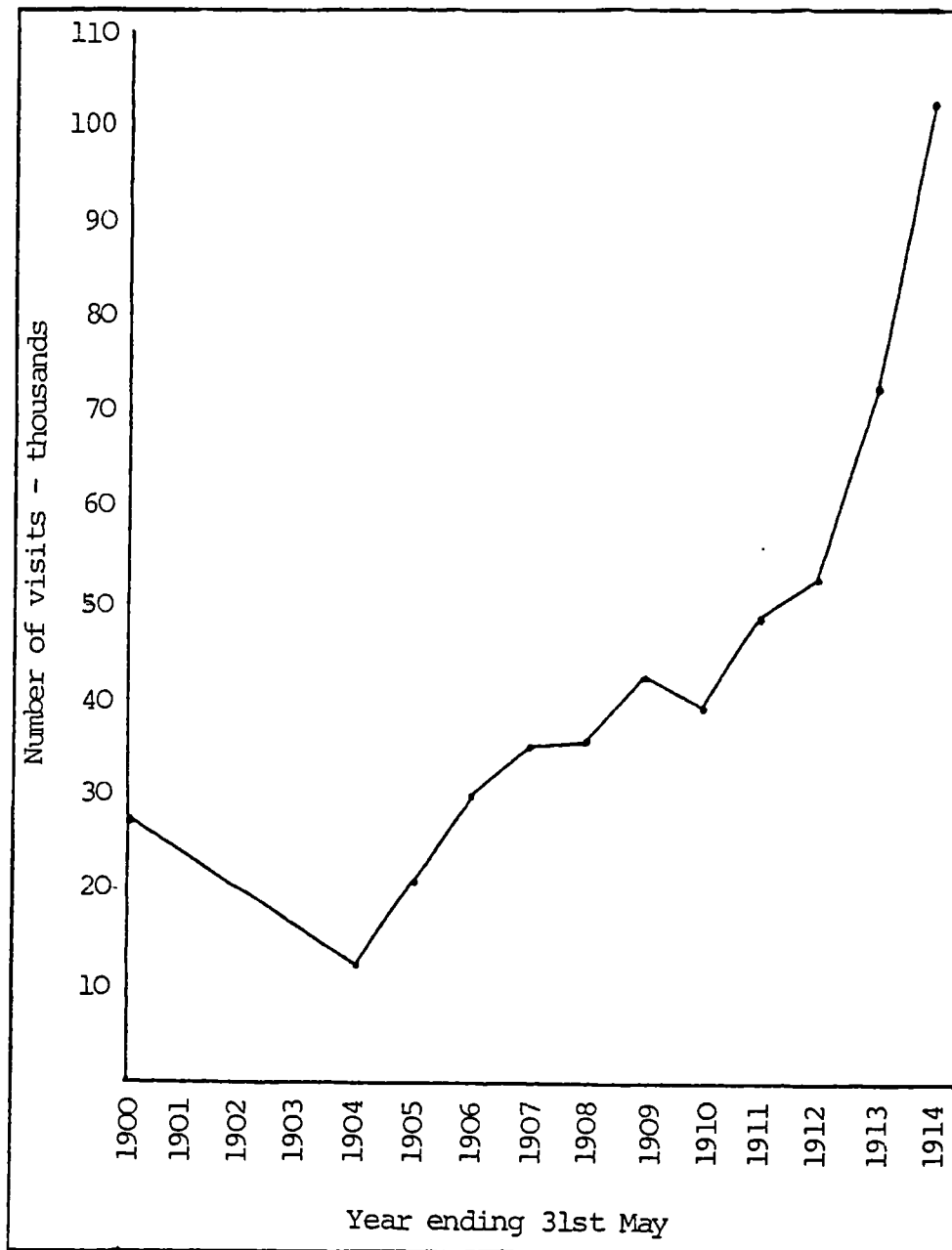
The initial impetus for the growth of competitive swimming was provided by the private baths clubs. They all offered swimming lessons to members. Once there was a sufficient nucleus of swimmers, intra-club competitions were arranged to sustain interest. These ranged from contests in graceful swimming and speed events over a variety of distances to demonstrations of stroke technique by resident instructors.

After 1890 more and more Glaswegians became interested in watching and participating in competitive swimming. At a participatory level,

"Swimmers have again, in racing parlance, "got into their stride", after the holidays, and are doing good work. In Glasgow, almost every week-night is taken up with club races. Some times no less than three clubs have fixtures on the same night."<sup>14</sup>

Swimming was popular because it was financially and geographically accessible to a large section of the population.<sup>15</sup> Galas consisted of a variety of events which encouraged

Graph 3.3.     Number of visits made by women to Glasgow's public swimming pools, 1900-14.<sup>13</sup>



- Notes    ( i )    No figures available for 1901-03.  
             (ii)    In the spring of 1904 two baths were closed due to plant breakdowns.

swimmers of all ages and abilities to take part. Local sporting newspapers enhanced participation by publishing detailed regular reports of activities.<sup>16</sup> They also provided a mouthpiece for a number of local writers to preach the benefits of swimming to personal health, safety and physical well-being. Several books on swimming written by a local instructor, William Wilson, voiced similar opinions.<sup>17</sup>

As a sporting spectacle, the Scottish Umpire noted in 1885,

"That swimming entertainments are popular in Glasgow was amply testified by the competition held in Gorbals Baths, Main Street, on Monday night, promoted by the South-Side Amateur Club ... The spacious building was literally crammed from floor to ceiling."<sup>18</sup>

Cheap fees and warm comfortable accommodation encouraged spectators. Since swimming events took place on weekday evenings there was no competition from athletics, cycling or football. The very nature of the races and novel displays encouraged spectator interest. There was also a large amount of local support for individual competitors since neighbours, families and friends often competed in events.

Most of the increasing amount of swimming activity was centred around new voluntarily organised swimming clubs which grew rapidly after 1878.

By 1900 over 45 clubs used local public baths and by 1914 the total had reached 109.<sup>19</sup> These clubs had little difficulty in attracting swimmers most of whom, to judge



from the level of membership fees and methods of raising funds, were lower middle and respectable working class men and women. In 1888 the West of Scotland Swimming Club had 135 active members and the Queen's Park Swimming Club 181. Four years later another famous local club, the Northern Swimming Club had 186 members, a rise of over 50 on the previous year's total, while in 1907 the Western Swimming Club reported a membership of 134 - fourteen up on the 1906 figure.<sup>20</sup>

The clubs which used the public baths adopted and expanded the competitive practices which had originated in the private baths clubs. They taught members to swim and provided additional coaching for more skilled swimmers. They also introduced a range of intra-club scratch and handicap competitions and occasional open events.<sup>21</sup> For all clubs the major event of the season was the annual club gala where a selection of confined events guaranteed a healthy entry from swimmers of all ages and abilities. Galas were also used to raise money to sustain club funds and programmes often included an open event, to which champion swimmers were invited, a water polo game and a display or novelty item. After c. 1885 spectators were treated to well organised club galas during every week of the season. In 1907 for example, 24 annual galas took place in Glasgow's public baths, attracting the regular support which ensured that local clubs remained financially stable.<sup>22</sup>

Water polo, which originated in Scotland, was as

popular as competitive swimming. It was first played at the annual gala of the Bon Accord Swimming Club held on the River Dee near Aberdeen in 1877. The game was created by William Wilson, the manager of Glasgow's Victoria B.C. and prominent local swimming teacher, as a form of 'aquatic football'. It was specifically designed for the Bon Accord Gala to relieve spectators from the monotony of watching a very full programme of competitive swimming. It was first played in Glasgow later in the same year at the opening of the Victoria B.C.<sup>23</sup> By the end of the seventies water polo was used as a novelty item at many club galas and during the eighties it developed into a major aquatic sport. Glasgow was the focus for its development. Clubs introduced the game at practice evenings to supplement long sessions of coaching and training. As swimmers improved their technical skills and familiarised themselves with the rules, intra-club contests were arranged. By 1881 several local clubs had organised inter-club fixtures. Swimmers enjoyed water polo because it both provided a pleasant diversion from competitive training and improved their racing speed and stamina. Like football it was also fast skilfull and exciting, was easily learned and required little equipment. It was also popular with spectators. A swimming pool provided a warm comfortable environment in which spectators could watch games which were easy to understand and provided lots of excitement.

In 1886 an inter-club knock out competition and an intra-city representative fixture were introduced. In 1889

an inter-city representative contest with Dundee was inaugurated and twelve months later the first annual Anglo-Scottish International was played. By 1889 the cup competition,

"was engaged in by nearly all the Glasgow clubs, and during the series of matches the interest and popularity of the game has increased in public favour."<sup>24</sup>

Representative fixtures not only improved playing standards but also allowed spectators to watch the country's leading players.<sup>25</sup> Although the first international fixture took place in London it received a lot of attention in local swimming circles particularly since six of the seven Scottish players belonged to clubs in Glasgow. Scottish Sport gave twenty column inches to a report of a widely celebrated Scottish/Glaswegian victory. To defeat the 'auld enemy' at any sport was guaranteed to cause a wave of patriotism and a resounding victory gave an enormous local fillip to water polo.<sup>26</sup> In many clubs by the turn of the century a separate night was given over to water polo. In 1906 a district water polo league containing six clubs was created to meet growing demands for regular quality fixtures. Three years later it had grown to sixteen clubs in two divisions and by 1912 21 clubs were involved. At the same time new representative fixtures were inaugurated including a contest between Glasgow's public and private baths clubs and a regional contest between the North and South of Scotland.

By the end of the century thanks to the efforts of

William Wilson, Glasgow, with its fine network of cheap public baths and large number of talented swimmers, was the leading centre in Britain for the development of life saving. In 1876 Wilson, who adopted a variety of methods to promote his ideas - books, articles, lectures, demonstrations and competitions - had invented a series of life saving skills which were set out in detail in his first book, 'Swimming, Diving and How to Save Life'.<sup>27</sup> At the Arlington Ladies Swimming Club Annual Gala in 1884 he staged a display of rescue and resuscitation drills and in the spring of 1890 arranged a course of twelve lessons for local swimmers who were interested in teaching life saving at club practice nights. In 1891 his teaching drills were published in the North British Daily Mail.<sup>28</sup> He also inaugurated open proficiency contests at a number of South Side Swimming Club galas where prizes were awarded to the most able life savers. In 1892 South Side S.C. entered the first national competition for the Swimmers' Life Saving Society's (S.L.S.S.) Challenge Shield. A similar competition confined to clubs in Glasgow was introduced by Wilson in the same year.<sup>29</sup> By the turn of the century life saving was widely practised by local clubs. When the Scottish Branch of the S.L.S.S. was formed in 1907 it was dominated by clubs from Glasgow.

### Golf

Golf was played along the east coast of Scotland throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. The

main centres were St. Andrews, Perth, Musselburgh, North Berwick, Edinburgh and Aberdeen where a preponderance of broad coastal plateaus with sandy soils and short grass provided excellent natural courses. After 1848, when a new rubber ball was introduced which completely revolutionised the game, additional clubs were formed in the east at Fife, Carnoustie, Gullane and Alnmouth.<sup>30</sup> In contrast, because of a dearth of suitable coastal sites, there were comparatively few clubs in the west of Scotland before the middle of the nineteenth century. In Glasgow, partly because of a lack of facilities and partly because of the negative attitude taken by Glasgow Town Council to all forms of games playing, there was no golfing activity at all before 1870.<sup>31</sup> Local golfers who wished to enjoy a round were forced to join one of the two Prestwick clubs (Prestwick Golf Club and St. Nichola's Golf Club)<sup>32</sup>. In 1870 however, the inconvenience of travelling to Prestwick persuaded some Glasgow residents to re-establish the Glasgow G. C. which had been defunct since the early 1830s. Like its predecessor it was a rather elitist institution. The founder members were professional and businessmen who had both time and money to play golf.<sup>33</sup> They were given permission by the Town Council to lay out a golf course on Queen's Park provided that they maintained the greens and allowed free access to casual users.

Throughout the period 1871-1914 Glasgow G.C. remained the principal and most exclusive club in the city. From 1871-75 membership increased by over 100% from 41 to 94.

In the next ten years totals increased so rapidly that in 1888 the club was forced to limit membership to 350 due to overcrowding and damage to the greens caused by over use.<sup>34</sup> With the acquisition of new facilities the ceiling was raised and by 1909 the club had over 700 members. (Table 3.2). It was also by far the most expensive golf club in Glasgow. (Table 3.3). In 1892 it cost five guineas to play at Glasgow G.C. compared to three guineas at the next most expensive, Cathkin Braes Golf Club. By 1907 Glasgow G.C. had raised its prices to twelve guineas while Eastwood Golf Club, the second most expensive, charged £6.15.0.

Because of demands from an ever increasing membership and the uncontrollable use of the greens by the general public, Glasgow G.C. acquired a number of new courses between 1874 and 1910: Alexandra Park in 1874, which replaced the Queen's Park course: The Gailes at Irving, in 1892, with its advantage of distance from Glasgow's casual golfing fraternity: then, in 1895, the club left Alexandra Park and moved to a new base at Blackhill: nine years later it took out a twenty year lease on a private plot of land on the right bank of the River Kelvin one mile north of Maryhill on which the Killermont course was established. This last move was a noteworthy success. Members could enjoy playing a quiet round of golf on a big course with well kept greens, interesting hazards and holes, all of which was set in magnificent rural surroundings. "In the present home on the old estate at Killermont ... the Glasgow players have a beautiful and interesting course."<sup>37</sup>

Table 3.2. Annual percentage increase/decrease in membership totals for a selection of golf clubs in Glasgow, 1871-1909.<sup>35</sup>

Club	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909
Alexandra Park																											
Balmore																	0	20	-8	69			36	17	14	0	
Bearsden																	-31		-4	27		0	0		100	0	
Bishopbriggs																						29			75	14	25
Bredisholm																									30		
Cambuslang																	-21		18	0	25	56			-17	0	
Canniesburn																			-25	95	16	-10	4	4	0	0	
Cathcart Castle																							0	0	25	0	0
Cathcart Castle Ladies																									5	6	9
Cathkin Braes								27	6	-6											67	39	5	0	16	6	
Cowglen																											85
Douglas Park																			11	0	35						
Eastwood - later Pollok																			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Glasgow	-9	7	35	74	272		11	21	6	38	-1	-2	-3	-8	-7		-2	7	0	4	1	13	2	2	2	0	0
Glasgow North Western																	-1	82	49	10	-32		13	11	-1	1	-10
Glasgow North Western Ladies																						185	0	2	7		
Glasgow University							9				0						20	67	-20	25							
Kelvinside												66	-20									230	6	0	0	0	0
Ralston												1	-14	8			34	0								15	0
St. Mungo's													-36	0	0		0	-37	80							39	
Toryglen																									-11	-6	
Whitcraigs																											
Williamwood																											-35

Note (i) No figures available for 1876-87

Table 3.3. Annual subscription and entry fees to a selection of  
golf clubs in Glasgow, 1888-1907.<sup>36</sup>

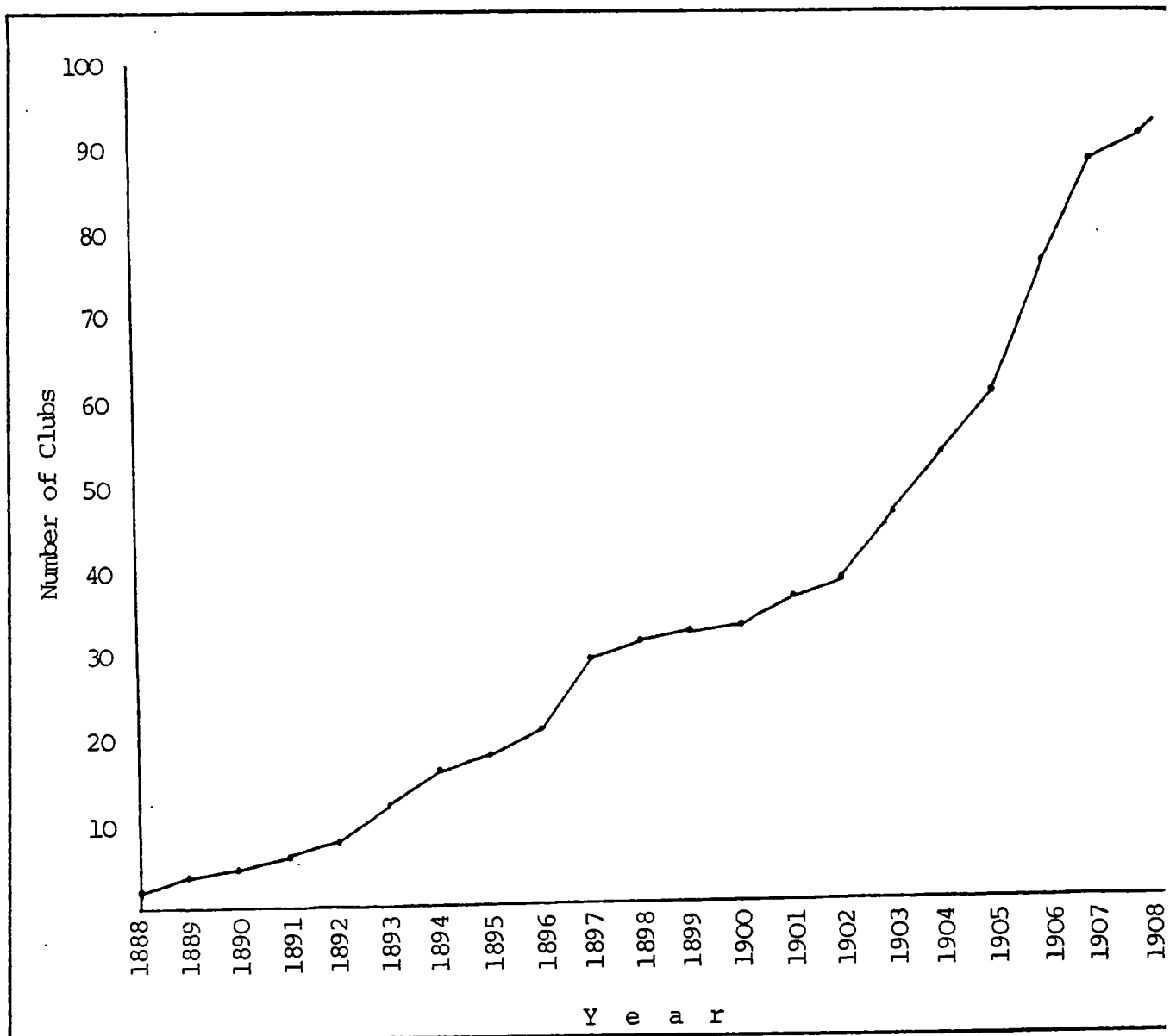
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During the nineties golf began to move out of its socially exclusive and restricted straight jacket. The development of Glasgow G.C. attracted considerable attention to the game from all sections of Glasgow society. Golf possessed attractive qualities which were lacking in sports such as swimming, athletics, football and tennis. It could be played by everyone without regard for age or physical condition. Its various skills could be learned at any stage in a person's life-cycle and performance could improve throughout life with no decline due to physical degeneration.<sup>38</sup> Unlike a number of team games, golfing progress was easily assessed. It was also one of a small number of nineteenth century games which could be played together by both sexes. Unlike the uniformity of a football pitch or a bowling green, each golf course had its own character, scenery and flavour. The diversity of greens and holes brought an attractive unpredictability to the play. As it could be played throughout the year it also provided a regular outlet for moderate physical exercise.<sup>39</sup>

From 1884 - 1914 there was a continuous expansion in the number of new clubs. (Graph 3.4). From 1889-94 at least nine newly established clubs purchased land on which new courses were laid. Most of these were sited in suburban areas where there was ample land insufficiently fertile for agricultural use. Bearsden Golf Club, Cathkin Braes G.C. and Cambuslang Golf Club were typical of these suburban clubs, all of which enjoyed regular increases in their membership totals.<sup>41</sup> (Table 3.2). Although the

Graph 3.4.     Cumulative total of new golf clubs in Glasgow,  
1888-1908<sup>40</sup>



suburban clubs copied the organisational characteristics of Glasgow G.C., they were less exclusive. Entry fees and annual subscriptions were relatively cheap. (Table 3.3). In 1900 it cost two guineas to play at Cathcart Castle Golf Club, Toryglen Golf Club, Bearsden G.C. and Douglas Park

Golf Club compared with £5.10.0 at Glasgow G.C.. In 1906 Cathcart Castle G.C. and Douglas Park G.C. had raised their prices to four guineas and £3.8.0 respectively while membership costs at Toryglen G.C. and Bearsden G.C. remained unchanged. At Glasgow G.C. however, fees had risen to twelve guineas. As a result of lower fees and subscriptions, the new suburban clubs attracted a wider cross section of members - but costs were high enough to prohibit potential working class subscribers.

However, the suburban clubs formed only a small percentage of the 97 new clubs which were established in Glasgow between 1888 and 1910. The majority of these new clubs were aimed, not at the middle class section of Glaswegian society, but at the respectable members of the working classes. Their formation and development was integrally dependent upon the provision of cheap accessible public golf courses by the local authority. Although the clubs used public facilities they were private organisations. They were organised around specific existing religious, sporting, educational, political, professional, trade or industrial groups and membership was restricted to members of these groups.<sup>42</sup> Unlike the earlier middle class clubs, golf was not their raison d'être: they were concerned with being convenient points of contact for members of both sexes to reinforce friendship ties which had been formed at work, church, school, etc.

### Cricket

Cricket was one of the first organised sports to interest Glaswegians and by 1850 was already popular with a wide range of social groups. In the summer of 1848 over a dozen cricket clubs played on Glasgow Green. Some were formed by middle class men but "a fair proportion ... were clubs of young mechanics and working men."<sup>43</sup> Much of this early popularity simply reflected the fact that apart from golf it was the only game which had a written code of rules.<sup>44</sup> In any case the early artisan clubs were will-o'-the-wisp affairs. Lacking the resources to secure permanent grounds they invariably disbanded as quickly as they had been formed. The acquisition of a permanent base was an absolute necessity for long term club development. Because considerable capital was required to buy or rent a ground it was men with large amounts of spare time and money who established the first two clubs in Glasgow which had permanent grounds: Clydesdale Cricket Club which secured a private playing area in 1848: Caledonian Cricket Club which obtained a ground at Queen's Crescent in 1854.<sup>45</sup> Their members were drawn from the city's professional, business and manufacturing elites<sup>46</sup> who had not only the capital but also the organisational and commercial acumen necessary to rent or buy suitable property and run successful efficiently organised clubs - qualities which the early artisan clubs lacked.<sup>47</sup>

From 1850-80 cricket made steady progress. New clubs were formed, the membership of existing clubs

increased and the quality of play improved. In 1852 there were fourteen cricket clubs in the city: ten years later, thirty. In the three seasons 1870-72 the total membership of a long established club like West of Scotland Cricket Club was 252. In seasons 1881-83 it had increased to 489.<sup>48</sup> In 1870 Caledonian C.C. had "a large attendance of members, and a considerable increase was made to their members, which testifies to the healthy condition of the club."<sup>49</sup>

Before 1850 club activities were confined to matches amongst members. As more teams were formed fixtures were arranged between clubs within the city though there was little stress on competition and winning as individual players often belonged to a variety of teams.<sup>50</sup> By 1870 however, improvements in transport permitted Glasgow's cricket clubs to go further afield for their fixtures. Many of Scotland's leading teams, based in Edinburgh, were brought within easy travelling distance of Glasgow by rail.<sup>51</sup> The fixture lists of local clubs expanded both in quality and quantity. In 1850 Clydesdale C.C. played four games against Barrhead, Stirling, the 13th Dragoons and the 21st Fusiliers Cricket Clubs. By 1874 the list had expanded to fifteen games, including fixtures against Greenock, Dumfries, Caledonian, Western, The Royal High School, Aberdeen and East Stirlingshire Cricket Clubs.<sup>52</sup>

Widening fixture lists together with visits from English touring teams, the establishment of representative

fixtures and encouragement from local private schools were largely responsible for increases in participatory levels and improvements in the quality of play. The first English visitors were eleven members of William Clarke's All England XI who played against 22 men from Clydesdale C.C. at Kinning Park in 1851.<sup>53</sup> A second fixture was arranged in 1852 and during the next 25 years the All England XI and its successors were regular visitors to Glasgow.<sup>54</sup> In 1872 the celebrated W G Grace, the greatest Victorian sporting hero, visited the city as a member of a United South of England XI which played against 22 of Glasgow at Holyrood Park in a three day game arranged by the Caledonian C.C.. Such distinguished English visitors played an important role in generating local enthusiasm for the game and spreading the gospel of the straight bat, length bowling and keen fielding.

During the third quarter of the century cricket was actively promoted by Scotland's private day and boarding schools as a medium for the development of certain desirable values such as honesty, fair play and team spirit. In 1853 Edinburgh Academy became the first Scottish school to play cricket. In the west of Scotland, Glasgow Academy was the first private day school to play the game, when in 1866, in cooperation with the former pupils' club, it leased playing fields and allowed pupils to play cricket after school in the summer term. Later other local private schools such as Allan Glens' School Hutchesons' Grammar School, Kelvinside Academy and Glasgow

High School also encouraged cricket. In 1884 Kelvinside Academy acquired new fields in front of the school.

"In the summer term cricket was played in the field nearly every evening, and most fellows attended regularly."<sup>55</sup>

Although Glasgow High School was unable to obtain a private pitch it made use of several club grounds including Titwood and Hamilton Crescent. Excellent facilities were complemented by good coaching. In 1886 Glasgow Academicals' Cricket Club appointed a professional to help with both school and club coaching. The other private schools quickly adopted the idea.

The local private schools produced a regular supply of good quality cricketers. Some joined former pupil clubs but others played for well established XIs such as Clydesdale C.C., West of Scotland C.C. and Caledonian C.C. Many of the West of Scotland C.C. players were former pupils from Glasgow Academy while Glasgow High School pupils often played for Clydesdale C.C.<sup>56</sup>

Inter-city representative fixtures and occasional international games began in the seventies. The first inter-city game was played in 1872 between XIs from Glasgow and Edinburgh. Six years later the first colonial touring side to visit Glasgow, an Australian XI, played against XII from West of Scotland C.C. The team returned in 1880 and 1882. Such prestigious fixtures consolidated participatory levels and playing standards.

By 1880 cricket was a well established sport in Glasgow. It was not however, as popular as swimming or

football principally because the number of new clubs was restricted by a distinct lack of suitable cheap playing areas. Usually it was only those clubs with wealthy members which could afford to obtain permanent grounds though in the early sixties this problem was partially overcome by the generosity of some of the region's principal landowners who offered permanent grounds free of charge to several cricket clubs. Generally however, demand for grounds exceeded supply. Participation was also limited because few working class Glaswegians had the opportunity to play.<sup>57</sup> They found it difficult to gain access to Glasgow's well established middle class clubs as the procedure for joining was burdensome and even if this bureaucratic hurdle was overcome, the cost of membership was prohibitive. In addition, working class children did not play cricket at school. In the local schools military drill was the only form of physical activity until the turn of the century.<sup>58</sup>

In the 35 years after 1880 cricket in Glasgow declined in popularity among the city's middle classes. A significant number of middle class Glaswegians abandoned the game. Some clubs broke up altogether and others experienced acute financial problems. In the three seasons 1881-83 West of Scotland C.C. had a roll of 489 members. During seasons 1900-02 this had been reduced by 44% to 273.<sup>59</sup> To some extent this reflected the nature of the game. Middle class cricketers were increasingly attracted to golf, tennis and football because at least in



these three sports they were guaranteed some part in the game. In cricket, players often never received a bat but spent all day in the field or in the pavilion. If a player was not among a team's leading batsmen,

"it is quite likely he may go on playing cricket Saturday after Saturday all through the season and never "getting a knock" at all. Three or four of the best bats of the side stay in most of the afternoon ... Is there any reason to wonder that good men and true take to golf?"<sup>60</sup>

In 1883 some members of Clydesdale C.C. decided to play tennis on a Saturday afternoon rather than turn out for the cricket team. Others preferred football. By 1890 the football season extended into May and began again in August. There was no respite in June and July since 5-a-side competitions bridged the gap.<sup>61</sup>

As membership fees provided a major source of income the decline in membership caused considerable financial problems. In 1897 West of Scotland C.C. made a loss of £100: four years later £115. Only the organisational and business skills of its members saved the club from extinction. In 1898 a fancy dress ball made a profit of £426.13.3 and a bazaar raised £196.7.8. A second bazaar raised £5,600 and by 1910 the club was in a reasonably sound financial condition.<sup>62</sup> Other clubs with heavy financial commitments for ground rents or loans were not so fortunate. In an expanding urban conurbation the job of holding onto good quality grass areas was a constant problem for clubs.

"In Glasgow there are certainly not nearly

so many clubs as there were a dozen years ago, but this is, almost, if not altogether, on account of the rapid extension of the city and the difficulties met with by clubs in securing grounds."<sup>63</sup>

In 1877 Caledonian C.C. was unable to pay for its ground at Kelvin Bridge. It was sold for £1,000 to Glasgow Academy as a site for new school buildings. Five years later Western Cricket Club had to abandon its ground.<sup>64</sup>

In contrast, the period after 1880 witnessed a distinct expansion in the number of new local 'junior' cricket clubs formed by groups of lower middle and working class men. In 1888 some of these clubs established the Glasgow Cricket Association and introduced a knock-out cup competition. Later other clubs formed similar associations and by the turn of the century there were numerous league and cup competitions such as the Western District Cricket Combination (W.D.C.C.) and the Glasgow and District Junior Cricket League. (G.D.J.C.L.).<sup>65</sup>

"In every district in Scotland, junior clubs are springing into existence, and banding themselves together with the assistance of League and other similar competitions and should become a useful lot."<sup>66</sup>

From c. 1900 improvements in the availability and quality of playing facilities and the introduction of cricket into the local board schools were the principal reasons for the working class interest.<sup>67</sup>

In the period up to 1870 Glasgow's leading cricket clubs were orientated and organised to meet the needs of their playing clientele and there was almost no attempt to

attract spectators. Clubs relied on subscriptions and donations to meet their expenses. By 1880 however, running and maintaining a cricket club had become very expensive mainly due to the geographical expansion of fixtures, ground improvements and the appointment of professionals.<sup>68</sup> To maintain their standards clubs sought to attract spectators. They met with some initial success particularly from fixtures with touring sides but in the long term the results were very disappointing.<sup>69</sup>

Several factors accounted for the lack of spectator support. The very nature of the game inhibited popular appeal. Cricket was a slow game. Progress was drawn out and there were many draws. The declaration laws forced some teams to spend whole matches in the field.<sup>70</sup> Unlike football, cricket was not a simple game to understand. In 1885 it possessed 53 separate laws. It was not a particularly competitive sport. The premium was not upon winning and so it held little attraction for Glasgow's working classes whose overwhelming competitive thirst was quenched by cup and league football competitions. In broad terms the team cooperation involved in football as opposed to the individual excellence favoured by cricket squared more with a working class ethos.<sup>71</sup> The unpredictable nature of the weather and the Glasgow Fair also restricted spectator support.

"Snow balls and cricket balls do not go hand in hand as a rule in this country yet that was what cricketers were hailed with on Saturday."<sup>72</sup>

During the Glasgow Fair holiday a large section of the population left the city and local clubs had little hope of drawing good crowds. It also disrupted the regularity of support. "Cricket in the West always seems to fall into a lethargic state after the "Fair" holidays."<sup>73</sup>

The national governing body, the Scottish Cricket Union (S.C.U.) which was controlled by former pupils from Edinburgh's private schools made no attempt to encourage widespread spectator support in Glasgow. At the same time competition from other summer sports such as cycling, athletics, golf and 5-a-side football ensured that widespread regular spectator support for cricket was severely restricted.<sup>74</sup>

### Football

Glasgow was the principal Scottish centre for the introduction and development of modern football. The game was introduced into the city in the late 1860s by church officials. The first players were boys from a local Young Men's Christian Association (Y.M.C.A.) who used the Queen's Park for games. The initiative to form Glasgow's first organised club was taken by a small group of young businessmen. Most of them came to settle in the city from the north east of Scotland and they played a few informal games in the Queen's Park against boys from the Y.M.C.A.<sup>75</sup> They instituted Queen's Park Football Club in 1867 to provide themselves with more regular opportunities to play.<sup>76</sup> As there were no other locally organised groups of

footballers, members, often as many as eighty, turned up on Saturday afternoons arranging matches between themselves. There were no rules. Boundaries were non-existent, piles of clothes indicated the goals and the sky was the cross bar. So long as the ball passed between a stipulated area, however high it was, a goal was awarded. The game still had touches of rugby as the hands could be used for fisting but not for carrying the ball.

In 1870, in order to play some inter-club games, Queen ' s Park F.C. joined the Football Association (F.A.) in England and adopted its rules en bloc. Membership of the F.A. provided the club with opportunities to play against English teams and at the same time also stimulated local club growth. At least 26 clubs had been established by 1875. Twelve months later the total stood at 35.<sup>77</sup> The majority of their players were lower middle class white collar office workers and skilled working men such as engineers and builders. Rangers Football Club formed in 1872 was typical of a number of clubs which emerged in Glasgow in the early seventies.<sup>78</sup>

During football's incipient development teams played on public open spaces such as parts of the Queen's Park Recreation Ground, Alexandra Park or Glasgow Green because they had insufficient capital to lease or buy suitable areas. However, if clubs wished to become established as their rugby and cricket contemporaries had done, it was essential to acquire private premises. Queen's Park F.C. was the first club to do so. During

1873 it arranged with Glasgow Corporation to rent at £20 per annum a piece of ground in Cathcart Road, on condition that it kept the fences in good order and did not sub-let the property.<sup>79</sup> Other clubs followed its example. In 1875 Rangers F.C. secured a private pitch at Burnbank. There were, however, many clubs which lacked the capital to buy or lease their own grounds and which, in the absence of suitable public areas, were forced to disband.

To meet ground payments and running costs, clubs introduced charges for spectators. Queen's Park F.C. started the trend in 1873 when it took £34.10.1 in gate money during the first season at Hampden Park. In the seventies ever increasing numbers of Glaswegians, particularly lower middle and working class men, started to watch football and by 1885 crowds of 10,000 were common at the season's principal fixtures.<sup>80</sup> During the eighties Glasgow also saw the emergence of the 'football fan' - the fanatical spectator who,

"All weekend analyses the game he's just seen; on Tuesday and Wednesday he is still arguing that the referee was really to blame for the defeat; on Thursday and Friday he is declaring that his club really should have made changes; then all is forgotten, all forgiven as he cheers his team on the field again on Saturday."<sup>81</sup>

Much of this widespread interest in watching football in the twenty years after 1873 was due to the establishment of numerous international and inter-city fixtures and cup competitions which were all dominated by clubs from Glasgow.<sup>82</sup>

Queen's Park F.C. arranged the first Anglo-Scottish International in 1872 but in 1874 the Scottish Football Association (S.F.A.) took control of the fixture. In the spring of 1874 it arranged a series of trial games of 'Probables' versus 'Improbables' at several venues in Glasgow before the third international match was played at Hamilton Crescent, the home of West of Scotland C.C. A week later a Glasgow v. Sheffield inter-city contest which was arranged by the S.F.A. and Sheffield Football Association was played at Bramhall Lane Sheffield. All three types of fixture generated widespread local interest in watching football. The Glasgow Herald confirmed the significance of the international when it noted that, "These matches have assumed an importance more rapidly than the organisers could have hoped for."<sup>83</sup> Glaswegians were offered the opportunity of watching football of the highest possible standard. Moreover, constant formal and informal talk of team selection and possible scores and scorers kept the sport alive long before and after the matches had been played.

The Scottish Cup competition also fortified local interest. The tournament's structure abolished freedom of preference in selecting fixtures. It gave new clubs the opportunity to compete against Glasgow's premier clubs - Queen's Park F.C., Clydesdale Football Club and Third Lanark Football Club. Two of the city's largest industrial concerns, the John Elder and Lancefield Companies entered teams in the Scottish Cup in the late

seventies. Their fortunes were keenly followed by a variety of factory employees. Similarly, teams such as Blytheswood, Govan, West End, Partick and Dumbreck Football Clubs generated local district followings. Games created intense inter-group rivalry and brought excitement and spectacle into the routine life of congested industrial Glasgow.

As spectator interest increased, the weekly takings of the leading clubs soared to figures undreamt of when the first club secretaries thought of collecting pennies at the gates as a few score of spectators filed in. Expanding gate receipts had significant effects on the clubs. They channelled some money into the purchase or improvement of grounds. Some was given to charity while a portion was used illegally to pay players. Involvement in a variety of tournaments put heavy demands on players' time, particularly those employed in local offices and factories. Those who played for the most successful clubs were required to take unpaid time off work. Clubs compensated for loss of earnings by paying players. The S.F.A. fought hard to abolish the practice but it could not stop the inevitable. In 1893 professionalism was legally recognised in Scotland. The Scottish Football League (S.F.L.) which had been established in 1890 ensured that professionalism was a practical proposition. It increased inter-club competition and raised the entertainment value of all fixtures. City teams became more cosmopolitan in their make up and new competitions were introduced by and for local clubs who



dominated the professional game. The most popular was the Glasgow Football League which began in 1895 to provide regular end of season games and income for clubs particularly those which were no longer involved in cup ties. However, in 1907 it was abandoned because a large S.F.L. provided season long fixtures.<sup>84</sup>

League football also provided clubs with regular and ever increasing incomes and by the mid nineties the game had quite clearly become tied up with making money. The demands for financial gain had taken football away from the intentions of its original exponents. Clubs became commercial organisations controlled by local businessmen, particularly those associated with the brewing and distilling industry, who were intent on making profits.<sup>85</sup>

The rise of football into a spectator orientated business was followed by a steady expansion, at a grass roots level, in participation. After c. 1880 there was a steady rise in the number of lower middle and working class men playing the game. Football's intrinsic qualities, particularly spontaneous excitement which contrasted sharply with the monotony of work, and the desire to emulate famous players, were two major reasons for expansion. Among others, were increasing amounts of free time, a steady rise in real wages, the availability of more suitable open spaces and increasing knowledge about playing rules and skills.

Local players formed teams around a variety of existing social focus points including schools, churches,

factories and offices, public houses, political clubs and para-military organisations. After 1880 inter-club contact was reinforced with the establishment of local football associations which were modelled on the lines of the S.F.A. Their initial task was to organise cup competitions but they soon became responsible for all aspects of the local game. The first, the Glasgow Junior Football Association (G.J.F.A.) was established in 1884 to organise a knock-out cup tournament. The G.J.F.A. consisted of clubs whose levels of playing ability varied widely. To equalize playing standards two tournaments were organised. 42 teams entered a junior cup competition while 26 played for a juvenile trophy.<sup>86</sup>

Two years later, at the initiative of the Glasgow based sports paper, the Scottish Umpire, which had obvious pecuniary interests in promoting football, a Scottish Junior Football Association (S.J.F.A.) was established by officials from the G.J.F.A. and the S.F.A. It inaugurated a cup competition which was dominated by local clubs. In the same year the final of the second G.J.F.A. competition was played at Hampden Park. The two competitions provided the necessary spark to kindle a massive growth in playing activity. To win a Scottish Cup medal or play at Hampden Park were carrots which no local footballer could resist. Imaginations had been fired and ever increasing numbers of men joined existing or gathered

together to form new football teams. By the late eighties one anonymous observer noted that,

"I sometimes wonder on the Saturday afternoons what young men in Glasgow used to get to do. Now you see them coming from north and west and south and east to play football in every quarter."<sup>87</sup>

It was impractical for most of the new clubs to join the S.J.F.A. or the G.J.F.A. because there were simply too many of them, their playing standards varied so much and they had limited financial resources which restricted their capacity to make regular trips outside or even to the other side of Glasgow. As a result numerous local associations consisting of clubs with similar levels of football ability were established.

By 1900 a pyramidal structure had emerged which provided for all levels of ability. Associations which had quite small geographical catchments had been formed to provide regular inter-club contact which took the form of league, cup and representative games. At the top of the pyramid with the highest standard of play were the junior football associations. Two of the earliest were the Glasgow North East Junior Football Association, formed in 1885 to provide a cup competition for clubs north and east of the High Street, including Springburn, Kennyhill, the Green and Rutherglen, and the Govan and Plantation Junior Football Association (G.P.J.F.A.) which was established in 1886.<sup>88</sup> Among other junior associations were the Partick Junior Football Association, established in 1887, the Glasgow South Side Football Association, formed in 1891,

and the Glasgow Maryhill and Tollcross and District Football Associations, which began in 1887 and 1892 respectively.

In the nineties league competitions developed alongside popular cup and representative games. In 1892 a Scottish Junior Football League tournament began. Over half the total number of clubs in the league were based in Glasgow. Fixtures were arranged between August and December, leaving the second half of the season for cup fixtures. Local associations such as the G.J.F.A. which introduced a league competition in 1895 followed this national trend.<sup>89</sup>

The other parts of the pyramidal playing structure consisted of juvenile and junior second XI football clubs. Most junior clubs ran second XIs to meet the demands of members for regular games and to maintain playing standards. After 1886 when the G.J.F.A. established a Glasgow Junior Second XI Football Association, second XIs competed in the same types of competitions as first teams.<sup>90</sup> The organisation of juvenile football followed the same pattern. The earliest juvenile XIs played in a cup competition arranged by the G.J.F.A. However, in 1887 at the initiative of Messrs. McKenna and Strathearn from Stanley Swifts Football Club, a Glasgow Juvenile Football Association was formed. Two more juvenile associations, organising cup, representative and later league tournaments were established in the north west and north east districts of Glasgow in the late eighties.<sup>91</sup> By the end of the period Glasgow had a very large football playing population which complemented a

massive spectator involvement.

### Athletics

During the 1850s professional footracing re-emerged as a popular spectator activity. Glasgow was the stage for a number of prominent events.<sup>92</sup> However, its newly developed popularity was shortlived. There were two principal reasons for its decline after 1860: firstly dissatisfaction amongst the betting public with the malpractices to which it had been increasingly subjected: secondly growing interest in more efficiently organised alternative sporting activities such as volunteering, rugby, cricket and a new form of codified athletics that shared certain rational qualities which appealed to Glasgow's new leisured middle classes.<sup>93</sup>

After 1870 professional footracing enjoyed only occasional periods of popularity.<sup>94</sup> It was sometimes used as a novelty item in a programme of general entertainments.<sup>95</sup> Beginning in 1894 Glasgow's leading football clubs also used professional footraces as novelty items to supplement club coffers during a period of expansion in professional football squads. Encouraged by the availability of several top class amateur athletes such as C A Bradley, A R Downer, F E Bacon and G Crossland who had been expelled from the Amateur Athletic Association for receiving money prizes, Celtic Football Club arranged a number of promotions throughout 1896 and 1897.<sup>96</sup> By 1904 however, a scarcity of good professionals led to a decline in gates and the club

withdrew its support. In any case, additional income was no longer required since sufficient money was forthcoming from an extremely successful football XI and from a number of amateur athletic meetings.<sup>97</sup> Celtic F.C.'s success in staging professional athletics was at the expense of other local football clubs. However, when it withdrew its support, both Rangers F.C. and Clyde Football Club entered the market. When internationally known professional footracers visited Scotland both clubs staged events to boost incomes.<sup>98</sup> As novel occasional promotions, displays of professional athletics were attractive spectacles but as regular sporting events they could not compete with football, amateur athletics or highland games which were also used by football clubs to increase revenue.

Highland games gained a foothold in Glasgow's athletic calendar during the early eighties when the Glasgow Police Force formed an Athletic and Rowing Club and held sports on Glasgow Green within the enclosure erected for the Highland Society's Annual Show. By 1890 several local forces used football stadia for their events which proved to be very popular. Programmes were well managed, novel and had a distinctly local flavour.<sup>99</sup> They provided a respite from more serious and conservative professional footraces and cosmopolitan amateur competitions. However, the local development of highland games as of professional footracing was rather low key compared to the rise of a new form of codified amateur athletics which had its early origins in the Scottish private schools but which fed on a

local tradition of celtic based athletics kept alive by highland immigrants to the city and the volunteer companies.

In the sixties volunteer companies provided the principal and most convenient opportunity for Glasgow's sporting population to take part in athletics. During the Glasgow Fair holiday local companies held camps at sites along the west coast at which Celtic based athletic events formed a major source of entertainment.<sup>100</sup> But although athletics remained popular at annual camps, volunteer groups never promoted events on a regular basis within Glasgow, instead preferring drill, organised sham fighting and rifle shooting as their city based activities.<sup>101</sup>

Athletics was introduced into Scottish private schools in the 1860s by teachers educated in England. By 1865 athletic events were practised at several Edinburgh schools including Merchiston Castle, the Academy and the Royal High.<sup>102</sup> Schoolboys took part in activities which ranged from sprint and middle distance races, high and long jumps, hurdles events and steeple chases. In the west, Glasgow Academy was the first school to follow Edinburgh's lead when it introduced athletics in 1868. The highlight of its athletic calendar was the annual sports. At the 'Academical Club Sports' on the Burnbank Grounds in May 1868 the programme of events reflected the influence of the English public schools - 100, 200, 440 yards and one mile flat races, a high jump, long jump and a 140 yards race over hurdles being the main activities.

Other well established middle class sports clubs

followed the example set by Glasgow Academicals. The West of Scotland C.C. promoted sports in 1868, followed four years later by Queen's Park F.C. The West of Scotland C.C.'s sports had a rather English flavour while in contrast the programme at Queen's Park F.C., many of whose members originated from the eastern highlands, included Celtic based events.<sup>103</sup> As more clubs promoted amateur sports, English and Celtic events were interwoven to produce a plethora of varied and popular athletic programmes.<sup>104</sup> At first clubs used athletic competitions to maintain interest among members and to produce a pleasant afternoon of social intercourse.<sup>105</sup> By 1880 however, despite the high entry fees and lack of widespread publicity, more and more Glaswegians attended meetings and clubs soon realised that spectator interest had distinct financial benefits. Numerous football clubs such as Celtic F.C., Rangers F.C., Parkgrove Football Club, Alexandra Athletic Football Club and Queen's Park F.C. held sports in the summer to boost their incomes. Beginning in 1880 cycle events were included in annual sports programmes to produce some outstanding spectator packages which attracted massive crowds and Glasgow became the principal centre for amateur athletics in Scotland.<sup>106</sup>

After 1900 however, the weekly summer array of amateur athletic meetings lost their spectator appeal. Whereas average weekly takings for three Scottish Amateur Athletic Association (S.A.A.A.) championships staged in Glasgow between 1897 and 1903 amounted to £119.10.2, in



three later championships held between 1911 and 1913 it had fallen to £64.5.1.<sup>107</sup> The fickle nature of Glasgow's weather was a constant problem. A wet Saturday afternoon could wreck months of planning and create unprecedented financial problems for clubs which spent ever increasing amounts of money on athletic events. The summer of 1902 was particularly inclement and few clubs made any acceptable profits. Moreover, athletics enjoyed widespread support when it was mixed with cycling but when cycling lost its novelty so athletics suffered the same fate. An expanding football season and the promotion of summer time five-a-side football competitions also helped to draw away spectators.<sup>108</sup> But it was the 1906 Street Betting Act which caused the most damage by giving powers to local police forces and sports promoters to prohibit betting at athletic sports. Most clubs enforced the legislation and their gates fell quite dramatically as a consequence. Despite introducing a selection of novelty items in an attempt to sustain support, there was no substitute for betting.<sup>109</sup> Only Celtic F.C. and Rangers F.C. who did not utilise the 1906 Act to discourage betting, continued to attract spectators.<sup>110</sup> A guaranteed array of outstanding athletes and the inclusion of five-a-side football tournaments reinforced support.

For thirty years from 1880 football clubs utilised athletics for financial gain to boost club accounts. They had little interest in athletics per se. It was promoted as one part of a larger sporting programme and so a

committed interest for athletics was never created among spectators. Athletic novelties were popular but the promotion of weekly amateur events proved too mediocre and dull. The thrills and excitement of football in any shape or form at any time of the year was the major attraction to a predominantly working class population of spectators.

### Rugby

Private day and boarding schools were responsible for the introduction and initial development of rugby in Scotland. From their inception the private schools had been a haven for numerous informal and unorganised ball games.<sup>111</sup> After 1850 activities became more structured when the Laws of Football as played at Rugby School were introduced into a handful of private schools in Edinburgh by teachers and scholars who had followed the code at English schools and universities.<sup>112</sup> In 1856 rugby was played at Edinburgh Academy while twelve months later it was adopted by Merchiston Castle School and the Royal High School. In Glasgow the game was first played at Glasgow Academy in 1864. Within twelve months the school had acquired eighteen acres of playing fields and rugby was a firmly established part of school life.

The earliest adult rugby clubs in Scotland were formed by former pupil groups: the first in Edinburgh in 1857 by former pupils of Edinburgh Academy.<sup>113</sup> In Glasgow, West of Scotland C.C., many of whose members were former pupils of the Edinburgh boarding schools or Glasgow

Academy, began to play rugby from the autumn of 1865. Early in 1866 Glasgow gained a second club when former pupils of Glasgow Academy instituted a rugby section in their newly founded Academical club.<sup>114</sup> By the end of the sixties, a third club had been formed by students at Glasgow University.

Although most match days were devoted to games between club members, some inter-club fixtures were arranged in the late sixties. A team of Glasgow Academicals visited the West of Scotland Football Club's ground in January 1868 while a few months earlier the latter had played a team of Edinburgh Academicals.<sup>115</sup> By 1870 the Glasgow clubs were playing against a number of east coast opponents including Merchistonians', Craigmount and Edinburgh Academicals' Football Clubs.<sup>116</sup>

Between 1870 and 1914 the city's three oldest clubs, Glasgow Academicals' Football Club, Glasgow University Football Club and West of Scotland F.C. dominated local rugby not least because they were assured of regular influxes of new players. Glasgow University F.C., though restricted to students, was guaranteed a large membership by the annual influx of private school former pupils well versed in the rugby tradition. Glasgow Academicals' F.C. also had a seasonal influx of well trained loyal former pupils.<sup>117</sup> Although West of Scotland F.C. placed no restrictions on conditions of membership, it sustained its private school patronage.<sup>118</sup> In contrast, the eleven new clubs which were formed in Glasgow between 1874 and 1900

had problems attracting sufficient members. For example, it was twelve years before Glasgow High School Former Pupils' Club (formed in 1884) considered itself strong enough to seek election to the Scottish Football Union, (S.F.U.) largely because many of the school's former pupils were already members of West of Scotland F.C. which had a well established playing reputation.<sup>119</sup> In the case of some new teams like Kelvinside Academicals' Football Club and Glasgow Technical College Football Club which restricted membership to former pupils, the flow of talented former pupils was too small to ensure high playing standards. The 1st Lanarkshire Volunteer Regiment Football Club (formed in 1881) suffered especially severely from limiting membership to regimental members. So limited was the regiment's supply of rugby talent and so often did the best players prefer to play either for the school former pupils teams, the fashionable West of Scotland F.C. or Southern Football Club, that the Volunteers ceased playing rugby altogether in 1888.

"We have far too few first class clubs in Glasgow and were some of our second fifteen players to throw aside their pretty social whims and join the "Greys" we would have more than three good teams."<sup>120</sup>

By the turn of the century a two tier club structure had evolved. The well established 'first class' XV's played games against a variety of quality east coast and English opponents. During the season 1886-87 for example, West of Scotland F.C. arranged games with, amongst others, Edinburgh Collegiate, Edinburgh Institution, Royal High

School Former Pupils', Edinburgh University and London Scottish Football Clubs. In contrast, the younger 'junior' clubs were not strong enough to compete against talented West of Scotland F.C., Glasgow University F.C. or Glasgow Academicals' F.C. first XVs and had to be satisfied with matches against other junior XVs or the second or third teams of the first class clubs. As a result, players from the junior clubs rarely competed against the leading players and so their skill levels and quality of play remained relatively poor.

Rugby was never promoted as a commercial sporting spectacle and it never attracted a fanatical spectator following perhaps because a private school and university education provided players and administrators with the necessary academic and professional training to earn sufficient incomes to make it unnecessary for them to seek pecuniary gain from rugby. Their insular attitude, exemplified in the establishment of exclusively organised clubs, allowed rugby little room for expansion. The number of teams remained small, there were no league or cup competitions and the game received a relatively small amount of publicity in the local press. Throughout the period from 1865-1914 rugby in Glasgow remained an exclusive minority activity which confirmed and sustained a well established shared fellowship among a particular social grouping.

### Cycling

The world's first pedal operated cycle was built in 1863 in the workshop of Pierre Michaux a Parisian coach repairer. By 1865 he was producing pedalled velocipedes on a commercial scale of 400 machines per annum. In 1867 one of his models was introduced into England by a Cambridge dentist.<sup>121</sup> The velocipede or 'bone shaker' as it was called, was first seen in Scotland during 1868 when Mr Duncan McLaren rented a hall in Grindlay Street Edinburgh and converted it into a riding school.<sup>122</sup>

Cycling interest was nurtured over the next twenty years by the introduction and refinement of the 'ordinary' or 'penny-farthing' bicycle whose revolutionary new shape had quite distinct advantages over the bone shaker.<sup>123</sup> The first buyers in Glasgow were young men of means since machines were extremely expensive and difficult and dangerous to ride. It cost over £16 for a new model and although second hand machines were offered for £3, this was still a considerable outlay for most young men. Few men over middle age attempted to cycle and still fewer women because the ordinary presented quite a physical challenge. It was awkward to mount because the seat was perched on top of a front wheel which was four or five feet in diameter. Balance, too, was difficult and a quick stop or the slightest roughness on the road would throw the driver to the ground. Since the machine was propelled by pedals on the front wheel, smooth breaking was also a rare occurrence. Nevertheless, for some young men the danger and difficulty of

riding was a great attraction. Some riders devoted weeks of effort and endured frequent falls to acquire the skill of mounting. Further practice was required to become really proficient yet tumbles were a mishap that happened even to the most experienced riders. Falls were so much an accepted part of bicycling that manufacturers made a selling point of their machines' ability to withstand them.<sup>124</sup>

Dogs, poor road surfaces, harassment from prankish youngsters and the careless riding styles of the riders themselves caused many falls. 'Riding furiously' became a common offence amongst young enthusiasts. Often pedestrians were knocked over as riders found it impossible to keep a straight course. In June 1890,

"while Mary Austin, 14 years of age, residing at 8 Finlay Drive, Dennistoun, was crossing Buchanan Street, she was knocked down and run over by a bicycle ridden by Alex McFarlane, 2 Park Terrace, Elder Park, Govan. On being picked up, it was found she was seriously injured about the head and face, while underneath the chin there was a large cut where the wheels passed."<sup>125</sup>

The nature and impact of cycling was transformed in the mid eighties by a further succession of technological innovations the most important of which were the appearance of the pneumatic tyre and the introduction and refinement of the 'safety' bicycle.<sup>126</sup> The low diamond shaped profile of the safety began to make a tentative showing on the roads in 1885 but it was some six years before it challenged the dominance of the ordinary, partly because its chain drive wasted power, partly because mud splashed over riders' feet and partly because, in the absence of

pneumatic tyres, solid rubber tyres caused problems of vibration. Only when pneumatic tyres became generally available in 1890 did the safety bicycle come to gain popular appeal. It had particular appeal for women who found it much simpler to mount than the penny-farthing.<sup>127</sup> By 1893 cycling was "being indulged in to such a degree as one seldom remembers" in Glasgow.<sup>128</sup> The start of the cycling season was eagerly anticipated by an ever increasing section of the public.

A number of factors were responsible for attracting people to the saddle. The novelty of experiencing a new kind of motion appealed to many. Through their own efforts riders could travel at speeds never previously experienced. The versatility of the machine was significant. People of widely different physical conditions could participate, choosing to enjoy a gentle pedal or a violent sprint.<sup>129</sup> Riding in the countryside became a popular means of escape from the drudgery monotony and routine of everyday life. For many Glaswegians the cycle became a vehicle of flight offering a soothing diversion from the tensions of work or the squalor of the city environment.<sup>130</sup> The craze for cycling which took Glaswegians into the fresh air of their rural surroundings was as much a reaction to industrialization as it was a product of it.<sup>131</sup> Equally attractive as the apparent sense of freedom and flight was the cyclist's option to choose his fellow travellers or to ride alone if he wished. If a rider found those moving alongside him objectionable, he could simply ride ahead of behind them, or



even take another route. He was allowed the unique sporting opportunity to have either privacy, companionship, alternating choices, or even both simultaneously. One of the most measurable benefits of cycling, in the opinion of many medical men, was a firm and healthy body. To other quasi-experts its appeal lay in being able to cure a variety of ills.<sup>132</sup> Cycling also provided a stage for exhibitionism and ostentatious display. With the advent of the ordinary, cyclists set about distinguishing themselves from people who were earthbound by wearing distinctive clothing. Each cycle club adopted a particular colour scheme for its uniform. For the most part these were quite utilitarian, consisting of dull colours of brown or grey to conceal road dust or mud. However, the uniform was made more colourful and worn on non cycling occasions by some men to draw attention from female onlookers.<sup>133</sup>

Once attracted to the cycle, many Glaswegians joined together to form voluntarily organised cycle clubs. Between 1878-88 fifteen clubs were established and during the next twelve years another ninety. The most fundamental aspect of club activity was the Saturday afternoon excursion. Throughout the season, which lasted from April to October, squads of riders left Glasgow every Saturday to cycle to a variety of local venues. Dressed in their distinctive uniforms they met at a local focal point such as Anniesland Toll, Charing Cross, the Botanic Gardens or Ibrox Station to travel to local beauty spots like Erskine

Ferry, Drymen, Strathblane, Bridge of Weir, Busby or Fenwick. As clubs became firmly established formal 'run cards' were distributed to members listing the forthcoming season's venues. Inter-club runs provided riders with the opportunity to participate in additional excursions.<sup>134</sup> Weekly excursions were supplemented by other activities. Annual road races became popular.<sup>135</sup> Clubs also introduced 'efficiency badges' which were awarded to riders who cycled over a certain distance - usually one hundred miles - on a day's excursion. Club runs, races and efficiency badges offered young members enjoyable forms of exertion and an opportunity to display their physical prowess and masculinity. Yet many cyclists did not live by sport alone. Clubs provided a means by which men and later women could meet for conversation and comradeship. Physical activities were complemented by a number of social events including dances, conversaziones, snooker matches, card games, smoking concerts and fancy dress balls.

After 1900 there was a decline in the quantity and pattern of recreational cycling. In 1904 at the Annual General Meeting of the Scottish Cyclists' Union (S.Cy.U.) it was stated that "there had been a decrease both in affiliated clubs and individual members in every district of the Union."<sup>136</sup> Tables 3.4 and 3.5 illustrate these trends. In 1898 there were 59 clubs. By 1904 the total had been reduced by 44% to 33 while six years later there were only 27 clubs. During May and August 1898 local clubs went on a total of 812 cycle runs. In the same months in

Table 3.4.      Number of cycle clubs in Glasgow, 1898-1910.<sup>137</sup>

Year	Number of Clubs
1898	59
1901	62
1904	33
1907	36
1910	27

Notes (i) The number of clubs was estimated by examining the list of runs published twice weekly in the Scottish Referee for the months of May and August. Since not all clubs submitted returns the figures are not complete - they indicate a trend.

Table 3.5.      Number of cycle runs involving clubs in Glasgow during May and August, 1898-1910.<sup>138</sup>

Month	Y e a r				
	1898	1901	1904	1907	1910
May	404	492	244	276	189
August	408	507	235	303	174
Total	812	999	479	579	363

Notes (i) The total of runs was estimated by examining the lists of runs published twice weekly in the Scottish Referee for the months of May and August. Since not all clubs submitted returns the figures are not complete - they indicate a trend.

1910 only 363 runs took place.

A number of club members abandoned their machines because they simply failed to enjoy cycling. To some people the triviality of a puncture became an excessive aggravation while to others the possibility of an accident became increasingly disconcerting.<sup>139</sup> Some members were simply too enthusiastic, developing various ailments from spending too much time in the saddle and others grew disenchanted with the unhealthy club rivalries which developed between racing and recreational touring members. But perhaps the most important reasons for the decline in cycling's popularity as an organised activity relate to the changes which occurred in the socio-occupational composition of clubs and to the declining interest of women in cycling as a recreation. The great boom in recreational cycling during the nineties was very much a middle class phenomenon. The ownership of a Rudge, Swift, Osmond or Elswick was seen as a most prestigious form of conspicuous consumption and an ideal form of middle class self expression. As cycle prices fell, Glaswegians from the lower middle and respectable working classes inevitably took to the road and the middle classes turned more and more to motor cycling and later the motor car in order to display their status. The bicycle no longer conveyed the same badge of social distinction. At the same time new clubs formed by lower middle and working class men never produced the same number of enthusiasts that had previously been involved<sup>140</sup> - partly because few of them could afford a room to serve as

a focal point for club activity and also because their members were less concerned with emphasizing their distinctions of social status.

Women, too, had played a decisive role in the growth of organised recreational cycling in the 1890s. However, cycling was also responsible for a rapid change both in womens' attitudes towards sporting activity and in the attitudes of men towards female participation in sport. By helping to make female involvement in recreational activity respectable, cycling opened the way for women to participate in a whole range of other sporting activities. Increasingly women left the saddle for a wider variety of sports such as tennis, golf and swimming.<sup>141</sup>

The fortunes of cycle touring were paralleled by developments in formally organised cycle racing. Initial activity took the form of road racing which was organised by local clubs for the benefit of their members. Unfortunately road racing was fraught with a variety of potential dangers.<sup>142</sup> As a result, specially designed cycle tracks were built to facilitate racing. Glasgow's first track was built by an English businessman who promoted amateur and professional races to attract local riders and paying spectators. The idea was quickly copied by a handful of Glasgow's established sporting institutions. By 1883 Glasgow Academy, West of Scotland C.C. and Glasgow University had grass cycle tracks on which they included races as part of their annual sports programmes in order to attract spectators and raise income for their principal sporting interests. Realising the

commercial potential of cycle racing, two of Glasgow's leading football clubs, Clyde F.C. and Rangers F.C., also went to great expense to provide attractive cycling facilities in the hope of increasing gate receipts at their annual sports. In July 1888 Clyde F.C. laid out a grass track at Barrowfield, attracting 21 riders to race in a one mile handicap and seventeen entries for a three mile competition. Over three thousand paid to watch.<sup>143</sup>

During the nineties Glasgow's leading football clubs and a plethora of cycle manufacturers invested huge amounts of time and money in supporting and promoting racing. Annual sports developed into a new and lucrative form of amusement. Programmes were stocked with well chosen interesting and balanced series of events.<sup>144</sup> By the early nineties racing centered around three football stadia which contained excellent cycle tracks with good quality cinder surfaces, well thought out banking and good width. Glaswegians flocked to the various annual cycling and athletic promotions. In 1893, 7,000 watched the Rangers F.C. sports at Ibrox while 15,000 attended Hampden Park for the Queen's Park F.C. Sports. By 1897 interest at some events was measured in tens of thousands.

Within five years interest in cycling had declined quite significantly however. After the turn of the century riders disappeared from the tracks and thousands of spectators left the stadia. By 1910 only Celtic F.C. attracted crowds of over 10,000 to watch cycling events. The advent of professional cycling in 1897 had heralded the

start of the decline. Fair play and enjoyment were replaced by an overwhelming concern for profit. Cycling became the property of market forces, dominated by material considerations which were alien to traditional amateur ideals. More significantly, riders increasingly broke the rules and adopted tactics which spectators found unattractive to watch. Such local interest as might have been generated by watching contests between local amateur riders disappeared as sports promoters increasingly resorted to British and foreign 'cracks' who dominated the events and led to the withdrawal of the local amateur.

From this period of decay and contraction, racing adopted a new image. By 1910 only the wealthy Celtic F.C. arranged top class professional cycling events.<sup>145</sup> The other sports promoting clubs were forced to adopt a more parochial approach as they simply could not afford to stage international professional events. They started to organise events on a more modest scale for local amateurs. At the same time some new amateur groups began to organise sports for the benefit of local cyclists and athletes. As a result, the availability of weekly, short distance cycle handicaps at numerous local venues incited amateur riders to reconsider path racing. By 1910, "looking back on the racing season ... we are glad to be able to say that there has been a distinct revival of interest."<sup>146</sup>

The 65 years from 1850-1914 was a period of extensive sporting growth. New sports were created and traditional

activities experienced considerable amounts of change. Participatory patterns were extended, there was a massive expansion in watching sport and there were increases in the quantity and quality of facilities. While economic and social changes provided a convenient back-cloth for these developments, the particular pattern of sporting growth in Glasgow was influenced by five principal factors which will be examined in detail in the following chapters.



CHAPTER 4SCHOOLS, THE BOYS' BRIGADE AND  
THE VOLUNTEER FORCE 1850-1914

The development of sport in Glasgow between the middle of the nineteenth century and the outbreak of the First World War owed a great deal to the enterprise of a number of private schools, public board schools and two paramilitary organisations, the Boys' Brigade and the Volunteer Force.

As the nineteenth century progressed an expanding Scottish middle class became increasingly dissatisfied with the normal facilities for education which were being offered by the Scottish Burgh schools. Like their contemporaries in England they began to demand educational facilities which were both exclusive to their class and offered a wider curriculum than that practised in the Burgh schools. As a result a handful of private day and boarding schools modelled on the lines of the English public schools were established in Scotland during the middle of the nineteenth century. These new schools differed from the existing Burgh schools in three important aspects. They charged a scale of fees which prohibited lower class patronage; recruited headmasters and staff from England; and, of particular significance, purchased or leased playing fields in order to develop sporting activities.<sup>1</sup>

Edinburgh Academy, a private day school, was the first Scottish school to encourage organised games initially

cricket and rugby. In 1853 Rev Dr John Hannah the Rector of the Academy invited members of the former pupil club to discuss the acquisition of a cricket field. They decided to lease a ground and within nine months a nine acre plot had been levelled and laid out at Raeburn Place. The initial captial was raised by 'special subscriptions' from the Rector, masters, directors and former pupils and 'annual subscriptions from ten 'Old Scholars' and 197 boys. Within twelve months subscriptions to use the field were fixed at 10s. for former pupils, 6s. for senior boys and 4s. for junior boys.<sup>2</sup> Rugby was first brought to the Academy in 1854 by the brothers Alexander and Francis Crombie from Thornton Castle near Laurencekirk, previously pupils at Durham Grammar School where the game had been played under formalised rules from as early as 1846. Rugby and cricket were soon taken up by other schools in Edinburgh. At Merchiston Castle, a boarding school, and the Royal High School, a private day school, rugby was first played in the winter of 1857. By the end of the fifties all Edinburgh's private boarding schools had introduced games into the curriculum and there was a flourishing network of inter-school competition. In the west of Scotland the development of organised sport by private schools came a little later . Glasgow Academy was the first private school to adopt rugby and cricket in 1866 when, together with the former pupil club, it leased eighteen acres of playing fields at Burnbank. In 1873 the Academy moved to a new field at Kelvinside where both present and former

pupils continued to take part in rugby, cricket and athletics.<sup>3</sup>

The last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed a considerable expansion of sporting activity in the private schools. Both facilities and instruction were greatly improved and extended. Under the rectorship of R J Mackenzie the Edinburgh Academy once again set the pace. The school acquired additional playing fields, opened a gymnasium and by 1889 had introduced compulsory physical training. Some of these ideas were copied in Glasgow by Allan Glens' School, Kelvinside Academy, Hutchesons' Grammar School, Glasgow High School and Glasgow Academy.<sup>4</sup> Indoor facilities for drill and gymnastics were built, additional instructors were employed and playing fields were rented or purchased. The instructors, often ex-army sergeants, were employed to take drill and gymnastics. Teachers were not expected to undertake these duties except in connection with Cadet Corps. Drill sergeants were not permitted to take part in the organisation or coaching of games but it was normal for a professional to be employed for cricket coaching.<sup>5</sup>

By 1900 Glasgow's private day schools had well developed structures of after school games and programmes of physical education which were part of their school curricula. In all cases well established team games held pride of place and took precedence while other activities, however difficult or fascinating they might have been, were relegated to a subordinate position. At Glasgow High

School rugby and cricket which had been introduced in 1878 remained the most popular sports. Senior boys played games each Wednesday afternoon and junior boys each Thursday. Although involvement was not compulsory, parents were "strongly recommended to allow their boys to join the clubs."<sup>6</sup> The few non-participants were provided with an alternative form of physical activity usually swimming. At Kelvinside Academy with guidance from Dr Macdonald, the Rector from 1883 to 1895 who was 'most enthusiastic about games', similar provision was made. In 1884 a playing field was laid out in front of the school and a serious interest in rugby and cricket began. Within a few years, "in the summer term cricket was played in the field nearly every evening, and most fellows attended regularly."<sup>7</sup> At Hutchesons' Grammar School, Rector Thomas Menzies took a special interest in swimming. Classes began in March 1878. Each Saturday between 10 a.m. and 12 noon the school was given exclusive use of the Greenhead Baths with over 250 boys and ninety girls attending classes in the first year. By 1881 an annual gala was well established and water polo had been introduced.<sup>8</sup>

The Scottish private schools were entirely independent of central and local government. In contrast, physical education in the public board schools which did not enjoy such independence took a very different form from the private school pattern of organised games and athleticism. While the private schools placed most of their emphasis on organised team games, the board schools, particularly

during the early years of their commitment to physical education, were more concerned to promote drill and swimming instruction. It was 1909 before the stress of the board schools was tempered with an emphasis on the importance of team sports.

Before 1872 physical education in Scottish elementary schools was for the most part neglected. In 1867 the Argyll Commissioners pointed out that the playgrounds of all Scotland's public day schools would not together form an area of the same size as the 'playing fields' at Eton or 'the close' at Rugby. Even after the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act progress was slow. The Act made no provision for physical education but the new Code of Regulations which was introduced in 1873 allowed attendance of boys at drill under a competent instructor, though for not more than forty hours a year, to count as school attendance. The second Code in 1875 added the term 'military' drill. Although the legislation was permissive, the Glasgow and Govan School Boards instituted drill as part of the normal school programme. Janitors were paid to drill the children and where this was not suitable, retired non-commissioned officers were appointed. Military drill consolidated its position in 1895 when a new Schools' Code made drill or some other form of physical exercise grant-earning.<sup>9</sup> The content of instruction ranged from military manoeuvres which the boys enjoyed to squad drill made boring by instructors who were obsessed with repetition and detail.

Progressive opinion which saw the need for improvements

in pupil health and welfare did not however, accept drill as the only form of physical education. After 1877 both Glasgow and Govan School Boards provided swimming instruction for school children. During 1888 and 1891 Glasgow Corporation offered the local School Board the use of public swimming baths free of charge for children attending public schools. Although the offer was not immediately accepted, by 1893 scholars in the upper standard at John Street and Gorbals Public Schools were making free use of the Greenhead and Gorbals public baths during school hours. The scheme soon gathered momentum and within twelve months 2,148 pupils from 48 schools used the baths.<sup>10</sup> In 1910 boys and girls in supplementary and qualifying classes were included. Children followed a systematic course of instruction which lasted from May to October. The practical sessions were preceded by a short course of land drill and in both cases the instruction was given by specialist instructors employed by the School Board. Glasgow's efforts to provide formal swimming courses for school children were extremely successful but they were overshadowed by the achievements of Govan School Board. In 1887 Govan set a precedent among Scottish school boards for the provision of swimming facilities when it initiated a programme to build swimming pools in a number of strategically placed schools. Bellahouston Academy was the first school to acquire a pool in 1887 and by 1906 another seven Govan schools had swimming pools measuring 75' x 30'.<sup>11</sup> They were centres of swimming for a wider group of neighbouring schools.

It was not until the closing years of the nineteenth century long after it had developed in the private schools that a wider concept of physical education was established in Glasgow's elementary schools. The most significant developments were the replacement of drill by a more scientifically founded course of exercises, the consolidation of aquatics and the introduction of games after school hours. Much of the credit for the introduction of games was due to the efforts of enthusiastic teachers. At the turn of the century, football, cricket, hockey and golf were promoted at Whitehill Higher Grade School after school hours by interested members of staff. A golf club was formed in 1901 by T H P Crosthwaite who taught classics and who also initiated a biannual masters v. boys golf match which was played on the Gailes course. In 1899 R Browning, a teacher, and Mr G Stokes, a former pupil who 'had cricket in his blood', established a school cricket club.<sup>12</sup>

Both teachers and pupils revelled in the freedom of games compared with the restriction and boredom of drill. In many cases the staff simply legitimised and organised a well established informal pupil interest in sport. During the lunch interval at Whitehill School boys had always kicked a football around in the school playground.

"Rangers supporters played those of Q.P. every day. The game began when we could raise 5-a-side and went on until the bell rang (with about 50-a-side)."<sup>13</sup>

From informal playground games school clubs were formed and matches with neighbouring schools developed. From this

enthusiastic and devoted work by teachers outside school hours sprang a number of school sports associations such as the Scottish Schools' Football Association, the Glasgow and District Elementary and Secondary Schools' Football Leagues and the Glasgow and District Secondary Schools' Cricket League. (G.D.S.S.C.L.)

The work of teachers meant much self-sacrifice on their part and there were many handicaps particularly a lack of equipment and a dearth of suitable playing fields.<sup>14</sup> Only in 1909 after a lengthy period of negotiation with a variety of agencies did the Glasgow School Board respond to requests for suitable playing facilities. Each higher grade school was given financial assistance to hire grounds for games. Within four months the scheme had been extended to encompass all schools controlled by the Board. In the year ending 30 April 1911 the Board awarded £178 for ground rents to the Higher Grade Schools.<sup>15</sup>

At the same time, with guidance from Lieutenant A G A Street the Superintendent of Physical Exercise, the Board adopted other strategies to support and encourage games.<sup>16</sup> In 1909 it asked headmasters to check that school janitors were not discouraging children from playing football in playgrounds after school hours. Six months later a request was made to assistant teachers asking if they "would be willing to do something in the way of encouraging scholars to engage in games". Within four weeks all schools and teachers of physical training had been issued with a copy of Frank Elston's book, 'Organised Games' which



contained notes on football, rounders, cricket, volleyball, hockey and basketball.<sup>17</sup> After 1910 the Board also made regular contributions to schools for a whole range of sports equipment from hockey and tennis nets to cricket bats and footballs.

A number of interrelated factors accounted for the differences between the private schools' emphasis on games and the public board schools' promotion of drill. In both Glasgow's and Govan's overcrowded public board schools where there were major problems of indiscipline and unruliness, drill was introduced and developed to teach working class children habits of sharp obedience, smartness, cleanliness and order. By 1877 it was reported that drill was taught in all Govan and Maryhill schools where it had an excellent effect on school discipline because the boys had learned instant obedience to commands given by the janitors in charge of the classes.<sup>18</sup> Drill was also used for military ends to improve the standards of health and fitness of army recruits and of the whole class of the population from which they were drawn. Militarists prompted largely by a concern for national safety and defence saw physical training as an extension of military training. While future officers were playing games in the private schools to prepare their characters if not their physiques for battle, the men they were to command were learning military drill in the confined classrooms and playgrounds of local public Board schools.<sup>19</sup> Glasgow and Govan School Boards provided swimming instruction to ensure that children

could swim, to encourage after school use of Glasgow's public baths and to instil habits of personal cleanliness.

The particularly rapid development of facilities for swimming in Govan owed much to the strong influence of Socialism in local politics. In 1887 two Socialists, Robert Niven, a coal merchant and James Lauderdale, a carpenter and shipwright, had proposals adopted which gave children cheap convenient access to the pool at Bellahouston Academy. Four years later the Govan School Board at the prompting of William Craig, another Socialist, opened the first pool to be constructed as an integral part of a new school at Stewartville. Craig died in 1891 but the interest in swimming that he had generated was maintained by other Board members particularly the Socialist John Clark, a foreman turner, who included as part of his election platform in 1894 the provision of a swimming pool in every school.<sup>20</sup> Since a comprehensive set of swimming facilities was expensive there is no doubt that the availability of a bouyant assessable rental and school rate also helped the Socialist cause.

In Glasgow's private schools on the other hand there was no widespread development of drill and swimming because there were no large groups of uncontrollable unwashed children. Instead, for a variety of reasons, the private schools adopted and developed programmes of physical education which were dominated by team games.

The precise reasons for the initial acquisition of a cricket ground at Edinburgh Academy are difficult to

define. In part it was due to the need to have a private ground on "which boys may enjoy their exercises without the chance of interruption".<sup>21</sup> But cricket also had an important social function. In 1855 it was noted that the games enabled

"the Masters and the Former Pupils to mix with those who are now studying at the School and thereby cultivate a friendly feeling, the beneficial results of which cannot fail to be felt in all the work of the School."<sup>22</sup>

The adoption of cricket was also probably designed to attract new pupils to the Academy.<sup>23</sup> Due to the efforts of Grange Cricket Club the game was already a popular spectator sport in the east of Scotland by the 1850s. The majority of spectators were wealthy people whose sons were potential pupils for the Academy. Glasgow Academy too, along with all the other local private schools, used sport to attract new recruits during the final quarter of the century when there was intense competition amongst the private day and boarding schools for pupils.

As organised games became more popular, they were also valued by the new day and boarding schools as an ideal medium for the promotion of 'Arnoldism' - a system of middle class education developed in England which was based on strong moral and religious beliefs. It was administered through a structure allocating considerable authority to prefects and sought to foster through games the individual characteristics of obedience, self-reliance, courage, initiative, honesty, reliability, fair play and

corporate values such as selfless team spirit. In Scotland initial support for Arnoldism came from Dr James Hodson who replaced Dr John Hannah as Rector of Edinburgh Academy in 1854.<sup>24</sup> Hely Hutchison Almond the first headmaster of Loretto School at Musselburgh was a keen exemplar of Arnoldism. After 1862 Loretto became a major focal point for the dissemination of Muscular Christian ideas. As Thomson suggests, Almond "was the personification of Muscular Christianity and his was a powerful influence on the other Scottish middle class schools".<sup>25</sup> At Glasgow Academy the Rector, Dr Morrison, was another keen supporter of Arnoldism. When playing fields were acquired in 1866, Dr Morrison noted that

"Even in respect to education in general the advantages of this appendage to the Academy will be very important; but it would be very difficult to over-estimate the influence which it may produce in the formation of character and the establishment of friendship, generous competition, a high standard of honour, self restraint, mutual respect and forebearance. Independence of character and habits of self reliance can nowhere perhaps be better acquired than in such a sphere where the members of a great school meet on common ground, lay aside their more serene avocations, and for a time yield themselves to pursuits at once congenial and necessary."<sup>26</sup>

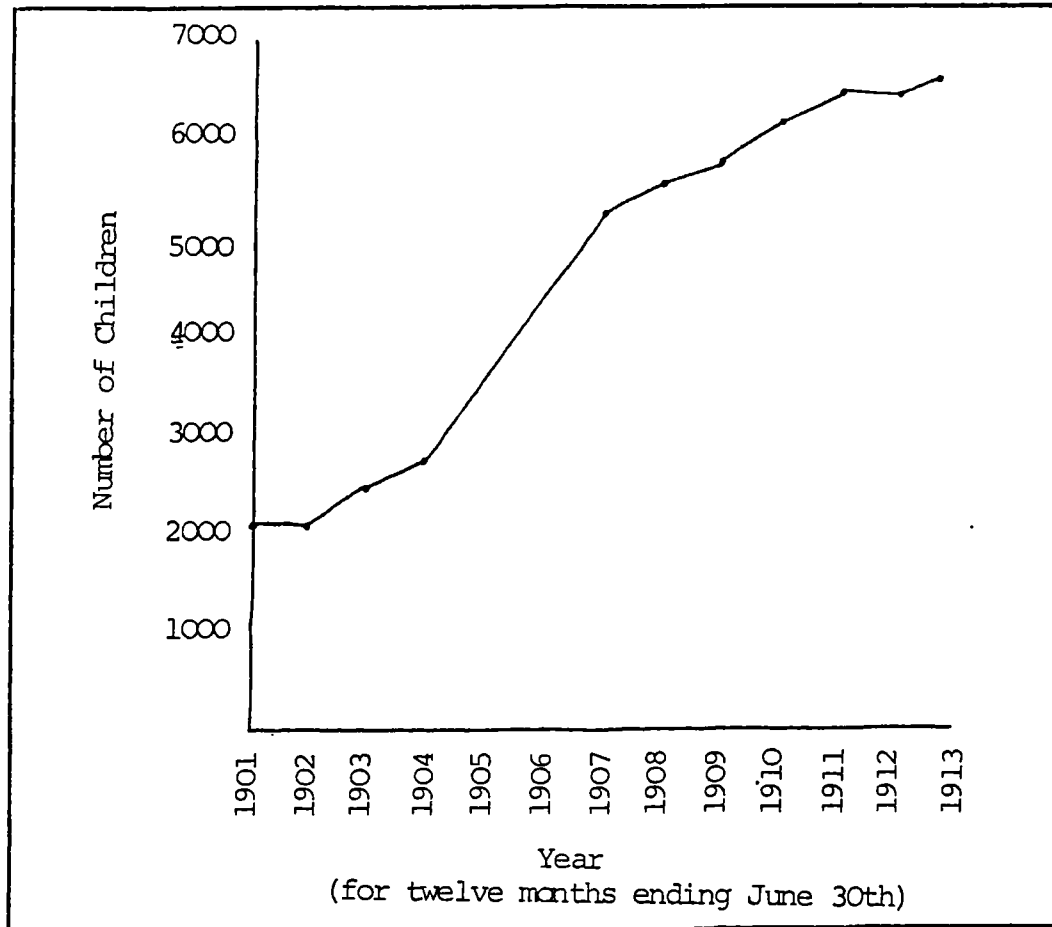
The public board schools' interest in swimming, football and, to a lesser extent, cricket and athletics was a major reason for the growing popularity of these sports with all sections of the local community after 1900. Until this time schoolboy cricket was confined to the private schools and the reservoir from which clubs could

draw players was small. When after 1900 cricket was introduced into Glasgow's higher grade schools a new lower middle and working class interest in the game emerged.<sup>27</sup> The G.D.S.S.C.L. formed by schools like Hamilton Crescent, Albert Road, Carlton, North Kelvinside and Shawlands produced the players who made up the several new local leagues (including the W.D.C.C. and the G.D.J.C.L.) which had emerged by 1906.<sup>28</sup>

Similarly the promotion of swimming by Glasgow and Govan School Boards had a significant effect on increasing participation amongst all social classes including a whole range of working class groups. In Govan, for example, the increasing provision of pools by Govan School Board allowed ever growing numbers of pupils to have formal swimming lessons (Graph 4.1). In 1901 five schools with swimming pools which served twenty other schools provided lessons for over 2,150 children. By 1907 eight schools had pools serving 35 other schools and over 5,300 children received swimming lessons. By laying down the foundations for swimming when the instincts for play and skill acquisition were strong, local pupils were encouraged to make increasing use of Glasgow's ten public baths outside school hours.

Quality was equally as important as quantity. Through good sound teaching and coaching the schools supplied local clubs with large numbers of young talented enthusiastic sportsmen. In swimming, local standards of performance were high because Glasgow and Govan School Boards provided opportunities for children of all social

Graph 4.1.      Number of children receiving swimming instruction  
during school hours at Govan Board schools, 1900-1913.<sup>29</sup>



Notes (i) No figures available for 1905 - 06.

classes to compete in a well planned set of contests which ranged in standard from inter-class to national events.<sup>30</sup> During the autumn of 1903 Lorne Street School held an annual intra-school gala at its school pool. By 1907 the event had expanded to include schools in the Kinning Park and Plantation districts who competed for the 'MacLeish Cup'. Twelve months later a second trophy for girls was added. In 1904 Hamilton Crescent, Hillhead and Strathbungo schools also arranged galas. Interest in competitive swimming was so widespread that in October 1904

Govan School Board organised an annual inter-school gala. By 1907 entries were so numerous that two galas were held.<sup>31</sup> Competitive swimming had been given a further boost in 1904 when all schools in the Glasgow area were circulated with details of a national inter-school team competition organised by the Boys' Own. The early success of Lorne Street School in winning the trophy in 1905 created even more interest in competition and by 1908 Govan School Board paid the entry fees of all schools entering the event. Such was the effect of swimming instruction at school that in 1910 Mr Sneddon the Honorary Secretary of the Scottish Amateur Swimming Association (S.A.S.A.) noted,

"We have now fifty-nine clubs in Glasgow and district. In open events at club meetings we have now far more swimmers up than ever we had, and faster swimmers at that ... I believe the main reason for this is the teaching of swimming in schools, especially in the Govan School Board schools."<sup>32</sup>

The private schools were also making their contribution to the development of sport. From Glasgow Academy for example a wealth of rugby, cricket and athletic talent emerged. Of the 150 rugby players who received Scottish caps between 1871 and 1878, 42 were Glasgow Academicals.<sup>33</sup> Two of the Academy's most notable products were R S Stronach and J S Carrick - the former a Scottish hurdles champion for eight consecutive years between 1900 and 1907 and British champion on three occasions from 1904 to 1906 and also a Scottish rugby international: the latter a cricketer of distinction who set a world record individual

score of 419 not out in a three day game at Priory Park in 1885 while playing for West of Scotland C.C..

Glasgow High School produced many talented players including G M Frew who captained Scotland in 1900 while Allan Glens' School was traditionally noted for its fine crop of athletes.<sup>34</sup>

In many instances there were close links between the schools and local clubs. In the private schools the link with former pupil clubs was obvious. But in the public sector too, close school-club relationships developed where pupils and adults shared the same facilities. Children attending Whitehill School used the swimming pool at Dennistoun B.C. and when they left school many became adult members. The same school established a close relationship with Queen's Park F.C. "During one memorable term no fewer than six Whitehill F.P.s carried the popular black-and-white colours to victory."<sup>35</sup> Teachers who were members of adult clubs fostered similar links giving pupils information about club activities while the clubs themselves offered invitations through teacher-pupil contacts. Two members of Western S.C., Miss Netta Mackay and Mr James Yuill, who were both employed as swimming teachers by Govan School Board, were particularly energetic in passing on information about the club's activities to interested school children.<sup>36</sup>

The private schools also helped to formulate, regulate and uphold the rules and spirit of several sports. Games were played according to rules which were carefully



formulated and refined in the private schools over a period of several decades. In rugby, staff and former pupils from the private schools made an especially important contribution to the codification process. In 1868 representatives from Glasgow Academicals' F.C. and West of Scotland F.C. met with members from Scotland's other principal rugby clubs to create a code of rules.<sup>37</sup> The result was 'The Laws of Football as played by the Principal Clubs of Scotland', commonly known as the 'Green Book'.

Codification was important not only in the interest of technical and administrative efficiency but also to allow the spirit of the game to flourish. In the private schools, games were regarded as an ideal medium for the development of certain desirable values which together constituted the amateur ideal - honesty, fair play, playing the game and team spirit. 'It's not cricket' became a colloquialism for the infringement of the code of fair play between honourable opponents in any sport. For 25 years after the introduction of rugby into the private schools there were no referees at inter-school matches - captains sorted out disputed decisions. In 1886 when rough play threatened to debase the schoolboy game, staff were quick to protect the amateur ideal. A meeting of headmasters was convened to draw up a code of conduct which was a restatement of the spirit of the rules.

In athletics too, private school men adopted a distinctive code which rejected all aspects of professionalism. In particular they disliked betting and abhorred the

notion of giving generous money prizes to winning athletes. At the Glasgow Academicals' Sports in 1868 the rewards for winning events reflected staunch amateur values. Prizes included opera glasses, fishing rods, the works of Shakespeare and a variety of silver tableware.<sup>38</sup>

In association with the board schools, private schools and their former pupil clubs also contributed to the growth of sporting activity by occasionally allowing the wider public access to use their sporting facilities. Although their grounds were enclosed private areas other clubs and associations used them for a variety of events including representative fixtures, annual sports and displays of drill. Sometimes a rental was required but on other occasions there was no charge. In 1893 Glasgow Academy's ground at Anniesland which was 'kindly lent for the occasion', was used for the first annual sports of the Boys' Brigade.

The positive effect which schools, both public and private, had on expanding the extent of active participation in sport was paralleled by their less obvious but equally important influence on increasing spectator support. It appears acceptable to presume that the new sportsmen produced by the schools boosted gates because they took an interest in watching others play. At the same time their active involvement increased the number and range of sporting spectacles which other less active spectators could watch. Some school events became popular well established dates in the sporting calendar particularly

since they were of a high standard, were full of local interest and took place at some of the city's principal sporting arenas including Ibrox Stadium, Celtic and Hampden Parks.

At the same time the contribution of schools to the development of sport in Glasgow should not be exaggerated. The sporting facilities of the board schools were not open for use by the general public.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, with the exception of swimming, throughout the whole of the last quarter of the nineteenth century the board schools made no attempt to teach children team games: even in the closing years of the period the development of team games in board schools was desultory, and too much weight continued to be placed on routine drill as the basic form of physical recreation in the school curriculum. As for the private schools, though they made an important contribution to the wider development of team games through their codification of the rules, their role in disseminating sport to the wider community generally stopped at that point. Their sports facilities were all too rarely opened for active use by the public and the arrangement of fixtures, particularly in rugby, provided a most striking example of their insular restrictive nature. New clubs found it almost impossible to arrange games with the leading private school XVs who had long established fixture cards filled by first class opponents from all over Scotland.

On balance the school system encouraged local sporting expansion. Yet with more facilities in the board

schools (Govan School Board's attitude to swimming shows what more could have been done), a different attitude in the board schools to team games and a greater positive involvement by private schools in disseminating sport to all social classes, a great deal more could have been done.

The first Boys' Brigade company was established in Glasgow in October 1883 by William Smith, a local businessman, volunteer officer and Sunday school teacher. By the end of 1885 there were seven companies with 241 members. Four years later the Glasgow Battalion had 90 companies with a membership of 4,250.<sup>40</sup> The Brigade's leadership was overwhelmingly middle class but the boys themselves were drawn from a range of social groups. Some were sons of local shopkeepers, clerks and similar white collar workers while others were 'young people of the poorer classes', the sons of skilled and unskilled workers.<sup>41</sup>

The Glasgow Battalion arranged a variety of activities for its members and in particular it made great use of, and had a large involvement in, sport. In 1889 a Recreation Sub-Committee was established to organise Battalion sport. Boys were offered the opportunity to take part in a whole range of pursuits of which athletics was the first and always one of the most popular. The Brigade's annual sports at Celtic Park in 1902 were "well supported, the boys contesting the different events with their usual enthusiasm".<sup>42</sup> Cricket too, had a regular though smaller following. In 1894 seven companies entered a newly formed cricket league the membership of which fluctuated between

six and ten teams throughout the period up to 1914.

After 1891 the Battalion arranged swimming lessons which were taught by qualified instructors. In 1902 21 companies held evening swimming classes. By 1914 the number had increased to 63. Competitive swimming was also encouraged. In 1889 a very successful Battalion Gala was held at the Gorbals Baths. At the second gala twelve months later 86 boys competed in a selection of swimming races and six companies took part in a water polo competition. At subsequent galas other team events were included to sustain interest and in 1899 124 boys entered the tenth annual gala at Cranstonhill Baths.<sup>43</sup>

Soccer however, was the most popular sport with Battalion members. Inter-company games were arranged soon after the first companies had been formed in the early eighties. In 1890 a formal inter-company knock-out cup competition was organised. It was followed by a series of intra-district ties which culminated in the selection of a team to play against an Edinburgh Battalion XI. In 1893 an inter-company league was established which the following year was enlarged to two divisions and in 1902 to three. By 1910 football was so popular that a new league structure was introduced: a first division of ten teams: a second division for boys under 14½ years of age, divided into two sections, with a total of 26 teams: and a third division of fourteen teams for boys under 13½. The development of a series of annual inter-city games beginning in 1893 with a match against a Sheffield

Battalion XI enhanced the popularity of football. In 1901 a game against a Battalion XI from Dublin was also organised and by 1913 there were also games with Leith and London.<sup>44</sup> By 1902 29 companies ran football teams and by 1913 83. Twelve months later it was

"estimated that close on 1,300 Boys played during the season under the auspices of the Battalion, not taking into consideration the many games, other than League fixtures, which individual Companies arranged and carried out under the personal supervision of their officers."<sup>45</sup>

The Boys' Brigade was a uniformed well disciplined christian organisation. Its initial purpose was to control rowdy working class boys who attended the North Woodside Mission where William Smith worked as a Sunday school teacher. It flowered into a national organisation controlled by middle class officials which trained large numbers of lower middle and working class boys to become pious loyal healthy and self-respecting members of society.<sup>46</sup> Several military activities such as marching and drilling were used to achieve some of these ends. At the Battalion's Third Annual Drill Inspection in 1888 the Inspecting Officer, Major-General Gildea, C.B. noted,

"I trust the strict performance of all duties, obedience to all orders, punctuality, good comradeship, cleanliness, respect to all those above them, civility to all those with whom they may come in contact, which the boys are taught on parade, may follow them in their daily occupations" <sup>47</sup>

Sport was also used to achieve these objectives. Large scale involvement in sport was one of the most prominent aspects of Battalion activity because it was,

"a means towards the healthy physical development of the Boys, and ... a training ground for those higher mental and moral qualities which the Brigade seeks to cultivate".<sup>48</sup>

Boys spent a large amount of time playing football, cricket, swimming, water polo and athletics which were,

"a great boon to the average town Boy, whose life so often lacks the aim and stimulus necessary to raise it from a dull routine, and interest him in useful pursuits and healthful amusement".<sup>49</sup>

Sport also had an important moral intention. It was promoted,

"to maintain throughout a high tone, and to encourage among the Boys that spirit of courtesy, consideration for others, and fair play which the Brigade seeks to cultivate".<sup>50</sup>

Officials also encouraged widespread involvement in sport for more practical reasons: to sustain church attendances (boys could only play sport if they went to church): to provide opportunities for inter-personal contact between officers and boys within a particular company and between companies both within and without the Glasgow Battalion. But its most significant function was to attract recruits. At a time when the Glasgow and Govan School Boards made little provision for sport the Brigade was the most accessible organisation which specifically arranged sport for young people. Most boys joined the Brigade simply to play sport. In 1896 A F Peterson a Captain in the 76th Glasgow Company noted,

"In the mission with which my own Company is connected, for example, some of our most earnest and active Christian workers are

old Boys who have confessed that they joined the company mainly, if not entirely, to get a place in its Cricket or Football team."<sup>51</sup>

The involvement of the Boys' Brigade in sport had a number of favourable effects on general sporting developments in Glasgow. Some time before the introduction of team games into the curricula of board schools, the Brigade was helping to expand participation in team sports among the working classes. In this respect its influence was especially marked in the case of football. The game had always been popular with Glaswegian youths. Its growth as a spectator sport had spread knowledge about the rules, skills and styles of play. Senior players were emulated in spontaneously informal games played by youths in the streets and on playgrounds throughout the city. The Boys' Brigade pioneered schemes to harness and develop this interest. It provided widespread opportunities for local youths to use good facilities and equipment and take part in a variety of well structured competitions. In the same way as private school officials fostered a code of fair play in rugby and cricket, so, on the football field, Boys' Brigade officials discouraged any behaviour which was contrary to the spirit of the game. During the incipient development of Battalion football, the notion of a friendly inter-company football match was quite foreign to working class boys who knew little about the amateur ideal. However, under strict supervision from company officials who enforced "the maintenance of a certain standard of conduct among the boys", and showed them "in what spirit the



game ought to be played", acceptable levels of behaviour were established.<sup>52</sup> By 1900 it was reported that,

"The Football League was run in three divisions, for which 22 teams entered, the good conduct and fair play now general in the Battalion being noticeable at the matches."<sup>53</sup>

The Battalion also played an important part in providing and drawing attention to the need for adequate sports facilities. Local companies who had secured their own grounds allowed other companies to use them or rented them out to outside bodies including board schools. In 1911 Woodside Higher Grade School paid £10 per annum to use the ground of one company at Anniesland for girls' games. The Battalion's Recreation Sub-Committee never missed an opportunity to urge Glasgow Corporation to make a bigger commitment to sport. In 1890 it lobbied the Corporation to reduce admission costs at the public baths. Twelve months later its concern over the lack of suitable open spaces was strongly stated in an official Boys' Brigade publication entitled, 'A History of the Glasgow Battalion' and in 1893 Brigade officials were prominent members of a pressure group which presented a petition to the Corporation asking for more sports facilities in Queen's Park.<sup>54</sup>

The Volunteer Force made a timely contribution to the development of sport in Glasgow during the second half of the nineteenth century. The Force had become popular in the late fifties and early sixties due to mid Victorian Britain's chronic fear of invasion. After 1848 when the

Duke of Wellington drew attention to the defenceless state of Britain's coasts the question of national security was widely discussed by military and political groups.<sup>55</sup>

During the late fifties there were grounds for alarm as it was thought that Napoleon III planned to invade Britain. The French development of a port at Cherbourg, their suggestion that a bomb thrown at Napoleon had been made in Britain, the fear that France was seeking an alliance with Russia and a suspicion of Napoleon's motives in his intervention in Italy, culminated in Britain making large scale improvements to its defences. An increase in naval strength and the improvement of maritime fortifications were the principal government reactions.

It was however, not the government but a handful of interested private individuals who saw safety in yet a third remedy, the creation of volunteer rifle companies. Glasgow and Edinburgh were the two centres for the formation of a Scottish Volunteer Force. Glasgow's first company, the Glasgow Volunteer Rifle Corps Western Section No. 1., was founded in September 1859. By the end of the year 34 corps had been established and by December 1861 the total had reached 75.<sup>56</sup> Several companies were composed entirely of middle class professional and lower middle class white collar workers. The 9th Company of the 1st Lanarkshire Volunteer Rifle Battalion, for example, consisted of tellers and clerks from local banks while the 15th Company was composed of members of the legal profession, clerks and apprentices. However, although the majority of

companies were established and commanded by middle class Glaswegians, nearly all the rank and file members were skilled working men. In 1862, 80% or 4,000 of all local volunteers were artisans. Most of the 3rd Lanarkshire Volunteer Rifle Battalion was composed of skilled men. The 22nd Company was raised chiefly among 'the workers of Messrs Cogan's spinning factory', the 8th Company was recruited from the workmen of the Etna Foundry Company and the 54th and 82nd Companies were formed by 'total abstiners, the latter being of artisans'. Similarly within the 3rd (Blytheswood) Volunteer Battalion the Highland Light Infantry, the 30th Company contained 'a good number of artisans' and the 38th Company 'was raised in the Central district among better class mechanics'.<sup>57</sup>

Apart from any contribution it may have made to the defence of the country, in a society which enjoyed increasingly large amounts of leisure time, the Volunteer Force provided welcome forms of organised recreation. Rifle shooting always remained the most important and prominent physical activity. However, during the summer months of the early sixties volunteer companies also provided the principal and most convenient opportunities for Glaswegians to take part in athletics. Celtic based athletic events which were included in the programmes at highland gatherings were very popular. At the annual camps organised at coastal locations by local companies during the Glasgow Fair holiday, athletics was a principal source of entertainment and training. In July 1861 at the

annual camp at Luss of one of Glasgow's leading corps the weekend was spent enjoying a variety of military and athletic activities. On the Saturday afternoon a well organised volunteer sports was enjoyed by the two hundred recruits. Hill running, several jumping events and putting the stone were some of the activities for which prizes were awarded.<sup>58</sup> The volunteers also played football. Immediately after the inaugural England v. Scotland game played in Glasgow in 1872 the 3rd Lanarkshire Volunteer Regiment established a football club and obtained a ground at Cathkin Park in the south side of the city. Other companies such as the 1st, 10th and 19th Lanarkshire Volunteers Regiments followed suit but unlike the 3rd Lanarkshire they were unable to acquire permanent grounds and so they soon disbanded. The 3rd Lanarkshire Regiment was the focal point for any volunteer who was interested in football. By 1888 the club had 300 members and 350 non playing members or season ticket holders. It also had a new pavilion and a turfied playing area which was considered to have the finest surface in Scotland. In 1890 the club became a founder member of the S.F.L.<sup>59</sup>

Sport was promoted by volunteer officials as a major weapon in the hunt for recruits and an inducement against resignation. Although a sense of patriotism, an opportunity for social mobility and a certain degree of respectability were attractive inducements for joining a company, the opportunity for active involvement in physical recreation was the prime motive which led skilled

working men to enrol in their thousands.

"the volunteers provided a wide variety of experiences for a working man: rifle shooting, sham fights, social evenings, football, bands, horse racing, athletic sports, and camps."<sup>60</sup>

A number of practical factors accounted for the particular popularity of athletics and football among the volunteer companies. They were cheap, required little specialist equipment or clothing, could be organised on any flat open area and were popular with rank and file members. For middle class officials volunteering was an ideal form of rational recreation.<sup>61</sup> Its quasi-military organisation which stressed the importance of discipline, obedience and self-control made it a most effective means of guiding working class recreational tastes. Athletics was particularly useful during the summer holidays. It provided working men with a healthy rational holiday experience which contrasted sharply with a traditional pre-occupation with drinking. During the Glasgow Fair holiday in 1850,

"a great deal of healthful enjoyment was obtained on sea and shore ... Both by master and servant the holidays are welcomed with delight, and if rationally enjoyed their memories will be as bright as their anticipations."<sup>62</sup>

In contrast, over the same weekend four hundred Glaswegians were taken into police custody for drunkenness, fighting and other crimes induced by an excess of alcohol. There was "a great amount of dissipation ... Never, on any similar occasion in the memory of man, had there been so many cases of intoxication."<sup>63</sup>

Despite all this, the Volunteer Force's influence on sporting participation was rather mixed. On the positive side it provided the first opportunity for lower middle and respectable working class Glaswegians to have an active involvement in sport, particularly football and athletics. Through the efforts of some of its most enthusiastic and notable members such as Dr W G Blackie, the owner of a local printing firm and Mr J L Lang, a Vice-President of the Glasgow Abstiners' Union, athletics was also introduced to working men not directly involved in the Force.<sup>64</sup> During September 1861 Messrs Blackie and Sons arranged an excursion to Largs for its employees. At the resort they "betook themselves to the beach, where the competitions for prizes in foot and sack racing afforded good sport to the crowd".<sup>65</sup> Similarly, within the city in the summer of 1862 the Glasgow Abstiners' Union provided a number of regular games and entertainments at the Gilmorehill Grounds. Among the 'recreations and amusements for the people' were a variety of highland games events. The Force not only increased the number of activists but also their levels of performance. This was particularly evident in football after 1870 when several volunteer companies such as the 1st Lanarkshire Volunteer Rifles and the 4th and 23rd Renfrewshire Volunteer Rifles, whose headquarters were at Pollockshaws and Cathcart respectively, entered numerous local and national cup and league competitions. The most successful XI was the 3rd Lanarkshire Volunteer Rifles. It was a nursery for .

football talent, regularly providing the most successful Scottish and English clubs with a wealth of young players. In 1889 five members of a particularly successful 1st XI left to join English teams. The club also produced a string of players who represented Scotland. The most famous of them all was Jimmy Brownlie, "one of the finest of all Scotland's goalkeepers".<sup>66</sup>

On the other hand the role of the Volunteer Force in promoting sport in the city was limited by two factors. Firstly, membership of the Force was dominated by the lower middle and skilled working classes. Glasgow's large population of semi-skilled and unskilled workers did not share directly in the sporting activities. To this extent the Force was as effective a deterrent to sporting democracy as the restrictive practices devised by private school cricketers and rugby players. Secondly, though athletics was seen as an important part of any annual camp it was never organised on a more regular basis at weekly volunteer meetings within the city. Officials paid more attention to military activities such as drill, sham fighting and rifle shooting which were practised at every company meeting.<sup>67</sup>

At various times in the period 1860-1914 the three agencies - the public board and private schools, the Boys' Brigade and the Volunteer Force - had significant positive effects on sporting developments in Glasgow. They increased levels of participation and spectator support, improved the quality of sporting performances, provided

much sought after facilities and helped to formulate, regulate and uphold sporting codes. However, their degree of influence varied quite considerably. The private schools contributed to a small improvement in participatory levels in rugby, cricket and athletics while some of the growing interest in playing football was due to the efforts of the Boys' Brigade. The public board schools were primarily responsible for the widespread local interest in swimming. All three agencies helped to improve levels of sporting performance. The private schools were a nursery for rugby players, cricketers and athletes, while the Volunteer Force, the public board schools and particularly the Boys' Brigade produced regular supplies of talented footballers. A large number of successful local swimmers were taught to swim at board schools. The Boys' Brigade emerged after 1890 as an important provider of facilities for team games while some public board schools in Govan offered a similar service to local swimmers. The Volunteer Force and private schools did not welcome such widespread public use of their facilities. However, until the establishment of stadia at Ibrox, Celtic Park and Hampden, their grounds were often used to stage a range of local, national and international events. The private schools played a major role in the formulation and regulation of rules in rugby, athletics and cricket while the Boys' Brigade acted in a similar capacity in football.

Unfortunately not all the actions of the schools, Volunteer Force or the Boys' Brigade proved beneficial to



local sporting developments. The three agencies did little to disseminate sport to all sections of the local community. In showing no interest in sport except swimming until after 1900, the public board schools gave the other agencies a carte blanche to influence sporting patterns. Quite restrictive and insular sporting habits evolved amongst a number of local social groups. In particular, partly through the influence of the Volunteer Force, incipient interest in football and athletics was restricted to lower middle and skilled working class men. Similarly, in the private schools, rugby and cricket and to a lesser extent athletics became the property of a tightly knit group of private schoolmen who showed little or no interest in swimming or football. In contrast, the Boys' Brigade was relatively cosmopolitan. It offered football, swimming, some cricket and athletics to youths from a range of working class groups but it never encouraged rugby.

Sport provided an ideal medium through which the schools, Boys' Brigade and Volunteer Force pursued their various aims. Although they did not consider that their principal function was to supply the public with sport, their influence was considerable. The wider problem of public sporting provision and policy will be considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5THE LOCAL AUTHORITY 1850-1914

Local authority policy on the establishment of facilities for sport was extremely important. Public provision in the period under consideration breaks down into three clearly discernible phases. In the first, between c. 1850-70, Glasgow Corporation was mainly concerned with laying out public parks aimed at walking for pleasure. In the second phase from c. 1870-90 there was some conflict between the Corporation, who wished to preserve the traditional functions of the public parks, and local sporting groups who wanted facilities for a number of outdoor games. The situation was complicated by the Corporation's apparent advocacy of 'rational recreation' aimed at physical and moral improvement. Between c. 1890-1914 these various conflicts were resolved. The Corporation gave support to the popularisation of golf, developed a network of public swimming pools and set aside areas within the public parks for several ball games. The improvement in municipal facilities in the third phase was reflected in a considerable growth in levels of participation.

In the course of the second half of the nineteenth century Glasgow Corporation, along with other similar local government bodies in Britain's principal towns and cities, established public parks.<sup>1</sup> From 1854-69 Glasgow Corporation laid out three public parks and took control

of Glasgow Green. In 1852 the death of Mr Colin McNaught enabled the Corporation to buy over sixty acres of his land lying on the left bank of the River Kelvin, between Woodside and Sandyford. By 1854 this had been converted into the Kelvingrove Park - Glasgow's first purpose built public park. For residents who lived on the south side of the Clyde the Queen's Park was opened in 1857. Alexandra Park was established in the north east of Glasgow in 1869, laid out by the City Improvement Trustees on eighty acres of land purchased in 1866 from Walter Stewart of Haghill for £25,664.<sup>2</sup>

The pressure for park provision emerged during the second quarter of the nineteenth century when there was a growing national concern for improvements in the urban environment. A number of national reports piled up evidence of appalling sanitary conditions in Britain's largest cities. They drew attention to, inter alia, inadequate domestic sewerage systems and water supplies, badly built and overcrowded houses and dirty poorly lit and badly constructed streets and alleyways. They also noted the lack of suitable areas of park land in congested urban areas.<sup>3</sup>

Many suggestions were made to overcome the problems. The provision of public walks and open spaces was specifically recommended to better the physical environment, improve the health of the inhabitants and elevate their minds and manners through contact with nature.<sup>4</sup> It was important to balance growing urbanisation with a form of

conservation. Parks would ensure that a part of the country remained within the growing city. Shaping the urban environment by means of well planned open spaces was equalled in urgency by the concern for health. It was commonly argued that parks were the 'lungs of the city' which provided pockets of wholesome fresh air in an otherwise dusty and dirty environment. Open spaces were considered as the only preventative check to a variety of lethal zymotic diseases which it was believed were transmitted by pollution in the atmosphere. Physical health, or the lack of it, was delicately entwined with the issue of public morality. Walking in the open air would elevate the minds and manners of the urban poor and prove sufficiently attractive to wean them away from drinking and gambling.<sup>5</sup>

Glasgow Corporation was severely criticised in the numerous health reports which were published in the early forties. Consequently, like a number of other local authorities, it provided public parks to help to remedy the situation. In 1851 it was reported that the Corporation wished to build a park "to beautify the city and promote its sanitary well-being".<sup>7</sup> Fifteen years later the Parks Committee noted that

"In large industrial cities like Glasgow the importance of possessing an adequate number of public parks to meet the necessities of the various districts cannot be overestimated. These open spaces are one great deterrent to physical deterioration consequent upon city life. In the smoke laden atmosphere of a great manufacturing city they are welcome beathing-spaces, and afford a pleasant

change from the unending pavements of the busy streets."<sup>8</sup>

Environmental considerations were certainly important but Glasgow also needed parks to prove its legitimacy as a first class British city. There was considerable competition amongst local authorities to provide the most beautiful parks. However, in some respects civic pride was a hindrance since what Corporations considered appropriate to their dignity bore little relationship to the practical needs of park users. There was a tendency to opt for large grandiose imposing yet quite inappropriate facilities. On Glasgow Green for example, the Corporation planted trees and shrubs, erected several drinking fountains and monuments and built a winter garden. A large fountain, an ornamental pond containing water fowl, a granite stair and even bronze statues were placed in the Kelvingrove Park while the Queen's Park contained a plant house, an arboretum and also a maze "as exists at Hampton Court".<sup>9</sup>

Although the need for parks grew out of a national concern for sanitary reform, central government gave little financial assistance for their construction.<sup>10</sup> The local authority and numerous philanthropic and commercial sources provided most of the money. However, parks were only one of a number of schemes competing for a slice of the city budget. Capital investment projects such as the Loch Katrine water project and house, road and sewer construction put heavy demands on the civic purse

and so the first parks were laid out on a self-financing basis. In 1853 the Corporation paid nearly £100,000 for the 66 acre Kelvingrove estate. To recoup the entire cost, one third of the land was feued for building purposes. Although the proportion allocated for feuing created a great deal of local opposition, the area which was eventually built upon paid for the original cost of the estate.<sup>11</sup> Similarly in 1857 the Corporation purchased the lands of Pathhead and 143 acres of the Pollok Estate from Neale Thomson of Camphill for £30,000. One third of the acreage was feued and it quickly recouped the purchase price.<sup>12</sup> Thomson made no profit on the deal since he handed the land to the Corporation for the same price that he had paid.

Glasgow was indebted to the desire of several other wealthy men to perpetuate themselves in the memory of the people by donating land for parks. In 1866 Alexander Dennistoun gifted five acres towards the formation of the Alexandra Park. Others followed his example but mostly in the final quarter of the century. In 1886 a portion of land which became the Cathkin Braes Park was presented to the city by Mr James Dick, a well known and successful local industrialist. Similarly Sir John Stirling Maxwell presented the burgh of Pollokshields with 21 acres in 1888.<sup>13</sup>

The timing of the Kelvingrove scheme was also influenced by a certain degree of self-interest. It was no coincidence that some of the people who lobbied the

Corporation to build a public park had links with the construction industry. In 1852 two local builders, Robert Lindsay and William Broom, played a leading part in instigating a public meeting to discuss the need for a park. Moreover, during the building of the Kelvingrove Park there were accusations in the press that some of the leading promoters had a personal interest in the land which the Corporation had purchased.<sup>14</sup>

Glasgow Corporation built parks to provide people with opportunities to participate in activities of an ordered disciplined improving and educational nature. The notion that leisure time had to be spent in an improvement of self and society - which contemporaries came to call rational recreation - reflected itself in the manner in which the Corporation laid out the parks, the rules which they introduced to govern their use and the lack of consideration which they adopted to local sporting groups.

The parks were provided with facilities of an improving and educational nature. They were essentially public walking areas in which people could stroll along tree lined paths and drives looking at judicious collections of flora.<sup>15</sup> Individual trees, shrubs and plants were carefully displayed and by 1873 musical performances were given during summer evenings to arouse an interest in nature and to uplift people from the problems of everyday life and dispose them to be reflective, orderly and sober.<sup>16</sup> Strict control was exercised over park usage. To ensure that they were used solely for perambulation and to

protect the Corporation's investment in landscaping, bye-laws were adopted to discourage any kind of sporting activity. In the Queen's Park, "No Games of any kind shall be played in or upon any part of the Park, except upon such portions thereof as are specifically set apart for that purpose".<sup>17</sup> However, some casual users showed no respect for the laws and by 1870 a ranger was appointed to ensure that games were confined to bona fide locations.

The Corporation also turned down requests from local clubs to use the parks for sporting events. In 1857 Garrison Cricket Club was refused permission to play on Glasgow Green while in 1864 an application from residents of Crosshill to lay out a bowling green on the Queen's Park was rejected.<sup>18</sup>

Important budgetary restrictions also limited the supply of sports facilities. Only two amenities for sport were built in the parks before the mid seventies and neither required any financial commitment from the Corporation. In return for permission to establish a bowling green on Queen's Park in 1866, the Queen's Park Bowling Club was required to lay out the green, build a bowling house and pay the Corporation rental of £20 per annum.<sup>19</sup> In 1860 some gymnastic apparatus was built on Glasgow Green. The equipment was donated to the Corporation by Mr M G Fleming who had seen similar facilities in the public parks in Manchester.<sup>20</sup>

Glasgow's middle class sportsmen had the time, money and organisational ability to provide their own



sports facilities. They formed private clubs and bought or leased enclosed playing areas. Working class Glaswegians turned to the Corporation to provide suitable facilities. They expected sports grounds to be built in the parks, essentially at public expense. Since the Corporation regarded most sports, and in particular, football, as a threat to social order, moral integrity and respectability, conflict between the two groups was inevitable.<sup>21</sup>

Glasgow Corporation was not prepared to allocate extensive acreages of valuable grass land to games which encouraged the formation of large groups of noisy boisterous youngsters who destroyed the tranquillity of the parks and caused unsightly bare patches on the grass which gave the areas untidy ragged appearances.<sup>22</sup> When the Cathkin Braes Park was opened in 1886, bye-laws were posted which specifically prohibited football, shinty and cricket.<sup>23</sup> When in 1891, under the terms of the 1891 City Extension Act, the Corporation gained control of the Springburn, Maxwell and Maryhill Parks, it made no provision for games players. A bandstand, drinking fountain, waiting rooms and flower beds were added to the Maxwell Park after 1891 but there was no immediate provision for ball games. Springburn Park had similar facilities and bye-laws.<sup>24</sup>

A lack of suitable public games areas restricted levels of participation. Although some football clubs were able to purchase or lease private grounds, the majority had to play in the public parks. They found it

extremely difficult to obtain regular venues simply because there were far too many clubs wanting to use the same pieces of parkland. Without a private ground the future of any club was always in doubt. Moreover, the Corporation was inconsistent in allocating pitches; and consequently clubs were not assured of long term ground leases. Clubs were often required to scratch from competitions due to a lack of suitable facilities.<sup>25</sup>

In 1890 the Glasgow Battalion of the Boys' Brigade received entries from over sixteen companies who wished to play in its annual inter-company cup competition. However, the event was severely restricted due to the overcrowded state of Glasgow's few public recreational areas.<sup>26</sup>

The search for good quality grass areas was a major problem for local cricket clubs. The Corporation showed no interest in providing pitches and until after 1890 cricket remained the province of a relatively small group of sportsmen who drew support from local landowners. Cycling was not regarded as being worthy of public support and lack of access to suitable facilities caused constant problems to participants. After the introduction of the bicycle in the early seventies, the public parks were favourite venues with riders. They spent many hours pedalling along the well maintained carriage drives. However, cycling was not popular with Glasgow Corporation. Drives and walkways were not designed for noisy and dangerous cyclists. The Corporation's attitude was voiced

by Councillor Martin who suggested that if riders "wished to show themselves off there was plenty of room in the country to wallop about".<sup>27</sup>

In 1878 bye-laws were introduced to restrict park usage for cycling. Cycling on the carriage drives was permitted only from the time of opening until 9 a.m. and a speed restriction was imposed.<sup>28</sup> Despite the popularity of cycling after 1880, the Corporation made few concessions on park usage. Requests from individuals to relax the rules fell on deaf ears. Periodic demands from local and national cycling organisations achieved some minor concessions but access was severely restricted until after 1896.<sup>29</sup>

Although Glasgow Corporation did little to encourage the growth of cycling and ball games, it was unable to deny all claims from sportsmen. In 1873 Alexandra Athletic F.C. asked to lease a portion of Alexandra Park for "the purpose of playing Cricket, Foot Ball, etc.". <sup>30</sup> The principle of leasing park areas to private clubs was rejected but it was recommended that

"the portion of the Alexandra Park next to the Canal should ... be set apart for such games as will not interfere with the grass and that the South East portion of the Park near to the Cumbernauld Road and also the Quarry be set apart likewise for games."<sup>31</sup>

With pressure from other suburban groups, limited areas for games were also set aside in the Queen's Park and on Glasgow Green. In 1890 some additional areas in the Queen's Park, Alexandra Park and Glasgow Green were

provided but they were simply unmarked pieces of grass on which all sorts of players competed for space.

Although the Corporation found it impossible to ignore all requests from local sportsmen for playing spaces, it was most concerned to encourage only those sports which were regarded as of moral as well as physical value. To this end it attempted to influence sporting habits by providing facilities for golf and swimming.<sup>32</sup>

Glasgow Corporation turned to golf to provide a source of weekend refreshment, to keep people fit, to teach good manners and to instil the moral qualities of discipline, humility and self-restraint - qualities which were symbolic expressions of deeply held middle class values.

"Good games should benefit both mind and body, and no game can stand this better than golf. To the mind it shows the need of caution, courage, coolness, and many other qualities. Above all it teaches one to keep the temper under due control in all circumstances and situations."<sup>33</sup>

Golf required a high degree of personal honesty since players added up their own scores.<sup>34</sup> Golfers observed a certain sporting etiquette which was so important that a code was written down and attached to the rules. In this way a middle class normative structure was framed within the actual sporting experience of all golfers.<sup>35</sup> Bailie Steele, the Convenor of Glasgow Corporation's Golf Committee drew attention to the sport's physical and cathartic benefits. At the presentation of the Corporation Golf Trophy in 1900, he said "it was a delightful thing that

anybody could go to the park and have a game of golf at such a reasonable charge. Golf was a delightful and health giving game."<sup>36</sup> It helped Glaswegians to relax after a hard weeks work. A golfer had his mind "fully occupied but in new channels ... he comes back to his troubles a better man, happier, bolder, healthier."<sup>37</sup>

Golf was the ideal sport to bridge the gap between the traditional view of the public parks as walking and viewing sites and the modern attitude which regarded them as sports grounds. However, committed as it was to a massive rehousing scheme inaugurated under the terms of the 1866 City Improvement Act, the Corporation was unable to commit large amounts of finance to the provision of golfing facilities. Much of the finance and energy, therefore, was provided by the private sector. The case of Glasgow G.C. illustrates the association between the private sector and the local authority in the provision of golfing facilities. From 1870-74 Glasgow G.C. played on the Queen's Park, an unsuitable venue since it meant sharing with footballers, cricketers and shinty players. Accordingly, in 1874, it asked the Corporation for exclusive use of a section of the Alexandra Park. This was granted on condition that the club met all the expenses of laying out the course and maintaining the greens.<sup>38</sup> It was a convenient contract for both parties. At a cost of £66.6.0 per annum Glasgow G.C. had access to conveniently sited, well maintained greens while Glasgow Corporation encouraged casual users to play at Alexandra

Park on a course which it had acquired free of charge.

The Corporation was also active in the promotion of swimming. Partly out of a concern to improve standards of public health by providing the working classes with facilities for washing themselves and their clothes and partly because swimming was seen as a rational recreation which promoted a healthy mind as well as a healthy body, Glasgow Corporation constructed a total of ten public baths and wash-houses during the period 1878-1902.

(Table 3.1)<sup>39</sup>

Both golf and swimming proved extremely popular. By 1890 golf was played by all sections of Glasgow society.

"The golf mania has spread, is spreading, and will spread, and while the big golf ball goes on rolling, it will gather to itself all sort and conditions of men."<sup>40</sup>

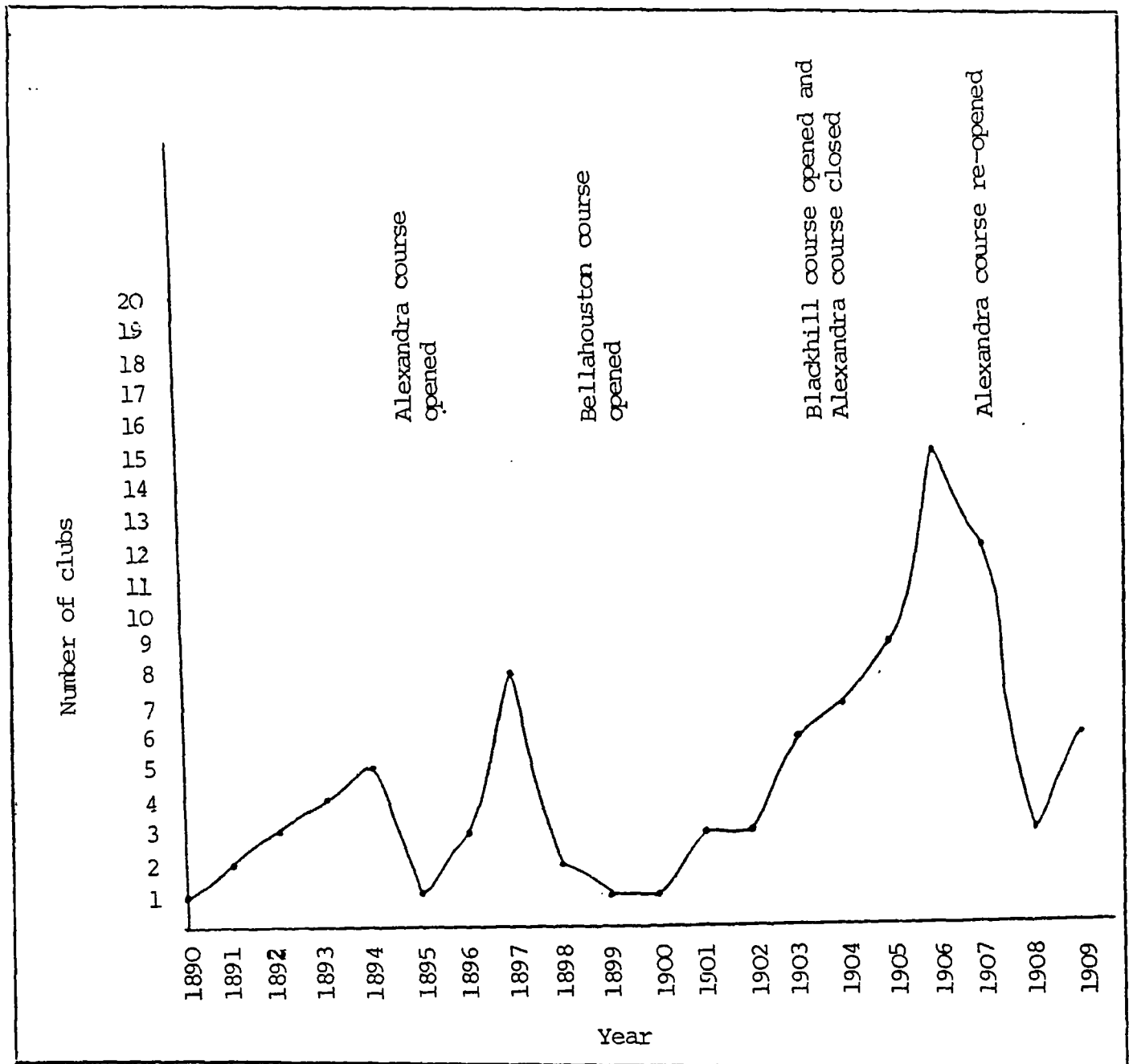
By 1900 the Alexandra Park course could not cope with the large contingent of Glasgow G.C. members and an ever increasing number of casual players. The course was vastly overplayed and on Saturday afternoons overcrowding was particularly acute.<sup>41</sup> To overcome the problem in March 1882 the club leased a site suitable for golf twenty miles out of the city at Irvine. However, the course, known as the Gailes, was only a partial remedy since it did not deal directly with the problem of large numbers of casual players at Alexandra Park. The club required a more permanent solution in order to resist envelopment by an uncontrollable casual golfing population. In 1894 it asked the Corporation to regulate casual play and order

non club members to give way on competition days. Since the course was situated in a public park the authorities dismissed the request and promptly asked for an increase in rent from £66.6.0 to £150.0.0 per annum. In response the club relinquished its interest in the course and moved to a new site at Blackhill.<sup>42</sup> The Corporation took responsibility for the upkeep of the Alexandra Park course and to offset maintenance costs charged a token payment of 2d. per player per game.

The decision marked a most fundamental change in the Corporation's attitude to sport. For the first time it accepted responsibility for the management of an outdoor sports facility. The course was a significant sporting and financial success. So many golfers played on the greens that the annual takings not only paid for maintenance costs but also encouraged the Corporation to use the surplus to help to pay for additional facilities.<sup>43</sup> In 1899 a nine hole course was opened at Bellahouston Park. It was so popular that a third course was acquired in 1904 when Glasgow G.C. relinquished the use of Blackhill.<sup>44</sup> Unfortunately, Blackhill, a mile from the nearest railway station, was not in a particularly accessible position.<sup>45</sup> To alleviate the problem, a new nine hole course was opened at Alexandra Park in 1907 replacing the former eighteen hole course which had been closed in 1904. Graph 5.1 indicates a direct association between the establishment of new courses and new clubs.

To encourage and reinforce an interest in golf, the

Graph 5.1. Number of new golf clubs in Glasgow, 1890-1909.<sup>46</sup>



Corporation kept playing costs to a minimum and also organised annual competitions. In 1897, for example, it initiated a contest for a 'Corporation Golf Trophy' which was open to amateurs of recognised local clubs. Two years later a second event was introduced - a handicap

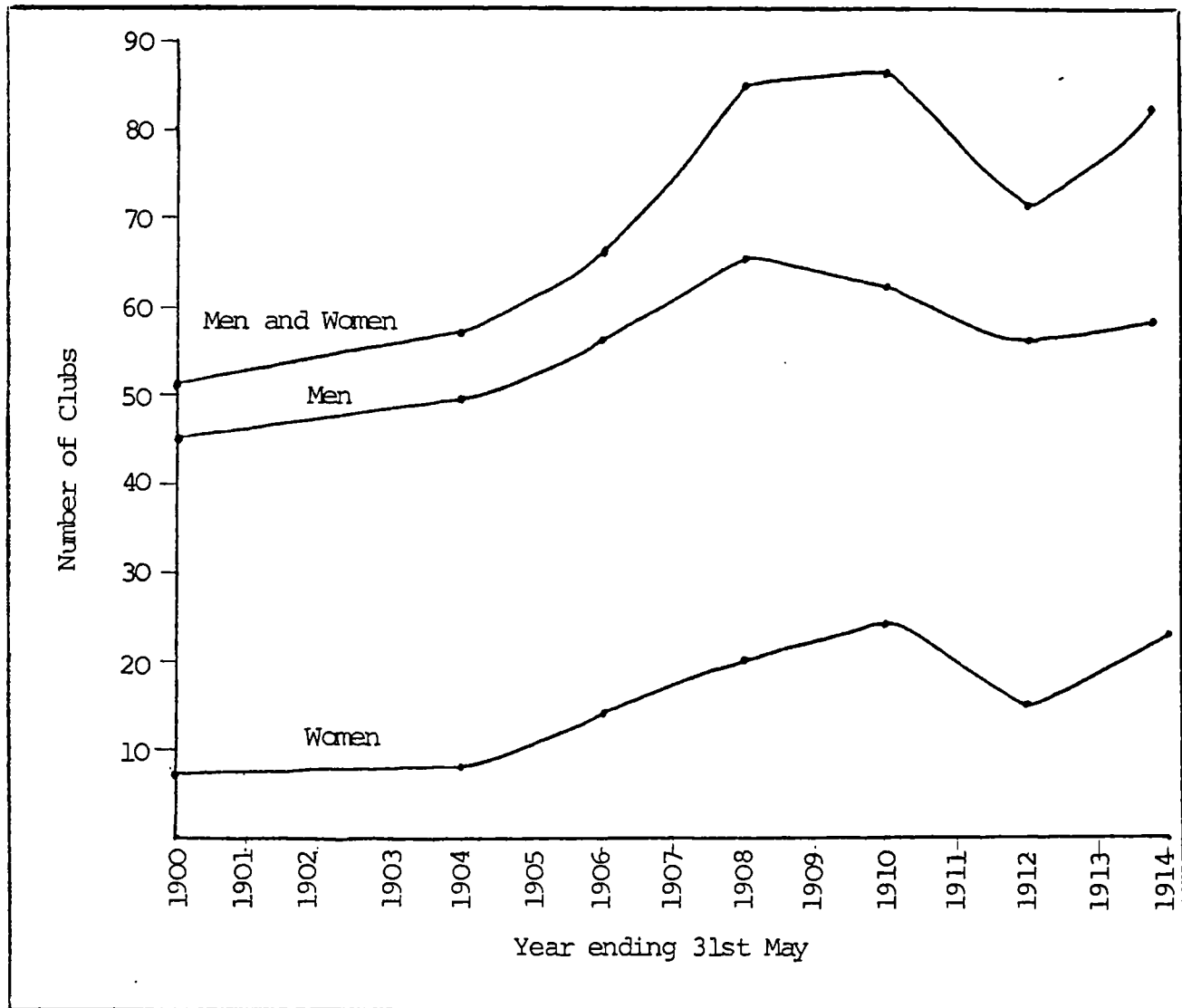


competition for golfers who used Alexandra Park whether or not they were members of a local club.<sup>47</sup> Until 1904 charges were as low as 2d. per day or 7/6 per annum on all the public courses. In 1907 it cost 3d. per game at Bellahouston and Blackhill and at Alexandra Park 2d. for one round and 3d. for two rounds.<sup>48</sup> By comparison admission to a S.F.L. match was 6d.. Special financial and temporal arrangements also facilitated club growth. For a mutually agreed annual sum, members of local clubs could play on the greens free of charge. They were also granted preferential use on competition days.<sup>49</sup> By keeping costs of play low, the Corporation played an important role in encouraging a vast interest in the game's popularity.

Graphs 3.2. and 3.3 indicate that the number of casual swimmers using the public baths rose steadily throughout the period 1900-1914.<sup>50</sup> In 1885 Glaswegians made 370,000 visits to the local public baths. In 1900 the total was 520,000 and by 1909 it had reached 625,000. The Corporation ensured that all sections of Glasgow society had the opportunity to swim. Baths were located on accessible sites throughout suburban Glasgow and admission charges kept as low as possible.<sup>51</sup> Interest was enhanced after 1887, particularly amongst the working classes, when Glasgow and Govan School Boards introduced swimming into the school curriculum. As with developments in golf, the Corporation also encouraged the formation and consolidation of new clubs. Following a second phase of

swimming pool construction beginning in 1902, when five new baths were built, the number of swimming clubs steadily increased. (Graph 5.2). The new pools eased the

Graph 5.2.    Number of swimming clubs using public baths in Glasgow, 1900-14.<sup>52</sup>



Notes (i) No figures available for 1901-03, 05, 07, 09, 11, 13.

demand for water time and new clubs were assured of access. The Corporation also charged extremely low rents. In the 25 years after 1889 the various hire charges were actually reduced several times.<sup>53</sup> Clubs were able to maintain very low entry fees and subscription rates which allowed them to sustain healthy membership totals. Even the lowest paid worker could join a swimming club.<sup>54</sup>

Although the Corporation could claim a great deal of success in introducing Glaswegians from all classes to the rational delights of golf and swimming, the effect was by no means all-encompassing. Rational recreations were meant to supplant all 'irrational' activities and establish a moral monopoly over working class leisure, but in the absence of coercion, the working man still retained the right to choose. Glasgow Corporation failed to secure wholesale acceptance of its ideas.<sup>55</sup>

After 1890 however, the Corporation adopted a more sympathetic attitude to the provision of facilities for many previously irrational sports.<sup>56</sup> By the turn of the century space and equipment was provided in the public parks for virtually every popular sport. A number of interrelated factors were responsible for this change in attitude. Firstly the Corporation's own realisation that it had failed to discourage participation in irrational sports made it re-examine its policy particularly since it had given rise to problems of overcrowding, damage to existing open spaces and the illegal use of alternative sites.

"To counteract the evil effects of this artificial way of living, the guardians of the people are wisely providing parks and open spaces. But somehow the young people incline to remain and play in the closes, to the annoyance of the older folk."<sup>57</sup>

But it was also a response to the pressure of several external agents. For over twenty years from the early seventies the Corporation was innundated by scores of requests from local clubs for playing space. Approaches of a more coordinated nature were also made. In 1893 over one hundred football clubs and numerous other sporting organisations signed a petition requesting an expansion of facilities in Queen's Park. Five years later one hundred people petitioned for space for horseriding in Bellahouston Park.<sup>58</sup>

James Russell, Glasgow's Medical Officer of Health, was one of many local personalities who supported the need for more open spaces. In 1895 he drew attention to the lack of playing fields for young working class youths.

"It seems to me that we have forgotten one section of the community in our provision for recreation ... I mean the male youth of the working class [for whom] space ought to be provided. I say space designedly, because this alone is required - not space covered with grass laid out in walks or otherwise hampered with inopportune vegetation."<sup>59</sup>

In 1889 Colonel Merry, presenting the trophies at the Glasgow Charity Cup Final, took the opportunity to politely draw the Lord Provost's attention to the need for more open spaces for sport.<sup>60</sup> In March 1887 the Scottish Athletic Journal called for more space for football on

Glasgow Green and urged local junior teams to petition the Corporation to remove the restrictions on games playing on the upper section of the Green.<sup>61</sup>

Many local councillors were sympathetic to the claims for more public sports facilities. During the nineties a number of left wing politicians, funded by the Glasgow Trades Council to promote the interests of working class voters (Appendix 1) and known as the 'stalwarts', acquired seats on Glasgow Town Council. They were influential in guiding fellow councillors to accept the municipalisation of a variety of public services: gas, electricity, tramways and telephones, and made up a powerful pressure group for the provision of more sports facilities.<sup>62</sup>

During the 1896 municipal election, John Cronin, the first Irish Catholic to gain a seat on the Town Council, drew attention to the need for more park land. He was supported by fellow stalwarts, Boyd Stewart Brown and Archibald Hunter.<sup>63</sup> After 1898 a handful of stalwarts sat on the Parks Committee where they were able to have a direct say on any matter relating to the provision of sports facilities.

Although Socialist ideas grew and spread, late Victorian or even Edwardian Glasgow was not a Socialist city. The influence of the stalwarts should not be overrated. Many other councillors who were not affiliated to any political party were also sympathetic to the need for more sports facilities.<sup>64</sup> In 1896 Baillie Jack who successfully stood as the temperance candidate in the

Dennistoun Ward was one of many who spoke in favour of the Corporation obtaining more parks and open spaces.<sup>65</sup> None of the eight man sub-committee which formulated the legislation in 1896 that enabled cyclists to gain greater access to the public parks was a representative of any national political party.

After c. 1890 Glasgow Corporation began to meet many sporting needs. Comprehensive provision was by no means immediate but over a period of 25 years, facilities were provided for virtually every popular sport. By the mid nineties areas were provided which were designed specifically for active pursuits. In 1892 a five acre recreation ground was opened at Maryhill. A similar four acre area was sited at Govanhill two years later. The Burnhouse Recreation Ground, a 6½ acre plot, was opened in 1895.<sup>66</sup> The facilities provided at Bellahouston Park, which was also opened in 1895, exemplified the enlightened civic attitude to sport. The park was supplied with areas for bowling, football, cricket, hockey and golf.<sup>67</sup> Similar facilities were gradually established in many of Glasgow's public parks. Table 5.1 lists some of those which were available in 1908.

For most of the period the Corporation had refused requests from local sports clubs for the exclusive use of public facilities. Casual users had always been given preference over organised groups. However, in 1909, representatives from a handful of local football associations persuaded the Corporation to adopt a system which

Table 5.1. A selection of sports facilities in Glasgow's public parks, 1909.<sup>68</sup>

Park	Sports facilities
Alexandra Park	6 football pitches 1 dressing shelter
Bellahouston Park	5 football pitches 1 dressing shelter
Glasgow Green	10 football pitches 1 dressing shelter
Kelvingrove Park	4 football pitches cricket pitches
Maxwell Park	2 tennis courts croquet areas
Queen's Park	11 football pitches 1 dressing shelter
Ruchill Park	2 football pitches
Richmond Park	cricket pitches
Springburn Park	4 football pitches 1 dressing shelter

enabled clubs to hire facilities. By following a simple booking procedure and paying a nominal sum, clubs were allowed season long use of an area in one of the public parks. Football clubs had to apply one month prior to the start of the season. Hire charges ranged from 3/- per game for an adult team to 1/6 for a junior XI and 6d. for elementary school teams. Similar arrangements were formulated for cricket and hockey teams. It cost 3/- per game to hire a hockey pitch and 5/- per day for a cricket square.<sup>69</sup>

The Corporation also adopted a more sympathetic attitude to local cyclists. In 1896 cycling time was

extended by five hours to 2 p.m. while on a named carriage drive in Kelvingrove Park and Glasgow Green through passage was granted from opening time until sunset. Further concessions were given in 1897 when more through routes were opened. By 1905 with a significant decline in the number of cyclists and the acceptance of the safety as a practical mode of transport for work, all temporal restrictions were abolished.

By 1914 rational recreation was no longer the rule in the public parks. The notion of public walks had been augmented by a demand for public playing fields. Many sports had secured guaranteed, if restricted, privileges. The Corporation had wisely realised that it had to meet the demands and aspirations of all sections of the local population and the provision of sporting facilities had come to be considered as part of the basic social equipment of urban life.



CHAPTER 6GOVERNING BODIES OF SPORT 1850-1914

The continued development of urban industrial society in the second half of the nineteenth century required the imposition of a new centralisation of authority in many spheres of economic and social life. Sport was no exception. Beginning in the 1870s centralised governing bodies were established in all the major sporting activities: the S.F.A. (1873), S.F.U. (1873), S.C.U. (1879), S.A.A.A. (1883), S.A.S.A. (1887) and S.Cy.U. (1889). The initiation and early development of these governing bodies was due primarily to the efforts of middle class men who were able to apply a range of organizational and promotional skills learned in their own fields of work. Occupational data is available for 24 of the 48 original committee members who served on five of the earliest national governing bodies. Nine were professional men involved in medicine, law and education, another nine were businessmen and industrialists and the remaining six were clerks, members of the armed forces or public service employees.<sup>1</sup>

The stated aims of all the new governing bodies were broadly similar - to standardise rules, promote healthy and controlled competition, handle disputes between member clubs and formulate policies for the future development of their sport. The S.A.S.A., for example, proposed "to promote the uniformity of Rules for the control and regulation of Amateur Swimming and the

management of Race Meetings";<sup>2</sup> "to enforce the observance of the Laws and Rules of the S.A.S.A. and to deal with any infringement thereof"<sup>3</sup> and "to control and regulate amateur championships".<sup>4</sup> The S.F.A. placed particular emphasis on promotion. It intended "to promote football so that it will become established all over the country".<sup>5</sup>

The pursuit of these aims, however, varied greatly from one governing body to another. The primary purpose of this chapter is to examine the extent to which the various governing bodies pursued their aims and to consider how their efforts affected the development of sport in Glasgow. All the governing bodies considered were efficient and tireless legislators and organisers of their respective sports. As legislators they brought order to a number of diffuse sporting forms whose unwritten conventions were governed by local custom without any limit on territory, time or the number of participants. They also eliminated any elements which had formerly brought sport into disrepute.

Rationality was achieved by writing down formal codes of rules and regulations.<sup>6</sup> In many cases the Scottish associations adopted the rules which had been formulated by the English governing bodies of sport. For example, the S.C.U. copied the laws of the Marylebone Cricket Club while the S.Cy.U. followed the rules which had been created by the National Cyclists' Union in 1878. In 1885 the Associated Swimming Clubs of Glasgow (A.S.C.G.), the forerunner of the S.A.S.A., adopted the regulations of the Amateur Swimming Association.<sup>7</sup> The S.F.A. also relied heavily upon its

English counterpart. In 1868 Queen's Park F.C. introduced the F.A.'s "Laws of the Game" to Scotland. Apart from the law relating to offside, these laws were accepted by the S.F.A. at its inaugural meeting in March 1873.<sup>8</sup>

The English influence was by no means all encompassing, however. At first Scotland's rugby clubs used the rules of Rugby School but in 1868 they drew up and published their own laws which preceded the creation of a set of rules by the London based R.F.U. by over three years. The S.F.U. followed its own rules until 1890 when the International Rugby Football Board decreed that all international fixtures had to be played under a code of laws administered by the Board.<sup>9</sup> The rules of water polo originated in Scotland. The game was created and developed by a bathmaster from Glasgow, William Wilson, who drew up the first set of rules in 1876.<sup>10</sup> Although the Swimming Association of Great Britain, a predominantly English organisation, adopted the game and formulated a set of laws in 1885, some twelve months later the A.S.C.G., with guidance from William Wilson, created its own code. Not until 1892 were the two codes replaced by a new, universally acceptable set of 21 rules.<sup>11</sup>

The governing bodies adopted a number of broadly similar strategies to organise sport. They planned national calendars which included international and inter-city representative fixtures and trials, cup competitions and national championships. They also helped to plan the calendars of affiliated clubs, and coordinated fixtures

with their own national programmes. For representative fixtures they negotiated with other sporting groups to secure suitable venues and financial agreements and coordinated travel and accommodation arrangements. To ensure complete objectivity they took responsibility for selecting teams. At the same time they recorded and published results, compiled lists of national champions and record holders, administered cup draws and selected officials.<sup>12</sup>

As promoters of sporting activity however, their efforts were more varied and despite their original intentions, often less than enthusiastic. Both local and national swimming associations took positive steps to develop and expand swimming in Glasgow. The A.S.C.G. and its successor the Western Centre of the S.A.S.A., which later became the Western Counties Amateur Swimming Association, provided a great deal of grass roots support for swimming. Both offered advice and assistance to young clubs that had little or no experience in the organization of competitions and entertainments and occasionally gave financial assistance. They also helped clubs to acquire the services of experienced teachers and the use of expensive equipment and facilities.<sup>13</sup> After 1888 the S.A.S.A. built upon the valuable work of the local associations by adopting several important long term national measures which affected swimming in Glasgow. In particular, it introduced a scheme which gave clubs the opportunity to stage individual Scottish championship races, many local

clubs attracting capacity crowds by including a national championship event in their annual gala programmes.<sup>14</sup> The governing body also established 'Baths Committees' at both national and local levels to deal with all matters relating to the construction of public baths. The national committee laid down guidelines for the design of baths, drawing particular attention to the dimensions of swimming pools and the need for adequate spectator accommodation and associated facilities. It was the duty of the local committees to bring these recommendations to the attention of town councils which proposed to build baths.<sup>15</sup>

In football the S.F.A. adopted some extremely successful measures to create and develop a large local interest in football. It disseminated information about all aspects of the game through the publication of an annual which was produced for the first time in 1875. The book explained the rules of football and included reports on the season's principal fixtures. To encourage and sustain club growth it provided details of how to lay out a field, suggestions on ways of forming a committee of management and information about associated constitutional matters: twenty years later greater prominence was being given to fixture lists, the colours and locations of clubs and the names and addresses of match secretaries. The Association also adopted a democratic committee structure. For a few years it had allowed all individual clubs to send representatives to annual meetings. Since the meetings had

a distinctly west coast bias, the practice was replaced in 1875 by a scheme which allowed a more balanced geographical representation at all stages in decision making and which helped an increasingly complex S.F.A. to function with great success at both a national and local level.<sup>16</sup>

The Association also took responsibility for the organisation of international fixtures, choosing Glasgow as the centre for its operations. In the spring of 1874 it arranged a series of trial games of 'Probables' versus 'Improbables' at various venues in Glasgow a few weeks before the Anglo-Scottish game which was played on a local cricket ground. The trials aroused an unprecedented amount of enthusiasm amongst players and spectators. Interest was fuelled by the publication of several lengthy press reports and associated commentaries on performance and team selection. The international sustained and guaranteed the local demand for football. The crowd of 7,000, which "was uncommonly great", saw a Scottish XI which contained ten Glasgow caps, play "one of the best contested and most interesting football matches ever played north of the Border".<sup>17</sup>

For the next forty years, from 1875-1914, Glasgow was the centre of Scottish international football, staging 42 of the 55 international games played in Scotland.<sup>18</sup> Clubs from Glasgow also provided by far the largest number of Scottish caps.<sup>19</sup> The S.F.A. gave the Glasgow public the opportunity to see football played at the highest possible standard and enabled local players to compete against the best footballers

of the period.

In 1874 the S.F.A. started an inter-club knockout cup competition. Clubs from Glasgow dominated the event providing ten of the sixteen entrants in the first year when Queen's Park F.C. won the trophy. Over the next forty years the Scottish Cup generated a massive amount of interest amongst players and spectators. Throughout the seventies clubs were springing up all over Glasgow and their progress in the cup was followed by ever increasing numbers of spectators particularly since teams from the city featured in most of the final ties.<sup>20</sup> The competition also provided a great fillip to up and coming clubs. Until the establishment of the S.F.L. in 1890 the established clubs selected their own opponents. However, for a handful of games the cup abolished such freedom of preference and new clubs often found themselves drawn against Queen's Park, Third Lanark or Vale of Leven F.C.s, three of the country's leading XIs.<sup>21</sup> By 1880 the competition was an important source of income for many clubs.

The S.F.A. also supported the establishment of the Glasgow Football Association (G.F.A.) in 1883. The G.F.A. sustained a healthy grass roots interest in football at a time when the national association concentrated its energies on developing the game in other parts of Scotland. In 1888 the G.F.A. introduced a knockout cup competition for local clubs modelled on the S.F.A.'s cup competition. Since 1873 the S.F.A. had arranged an

annual inter-city representative game between Sheffield and Glasgow. The G.F.A. took over control of the fixture and also developed a number of similar events. In 1883 Glasgow played Edinburgh. In the following season fixtures were arranged with London, Sheffield, Birmingham, Dumbartonshire and a return with Edinburgh.<sup>22</sup> These representative games were a useful supplement to the season's fixture card and a considerable stimulus both to the improvement of playing skills and the growth of spectator interest.

By contrast with the efforts of the S.F.A. and the S.A.S.A, the S.F.U. and the S.C.U. made little serious persistent attempt to promote the grass roots development of rugby and cricket. Although one of the principal aims of the S.F.U. was to encourage the growth of rugby throughout Scotland, its attempts in Glasgow were rather weak and met with little success. From 1873-83 only four new rugby clubs were established in the city and one of these, St. Vincent F.C., disbanded in 1879.<sup>23</sup> The S.F.U. executive made only a token gesture to adopt many of the strategies which had been successfully employed by some of the other governing bodies. In contrast to the policy of the S.F.A., it rejected any idea of an inter-club knockout competition since this contradicted the traditional notion of playing sport for pleasure and enjoyment.<sup>24</sup>

The S.F.U. promoted annual international and inter-city games but few were played in Glasgow. Initially the



governing body made some attempt to use international fixtures to stimulate an interest in rugby in Glasgow but with little success. In 1873 the S.F.U. deliberately selected West of Scotland F.C.'s ground at Partick as the venue for the third international between Scotland and England, "in pursuance of the policy of "spreading the light" to give the Glasgow people the privilege of seeing the game".<sup>25</sup> Unfortunately the match was a poor spectacle and did little to arouse any enthusiasm for rugby.<sup>26</sup>

Thereafter, almost all international games were played in Edinburgh which hosted fifty of the 55 internationals played between 1874-1914. Of the five played in Glasgow, three were against relatively untalented newcomers to the international scene (Ireland in 1880 and 1882 and Wales in 1885) and so they failed to attract much spectator interest.<sup>27</sup> Given that the income of the S.F.U. depended very heavily on revenue from international matches (and the fact that most of Scotland's more talented players came from Edinburgh), the decision of the S.F.U. to concentrate its international fixtures in Edinburgh is perhaps understandable.<sup>28</sup> However, had the Union's officers been deeply committed to the goal of spreading the game, it might have been expected to have made greater efforts than it did to overcome the initial apathy of Glaswegians.

Twelve months after the inauguration of the Anglo-Scottish fixture, the S.F.U. organised an inter-city contest. It was played by representative teams from Edinburgh and Glasgow. For five years two games were

played annually. However, in 1876 the S.F.U. altered the spring fixture to an East v. West contest to admit more clubs in the selection of players on trial for international honours. The autumn fixture was retained as the annual inter-city contest. The event did initially provide some impetus to the growth of the game within existing rugby circles. The contest was keenly fought out between the representative clubs who were jealous to maintain and improve their reputations. However, by 1876 its importance had been considerably reduced because contact between the leading clubs in Glasgow and Edinburgh had increased quite significantly and the novelty of playing against eastern opponents had grown thin. Disinterest was particularly strong amongst Glasgow's clubs because although they could compete successfully with Edinburgh opposition at club level, they were no match for select XVs from the east of Scotland.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps for this reason the fixture never attracted more than a few thousand spectators.<sup>30</sup>

The Union's executive also adopted a very insular attitude to the dissemination of rules: in 1896 the England v. Scotland international was played at Hampden Park but

"some of the Association crowd who dropped in were somewhat puzzled about the features of the game. When the first maul was formed, "What the \_\_\_\_\_ are they daein' that for" one asked."<sup>31</sup>

Prospective players and spectators could take neither an active nor a passive interest in a game which they did

not understand.

There were also complaints from west coast clubs about the unrepresentative nature of the S.F.U.'s committee structure. In 1876 the original, rather undemocratic practice of allowing the captains and one other member from each affiliated club to form an executive (which merely regenerated the east coast interest where most of the principal clubs were to be found) was replaced by a more geographically representative committee structure. Clubs were allowed to select seven officials - three office bearers and two representatives from districts in the east and west of Scotland. In 1880, three representatives were elected from each district. However, the system only functioned effectively until 1894 when the western district quota was reduced to two. Clubs from the west of Scotland protested against the cut but adequate representation was not re-established until after 1914.<sup>32</sup>

Cricket in Glasgow also suffered from a lack of support from the governing body. Until the formation of the S.C.U. in 1879, Grange C.C., Edinburgh's leading club, controlled Scottish cricket. It organised all important matches, such as visits from All England XIs and received the share of gate receipts. In 1879 control of Scottish cricket passed to the S.C.U. but this lasted for only four years during which time its executive did little to organise and promote the game in Glasgow. It arranged only one international fixture (played in Edinburgh) and made little effort to improve the quality

of the existing inter-district representative fixture, described in 1883 as a 'fiasco' by a leading sports journalist.<sup>33</sup>

Partly because of complaints by a handful of western clubs about the selection of representative teams and partly because of the resignation of Grange C.C. over a move to widen the distribution of gate money from international fixtures, the S.C.U. was dissolved at a special meeting of all member clubs in 1883. At the same meeting the clubs accepted a set of proposals from Grange C.C. which enabled it to regain control of Scottish cricket.<sup>34</sup> The club was allowed to have a major influence on the selection of all international teams, and perhaps more significantly, for all representative events,

"The whole arrangement, financial or otherwise (other than the selection of teams), connected with all future Inter-city matches played in Edinburgh, and all national matches entered into under this agreement, shall be conducted by, and shall be under the sole control of, the Grange club."<sup>35</sup>

The club also took responsibility for any loss or profit.

The Scottish Athletic Journal (printed in Glasgow)

suggested that Grange C.C. had been elevated "to the rank of Dictator of Scottish cricket",<sup>36</sup> but this was harsh criticism particularly since the club was prepared to take on responsibilities to which neither the S.C.U. nor any other suitable organization had been willing to respond. Without Grange C.C.'s total commitment, albeit of a rather mercenary nature, Scottish cricket could have

faded into oblivion. Despite this, Grange C.C. made no attempt to promote directly, the growth of cricket in Glasgow.

The results of this lack of central direction, however, were mixed. On the one hand it may have contributed to the failure of many of Glasgow's long established clubs to maintain their levels of income and membership, not least because in 1893 it encouraged the six leading clubs who played in and around Glasgow to form the West District Cricket Union (W.D.C.U.)<sup>37</sup> In two respects this worked against the development of cricket in the area: firstly, the league system denied non league clubs opportunities to play against the best western cricketers and thus improve their own standards of play; secondly, by competing in a league, the leading western clubs had to relinquish some autonomy in their choice of fixtures and adhere to a pre-determined list of games which prevented them from honouring long standing fixtures with Edinburgh's leading cricket XIs, much to the disgust of many clubs.<sup>38</sup> This, and the fact that league cricket also introduced a new spirit of hard competitive rivalry which was quite foreign to many players, caused a notable decline in memberships.<sup>39</sup> In the seasons 1881-83 West of Scotland C.C. had a roll of 489 members. During seasons 1900-02 this had been reduced by 44% to 273.<sup>40</sup> On the other hand, neither the absence of central direction and promotion nor the restrictive practices of the local W.D.C.U. were able to prevent entirely the development of cricket among lower working class groups. By the turn of

the century a number of other cricket associations had been established in Glasgow. Like the W.D.C.U. they copied local football organisations by introducing league and even cup competitions. In 1888 the G.C.A. introduced a knockout cup competition. By 1906 a number of other leagues had emerged including the W.D.C.C., the G.D.J.C.L. and the G.D.S.S.C.L. Unlike the W.D.C.U. they successfully encouraged the development of local cricket.<sup>41</sup> The cricketers who played in these competitions were drawn from lower middle and respectable working class backgrounds.<sup>42</sup> Many were interested in football which was bound up with competition, inter-club rivalry, league positions and cup draws. Consequently when cricket adopted football's competitive structures, it became attractive to more diverse social groups. It is, however, significant that the spread of cricket among Glasgow's lower middle and working class populations happened quite independently of the sport's governing body and may have occurred more extensively had the governing body taken a greater interest in the promotion of the game.

Since there were only a few well established rugby and cricket clubs outside Edinburgh and few swimming and football clubs outside Glasgow, the initial control of the rugby and cricket unions by clubs in Edinburgh and of the football and swimming associations by clubs in Glasgow went unchallenged. Indeed, throughout their early histories the S.F.A., S.F.U. and S.A.S.A. consolidated their positions as the respective central authorities for football, rugby and

swimming by adopting strategies which ensured that no outside group was given cause to question their control. This was not the case in athletics. On two separate occasions, groups of sports club officials in Edinburgh and Glasgow questioned each other's authority. The first time was over the representative nature of the S.A.A.A. while the second occasion concerned the thorny problem of professionalism. Both clashes had profound effects on sporting developments in Glasgow.

The roots of amateur athletics in Scotland can be traced to the promotion and organization of traditional Celtic based athletic events by volunteer companies and the development of more formally organised English public school athletic sports at a number of private schools in the east and west of Scotland. Merchiston Castle School and the Edinburgh Academy introduced athletic sports in the mid sixties. Glasgow Academy was the first school to stage sports in the west of Scotland in 1868.<sup>43</sup> During the seventies a growing number of sports clubs in Glasgow, particularly football clubs, staged summer time athletic sports to boost their incomes to pay for expanding winter commitments.

By 1880 a situation had developed which was full of potential tension. A national governing body for athletics was urgently required but the two groups who promoted athletics had little in common. One group consisted of east coast rugby clubs whose members were private school pupils adhering rigidly to the principles of amateurism

and involved in athletics for educational and social purposes. The other group was made up of clubs in Glasgow whose membership was drawn from a wider, albeit largely middle class, social spectrum: while they supported amateurism they saw nothing wrong with using athletics to generate money for their principal sporting interest - football.

An S.A.A.A. was established in Edinburgh in 1883. Table 6.1 indicates that it was dominated by officials from the east coast rugby playing educational institutions. The leading sports promoting clubs in the west of Scotland such as Queen's Park F.C., Rangers F.C., Alexandra Athletic F.C., Third Lanark F.C. and the 1st L.R.V.F.C. were not invited to join the Association. So unrepresentative was the body that the Scottish Athletic Journal suggested that "This so-called Scottish Association is a sham, and unworthy of the support of Western athletic clubs. It is, in fact, a junior Rugby Union."<sup>45</sup>

Rather ironically, the establishment of an unrepresentative S.A.A.A. had a significant effect on the growth of athletics in Glasgow. To counteract the east coast rugby conspiracy, leading sports clubs in and around Glasgow, the majority of which played football, formed the West of Scotland Amateur Athletic Association (W.S.A.A.A.) in March 1883.<sup>46</sup> Its influence was considerable. Within a few months it had brought urgency, order and coherence to local athletics. The 1883 athletics season was



Table 6.1. Members of the first Scottish Amateur Athletic Association Committee, 1883.<sup>44</sup>

Name/Office	Club	Education/Occupation/Interests
President: J Brewis Vice-President: W H Kidston Hon. Treasurer and Secretary: A S Paterson Committee: T A Bell R C Mackenzie T G Connell J C Anderson H E Jones W S Brown	R.H.S.F.P.F.C West of Scotland C.C. Edinburgh University F.C. Edinburgh Academicals' F.C. Glasgow Academicals' F.C. West of Scotland F.C. St Andrews F.C. Edinburgh Wanderers F.C. Edinburgh Institution F.P.F.C.	Hon. Secretary and Treasurer of S.F.U. 1879-81. Old College, Glasgow and Dreghorn College. Iron and steel merchant. Hon. Secretary and Treasurer of S.F.U. 1881-83.  Edinburgh University. Insurance agent. Glasgow Academy and Uppingham School. Chartered accountant.  Engineer in a tweed mill.

"unquestionably ... the best on record. Never before have so many meetings been held ... A decade ago athletic gatherings could only be counted in units, now, however, sports are among the most popular of pastimes."<sup>47</sup>

In June 1883 the W.S.A.A.A. organised a 'national championship' meeting which was held at Kilmarnock on the region's only cinder track. As well as creating widespread spectator interest, the event drew to the attention of local clubs who held organised sports that, within the city, facilities for athletics were rather inadequate. As a result several clubs improved their tracks.

Although the rugby clubs did not want to relinquish their control of the S.A.A.A., they were unable to ignore a well organised alternative. In 1884 after further attempts by the rugby clubs to secure a major say in decision making had failed, the two groups combined to form a more representative S.A.A.A. Amalgamation was not too difficult because S.A.A.A. officials were satisfied that their more liberally minded middle class counterparts who served on the W.S.A.A.A. executive committee such as W H Kidston, a Glasgow merchant who was an ex-president of the R.F.U. and Tom Lawrie of Queen's Park F.C. who was a major in the Third Lanarkshire Volunteer Regiment, believed in and adhered to amateur sporting practices.<sup>48</sup> For a while after 1885 a more representative S.A.A.A. made a more positive contribution to sporting developments in Glasgow. Through a variety of successful legal, administrative and promotional strategies an atmosphere was created in which athletics thrived. As the accepted legislative body, the S.A.A.A.

developed and published a uniform nationally accepted list of rules and regulations for a growing number of athletic events. It also appointed national and regional handicappers who quickly came to terms with the problem of handicapping assessments which had caused great problems to club officials in the early eighties.<sup>49</sup> A committee was established in 1886 to authenticate Scottish records. Times and distances, which were assiduously recorded, assumed a new importance and brought more interest to performances.<sup>50</sup>

The S.A.A.A. took a lively interest in the organisation and promotion of athletics in Glasgow. To ensure an attractive balance at annual sports, it advised clubs to insert a wide range of track and field events in their programmes. It also arranged an annual meeting of secretaries of sports holding clubs to fix dates for meetings. More tangible forms of encouragement included the promotion of annual national championships which began in 1883 and the development of an annual Scotland v. Ireland international which started in 1894. The national championships were often staged in Glasgow. Between 1885-90, nineteen sports clubs in the west of Scotland, the majority of whom played football, joined the S.A.A.A. By the early nineties local athletes were pleased with the well organised seasonal calendar of meets, Glaswegians were flocking to the various promotions and sports clubs were earning much needed income.<sup>51</sup>

For each sport to function effectively it was vital for all those involved to accept and adhere to single uniform sets of rules. The governing bodies used their

authority to check any inconsistencies.<sup>52</sup> In a number of cases it was not the rules per se which were abused but the values which they represented. This was particularly true for the rules which governed amateurism. The national governing bodies had been created and were controlled by sportsmen who personified the amateur ideology. They were vehemently opposed to professionalism whatever form it took. Throughout the nineties Glasgow became a battlefield where first the S.F.A. and later the S.A.A.A. had to deal with the question of professionalism.

During the late eighties, two of Glasgow's leading football clubs, Celtic and Rangers F.C.s, underwent a series of internal structural changes. By the early nineties they were run by groups of local businessmen who applied their commercial talents to the world of sport.<sup>53</sup> Both clubs headed a campaign to legalise professionalism in football. Despite stubborn resistance from Queen's Park F.C., they were successful in 1893. They also introduced professionalism into the athletic arena but here met with a solid wall of opposition. In an attempt to increase spectator support they broke the S.A.A.A.'s amateur code by offering appearance money and overlooking the payment of entry fees. In 1893 Rangers F.C. paid £3 to Alfred Downer, £2 to S Duffus and £7 to an English athlete to appear at the club's annual sports. Celtic F.C. was one of a number of clubs who paid railway fares and hotel bills to prominent English athletes. In an attempt to abolish such professionalism the S.A.A.A. appointed an 'Abuses Committee' in 1894. It

found widespread evidence of roping, illegal payments of expenses and non payments of entry fees in the west of Scotland. To maintain its amateur code the governing body suspended two athletes, expelled Rangers F.C. and severely censured Celtic F.C.<sup>54</sup>

Predictably this action caused a split within the S.A.A.A. Two opposing factions emerged. One group consisted of private schools in Edinburgh, few of whom organised sports, and several clubs in Glasgow including Queen's Park F.C., Allan Glens' F.P.F.C. and West of Scotland F.C. who were strongly imbued with the amateur principle. The leader of the group was Duncan Scott Duncan, a former pupil of the Royal High School. As secretary of the Abuses Committee he took the initiative to penalise Rangers and Celtic F.C.s for their illegal activities and adopted an extremely strict stance over the interpretation of the amateur concept. He was adamant in his belief that the true amateur competed for the love of the game and not for monetary rewards. Scottish Sport described him as a 'fanatic' because of his unbending opposition to professionalism:

"he scorns to have anything to do with filthy lucre; and declared that there are many clubs ready to hold aloft the banner of amateurism without the prospect of gain."<sup>55</sup>

The other party consisted of sports clubs in the west of Scotland who promoted annual athletic sports. Two of its leading spokesmen were John Herbert McLaughlin, a publican from the east end of Glasgow who was Celtic F.C.'s secretary in 1893, and Mr Dugald Mackenzie, a Rangers F.C. official

who owned a wine and spirit business in Strathbungo. They were very critical of the S.A.A.A.'s attitude. In July 1895 Mr McLaughlin suggested to S.A.A.A. officials that, "The best thing they can do is to stop cock-a-doodling-do and get off their perch."<sup>56</sup> It typified the contempt which the two factions had for each other.

Conflict between the two groups reached crisis point in 1895 when the S.Cy.U. amended its definition of amateurism by creating two classes of amateur riders - an 'A' class who were amateurs in the absolute sense and a 'B' class who were qualified to receive expenses from cycle manufacturers and other persons interested in the cycle trade. The S.A.A.A. regarded 'B' class riders as professionals and so the S.Cy.U. refused to allow cycle races at sports held under S.A.A.A. rules until the 'B' class riders were recognised as amateurs.<sup>57</sup>

As members of the S.A.A.A., Glasgow's sports promoting clubs were no longer able to stage attractive cycle races at their annual sports. They were hampered by Edinburgh's rugby clubs, few of whom either held annual sports or had any urge to attract spectators.<sup>58</sup> In order to maintain good relations with the S.Cy.U., the majority of clubs in the west of Scotland left the S.A.A.A. forming their own governing body, the Scottish Amateur Athletic Union (S.A.A.U.) in April 1895. Dugald Mackenzie, the Rangers F.C. official, was its first President. Its members developed athletics to a new commercial level to attract spectators whose money paid for ground improvements and expanding

professional football squads. Celtic and Rangers F.C.s were particularly successful in creating an enormous interest amongst all sections of Glasgow society. In 1896 Celtic F.C. drew £505 when 18,000 people were attracted to its annual sports. In 1895 Rangers F.C. made a profit of £200, "inspite of opposition which included two first class football matches and a liberal, an all too liberal, supply of rain."<sup>59</sup> Two local businessmen, J R Gow, the President of Rangers F.C. and William Maley, Celtic F.C.'s secretary, were responsible for much of the success.<sup>60</sup>

As support for promotions arranged by clubs affiliated to the S.A.A.U. increased, the Glasgow clubs who remained loyal to the S.A.A.A. saw a decline in the popularity of their sports. In May 1895 West of Scotland Harriers failed to make a profit from its annual sports because there was no cycle racing included in the programme.<sup>61</sup> Queen's Park F.C. did not hold sports in 1895 and 1896 and therefore lost a valuable source of revenue. When Hampden Park was used for S.A.A.A. meetings, attendances were so poor that the club never profited from its amateur loyalty.<sup>62</sup>

The S.A.A.U. was successful in attracting the support of the majority of Scotland's sports promoting clubs, and by 1897 the S.A.A.A. was in dire financial difficulties.<sup>63</sup> It was forced to climb down from its lofty perch. In April 1897 the two bodies reached a compromise in which a more liberally minded S.A.A.A. allowed professional cycle races to be promoted alongside amateur athletic events. Glasgow's leading football clubs had won a famous victory.

They had abolished an amateur ideology which had attempted to restrict the widespread development of athletics in Glasgow for almost fifteen years. Moreover, they emerged as the most influential power group in Scottish sport. During the late nineties while the losers in the east reinforced their defences by starting negotiations to establish a national rugby stadium at Inverleith in Edinburgh, Glasgow's victorious football clubs raised athletics, cycling and football to new heights of commercial development.

The extent to which the various national governing bodies promoted their respective sports appears to have been closely related to the geographical location and socio-occupational composition of the members of their respective committees. The S.F.A., S.A.S.A. and at various periods the W.S.A.A.A., S.A.A.A. and the S.A.A.U., contained a majority of officials from clubs in Glasgow. For a number of years, until swimming and football became popular in other parts of Scotland, the executive committees of the S.F.A. and the S.A.A.A. were dominated by Glaswegians.<sup>64</sup> Ten of the eleven men who held office on the first S.F.A. committee in 1873 belonged to clubs in Glasgow. Similarly the first six man S.A.S.A. committee contained four Glaswegians. Both governing bodies effectively introduced sport to all social groups in Glasgow. In contrast, Scotland's largest and oldest rugby and cricket clubs were located in Edinburgh. Tables 6.2. and 6.3. illustrate the composition of the first committees of the two Unions.



Table 6.2. Members of the first Scottish Football Union Committee, 1873. <sup>65</sup>

Office	Name	Club	School	University	Occupation/other interests
President	Dr J Chiene	Edinburgh Academicals' F.C.	Edinburgh Academy	Edinburgh, Sheffield MD, DSc, LLd	Professor of Surgery FRS
Vice-President	H Gibson	Merchistonians' F.C.	Merchiston Castle School		Secretary of Scottish Equi- table Life Assurance Society
Hon. Treasurer and Hon. Secretary	J Wallace	Edinburgh Academicals' F.C. Edinburgh University F.C.	Edinburgh Academy	Edinburgh MA	Advocate, Barrister and Sheriff
Captains of Member Clubs	R W Irvine	Edinburgh Academicals' F.C.	Edinburgh Academy	Edinburgh MD	Doctor
	J L H MacFarlane A R Stewart D Cooper B Hall Blyth	Edinburgh University F.C. Edinburgh Wanderers' F.C. Warriston F.C. Merchistonians' F.C.		Edinburgh Edinburgh Edinburgh Edinburgh	Medical student
	A Buchanan	R.H.S.F.P.F.C.	Merchiston Castle School	Edinburgh	Civil Engineer
	J Hunter D M Brunton	St Andrews Uni. F.C. Glasgow University F.C.	R.H.S.	Edinburgh	Banker with National Bank of Scotland. S.C.U. Com- mittee Member, 1879.
	W D Brown G B McClure	Glasgow Academicals' F.C. West of Scotland F.C.	Glasgow Academy	Glasgow MA MBChM	Employed in shipping office in Glasgow

Table 6.3. Members of the first Scottish Cricket Union Committee, 1879. <sup>66</sup>

Office	Name	Club	School	University	Occupation/other interests
President	John McNeill	Clydesdale C.C., West of Scotland C.C.	Edinburgh Academy, Loreto	Cambridge BA	Corn merchant
Vice-President	W J Lindsay	Edinburgh Academicals' C.C.	Edinburgh Academy		Advocate, Artist FRGS
Hon. Secretary	R H Christie	Dalkeith C.C.			Insurance agent
Hon. Treasurer	P R D MacLagan	Edinburgh Academicals' C.C.	The Gymnasium, Aberdeen, Wimbledon	Marischal College, University of Aberdeen	Advocate (1862-89) and later the County Clerk of Aberdeenshire
Committee:	J F Lumsden	Aberdeenshire C.C.	R.H.S.	Edinburgh	Vice President of S.F.U., 1876. Banker with National Bank of Scotland
	A Buchanan	R.H.S.F.P.F.C.			Estate factor
	A W Evans	Drumpellier C.C.			Army officer
	D Crichton	Kelso C.C.			
	Major Dickins				

Clubs in the west of Scotland were geographically under represented. Officials from clubs in Glasgow filled only four of the 22 seats on the two committees while the Edinburgh clubs shared twelve seats. With a preponderance of east coast officials, the S.C.U. and the S.F.U. never became seriously involved with sporting developments in the west of Scotland. However, it was not just a matter of geographical representation. The social background of committee members interacted with a local geographical bias to influence governing body attitudes and strategies. It has been possible to trace the occupations of four committee members of the S.A.S.A. and the S.F.A.; Hugh McCulloch, a West of Scotland S.C. member, was the first President of the S.A.S.A. He worked for his father who owned a decorating business; the Treasurer, Mr R A Robertson, also a member of West of Scotland S.C., was the swimming master at Arlington B.C.; Archibald Campbell, a local merchant and founder member of Clydesdale C.C., was the first President of the S.F.A.; Ebenezer Hendry, another Clydesdale C.C. official who also sat on the S.F.A. committee, was employed by Alexander Paton, a local wholesale hosier and glovemanager.<sup>67</sup> At work they all enjoyed relatively high levels of contact with their employees. They were in touch with Glaswegians from all sections of society and so they helped to adopt measures which met local needs and interests.

At a later date groups of local businessmen who realised that there was money to be made from sport either

directly through returns on shareholdings or indirectly from stand and terrace building agreements, catering contracts or the supply of playing kit, took an active part in the decision making machinery of the S.A.A.A. and S.F.A.<sup>68</sup> The secretary of Celtic F.C., J H McLaughlin and the Rangers F.C. official, Dugald Mackenzie were joined by others with similar pecuniary motives. Tom White, a lawyer who had 120 shares in Celtic F.C. in 1907 was regarded as one of "the foremost men in the Council at Carlton Place", the headquarters of the S.F.A.<sup>69</sup> Other local businessmen who took a keen interest in footballing affairs included Archibald Sliman, a grocer from Battlefield F.C., who became S.F.A. President in 1894 and Thomas Park, a local industrialist from Cambuslang F.C. who was Vice-President in 1889.<sup>70</sup> Their commercial interests ensured that athletics, cycling and particularly football, were widely promoted and publicized.

In comparison, tables 6.2 and 6.3 indicate that the S.F.U. and the S.C.U. were dominated by officials who had been educated at private schools and universities in the east of Scotland. Many were members of the higher professions such as doctors, advocates or academics. They knew very little about the sporting needs and tastes of Glaswegians. Ignorance was reinforced by a desire for sporting exclusiveness.<sup>71</sup> The private school former pupils who dominated the S.C.U. and S.F.U. did not particularly want to share their games with lower class sportsmen whom they did not know and from whom they were separated by

prejudices of birth, wealth and upbringing. As a result, both games, but in particular rugby, remained exclusive community activities which confirmed and sustained the existing fellowship amongst a particular social grouping.

All the governing bodies were very successful in bringing much needed order to the structure of sport at both local and national level. They provided a valuable service in formalising the rules of play and determining the nature of competition. However, over some organisational and promotional matters they were divided by the related problems of amateurism and money. Upper middle class privately educated officials based in Edinburgh clung rigidly to the ideals of amateurism even though it meant limiting sporting growth. In contrast lower middle class officials from Glasgow responded by rejecting the principles of amateurism: they opened the flood gates for the development of new forms of commercial spectator orientated sport - Glasgow was the crucible for these developments.

CHAPTER 7THE COMMERCIALIZATION OF SPORT 1850-1914

During the third quarter of the nineteenth century amateur athletics emerged as the first sport in Glasgow to attract paying spectators. At the Glasgow Academy annual sports day in 1868 parents, former pupils and friends paid 6d. to watch a programme of track and field athletics. It is probable that an entry fee was charged to cover running costs. Whatever the motive, profits 'were substantial'.<sup>1</sup> Several other local sports clubs inaugurated athletic sports in the early seventies as a diversion from their principal interest. They charged entry fees and found that receipts more than adequately covered running costs. By 1880 clubs were making healthy sums of money which helped to pay for their primary sporting activity. For example annual sports were an important source of income for West of Scotland C.C. In 1876 the club took £57 in gate receipts at its annual sports: in 1880 £96: in 1882 £163. For many years the annual sports day provided the club with its largest source of income. While the 1878 sports day drew £81, the average gate at eight randomly selected cricket games was only £4.<sup>2</sup>

A growing number of local football clubs were quick to capitalise on this new source of income. In 1876 Alexandra Athletic, Pollokshaws Athletic, Parkgrove and Queen's Park F.C.s held sports. As well as the usual running, jumping and throwing events, their programmes

included bicycle races, quoiting contests, golf tests and five-a-side football competitions. The last activity was particularly successful in drawing the crowds. 4,000 spectators attended Queen's Park F.C.'s sports in 1878 when besides a comprehensive track and field programme, Glasgow's leading football clubs competed in a five-a-side programme.<sup>3</sup>

Paralleling the increase in the number of spectators at athletic events, there was a growing interest in watching football matches. During the early seventies matches regularly attracted large crowds. Attendances in Glasgow exceeded those in any other part of Britain. In England the F.A. cup final played at the Oval in 1872 drew two thousand spectators while the 1876 final attracted only 1,500 people. In contrast, during Easter 1876 a friendly game between Clydesdale and Sheffield Wednesday F.C.s was watched by five thousand Glaswegians while a few weeks earlier over seven thousand had attended the Scottish cup final at Hampden Park. Of the six known British football attendances in excess of ten thousand recorded between 1875-79, all but one was in Glasgow.<sup>4</sup>

By 1880 watching football was firmly established as the most popular form of Saturday afternoon recreation for the majority of Glaswegians.<sup>5</sup> In order to harness the substantial profits from gate money it was essential for clubs to be able to control entry through the turnstiles. This involved either the rental or purchase of grounds. Queen's Park F.C. was the first club to acquire its own

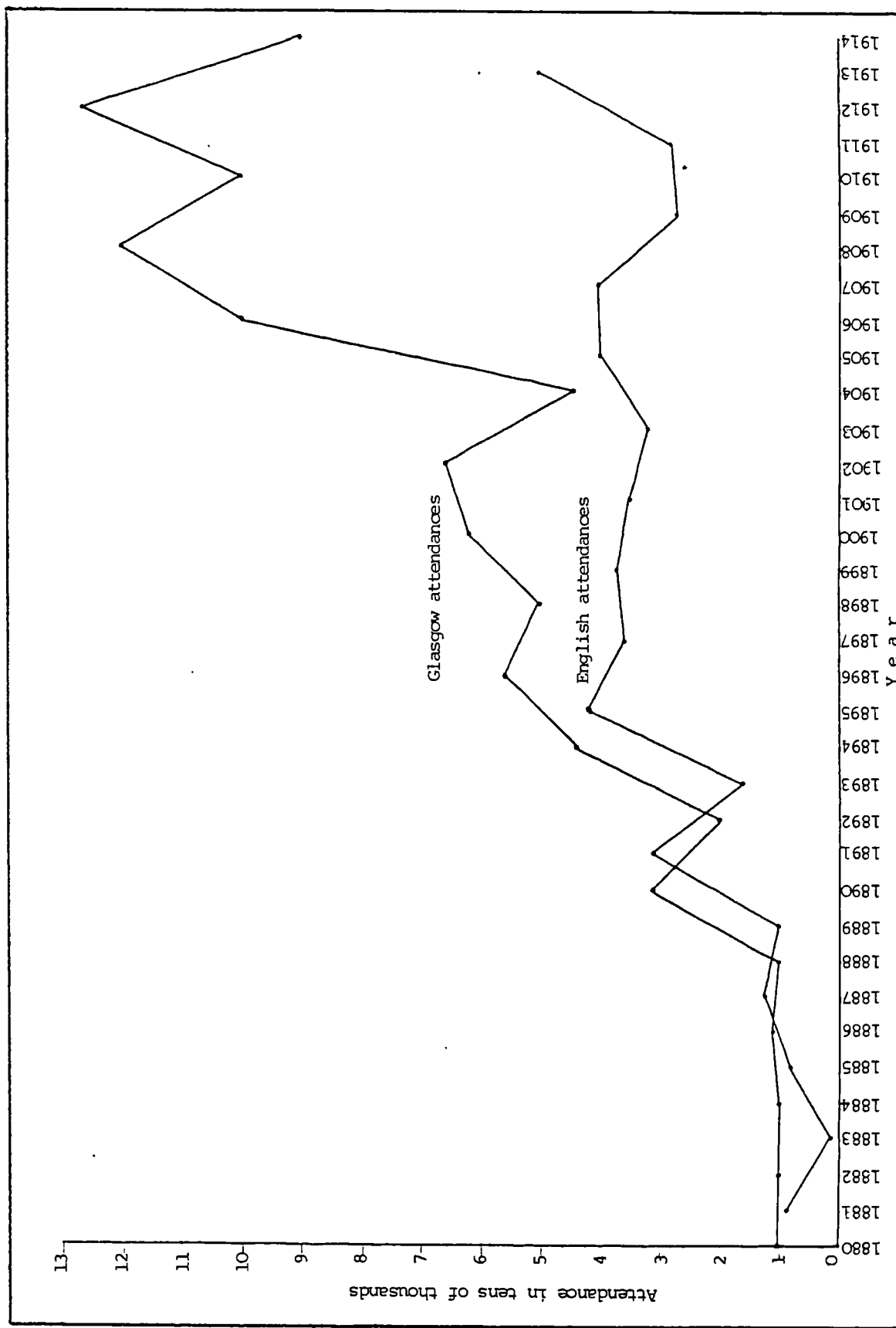
premises, although ironically it was to remain committed to the ideals of amateurism when other clubs began to sign professional players after new laws were introduced in 1893. Besides attracting large attendances throughout the winter, football clubs also turned to the summer sports of athletics and cycling as a means of bringing in additional income. Celtic and Rangers F.C.s emerged as the most successful and profitable clubs, not only in Glasgow, but in Scotland.<sup>6</sup>

During 1873 Queen's Park F.C. rented a piece of ground from Glasgow Corporation for £20 per annum which it called Hampden Park.<sup>7</sup> It immediately introduced entrance charges for spectators and in the first season drew in £34. Recognising the need for cover from the weather, the club built a stand, 80 yards long and 60 feet deep. When it was opened in 1876 higher fees were charged for entry to the stand. The capital cost of £306 was nominal when compared with income. Even before the stand was opened, the club was taking over £200 per annum through the turnstiles. Other clubs were quick to see the income raising potential of football. Rangers F.C. took over the Kinning Park ground in 1876. It built a grandstand and enlarged the spectator capacity.<sup>8</sup> By 1900 there were six senior clubs in the city with enclosed grounds, four of them with stands.

After 1880 crowds increased significantly. Graph 7.1 illustrates the general trend. During the eighties crowds of ten thousand were common at a season's principal



Graph 7.1. Attendance figures for Anglo-Scottish football internationals, 1880-1914.<sup>9</sup>



games. By 1900 a figure of fifty thousand was normal while in 1914 any major cup or representative fixture attracted over eighty thousand spectators. Graph 7.1. also indicates that Glasgow was by far the most advanced area in crowd pulling potential. None of the major English cities could challenge Glasgow's dominance. The 1903 England v. Scotland game played in Sheffield was watched by 31,000 fans, over six thousand of whom were Scotsmen. On the same day at Celtic Park Glasgow, 22,000 paid to watch a junior Scotland v. England tie.<sup>10</sup> This interest in football represented a great deal of income to the clubs. The annual spectator income at Rangers and Celtic F.C.s in 1893 was £2808 and £3843 respectively.<sup>11</sup>

As attendances increased clubs needed larger grounds. In 1875 Third Lanark Football Club moved from its tiny Victoria Road Ground to Cathkin Park. In 1876 Rangers F.C. moved from Burnbank to Kinning Park, the former home of Clydesdale F.C., where it immediately erected a spacious stand. In 1884 Queen's Park F.C. transferred to the second Hampden Park where as well as a stand, it provided a covered enclosure for some of the standing spectators. These removals involved considerable expenditure. By 1905, Celtic, Rangers and Queen's Park F.C.s had spent £130,000 between them on the purchase of grounds and new buildings.<sup>12</sup> They quickly recouped their outlays through the turnstiles.

Attendances fluctuated according to results. A successful run in a cup competition was reflected by an increase in spectator support.<sup>13</sup> In the period up to 1893,

the year in which the payment of players was legalised, Queen's Park F.C. appeared in the Scottish cup final more than any other club. Table 7.1 indicates that over the next twenty years the club only reached the final on one occasion. The advent of the professional player totally altered the balance of successful performance. The dominance of Celtic and Rangers F.C.s dates from 1893 and it is significant that the initiative for the introduction of the rules governing professionals came from these two clubs. Initially there were no limits on players' wages and in the free market, the richest clubs outbid the opposition in signing talented players. In 1894 Celtic F.C. paid out £2050 in wages compared to only £743 and £982 by Clyde and Third Lanark F.C.s respectively.<sup>15</sup>

Even before the introduction of professionalism the need to reorganise fixtures was apparent. Spectators wanted to see exciting matches between evenly balanced teams. The S.F.L. was formed in 1890 and a second division was added in 1893. The first division consisted of the ten leading clubs in Scotland, four of whom were based in Glasgow. Over the first 25 years Celtic and Rangers F.C.s won the first division no less than nineteen times between them.<sup>16</sup> Gradually the old system of friendly matches was eliminated amongst the top clubs. The success of the new arrangements was reflected in two ways. Firstly, attendances remained high and incomes to clubs increased steadily.<sup>17</sup> Secondly, the emphasis on winning the league led to attacking football. In the first year of the championship

Table 7.1. Scottish Football Association cup final appearances, 1873-1914.<sup>14</sup>

Pre-professionalisation 1874-93		Post-professionalisation 1894-1914	
Team	Number of Appearances	Team	Number of Appearances
Queen's Park	11 (G)	Celtic	11 (G)
Vale of Leven	7	Rangers	7 (G)
Dumbarton	5	Heart of Midlothian	5
Renton	4	Hibernian	3
Celtic	3 (G)	Clyde	2 (G)
Third Lanark	3 (G)	Third Lanark	2 (G)
Rangers	2 (G)	Hamilton	1
Clydesdale	1 (G)	St. Bernards	1
Heart of Midlothian	1	Renton	1
Cambuslang	1	Dumbarton	1
Hibernian	1	Kilmarnock	1
Thornliebank	1	St Mirren	1
		Raith Rovers	1
		Dundee	1
		Falkirk	1
		Queen's Park	1 (G)

Notes (i) (G) denotes a Glasgow club.

814 goals were scored in the 180 games.

The league system was the best type of organisation for providing popular footballing entertainment on a profit making basis. It was extended in 1895 when the four most popular local clubs formed the G.F.L. in order to extend the number of fixtures at the end of the season when some clubs were no longer involved in cup ties. In 1898 the G.F.L. included Edinburgh clubs and the title was changed to the Inter-City League.<sup>18</sup>

The growth of professional football in the winter months was matched by athletics and cycling in the summer. The larger football clubs shrewdly decided to cash in on the public interest in these sports instead of leaving their ground empty in the summer. Celtic F.C., in particular, went out of its way to develop summer sports.<sup>19</sup> In 1892 it acquired a new ground and laid out separate cycling and running tracks around the football pitch. The cycle track was properly banked at the corners and was 24 feet wide down the straights. It was the best track in Scotland and the combined attendance at two meetings in 1893 was over 25,000. In 1910 Celtic F.C. attracted forty thousand spectators to a sports day.

The success of cycling was also nurtured by cycle manufacturers. They invested large sums of money in competitive racing. Cycle tracks became a sector of the industrial manufacturing process where goods were displayed to a captive audience. It was on the track where prospective buyers assessed the merits of particular machines.

It was good publicity to win races so makers went out of their way to attract the fastest riders whom they subsidised in return for their willingness to use the bicycle the company made. Success in competition played a vital part in preserving or enhancing a manufacturer's reputation. This was particularly so for young riders who wanted their machines to go as fast as possible and liked to identify with the current champions.<sup>20</sup>

Football clubs were ideally placed to turn cycling and athletics into healthy investments, principally because they owned enclosed grounds. They also had the resources to adapt their grounds for summer sport. Perhaps the greatest advantage was having loyal supporters who were looking for an alternative form of entertainment between football seasons. There was little risk in these ventures and the resulting income more than justified the additional investment involved in laying out tracks.<sup>21</sup>

The football clubs brought a new approach to the staging of athletics. They set out to entertain the public with fancy dress races, inter-city events and invitation races involving the best runners and cyclists in Britain.<sup>22</sup> They spent considerable amounts on advertising in local newspapers and Celtic F.C. paid Graham White, a famous airman, the sum of £500 to fly in and out of Celtic Park during a sports event.<sup>23</sup>

Table 7.2 indicates that attendances were very high. By 1897 interest at some events was measured in tens of thousands.

Table 7.2. Attendance at the principal athletic sports in Glasgow, 1893-1910.<sup>24</sup>

Year and Month	Club	Venue	Attendance
April 1893	West of Scotland C.C.	Hamilton Crescent	"the largest attendance the West have ever seen."
May	Glasgow Merchants C.C.	Celtic Park	13,000 "The stands were crowded to excess."
July	Clydesdale Harriers	Ibrox Stadium	4,000 "Prior to starting a very severe thunderstorm passed over the city, and the attendance, therefore, was much smaller than it would have been."
June	Queen's Park F.C.	Hampden Park	15,000
June	West of Scotland Harriers	Hampden Park	4,000
August	Rangers F.C.	Ibrox Stadium	7,000 "a good attendance of the general public".
August	Celtic F.C.	Celtic Park	12-15,000
April 1897	West of Scotland C.C.	Hamilton Crescent	"large and fashionable attendance".
May	Northern C.C.	Celtic Park	25,000
May	Glasgow Merchants C.C.	Celtic Park	30,000 "an enormous attendance of spectators".
July	Clydesdale Harriers	Ibrox Stadium	3,000 "a small attendance".
June	Queen's Park F.C.	Hampden Park	6,000 "A large and fashionable attendance".
June	West of Scotland Harriers	Hampden Park	10,000
August	Rangers F.C.	Ibrox Stadium	14,000 "a large crowd of spectators".
August	Celtic F.C.	Celtic Park	12,000
July	World Cycle Championships	Celtic Park	Fri. 10,000; Sat. 40,000; Mon. 8,000
May 1904	Clydesdale Harriers	Meadowside Park	1,500
June	West of Scotland Harriers	Ibrox Stadium	7,000
August	Rangers F.C.	Ibrox Stadium	12,000
August	Celtic F.C.	Celtic Park	15,000
June	Partick Thistle F.C.	Meadowside Park	3,000 "Not only was there a large attendance."
May 1910	Clydesdale Harriers	Ibrox Stadium	2,000 "very poor attendance".
June	Queen's Park F.C.	Ibrox Stadium	"very discouraging".
May	West of Scotland Harriers	Celtic Park	8,000 "good attendance".
June	Glasgow Police	Parkhead	"poor patronage".
June	Bellahouston Harriers	Ibrox Stadium	
June	Glasgow Clarion C.C.	Parkhead	3,000 "a handful of spectators".
August	Celtic F.C.	Celtic Park	40,000

Notes (1) A clear statement of the numbers who attended athletic sports would seem to be a simple area of research but in the days before automatic turnstiles many of the statistics published in the local newspapers were estimates. Furthermore, even when turnstiles were in use, their recording mechanisms were often tampered with for various reasons and spectators seem to have climbed over the fences quite frequently. Consequently some of the figures are official, some estimates.

However, the income from summer sports never came near to challenging the central position of football. Perhaps if a club structure similar to football had developed or if professional athletics had flourished, it would have been more lucrative. Income from summer sports never represented more than eleven per cent of the annual income of even the most successful clubs.<sup>25</sup> As well as their own annual sports, the big clubs hired out their facilities to other organizations who wanted to run summer events. It was another useful source of income and publicity.<sup>26</sup>

By 1900 the leading football clubs were raising additional money through incorporation and limited liability. Celtic F.C. was the first Scottish club to adopt company status in 1897. Rangers F.C. followed two years later. Celtic F.C. quickly sold its first issue of 10,000 x £1 shares. Later in the same year a further five thousand were offered and sold.<sup>27</sup> Limited liability was a most convenient method of raising large sums of money in a short period of time. Both Rangers and Clyde F.C.s utilised investors' money to build new stadia. Clyde F.C. became a limited company in 1898 and invested its capital in a new ground at Shawfield Park. Similarly Rangers F.C. raised £12,000 by selling six hundred proprietary shares at £5 each and nine thousand £1 ordinary shares. The club spent the money on a new ground which had a spectator capacity for over eighty thousand.<sup>28</sup>

Commercialization proved to be a two edged sword.



There were notable benefits but in other ways sport suffered. In athletics, cycling, cricket and football, rules were broken. In the early nineties immediately before the legalisation of professionalism, a handful of local football clubs offered under cover payment to players. The problem was solved in 1893 by legalising professionalism but in athletics the governing body decided that the sport should remain amateur. Glasgow's football clubs realised the commercial potential of athletics. Faced with the amateur status of performers they resorted to illegal practices. These included waiving entry fees and offering over-generous subsistence and travel expenses. In some cases it also involved direct payments to athletes.

On-course betting gave rise to another malpractice, 'roping'. At a charity sports meeting at Hampden Park a three mile flat race provided an exciting finish,

"but there were many people who do not hesitate to declare that something like an arrangement existed among certain of the competitors ... we should like to have an explanation of C D Clelland's running and strange movements. He could not hope to be placed himself, with his "bursting" tactics he introduced in the mile. Notwithstanding the efforts this competitor was pulling in, he had time to signal to someone seated on the covered stand, two laps to go."<sup>29</sup>

Commercialization caused problems for players, spectators, club officials and shareholders. Players were exploited through poor working conditions and rather mediocre wages. In cricket a servant-master relationship existed between professionals and amateurs. At West

of Scotland C.C., the professional's role was that of a general servant who was required to meet the capricious desires of club members.<sup>30</sup>

Scanty evidence indicates that the wages paid to the majority of Glasgow's professional sportsmen were only marginally higher than those of skilled artisans. Few professional sportsmen could make fortunes from their talents. In 1900 a local bricklayer earned over £2 a week, a joiner £1.14.0, a ship's plumber £2.0.9 and a plater £1.17.9. Players at Rangers F.C. were paid £2 per week for a first team appearance and £1 for a second XI game. Cricket professionals were paid slightly more. However, they were only employed for 4½ months of the year. In 1885 Charles White, a West of Scotland C.C. professional, was paid 30/- per week from 15 April until 31 August. In 1901 the club's professional received £2.15.0 per week.<sup>31</sup> Impermanence and insecurity of earnings also caused problems. A footballer's career was brief. It was even shorter if he failed to sustain his form or suffered serious injury. Moreover, he could be deprived of employment for offences committed on the field.<sup>32</sup>

The basis of employment for professional footballers was the retain and transfer system. Players could not be signed by a club for more than one season. At the end of each season clubs listed players whom they wished to retain and those who were available for transfer. The insecurity which this created had few counterparts in the industrial world. Moreover, the transfer of a player during a season

required permission from the S.F.L.'s management and the consent of both clubs. Consequently the club with whom the player was registered had a virtual monopoly over his services - a situation which would have been regarded as abhorrent in most other jobs and which has been compared to a slave market.<sup>33</sup>

Athletes were also exploited and manipulated by sporting entrepreneurs. Runners were seen as commodities to be marketed effectively and profitably displayed with little concern for their personal well-being. Betting nurtured extreme forms of self-interest, much to the detriment of individual athletes.<sup>34</sup>

Spectators were also badly treated. They witnessed some unsavoury incidents at the hands of greedy sportsmen. In athletics and cycling bigger prizes increased the competitive nature of events and a variety of tactics were used to ensure success.<sup>35</sup> Cyclists were guilty of 'hemming in', 'elbowing' and 'pocketing'. The most prevalent tactic was riding slowly until near the finish when a sprint was made for the tape. Needless to say, 'loafing', as it was called, was extremely boring to watch.<sup>36</sup> It became unacceptable to crowds who were accustomed to watching exciting, fast flowing soccer games.

At particularly attractive events promoters exploited spectators by raising entry fees. The drawn Scottish cup final of 1892 between Rangers and Celtic F.C.s drew over forty thousand fans. The decision to double the fee to 2/- for the replay deterred many spectators, only

fifteen thousand attending.<sup>37</sup> Promoters also tried to cram as many people as possible into stadia making it extremely uncomfortable to watch many of the most popular games. Spectators also caused problems for each other. Increasing commercialization helped to attract fans from all sections of Glasgow society. Working class men displayed cultural traits, such as swearing, using threatening behaviour and 'exhibitions of ruffianism' which were often kindled by excessive drinking. After watching a match against Celtic F.C., a Queen's Park F.C. supporter noted,

"For upholding a decision of the referee I was howled at by about a dozen of my neighbours, and one more vigorous than the rest politely offered to break my jaw."<sup>38</sup>

This type of behaviour was distasteful to middle class groups.<sup>39</sup>

Increasing commercialization produced serious financial problems for clubs. Celtic and Rangers F.C.s were the most successful market leaders and their dominance caused problems for a variety of other sports clubs. Local football teams could only survive in the competitive struggle, which was basically a fight to attract spectators, if they continually improved their playing efficiency. Continued financial investment was required to maintain competitiveness. Football clubs who failed to keep in the running for league and cup trophies soon lost money at the turnstiles. Eighteen months after adopting limited liability status, Clyde F.C. skirted the fringe of liquidation due to a combination of poor playing results

and large debts incurred from the establishment of a new ground at Barrowfield. It was only the generosity of its members and shareholders that enabled the club to escape bankruptcy. Similarly in 1896 the officers of Third Lanark F.C. received money from members to enable the club to face the season's financial obligations.<sup>40</sup>

With the introduction of professional cycling, Rangers and Celtic F.C. monopolised the highest levels of racing as they had the money to attract the leading British and foreign riders. Glasgow's harrier, cricket and rugby clubs who had traditionally included cycle races in their athletic programmes had limited financial resources. They could not stage prestigious professional events and their gates suffered.<sup>41</sup>

Ironically, commercial success also caused problems for the successful clubs. Large crowds required supervision. Clubs employed policemen to maintain order, to stop encroachment onto the playing area and to protect club property. Officers were hired on a commercial basis with a list of charges for policemen of different rank and for different duties.<sup>42</sup> Mounted officers were often preferred to policemen on foot since rioting fans could cause widespread damage. In April 1909 Rangers F.C. met Celtic F.C. in a Scottish cup final at Hampden Park. The match was drawn and no extra time was played. The replay was also drawn. It is not clear whether the crowd expected extra time or thought that it should have been played. When it was not played, spectators invaded the

pitch. They wrecked and set fire to pay boxes, trampled down barriers and fences to provide extra kindling and destroyed the goal posts and nets.<sup>43</sup>

Increasing commercialization also led to the contraction of some aspects of a number of sports. Glasgow's most successful junior football teams were always faced with the problem of the leading professional clubs pilfering their best junior players. Cash inducements, a desire to excel and an opportunity to play in front of large crowds were attractions which few juniors resisted. The allurements and seductive influences of local senior clubs caused the downfall of many junior sides.<sup>44</sup>

There was also a decline in the influence of Glasgow's oldest football club, Queen's Park F.C. Professionalism ran counter to its values. It played football simply for pleasure. Its motto, 'the game for the game's sake', was a constant reminder of its amateur commitment. It vigorously but unsuccessfully opposed the formation of the S.F.L. and professionalism. The effect was a decline in playing standards and a general reduction in its influence over all aspects of local and national footballing matters.

Cycling and athletics suffered through blatant commercialization. The advent of professional cycling in 1897 confirmed that the original middle class ideal of fair play and intrinsic enjoyment had been replaced by a thorough going sense of profit. In the name of entertainment, cycle racing was trivialised, becoming the

property of market forces, dominated by material considerations which were alien to amateur ideals. Commercial appeal was the sole criterion of what should or should not be offered to the public. Once Celtic and Rangers F.C.s attracted the best British and foreign 'cracks', spectators were not interested in watching less talented local riders.<sup>45</sup> The result was a decline in the quality of both amateur and professional events. The football clubs were not interested in staging races for local amateurs and even when they did entry was by invitation only. Similarly, the smaller clubs could or would not arrange professional events. Some dropped cycling completely or simply stopped promoting any kind of athletic sports.<sup>46</sup>

Athletics was popular when it was mixed with cycling but when cycling lost its novelty, so athletics suffered the same fate. Most sports promoting clubs had no interest in athletics per se. It was promoted merely as one part of a larger sporting spectacle. Without cycling, programmes of athletics were too mediocre and dull for spectators and clubs stopped arranging events.

The disadvantages of commercialization were numerous yet on balance they were outweighed by the benefits which an increasing flow of money offered local sport. To increase spectator support, rules were rationalised and contests were organised and supervised in an efficient and unbiased manner. When Celtic F.C. promoted professional athletics in the 1890s, judges from Powderhall Stadium in Edinburgh were invited to officiate. By shrewdly using the

phrase 'Under Powderhall Management' in advertisements, Celtic F.C. inspired confidence in athletes, punters and bookmakers since the Edinburgh stadium was the accepted headquarters of the sport in Scotland where a reputation of square dealing was firmly established.<sup>47</sup>

Moreover, with experienced men like J R Gow, the Ibrox sports promoter and W Maley, the Celtic F.C. secretary, in charge of arrangements, sporting events were inevitably brought to successful conclusions.<sup>48</sup>

Professionalism raised standards of performance and made sporting events increasingly attractive to watch. Through regular training, practice and theorising, the leading football clubs produced some very skilful players who brought a new dimension to the game. There was also an improvement in the availability of sports goods. Shops selling and making sports equipment and clothing sprouted up in all parts of the city.<sup>49</sup> In 1885 there were seven cycle makers and agents in Glasgow. By 1895 there were 51 and in 1905 the total had reached one hundred. Sportsmen benefitted from the numerous schemes which were adopted to increase sales. During the cycle boom of the nineties, riders were bombarded with special offers. The John Griffith 'Cycle Corporation' advertised courses of free riding lessons while other manufacturers drew attention to improvements in the design and quality of their products. Some makers stressed the reputability and reliability of their models, some offered to build cycles to any design while others added assorted



accessories or provided guarantees. The most successful inducement, however, was the availability of hire purchase since it placed the cost of a cycle within the budget of many wage earners.<sup>50</sup>

Increasing commercialization caused significant improvements to sports facilities. By 1885 a pattern of competition had developed amongst Glasgow's three leading football clubs to build the biggest and best stadium to accommodate larger crowds and attract major representative and cup games. Table 7.3. illustrates the pattern of developments and the manner in which the S.F.A. encouraged building developments through their attitude to the allocation of the extremely prestigious and popular Anglo-Scottish Internationals. The Association invariably selected the ground with the largest spectator capacity since it shared total ground receipts with the F.A. in England.<sup>52</sup>

Until the late eighties Hampden Park was the finest ground in Scotland. It had an excellent fenced off playing surface and two stands, one of which was covered. In 1887 it was superseded by Ibrox Stadium, built by Rangers F.C. By 1892 Celtic F.C. had moved to a new ground at the second Celtic Park, regarded as the best ground in Britain. A barrier surrounded the field, a wooden terracing was built, a two storey pavilion with a verandah was provided and there was a 320 feet long covered stand with room for 3,500 fans. Further improvements were completed in 1895 when accommodation was enlarged to hold 57,000 and alterations were made to the press box. The cycle track was also

Table 7.3. The allocation of Anglo-Scottish football internationals,  
1883-1914.<sup>51</sup>

Year	Venue	Attendance	Year	Venue	Attendance
1883			1899		
1884	Cathkin Park	10,000	1900	Celtic Park	62,000
1885			1901		
1886	Hampden Park	11,000	1902	Ibrox Stadium	68,114
1887			1903		
1888	Hampden Park	10,000	1904	Celtic Park	45,000
1889			1905		
1890	Hampden Park	31,000	1906	Hampden Park	100,000
1891			1907		
1892	Ibrox Stadium	20,000	1908	Hampden Park	120,000
1893			1909		
1894	Celtic Park	45,000	1910	Hampden Park	100,000
1895			1911		
1896	Celtic Park	57,000	1912	Hampden Park	127,000
1897			1913		
1898	Celtic Park	50,000	1914	Hampden Park	100,00

Notes (i) Some notable dates:

- 1883 Second Hampden Park opened.
- 1887 First Ibrox Stadium opened.
- 1888 First Celtic Park opened.
- 1892 Second Celtic Park opened with a spectator capacity of 50,000.
- 1896 Second Celtic Park spectator capacity increased to 57,000.
- 1902 Second Ibrox Stadium opened with a spectator capacity of 80,000.
- 1903 Third Hampden Park opened with a spectator capacity of 100,000.
- 1910 Third Hampden Park spectator capacity increased to 125,000.

re-laid with terra-cota, banked up to seven feet and adjusted to give eighteen laps to five miles. When completed it was described as "the finest track in Scotland."<sup>53</sup>

The competition intensified in 1902 when Rangers F.C. spent £15,000 on a new stadium at Ibrox, which housed eighty thousand spectators. Some twelve months later Queen's Park F.C. opened the third Hampden Park which had a spectator capacity of over a hundred thousand. Needless to day, the "third Hampden not only transcended all its predecessors, but ... it eclipsed in appearance any football enclosure in Britain past or present."<sup>54</sup>

Competition to build the best enclosure had great benefits for spectators. Local fans, who provided the football clubs with their major source of income, enjoyed the comfort and safety of some of Britain's finest stadia. Queen's Park F.C. was the first Scottish club to introduce covered seating accommodation while Ibrox Stadium heralded the introduction of terracing.<sup>55</sup> Celtic F.C. showed great enterprise to ensure that spectators were adequately accommodation. In 1898, at the initiative of director James Grant, the club erected a two tier stand with sliding windows to shut out the wind and rain.<sup>56</sup>

Crowd safety was also important, particularly after the Ibrox disaster of 1902 when over 550 spectators were injured following the collapse of a wooden stand. The third Hampden Park contained many revolutionary safety features. At many stadia the terraces were made of wooden

staging or steel scaffolding. At Hampden Park they were built on solid ground. The whole arena was sectioned off to minimise swaying. Crash barriers consisting of wire cable inserted into barrier posts were also provided.<sup>57</sup>

Local players, club officials and shareholders benefitted from sport's increasing commercialization. Many sportsmen enjoyed a variety of non pecuniary rewards while a smaller proportion received quite large financial returns. Although the majority of professional footballers earned relatively small wages, the leading players with Celtic and Rangers F.C.s received good incomes.<sup>58</sup>

Two of many local sportsmen who increased their incomes by applying their practical experiences to the world of commercial sport were Mr A G Rennie and William Wilson. Rennie took up cycling in 1877. As a former pupil at Glasgow Academy he was brought up in the rugby tradition. However, as a student studying for a science degree he became interested in cycling and emerged as one of the founder members of Glasgow's oldest cycling organisation - the Royal Scottish B.C. By 1880 he was one of the country's leading racers holding the title 'Long Distance Champion of Scotland'. He used his cycling knowledge and experience to earn a very successful living. After working for three years as manager of the Howe Cycle Company he opened his own business in Sauchiehall Street designing, producing and selling cycles. His thoughtful practical designs were very popular with local riders.<sup>59</sup>

William Wilson was a local swimmer who devoted his

life to teaching a whole range of aquatic activities. He earned a regular income as the baths manager at the Victoria B.C. and later the Arlington B.C. He also had the foresight, literary expertise and practical knowledge to write several popular books on swimming which were published to coincide with the opening of Glasgow's first seven public baths, built between 1878 and 1882. Since swimming was a new mysterious sport for most Glaswegians, Wilson planned his books to suit local needs and levels of ability. The first book, aimed at the novice swimmer and entitled 'Swimming, Diving and How to Save Life' was published in 1876.<sup>60</sup> A second work followed in 1878 entitled 'The Bather's Manual'. This 28 page pocket size book outlined the benefits and correct use of a variety of types of bathing, many of which were available in Glasgow's public baths. Swimming received a most comprehensive coverage in the third book, 'The Swimming Instructor', which was published in 1883. By this time many Glaswegians could swim and so the book was aimed at the able swimmer.<sup>61</sup> Wilson's books were in demand all over the country as other local authorities established public baths. His first book was reprinted several times.

Although the money generated by sport was not shared equally amongst all sportsmen; sport was more than a job for many players. For footballers, mediocre financial rewards were offset by new opportunities for travel, excitement, enjoyment and fame. Footballers could assert themselves in a direct appeal to the crowd who paid to see

them play, praised their talent and applauded their athletic prowess. A successful playing career ensured a kind of primitive mythical immortality in the estimation of the local 'tribe'.<sup>62</sup>

There were other more obvious non pecuniary benefits. Bigger grounds brought improvements in dressing room accommodation. In 1885 alterations were made to the pavilion at Hampden Park which was enlarged to contain shower baths, lavatories, a gymnasium and reading and committee rooms. In 1914 Queen's Park F.C. spent £5,350 on a new pavilion at the third Hampden Park. It housed club offices, a large reading room, a gymnasium, a board room and two dressing rooms with hot and cold water and swimming ponds.<sup>63</sup> Local athletes could also play and race on some of Britain's finest fields and tracks. Most cup final ties, athletic and cycle events were held at Ibrox, Hampden or Celtic Park and all three clubs also made their facilities available for training purposes to local sportsmen.<sup>64</sup>

Sport offered new opportunities for employment and prosperity to local businessmen and industrialists. It was soon realised that there was a vast market for sports equipment and clothing. In 1885 there were eight football outfit makers in the city. By 1900 the figure had risen to twenty.<sup>65</sup> During the cycle boom of the nineties, enterprising men rushed into the market creating new shops, agencies and small bicycle plants. In a city with a tradition in engineering, men from local firms emerged who

were prepared to form their own companies. Typical of many was William McLean who was an engineer by profession. In 1893 he vacated his job as an overseer in a large engineering firm to start his own company, producing the 'St. Vincent' cycle. By 1897 he employed forty men. Glasgow's oldest cycle companies also spawned new businessmen. In 1879 Mr W C Walk began work for the Howe Machine Company as a junior book keeper. By 1884 he was appointed cashier - a job in which he gained a good understanding of the cycle trade and its internal relations. With this knowledge he set up the Victorian Manufacturing Company in the early nineties, producing and selling his own machines. Established traders also made and sold cycles. J Williams and Company of 5 Salkeld Street who made fittings for shop windows was manufacturing cycles at the Southern Cycle Works off Cook Street by 1890. Thomas Hill and Company Limited, auctioneers and valuers and R Hawks, a local leather dealer, were also involved in the trade.<sup>66</sup>

Many firms produced bicycle accessories. Shops such as the John Griffiths 'Cycle Corporation' in Mitchell Street sold bicycle lamps, bells, saddles, tools, tyres, trouser clips, rear view mirrors, oil, etc., at the usual 'lowest prices'.<sup>67</sup> Clothing manufacturers produced garments which ranged from bloomers, stockings and capes to shoes, pants with reinforced seats and even bicycle corsets. Local printing firms profited from a demand for vast quantities of printed material while tobacconists and newsagents became agents and distributors of tickets and

programmes. To attract customers they also offered free window space to clubs who wanted to display their swimming, athletic and cycling prizes. Hay, Nisbett and Company of Jamaica Street were popular suppliers of tickets, rule books, programmes and posters, while William Scougal of Marlborough Street, who specialised in bill posters, gave special discounts to cycle and football clubs.<sup>68</sup>

The building and newspaper industries also capitalised on the growth of sport. A number of building firms had contracts with Glasgow's three principal football clubs to build and maintain their stadia. Mr Fred Braby of St. Enoch Square, manufacturers of roofing, wire netting and railings, supplied many of the materials for the second Ibrox while Duncans, a local building firm, constructed the stadium.<sup>69</sup> After 1880 local newspapers gave serious coverage to organised sport to increase sales. Daily and weekly newspapers, society journals and women's magazines had their sports correspondents. In addition, knowledge about sports increasingly complex organisation - its fixtures, venues, times, personnel and results - was spread by a number of specialist sporting publications. In September 1884 the Glasgow Evening News was one of the first British newspapers to produce a 6 p.m. edition containing results of the principal games played that afternoon. Four hundred copies were sold. By the end of the season the circulation had risen to five thousand. Companies based in Glasgow produced five specialist newspapers in the period from 1882-1914.<sup>70</sup>



As a method of encouraging trade some shopowners offered prizes to clubs and associations. In 1885 for example, Francis Lochrane, a local wine merchant, donated a cup to the G.P.J.F.A. At the time Lochrane was a local wine merchant with a store at 4-6 Eaglesham Street, Plantation. In 1888 he opened a second shop in Govan Road. Similarly William Bell, an athletic outfitter of 20 Argyle Street, presented two cups to the G.J.F.A. in 1884.<sup>71</sup>

Local sports club shareholders reaped a number of direct and indirect pecuniary and some non pecuniary benefits from sport. Table 7.4. provides an occupational analysis of the shareholders at Glasgow's two principal sports clubs, Celtic and Rangers F.C.s in 1899/1900 and 1914. In this period it appears that there was a small change in the occupational make-up of shareholders. For example at both clubs there was a 3% to 5% decline in the number of businessmen holding shares and an 8% decline in the number of semi and unskilled manual workers. At Rangers F.C. there was also a 6% decline in the number of skilled manual workers and a 12% decline in the number of clerical staff. In contrast, the latter group increased by 8% at Celtic F.C. However, since the occupations of over 13% of the total number of shareholders are unknown, the changes may be more apparent than real. Moreover, despite the incompleteness of the statistics it is clear that three occupational groups dominated the shareholdings of the two clubs.

Table 7.4. Occupational classification of shareholders of Celtic and Rangers Football Clubs, 1899/1900, 1914. <sup>72</sup>

Occupational classification		Celtic (1900)							Celtic (1914)							Rangers (1899)							Rangers (1914)														
		holders of shares				Number of shareholders	holders of shares				Number of shareholders	holders of shares				Number of shareholders	holders of shares				Number of shareholders	holders of shares				Number of shareholders											
% of total shares	1-10 shares	% of 1-10 shares	11-49 shares	% of 11-49 shares	50 shares		% of 50 shares	% of total shareholders	1-10 shares	% of 1-10 shares		11-49 shares	% of 11-49 shares	50 shares	% of 50 shares		% of total shareholders	1-10 shares	% of 1-10 shares	11-49 shares		% of 11-49 shares	50 shares	% of 50 shares	% of total shareholders		1-10 shares	% of 1-10 shares	11-49 shares	% of 11-49 shares	50 shares	% of 50 shares					
Occupational classification	Professions, higher administrative, gentlemen, etc.	5	2.5	4	3.2	0	0	1	3.6	8	4.5	4	3.5	2	9.5	2	8.3	17	2.3	12	2.5	2	1.2	3	5.2	18	3.3	13	4.6	2	2.2	3	10.7				
	Business	56	27.5	26	20.8	9	47.4	21	7.5	40	22.5	22	19.3	8	38.1	10	41.7	139	18.8	88	18.1	32	19.2	19	32.8	83	15.1	58	20.4	16	17.6	9	32.1				
	White collar I: clerical and commercial	16	7.9	13	10.4	1	5.3	2	7.1	28	15.7	24	21.1	2	9.5	2	8.3	177	24	131	26.9	37	22.2	9	15.5	66	12.0	52	18.4	12	13.2	2	7.1				
	White collar II: supervisory, technical, minor officials	5	2.5	3	2.4	1	5.3	1	3.6	2	1.1	1	0.9	0	0	1	4.2	62	8.4	38	7.8	19	11.4	5	8.6	59	10.7	39	13.8	13	14.3	7	25				
	Retail, warehouse, etc: employees	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28	3.8	22	4.5	6	3.6	0	0	27	4.9	15	5.3	11	12.1	1	3.6				
	Manual - skilled	11	5.4	8	6.4	3	15.8	0	0	12	6.7	9	7.9	3	14.3	0	0	167	22.6	120	24.6	31	18.6	16	27.6	89	16.2	58	20.5	27	29.7	4	14.3				
	Manual - semi and unskilled	58	28.7	52	41.6	4	21.1	2	7.1	36	20.2	33	28.9	2	9.5	1	4.2	75	10.2	41	8.4	30	18.0	3	5.2	26	4.7	19	6.7	6	6.6	1	3.6				
	Manual - skill unclassifiable	1	0.5	0	0	1	5.3	0	0	4	2.3	4	3.5	0	0	0	0	23	3.1	20	4.1	3	1.8	0	0	4	0.7	4	1.4	0	0	0	0				
	Domestic service, catering employees, etc.	2	1	2	1.6	0	0	0	0	2	1.1	2	1.8	0	0	0	0	3	0.4	2	0.4	1	0.6	0	0	1	0.2	1	0.3	0	0	0	0				
	Miscellaneous personal and public services	18	8.9	17	13.6	0	0	1	3.6	1	0.6	1	0.9	0	0	0	0	10	1.4	7	1.4	1	0.6	2	2	22	4	17	6	4	4.4	1	3.6				
Occupational classification	Police	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.6	0	0	1	4.8	0	0	1	0.1	0	0	0	0	1	1.7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				
	Armed forces	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.4	1	0.2	2	1.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				
	Agriculture, fishing, seamen	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.1	1	0.2	0	0	0	0	3	0.5	3	1.1	0	0	0	0	0				
	Farmers and crofters	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0				
	Others and miscellaneous	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	1.1	4	0.8	3	1.8	0	0	4	0.7	4	1.4	0	0	0	0				
Occupation of shareholders unknown		30	14.9							25	14.6	14	12.3	3	14.3	8	33.3	24	3.3							148	26.9										
Totals		202	100	125	100	19	100	2	28	100	178	100	114	100	1	21	100	24	100	738	100	487	99.9	167	100	2	58	100	550	99.9	283	100	91	100	1	28	100

Notes (i) The occupational classification is taken from Gray. 1976. op. cit. Appendix II. pp. 196-201.

(ii) Celtic shares cost £1 in 1900 and 10/- or £1 in 1914. In the 1914 statistics all £1 shares have been converted to represent 2 x 10/- shares. Rangers charged £1 for an ordinary share and £5 for a preferential share in 1899 and 1914. All £5 shares have been converted to represent 5 x £1 shares.

At Celtic F.C. shareholdings were skewed in favour of the lower working class manual worker and the middle class businessman. Manual workers held an average of 32% of the total number of shares with the holdings of semi and unskilled men being especially large and noteworthy. Businessmen with an average of 24% and white collar clerical staff with an average of 12% of the total shareholdings were the next largest groups. At Rangers F.C. shareholdings were dominated by the same occupational groups but there was a contrast in the distribution of shares. Manual workers held an average of 29% of the total shareholdings and within this category unlike Celtic F.C., it was skilled labour aristocrats employed in the shipyards which lay close to Ibrox Stadium who owned most shares. In contrast to Celtic F.C., businessmen were not so dominant. They held an average of 17% of the total shareholdings, which was 1% less than the second largest group of shareholders - white collar clerical staff.<sup>73</sup>

Few Glaswegians derived direct pecuniary benefits from holding shares. Celtic F.C. was the only local club to pay a dividend to its shareholders before 1914. In 1898 it paid a 20% dividend and then seven successive 10% dividends.<sup>74</sup> 28 of Celtic F.C.'s 202 shareholders who each owned more than fifty shares in the company in 1900 had invested wisely - particularly local publicans James Grant who owned 801 shares and James Reilly with 560 shares and David McLaskey a J.P. from Belfast with 500 shares and John McKillop, a local restaurant owner who held 450 shares.<sup>75</sup>

But for the majority of Celtic F.C.'s shareholders, who owned less than fifty shares and for all Rangers F.C.'s shareholders who never received a return, there was little or no direct monetary benefits.

However, some shareholders sought profit indirectly. There was the possibility of commercial motivation in the form of contracts, particularly for equipment, buildings and refreshments. In 1899 Archibald Leitch, a local consulting engineer, was awarded a contract to design the plans for Ibrox Stadium. At the time he held £55 worth of shares in Rangers F.C. Similarly, Penman Brothers who owned a drapers shop at Bridgeton Cross, were shareholders in Celtic F.C. to whom they supplied playing kit.<sup>76</sup>

Since football clubs regularly brought large numbers of men together who enjoyed a drink both before and after a match, a remarkable number of shareholders were men involved in the drink trade such as restaurant owners, publicans, spirit merchants and brewers. 50% of businessmen holding Celtic F.C.'s shares had links with the trade.<sup>77</sup> In 1899 twelve of the nineteen businessmen holding fifty or more shares in Rangers F.C. were wine and spirit merchants. Many owned premises within a half mile radius of Ibrox Stadium. J MacIntyre who owned one hundred shares had a public house in Paisley Road. Thomas Vallance with £55 worth of shares ran a public house in Maxwell Drive while W E McColl, another £100 investor, owned a licensed grocery shop in Dumbarton Road.<sup>78</sup>

Table 7.4. illustrates that at both clubs manual

workers who formed the largest group of shareholders, held small numbers of shares. At Celtic F.C. nearly half of the total number of shareholders who held between one and ten shares were manual workers, of which the majority were semi and unskilled workers, particularly labourers. At Rangers F.C. manual workers, most of whom were skilled labour aristocrats, made up 33% of investors with between one and ten shares. There was also a disproportionate number of white collar clerical staff (23% of the one to ten shareholders), many of whom had been at the fore in the organisation and support for the club from the early seventies. With so few shares it was impossible for any of them to gain any real financial benefits from their investments. However, they gained important non pecuniary rewards. Shareholding was an extension of their roles as supporters. They probably drew considerable intrinsic satisfaction from having a formal link with their team. A feeling of belonging was reinforced by having preference over the distribution of tickets, the opportunity to vote at the club's annual general meeting and even the possibility of election to the directorate.<sup>79</sup>

The commercialization of late nineteenth century sport differed only in scale from early nineteenth century forms of commercial sport such as prize fighting. In both there was fierce competition, players were exploited, rules were broken and gambling was common. The scale of late nineteenth century commercial sport however, affected a wider range of issues. New industries were created and some of

the more established ones, such as the construction and building industries, prospered. Transport systems were affected and public usage increased. Perhaps the group who benefitted least was the players, particularly footballers. Their wages which represented only a tiny fraction of a club's turnover did not increase in proportion to the growth of attendances. As a group they were slow to organise a players' union and so they were easily exploited by shareholders and directors. Football's governing body was dominated by representatives from the clubs which stood to gain most from commercialization and it did little to guard against exploitation. Football and for a time cycling and athletics were controlled by entrepreneurs interested mainly in profit and so part of the city's sporting life became enmeshed in wider business and industrial practices. However, commercial influences were not all-encompassing. A handful of less easily identifiable socio-cultural forces such as class, religion and race were also important and chapter eight examines their influence on local sporting patterns.

CHAPTER 8SOCIAL CLASS, RELIGION AND RACE 1850-1914

The first sports clubs in Glasgow were founded and run by and for upper middle class men in business and the professions. Of the members or founder members of the city's earliest golf, swimming and cricket clubs, 58% were merchants and industrialists, 23% were gentlemen or professional men of high status - lawyers, doctors, bankers and accountants, 10% were employed in the higher grades of clerical or commercial administration and 5% were in the armed forces. In contrast, only 10% were lower grade white collar clerical workers and only 1% were skilled manual workers. (Table 8.1). The members of Glasgow's first football club, Queen's Park, included Mungo Ritchie, a partner in the firm of Messrs. Mann and Byers; James Grant, a commission agent; Robert Davidson, a provision merchant; H N Smith, a partner in the firm of Smith and Wellstood and Charles Campbell, a businessman who later served on Glasgow Town Council. Rangers F.C. was founded by Mr Moses McNeil, a successful businessman who owned a local hat and hosiery shop.<sup>2</sup> West of Scotland F.C., the city's first rugby club, was established by men from Scotland's leading private schools, the majority from Glasgow Academy, the rest from the Edinburgh boarding schools.<sup>3</sup> It is likely, too, that Glasgow's three earliest cycling clubs, the Royal Scottish B.C., the Lanarkshire B.C. and the Northern B.C. (all established

Table 8.1. Occupational classification of members or founder members of four Glasgow sports clubs, 1848-72.<sup>1</sup>

Occupational classification	Clydesdale C.C. (founder members 1848)		West of Scotland C.C. (members 1859)		Arlington B.C. (members 1872-3)		Glasgow G.C. (founder members 1870)		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professions, higher administrative, gentlemen, etc.	1	9	3	14	4	25	6	55	14	23
Business	6	55	16	73	10	63	3	27	35	58
White collar I: clerical and commercial	3	27	0	0	1	6	2	18	6	10
White collar II: supervisory, technical, minor officials	1	9	0	0	0		0	0	1	2
Manual - skilled	0	0	0	0	1	6	0	0	1	2
Armed forces	0	0	3	14	0		0	0	3	5
Total	11	100	22	101	16	100	11	100	60	100
Members of unknown occupation	16		1		8		4		29	

Notes (i) The occupational classification is taken from Gray. 1976. op.cit. Appendix II. pp.196-201.

(ii) The figures for the Arlington B.C. represent the husbands of all female members who joined during 1872 and 1873. There are no figures available for males themselves.



in 1879) were founded by, and run for, middle class sportsmen.<sup>4</sup>

The social composition of the membership of Glasgow's earliest sports clubs had changed only moderately by 1914. (Table 8.2). The proportion of members from higher grade white collar occupations (19%) and from skilled manual occupations (8%) had risen slightly, but 66% of the members continued to come from the ranks of businessmen and the superior professions. With an entry fee of ten guineas and an annual subscription of two guineas in 1906, clubs like Glasgow G.C. were bound to retain their positions as exclusive middle class sporting enclaves. As a popular commentator on the West of Scotland F.C. observed in 1906, the club, "then [1870], as now, largely consisted of public school men."<sup>6</sup>

When, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a growing number of lower middle and respectable working class Glaswegians began to take part in sport they did so by forming clubs of their own. Most of the lower middle class activists were employed as clerks in local shipping and insurance agencies. The majority of working class sportsmen belonged to the 'labour aristocracy' - skilled workers such as engineers, builders, masons, bricklayers and craft workers - who enjoyed economic security and high rates of pay.

A variety of agencies formed the focal points around which these men established sports clubs. The workplace was a particularly important entry point.

Table 8.2. Occupational classification of members of three Glasgow sports clubs, 1900-1910.<sup>5</sup>

Occupational classification	New members of Arlington B.C., 1900		New members of the Cyclists' Touring Club, 1909		Members of West of Scotland C.C., 1900		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Professions, higher administrative, gentlemen, etc.	18	20	20	51	10	26	48
Business	29	32	13	33	22	56	64
White collar I: clerical and commercial	23	25	5	13	4	10	32
White collar II: supervisory, technical, minor officials	2	2	0	0	1	3	3
Retail, warehouse, etc.: employees	3	3	0	0	0	0	3
Manual - skilled	12	13	1	3	1	3	14
Miscellaneous personal and public services	1	1	0	0	0	0	1
Armed forces	0	0	0	0	1	3	1
Others and miscellaneous	3	3	0	0	0	0	3
Total	91	99	39	100	39	101	169
Members of unknown occupation	6		10		46		62
							100.2

Notes (i) The occupational classification is taken from Gray. 1976 op.cit. Appendix II, pp. 196-201.

(ii) The figures for the Cyclists' Touring Club represent males only. Female members, the majority of whom were related to male members, have been omitted.

Daily Mail employees formed a cricket club in 1882. The Neptune Swimming Club had strong links with the engineering firm of Wylie and Lohead while the Caxton Swimming Club was established by a group of local printing workers. Villafield Swimming Club consisted of employees of the well established printing firm of Blackie and Sons. The St. Rollox Locomotive Golf Club, founded in 1902, and the Glasgow and South Western Railway Golf Club, established in 1907, were formed by railway workers.<sup>7</sup>

Religious organisations were another popular focal point. Local churches and chapels established sports clubs in order to maintain church solidarity and attract new recruits. Woodhead Swimming Club was formed in 1887 by the clergy at the Glasgow Free College Church Mission. Two years later Fairfield Swimming Club was established by leaders of the Bible Class at Fairfield United Free Church. The club was very popular with local shipyard workers, the majority of whom were skilled tradesmen. Ministers at Dundas Street Congregational Church, Claremont United Free Church and St. Bride's Episcopal Church formed golf clubs.<sup>8</sup>

Some sports clubs were set up by men who lived in the same district. The siting of public baths in a number of suburbs was particularly conducive to the development of neighbourhood swimming clubs. The Clarendon Swimming Club was formed by a group who took swimming lessons in the North Woodside Baths while the Eastern Swimming Club consisted of a collection of east end enthusiasts who met

regularly at the Greenhead Baths. The Glasgow Wheelers' Cycle Club was formed by riders in the Townhead area during 1904.<sup>9</sup>

In some cases improvement institutions which were heavily supported by the local labour aristocracy enhanced and publicized their attractiveness by forming clubs. In particular the teetotal movement appealed strongly to the upper working class. In 1887 the United Abstainers and Glasgow Temperance Athletic Football Clubs were established. In local Star of Hope and Good Templars organisations, cycle groups were formed. St. George's Cooperative Society established various sporting sections as part of a wider programme of educational improvement classes. Physical activities included swimming, football, cycling and drill, each sport receiving financial support from the society's education and benevolent fund.<sup>10</sup>

Political organisations also became focal points for a number of sporting groups. Local Conservatives and Liberals formed golf clubs and Socialists were particularly active cyclists. Sport enabled these clubs to widen their appeal and added new vigour to political groups which often took themselves too seriously. The Glasgow Socialist Cycle Club was established in 1894 when a few riders joined together to utilise their cycles in supporting the Labour candidate at an election in Mid-Lanark. They continued to cycle together and joined the national network of Clarion Clubs. The membership consisted of labour aristocrats, lower middle class white collar office staff

and a sprinkling of wealthier sympathisers.<sup>11</sup> As well as organising cycling trips or 'Clarion Meets', the Glasgow section was a powerful and active advocate of Socialism. On some of their weekly runs members distributed leaflets and spread the Socialist message in towns and villages throughout the west of Scotland. They often headed trade union and political demonstrations.<sup>12</sup> A second Clarion Club was established in Govan in 1905.

Clubs provided a range of services and organised numerous activities to meet the sporting requirements of members. The most basic was to ensure access to suitable playing areas. Glasgow's earliest sports clubs secured private facilities. In 1848 Clydesdale C.C. became the first local club to obtain a private playing area.<sup>13</sup> In the twenty years after 1850 several other cricket and some rugby clubs secured their own grounds. They were quickly followed by a handful of swimming clubs, a golf club and a growing number of football clubs. After 1880 an increasing variety of public facilities became available to local clubs.<sup>14</sup>

To supplement informal sporting contact between members, clubs organised a range of semi-formal and formal events. Intra-club competitions were always popular. Queen's Park F.C. arranged games between members every Monday, Wednesday and Saturday during the summer of 1868 on the Queen's Park Recreation Ground, showing great ingenuity in arranging sides: heavy weights played light

weights, members who lived north of Eglinton Toll played their southern counterparts and a President's XI played a Captain's team.<sup>15</sup> Swimming clubs arranged intra-club swimming, diving and water polo competitions for members of all ages and abilities. At Glasgow G.C. intra-club events began in 1871.<sup>16</sup>

Cycle clubs arranged both competitive and non competitive events. Touring was particularly popular with members. The touring season lasted from early April until late October and every Saturday groups of cyclists left Glasgow to ride to a variety of places. Dressed in their colourful riding uniforms they gathered at popular meeting places such as St. Enoch Square, Kelvingrove Park, the Court House by Glasgow Green or Tron Church to cycle to venues as far apart as Callander, Fintry, Arrochar, Largs or Rowardennan. The most organised clubs issued 'touring cards' which contained information on forthcoming trips.<sup>17</sup> Some clubs even awarded badges to members who cycled over a certain distance (usually between 80 and 120 miles) on a day's tour. Competitive activities were also organised. Road races were popular, particularly with young riders who liked to show off their fitness and skill in front of older club members. The Parkhouse Cycle Club, like many local groups, held its annual races on the Kilmarnock Road offering prizes for events over one, three, five and ten miles.

As the popularity of each sport spread inter-club competitions were arranged. By 1890 the growth of a range of clubs had led to the development of a relatively large system of inter-club fixtures which usually took the form of league or knock out cup competitions.<sup>18</sup> Clubs also provided opportunities for instruction and offered members information about all aspects of their particular sport. Private baths clubs appointed baths masters who gave lessons in basic swimming, stroke improvement, diving and water polo. Cycle clubs offered instruction in simple riding skills, road safety and cycle maintenance. They also gave regular reports on the state of roads, places to visit, advice on repairs and up to date news of new models.

One of the basic objectives of the sports clubs was to counteract the loneliness and impersonality of city life. During Glasgow's early industrial growth, recreations had been largely communal affairs based on seasonal and cyclical rhythms. The Glasgow Fair had dances, festive displays, ceremonials and rough sports which were carried on within the context of a whole community culture. However, during the first quarter of the century in the name of decency and order, fairgoers were discouraged from participating in various aspects of the carnival and by 1850 its sporting content had vanished. The growth of the cotton and engineering industries brought a rationalisation of work. Leisure became a separate and identifiable sphere of social life. Industrial processes

imposed new restrictions of time and space on individuals. In contrast to the more intimate personal relationships of early industrial society, concentrated industrialization encouraged the segmentation of human relations which were largely anonymous superficial and transitory. For immigrants from a range of Scottish and Irish crofting communities life was lonely. At the same time the collapse of the city's own traditional social and cultural life increasingly denied locally born groups their established forms of social contact.

To overcome feelings of social isolation sports clubs organised a whole range of social events to provide members with the opportunity to develop a new sense of community and corporate identity. Clubs brought together men, and later women too, who devoted some of their time to enhance levels of consociation and conviviality outside the framework of the home and the workplace. Clubs provided a forum where members could meet for comradeship and conversation. Turkish baths, reading, smoking and recreational rooms were provided at Glasgow's private baths clubs for daily informal contact between members. In 1874 Glasgow G.C. converted a Corporation tool shed into a two roomed club house. By 1887 it was enlarged and a bar installed.<sup>19</sup>

Eating, drinking and dancing and the art of conversation were integral aspects of the sporting life. For some, particularly older members, social events probably provided the principal reason for joining a club or for



renewing their memberships after the desire or ability to participate in sport had passed.<sup>20</sup> The annual dinner was an important date in the calendar of any club. Most groups held their dinners in local high class hotels which provided good food and drink. In 1883 the Glasgow University Bicycle Club hired Messrs. Ferguson and Forrester's in Buchanan Street. At the event, "The dinner" to use the words of the late secretary of the club, "proved, like its predecessors, socially and gastronomically a success".<sup>21</sup>

Many other social events were organised to enhance social contact amongst members. Arlington B.C. arranged dances, fancy dress balls, conversaziones and card playing evenings. Bazaars were occasionally held to raise money and a debating society was quite active.<sup>22</sup> Smoking concerts were particularly popular with local cycle clubs. Members provided their own entertainment ranging from singing and comic recitals to musical pieces and poetry readings. Queen's Park F.C. formed a musical and drama section in the early seventies which went on to give concerts in towns throughout the west of Scotland. To some club members non sporting functions were the most important aspect of club life. Cycle clubs were notorious for their pre-occupation with eating and drinking. Events which had originally been arranged to sustain membership interest during the winter months all too often became excuses for heavy bouts of drinking.

"The so-called smoking concert of bicycle

clubs provides nominally a recreative and instructive evening of music, and a means as the promoters usually state of "keeping the numbers together in the winter". As a matter of fact, it degenerates, too often into little better than a drinking bout; and the spectacle of numbers of young men sitting the long evening through in a reeking and tobacco-laden atmosphere, while they fill themselves with liquor to the accomplishment of vulgar and often obscene songs, is certainly the reverse of edifying."<sup>23</sup>

Women were gradually given the opportunity to participate to a greater or lesser extent in swimming, cycling, golf and tennis. They became members of existing male clubs where their presence tended to enhance the level of social activity and allowed new friendships to be formed and old ones cultivated with new members of both sexes.

Glasgow's various socio-economic groups also used sports clubs to maintain their positions in the social pecking order. Although this was important for groups in any town or city it was particularly so in Glasgow because of the physical juxtaposition of socially different residential zones. For example, Hillhead quickly sheered off into the shipyards of Partick and Kelvinside soon ran into the mixed industrial area of Maryhill. Kinning Park and Tradeston merged onto Pollokshields. There was no gradual transition between these areas and it was not easy for one particular social group to insulate itself from other Glaswegians.<sup>24</sup>

Upper middle class groups adopted a number of strategies to ensure that no interloper penetrated their

well established sporting worlds. High entry fees and annual subscriptions not only provided important sources of income but also restricted entry to wealthy people. In 1892 it cost four guineas to join Glasgow G.C. and one guinea for an annual subscription fee, twice the price of playing golf at any other local club. By 1903 the entry fee had risen to seven guineas and the annual subscription cost £2.2.0, 53% dearer than at Eastwood G.C., the city's second most expensive club where a combined entry fee and subscription cost £4.8.0<sup>25</sup>

Elaborate laborious and restrictive enrolling procedures also discouraged prospective members. Applicants to Glasgow G.C. had to be proposed seconded and then approved by the existing membership. Most of the city's earliest rugby clubs also adopted specific entry requirements. Four of the seven rugby clubs from the west of Scotland which joined the S.F.U. between 1880-96 were restricted to members of particular schools or volunteer forces.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, it was difficult for all but the most acceptable ladies to join a private baths club. In December 1876 the North British Daily Mail noted that some spectators at an Arlington Gala, "would have joined the mermaids on the spot had the rules of the club allowed, but there is no chance at the Arlington for outsiders."<sup>27</sup> Prospective lady members had to be related to existing club members.

Some clubs also placed ceilings upon the number of members. Glasgow's earliest cycle clubs such as the

Southern B.C. and the Royal Scottish B.C. restricted their memberships to thirty.<sup>28</sup> Club membership was based upon the members' conception of social comfort and the basis of such comfort was homogeneity. Consequently when new working class clubs were established they usually received little support from existing middle class clubs. This was particularly true in rugby and cricket where local clubs such as Clydesdale C.C., West of Scotland F.C. and Glasgow Academicals' F.C. ignored requests from new clubs for fixtures. When eventually games were arranged, the senior clubs turned out their second teams.

The timing of activities also restricted interest. It was not unusual for rugby and cricket clubs to play games on a Wednesday while in 1885 the Glasgow Tricycle Club held meets every alternate Saturday starting at 8 a.m. Few manual workers had any leisure time on a Saturday morning.

One of the most striking examples of the local concern for the maintenance of social distance was the treatment given to professional cricketers. Several ritual and symbolic devices were used to delineate the social difference between the lower class professional and the status conscious upper middle class amateur. Professionals and amateurs changed in separate dressing rooms and walked to the wicket through different gates. In newspaper reports and on scorecards a professional was denoted by initials after his surname while an amateur's initials always preceeded his surname.<sup>29</sup>

The respectable working class, too, used sports clubs to confirm their own particular identity. To some extent they formed clubs because they were excluded from existing middle class clubs. But, more positively, it was also an attempt by the labour aristocracy to create a sense of identity and establish both their separation from other members of the working class and independence from middle class patronage.<sup>30</sup>

The activities of local swimming clubs which were dominated by lower middle and respectable working class Glaswegians reflected the concern for independence respectability and self-improvement. Dances, dinners, smoking concerts, conversaziones, debates and rambling trips were extremely popular with members. Western S.C. had a rambling section which arranged educational trips to local beauty spots and industrial sites. In 1903 the club visited Campsie Glen, Thornliebank Model Village, Mugdoch Water Works, Huntershill Quarries and Craighead Coal Mine. As relationships between members developed and matured the club arranged outings during annual holidays. Since other clubs in the city had also established similar events the local swimming fraternity developed both healthy inter-club sporting and social relationships. During the Glasgow Fair Holiday in 1904 members of the Western S.C. Rambling Section spent a week at the 'Gordon's Camp' at Tarbet.

"All the members of the camp, or the big majority, were members of Glasgow Swimming Clubs, and a right cheery and pleasant party they formed."<sup>31</sup>

It was a most visible sign of intra-class social identity and companionship and an important contribution to the image of prosperity and self-improvement.

The sporting interests of the overwhelming majority of working men however, were channelled into watching professional sport, chiefly football, cycling and athletics. In 1892 Scottish Referee noted that, "The masses ... can be brought out in thousands to witness football in all kinds of wintry weather."<sup>32</sup> In the summer, cycling and athletics contests were almost as popular. At Celtic F.C.'s sports in 1894,

"The attendance has been estimated at somewhere between twelve and fourteen thousand, which at any time would be considered a satisfactory gate; but in a dull season such as has been experienced in the west, and at a period of depression among the working classes, it must be looked upon as most exceptional."<sup>33</sup>

At the second part of the meeting which took place on the following Monday,

"Considering that the hour of starting was extremely early for the working class patrons of the sport, many having come direct to the ground, the attendance was wonderfully good."<sup>34</sup>

Football was watched by the whole spectrum of working men from skilled engineers to unskilled dockworkers. At the Scottish cup final in 1892,

"never before was there such a number of the working classes, many of whom from their besmeared faces and dust-covered clothes had gone straight to the field instead of getting their Sunday coats on, seen at Ibrox."<sup>35</sup>

The reference to Sunday coats is significant. At the turn

of the century references were continually made to 'artisans', 'mechanics', 'clerks', 'the black coated artisan' and men 'dight in their Sunday braws', which illustrates that many skilled tradesmen watched football. On the other hand, the reference to 'besmeared faces' and 'dust-covered clothes' indicates that less respectable unskilled workers were equally prominent.

Table 8.3. which analyses the only known pre-1914 source of empirical data on the social composition of football crowds confirms the enormous working class interest for watching the game. On Saturday April 5th 1902 the annual Scotland v. England fixture took place at Ibrox Stadium. During the game the top part of the west terracing which reached a height of forty feet collapsed. 26 people died and over five hundred were injured. The names and personal details of most of the casualties were collated by the Govan Police and appeared in the Glasgow Herald. It has been possible to trace the occupations of 281 of those hurt in the incident. They were employed in 116 different jobs.

Clearly there are problems in evaluating the representativeness of the crowd. It was an international match which may not have drawn the same people who attended local club games. The 1/- admission - a 100% increase on normal league games - may also have affected the crowd composition. However, the incident took place in the cheapest part of the ground so the socio-occupational status of the rest of the crowd would have been similar or

Table 8.3. Occupations of the casualties of the 1902 Ibrox disaster.

36

O c c u p a t i o n									
Joiner	18	Hammerman	3	Bridge Builder	1	Yarn Twister	1	Steam Craneman	1
Labourer	14	Iron Turner	3	Builder	1	Bag Maker	1	Tailor's Cutter	1
Engineer	13	Moulder	3	Cabinetmaker	1	Benchman	1	Tube Worker	1
Fitter	9	Slater	3	Chairmaker	1	Boatman	1	Warehouseman	1
Mason	9	Carter	3	Coppersmith	1	Boot Top Cutter	1	Winchman	1
Painter	9	Rivet Beater	3	Electrical Engineer	1	Buffer	1	Chemist	1
Blacksmith	8	Grocer	2	Enameller	1	Car Driver	1	Colliery Manager	1
Patternmaker	8	Storekeeper	2	Fancy Yarn Maker	1	Cement Step Maker	1	Draper	1
Machinist	6	Teacher	2	Foreman Bookbinder	1	Clothlapper	1	Housewife	1
Traveller	6	Horse Shoer	2	Glazier	1	Coach Painter	1	Inspector of Building	1
Brass Finisher	5	Hospice Weaver	2	Gunmaker's Assistant	1	Comb Maker	1	Inspector of Postmen	1
Chaulker	5	Office Boy	2	Iron Moulder	1	Fireclay Worker	1	Maths Tutor	1
Plumber	5	Smith	2	Iron Roofer	1	Fireman	1	Professor of Hypnotism	1
Riveter	5	Coachbuilder	2	Pastry Cook	1	Fitter's Boy	1	Schoolboy	1
Ship Plater	5	Confectioner	2	Pipe Maker	1	Harness Tier	1	Sculptor	1
Clerk	5	Cooper	2	Printer	1	Holder On	1	Shop Salesman	1
Miner	5	Draughtsman	2	Sawyer	1	Iron Driller	1	Steward	1
Bricklayer	4	Jeweller	2	Sign Writer	1	Leather Worker	1	Telegraph Linesman	1
Carpenter	4	Sawmiller	2	Stain Glass Painter	1	Lorryman	1	Telephone Worker	1
Compositor	4	Shoemaker	2	Steel Dresser	1	Mechanic	1	Wine & Spirit Merchant	1
Plasterer	4	Tile Layer	2	Steeplejack	1	Milkman	1		
Tailor	4	Timekeeper	2	Ticket Printer	1	Porter	1		
Baker	3	Bookbinder	1	Tinsmith	1	Postman	1		
Boilermaker	3	Borer	1	Upholsterer	1	Shoe Top Fitter	1	Total	281

Notes (i) In the analysis of the Ibrox casualty list I have drawn heavily upon a similar analysis published in Mason . op.cit. pp.145-7, which is based on Hutchison . op.cit. pp.8-10 and additional unpublished work by the latter on the development of professional football in nineteenth century Scotland. Mason traces the occupations of 249 spectators - 50% of the 494 listed casualties. By utilising Electoral Rolls and Post Office Directories it has been possible to increase the total by 7% to 281.



probably higher. Though there is no information on those occupying stand seats it seems likely that the injured represented the lower end of the social spectrum of those present. Despite these problems the evidence confirms that it was skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled working class males employed in the building, metal and ship-building industries who formed the bulk of local football crowds.

Numerous factors contributed to the enormous working class appetite for the game. It provided the only opportunity for many men to have any interest in sport because they were denied active involvement by a combination of long working hours, a lack of paid holidays and low wages. Moreover, some had a disinterest in personal physical activity, which had been nurtured by a life spent in manual labour.<sup>37</sup> The exclusionary practices adopted by existing clubs also affected participation. However, spectating was not merely a substitute for active involvement. Watching football was intrinsically attractive and at the same time it created a sense of personal belonging and group identity which contrasted sharply with the impersonality of everyday life. Working class enthusiasm for the game was indicative of the need to break out of the frustrating confinement of Glasgow's urban environment where life was regulated by the rhythm of the machine.<sup>38</sup> Watching a Saturday afternoon ceremonial battle provided working men with opportunities for inter-personal contact to counteract feelings of alienation

and anomie. Spectators grew to identify with the local community through regular support at the local football ground. This eased the feeling of constant alienation and saw the emergence of the 'fanatical football supporter'.<sup>39</sup>

The common purpose was to urge the local team to victory. The most obvious expressions of community feeling and group loyalty were cheering, singing songs and the formation of local brake clubs.<sup>40</sup> Brake clubs were formed by small groups of local supporters in order to facilitate travel arrangements to games. The brakes were 24 seater, four in hand wagonettes. The payment of a weekly subscription ensured a place in the brake for home games and a seat on a train to away matches. In 1895 Celtic F.C. had fourteen clubs providing supporters with feelings of group membership and integration. Members shared a bond of mutual aspirations and disappointments, of specific knowledge and inside information about their team and most importantly of all, a public declaration of their belonging to a shared group cause.<sup>41</sup> Brake clubs also led vigorous social lives. The Celtic F.C. brakes were particularly active, arranging suppers, picnics and trips down the Clyde. The annual meeting of the United Celtic Brake Clubs held in the Grand National Hall, Govan was a notable date in the Irish calendar.

In the novel 'The Good Companions', J B Priestley describes most succinctly the community appeal of a local football team. Although the story is set in the 1930s,

it could refer to the attitude prevalent in any working class community in late nineteenth century Glasgow.

"For a shilling Bruddersford United A.F.C. offered you Conflict and Art; it turned you into a critic, happy in your judgement of fine points, ready in a second to estimate the worth of a well-judged pass, a run down the touch-line, a lightning shot, a clearance kick by back or goalkeeper; it turned you into a partisan, holding your breath when the ball came sailing into your own goal mouth, ecstatic when your forwards raced away towards the opposite goal, elated, down-cast, bitter, triumphant by turns at the fortunes of your side.

What is more it turned you into a member of a new community, all brothers together for an hour and a half, for not only had you escaped from the clanking machinery of this lesser life, from work, wages, rent, doles, sick pay, insurance cards, nagging wives, ailing children, bad bosses, idle workmen, but you had escaped with most of your mates and your neighbours ... and there you were, cheering together, thumping one another on the shoulders, swopping judgements like lords of the earth..."<sup>42</sup>

Within the working class world of spectator sport local religious and ethnic differences had profound effects on patterns of development. In the two decades after 1845 a large number of Irishmen and their families, the majority of whom were Catholics, left Ireland to settle in Glasgow.<sup>43</sup> Once across the Irish Sea they were met with indifference, resentment and suspicion from native Scotsmen. Three principal factors accounted for the hostility. Firstly the immigrants' Catholic religion clashed with the ideals of Scottish Presbyterianism. Secondly the Irish were hungry for work and so they increased the competition for jobs and placed ill timed pressure on already inadequate

public health and housing provision. Thirdly in 1849 many thousands of Scots and Irish died from an outbreak of cholera. Although the epidemic came from Europe the Irish were blamed for the disease. The ordinary Glaswegian turned against the Irish with fury. Local Inspectors of the Poor illegally deported many Irish families and at the same time the press became a focus point and mouthpiece for Protestant hopes and fears. In 1850 a violently anti-Catholic organization, 'The Scottish Reformation Society' was established. It created a ground swell of anti-Catholic feeling which gave birth to two ultra Protestant newspapers - The Bulwark - a Free Presbyterian Church publication which lasted for many years and the short lived Scottish Protestant.<sup>44</sup>

The immigrants reciprocated the bigoted attitudes of their hosts. Rather than attempt to assimilate with the general population they separated themselves off into isolated communities crowding into Glasgow's most densely populated and insanitary districts such as Bridgegate, Cowcaddens, Gorbals, St Andrew's Square, Maryhill and Anderston where they lived in inadequate accommodation and poor health conditions.<sup>45</sup> Segregated in their residence they were also segregated in their work. Unskilled Irishmen were obliged to take whatever work they were offered and inevitably they were directed towards the lowest paid forms of heavy physical labour. They were employed as labourers in brickworks, potteries, dockyards and in the terrible conditions of chemical works.<sup>46</sup>

The uniformity of their circumstances instilled a certain mental solidarity which was held together by shared religious beliefs. The over-arching social 'glue' which permeated the Irish social structure was Catholicism.<sup>47</sup> It was developed and promoted in Glasgow by powerful Irish priests<sup>48</sup> and given a boost in 1878 when a Catholic hierarchy was restored to Scotland after a lengthy interruption which had lasted 275 years. Glasgow became one of the country's two Archdioceses and Catholic life took on an increasingly organised form, centred on the local parish church which provided religious and secular education, social activity and relief for the aged and the poor. A handful of cultural and quasi religious associations, such as the Ancient Order of Hibernians, friendly societies like the Irish Foresters and local branches of the Irish National League reinforced the immigrants' community sense of Irish Catholic identity through lectures, evenings of national song and dance, summer outings and childrens' picnics.<sup>49</sup>

Separated by social, economic and racial characteristics and by religious prejudice the indigenous and the Irish communities in Glasgow failed to integrate. In the working class world of spectator sport a situation developed in which Irish Catholic and Scottish Protestant groups directed their support to two local football teams.

Celtic F.C. was established in November 1887 by Catholics for Catholics. Its founder was Brother Walfrid an Irish priest who was head of the Marist Teaching Order

in the Catholic parish of the Sacred Heart in Glasgow. The club was created as a charity organisation to raise money to provide free meals for poor Catholic school children in the east end parishes of St. Mary's, St. Michael's and Sacred Heart.<sup>50</sup>

Cultural identification and playing success ensured that support for the club was immediate. In the years before professional football, players were not obliged to stay with a club for any stated period of time. As a result Celtic F.C. found it relatively easy to gather together a clutch of fine well established players. Some were drawn from local clubs such as Cathcart, Dumbarton, Renton and Busby Football Clubs while five were captured from Hibernian Football Club which had just won the Scottish Cup. The quality of the Celtic team's play aroused favourable comments from every quarter. In October 1888 Celtic F.C. played Rangers F.C. and the Scottish Umpire recorded that,

"the Celtic came away with a brilliance which has seldom if ever been equalled on Ibrox Park. The dodging and dribbling of the whole forward quintette was a caution, while their shooting was dead on."<sup>51</sup>

With the right blend of skill and experience playing success was inevitable. In its first season Celtic F.C. scored some emphatic victories including an 11-1 win over Shettleston Football Club and a 9-2 victory over Clyde F.C. in the Scottish Cup. During the nineties the club won four Scottish League titles, three Scottish

Cups, four Glasgow Cups and six Charity Cups.<sup>52</sup> At the same time the club went out of its way to create and stress a clear Irish-Catholic identity. The head of the Catholic Church in Glasgow, Archbishop Eryre, was Celtic F.C.'s first patron. The club's colours enhanced the symbolism. The players wore white shirts and green collars and a Celtic cross in green and red on their right breasts. Even the playing surface was regarded as a piece of Ireland after 1892 when the Irish patriot Michael Davitt laid a sod of turf containing shamrocks on the pitch.<sup>53</sup>

Football was "given a new lease of life. The Eastern club brought a new following to the game. Thousands who had never previously given a thought to football rallied to the new club."<sup>54</sup> Two thousand watched the first match at Parkhead in May 1888. Six thousand attended the second game. At the end of its first season the club reached the final of the Scottish Cup when a record eighteen thousand watched the game. Several months later it gave over £421 to charity: by 1890 a total of £1,200.<sup>55</sup>

Celtic F.C. brought prestige and status to local working class Catholic communities. In symbolic terms, the team's success lifted Irishmen from their positions of imposed inferiority. It heightened their sense of self by allowing them to compete on equal terms in a traditionally popular aspect of local life. The scenes in the east end after the team's win in an 1892 final tie

illustrated the intensity of Irish pride.

"When the intimation came that "our team" had won in such a handsome manner almost everybody who could muster a cheer and a grin at once put them in evidence. Even the women lent a hand, and helped in no small measure to make the rejoicings hearty. But it was when "the boys came marching home again" from the aristocratic Ibrox that the fun began in earnest ... Bands! you ought to have seen them. They perambulated the whole district until well on in the evening, and with the aid of a liberal use of party music helped to make things hum along merrily ... Truly, the East End was a perfect turmoil until the very early hours of the Sunday, and many of the crowd won't be able to get over the rejoicing racket for days to come."<sup>56</sup>

Celtic F.C. was the most obvious material representation of Irish Catholic hopes and aspirations. However, native Protestants regarded the club's rise and success not only as a challenge to their established sporting world but also as a threat to the purity and integrity of the Scottish race. It was hardly surprising that they did not greet the prowess of the newcomers with the warmth the club and its supporters thought their achievements deserved.

The press was a prominent mouthpiece for anti-Celtic feeling. The same press hostility which had threatened for some years to swamp Hibernian F.C., a team made up of immigrant Irish which played in Edinburgh, made its presence felt in Glasgow. To discredit the club, the press adopted several ploys ranging from inaccurate and biased reporting to simple but hard hitting insults, sometimes however, to the annoyance of organised Protestant groups



who felt that such comments merely served to emphasise the Irish presence.<sup>57</sup>

In the 1892 Scottish cup final, Celtic F.C. sent tremors through the sporting world when it beat Queen's Park F.C., one of the corner stones of the Scottish sporting establishment. The press attempted to play down Celtic F.C.'s victory with excuses that the Queen's Park team was understrength. The Scottish Referee wrote that,

"The Queen's had but a skeleton team. Disorganised by Smellie's illness and Arnott's resolve at the last minute not to play, the team fell an easy prey."<sup>58</sup>

Scottish Sport added,

"I have no hesitation in saying that the best team won, although they received an "assisted" passage which they scarcely thanked anyone for .."<sup>59</sup>

Both papers overlooked the fact that Celtic F.C.'s regular centre forward, Johnny Madden, was also missing. Similarly in 1896 Scottish Sport found it difficult to accept the playing success of Celtic F.C. and Hibernian F.C. "The two Irish teams are at the top of the table. Is this not a reflection on Scotland?"<sup>60</sup> The Scottish Referee sustained the racist propaganda. It published cartoons which depicted Celtic F.C.'s players as dumb muscular creatures who had just emerged from a peat bog while the Rangers F.C.'s equivalents were portrayed as slim clean civilised men.<sup>61</sup>

In a society with such intense anti-Catholic feeling as Glasgow, local Protestants looked for a team to counter-act Celtic F.C.'s success. Queen's Park F.C. was the

obvious choice but it refused to join the S.F.L. and showed a blatant disregard for professionalism and all aspects of commercial sport. Instead, Rangers F.C. emerged to protect native Protestants from the Irish Catholic threat. The club had led a chequered existence since its inauguration in 1872. In 1883 it was saved from impending bankruptcy by a generous loan from its President, J Goudie. In 1887 the club moved to a new ground at Ibrox and two years later the enterprising William Wilton was appointed club secretary. By 1890 it was in a strong healthy position. In the first season of the S.F.L., 1890-91, it shared first place with Dumbarton Football Club, while three seasons later the club defeated Celtic F.C. in four of their six encounters. In the 1896-97 season the team won Scotland's three principal cup competitions and in the following season won the S.F.L. without dropping a point.

Supporters from other local clubs who had watched their teams suffer heavy defeats from Celtic F.C. transferred their allegiances to Ibrox, "the home of the giant killers, and four times conquerors of the mighty Celtic."<sup>62</sup> Partick Thistle F.C.'s support declined quite significantly "and other clubs have seen a large section of their following making Ibrox their Mecca on a Saturday afternoon!"<sup>63</sup>

Due to the playing success and footballing prowess which both clubs shared, widespread support was inevitable. Indeed it was the size of support which set the clubs apart from the rest of the pack. The first Scottish cup

game between the two clubs in the 1890-91 season attracted an estimated thirty thousand. By the turn of the century a Rangers v. Celtic game was one of the biggest attractions in the Scottish sporting calendar. In 1904, 65,000 watched a Rangers v. Celtic clash in the Scottish cup final at Hampden Park. Seven years later, 74,000 attended a league game at Parkhead.

Though both Rangers F.C. and Celtic F.C. attracted large followings there was a considerable difference in the character of the clubs' support. Celtic F.C.'s, drawn overwhelmingly from the Irish, the Catholics and the unskilled, was homogeneous. Rangers F.C.'s, though extensively native Scot and Protestant, exhibited much greater heterogeneity in its socio-occupational composition.<sup>64</sup> Table 8.4. indicates that by 1899 - and immediately before the club adopted company status - all sections of Glasgow society pinned their hopes and fears on the success of Rangers F.C. Lower middle class men formed the bulk - some 53% - of the club's membership. 26% of the remainder were skilled artisans while a smaller but significant 17% were local businessmen. Some of the 5% of professional men were prominent members of Glasgow's establishment. At a G.J.F.A. cup final at Ibrox in 1888,

"The pavilion verandah was graced by the "lights" of the junior world, and I was pleased to notice that the array of municipal authorities and M.D.'s, which weekly patronise the handsome ground of the Rangers was also in evidence."<sup>66</sup>

Typical of many was James Henderson, President of the

Table 8.4. Occupational classification of the members of Rangers Football Club, 1899.<sup>65</sup>

Occupational Classification	Total	Percentage of Total Members of Known Occupations
1. Professions, higher administrative, gentlemen, etc.	27	4.8
2. Business	96	17.1
3. White Collar I: clerical and commercial	149	26.5
4. White Collar II: supervisory, technical, minor officials	49	8.7
5. Retail, warehouse, etc. employees	22	3.9
6. Manual - skilled	149	26.5
7. Manual - semi and unskilled	39	6.9
8. Manual - skill unclassifiable	11	2.0
9. Domestic service, catering employees, etc.	6	1.1
10. Miscellaneous personal and public services	6	1.1
11. Police	0	0
12. Armed forces	0	0
13. Agriculture, fishing, seamen	5	0.9
14. Farmers and crofters	0	0
15. Others and miscellaneous	3	0.5
TOTAL	562	100.0
16. Occupation of subscribers unknown	28	
TOTAL	590	

Notes (i) The occupational classification is taken from Gray. 1976. op.cit. Appendix II. pp.196-201.

club from 1899-1912, a successful businessman who represented Kingston Ward on Glasgow Town Council in 1903 and later became a senior magistrate and in 1907 Baillie.

From its inception the club had attracted support from local Highland immigrants who had settled in Glasgow during the second and third quarters of the century.<sup>67</sup> Amongst their number were groups of craftsmen who came to fill vacancies in skilled and well remunerated occupations: masons, carpenters, plumbers, painters, bakers, blacksmiths, tailors and policemen.<sup>68</sup> Table 8.4. indicates that over a quarter of members in 1899 were skilled artisans. There were fourteen carpenters, ten painters, six plumbers, six blacksmiths, three masons and seven bakers.

Although the majority of football supporters were working class men, it was a small group of middle class men who were mainly responsible for the development of the game after c. 1890 when the vast commercial potential of football was fully recognised. During the nineties local businessmen seized control of Celtic F.C. and Rangers F.C. and took steps to profit from the clubs' contrasting cultural symbolism.<sup>69</sup> In the autumn of 1892 when Brother Walfrid left Glasgow to work in London, Celtic F.C.'s original charitable aims were challenged by men who had other ideas about the club's function. Businessmen, particularly local publicans, ignored the end for which the club had been formed and turned it into a business venture. The last contribution to charity was made in 1892 when £217 was given to the Poor Children's Dinner

Table, in a year when income totalled £4468, expenditure £4448 and £1189 was spent on a new ground. In 1893, in order to raise capital for further development, the club's honorary secretary, J H McLaughlin, a local wine and spirit merchant, proposed that the club be formed into a limited liability company. Despite the opposition of a powerful temperance lobby, the businessmen won through in March 1897.

In the ensuing season Celtic F.C. made a record profit of £16,267. No other British club had ever made so much money in one season but none of it was given to charity. Instead the directorate which consisted of John Glass, a building manager, John McLaughlin, John O'Hara and M Dunbar who were wine and spirit merchants, Michael Hughes, a japanner, J E Maley, a school superintendant and James McKay, a hairdresser, declared a 20% dividend to shareholders. Between 1899 and 1902 the annual dividend was 10% with the directors themselves receiving some of the biggest returns. In 1900 John Glass and his brother Peter each held 401 shares while John O'Hara had 390, M Dunbar 201 and John McLaughlin three hundred shares.<sup>70</sup>

In 1899 Rangers F.C., too, adopted company status. By the turn of the century both clubs had developed into significant business concerns. In 1899 Celtic F.C.'s gross income was £15,380 and Rangers F.C.'s £15,709.<sup>71</sup> A healthy proportion of their record incomes was generated from games with each other. Both managements clearly recognised the financial potential of their conflicting cultural symbolism and as a result strove to highlight their

cultural differences. Rangers F.C., for example, discouraged the signing of Catholic players. Between 1891 and 1914 only seven known Catholics played for Rangers F.C. and of these only one, Archie Kyle, remained at the club for more than two seasons. Moreover, three others, Dr Kilvichan, Colin Mainds and Tom Murray were signed between 1906 and 1908 when the club was attempting to compete with a Celtic team which had won six successive S.F.L. championships between 1904 and 1910.<sup>72</sup> William Wilton who owned fifty ordinary shares in 1899 was especially prominent in promoting a Protestant identity though he was probably only one of several members of the club's executive, a number of whom were wine and spirit merchants, who saw good business in the encouragement of religious bigotry.<sup>73</sup>

Cultural differences were stressed in other ways. In their cycling and athletic promotions both clubs made a practice of offering invitations to athletes and cyclists from the appropriate cultural background. Irish cyclists and runners featured in the sports programmes at Celtic Park. At a cycle meet at Celtic Park in 1893 a Belfast team of riders competed against a Glasgow 'select' in an inter-city bicycle race. At Celtic F.C.'s annual sports in 1897, four of Ireland's leading riders competed in a ten mile invitation scratch event.<sup>74</sup> Rangers F.C. developed its Highland connection by staging a multitude of heavy field events in its athletic programmes. At a meeting in 1895, "All the competitors in the heavy events at Ibrox on

Saturday hail originally from the north of Scotland."<sup>75</sup>  
 Since many of the most famous field athletes were not only Highlanders but also officers in local police forces, their presence gave a certain air of respectability to the proceedings which appealed not only to Glasgow's establishment but also to the lower middle classes and members of the labour aristocracy.<sup>76</sup>

Sometimes, however, cultural clashes were deliberately encouraged to promote commercial interest. In 1894 the Govan Police Sports was held at Ibrox. In order to provide a financially attractive ethnic clash, one of the five police teams involved in an inter-city tug-of-war contest came from Dublin. It was opposed by a Govan Police team dressed in Rangers F.C.'s colours.<sup>77</sup>

Throughout, the Rangers v. Celtic bigotry was based on an interrelation of occupational, ethnic and religious differences which gelled together to create a fundamental culture clash. Towards the end of the period the intensity of the religious rivalry was heightened when the Irish shipbuilding firm of Harland and Wolfe established a yard on the Clyde at Govan. A large number of Ulster Protestants were attracted to the area in which Rangers F.C.'s ground was sited and the stage was set for a cultural clash which after 1918 increasingly polarised itself around two contrasting religious belief systems.

The cultural conflict among spectator interests was exacerbated by the fact that Irish immigrants had no means, opportunity or inclination to take a regular active

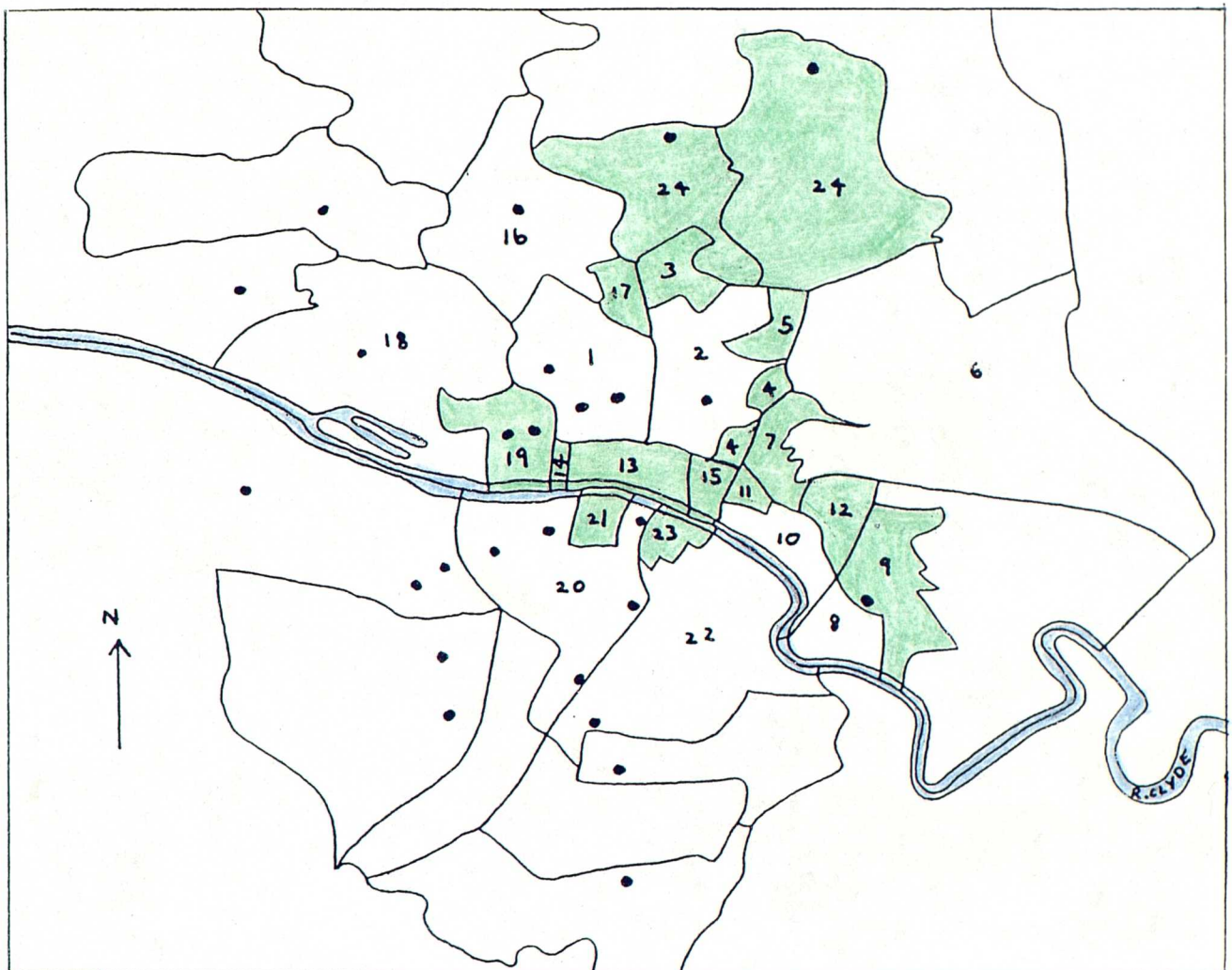


involvement in many aspects of a well established sporting world which had been created by and for native, predominantly middle class Glaswegians. In particular Irish involvement in golf and cycling was negligible. 87 known golf clubs were established in Glasgow between 1870 and 1914. 59 were restricted to certain commercial, industrial, educational, religious, neighbourhood and political groups. A close examination of their names suggests that not one had any Irish-Catholic links. Of the 158 known cycle clubs formed in the city between 1878 and 1910 only three - Celtic, Parkhead and the East End Married Men's Cycle Clubs - had titles which suggested any link with the local Irish population. Map 8.1 supports this lack of Irish involvement in cycling. Only five cycle club secretaries resided in the fifteen districts of the city which contained the largest number of Irish immigrants. In contrast, 22 lived in nine 'non Irish' districts.

The Irish were however, actively involved in some other sports. Initially they were interested in athletics. In Glasgow's alien environment immigrants, with some guidance from local clerics, took part in Gaelic sports. It was not long before local branches of the Irish National League, which had been founded in 1882 to mobilise Irish opinion and votes behind the Home Rule cause, also organised similar sports to attract members.<sup>79</sup>

After 1884 when some Irish groups began to enjoy the economic benefits of full employment there was a growing interest in football and swimming. Football was

Map 8.1. The residential location of cycle club secretaries and the distribution of Irish immigrants in Glasgow, 1891-95.<sup>78</sup>



Notes ( i) Index to statistical districts: 1. Blytheswood, 2. Exchange, 3. Port Dundas, 4. High Street and Closes west, 5. St. Rollox, 6. Bellgrove and Dennistoun, 7. High Street and Closes east, 8. Greenhead and London Road, 9. Barrowfield, 10. Monteith Row, 11. St. Andrews's Square, 12. Calton, 13. St. Enoch Square, 14. Brownfield, 15. Bridgegate and Wynds, 16. Woodside, 17. Cowcaddens, 18. Kelvinhaugh and Sandyford, 19. Anderston, 20. Kingston, 21. Laurieston, 22. Hutcheson Square, 23. Gorbals, 24. Springburn and Maryhill.

( ii) ● denotes the address of the secretary of one of Glasgow's cycle clubs in 1895. N = 26 (100%).

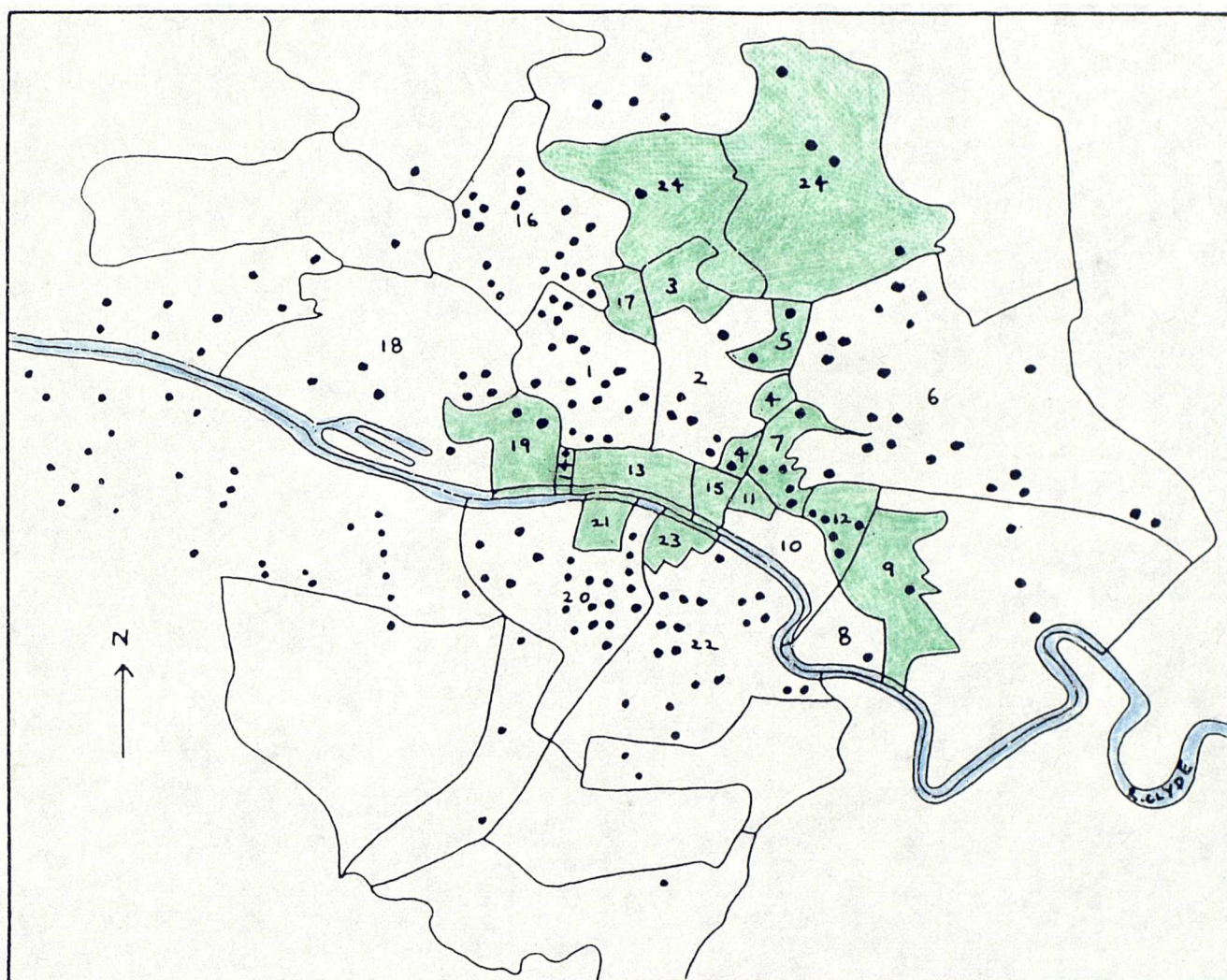
(iii) ■ denotes the statistical district in which the number of people born in Ireland exceeded 10% in 1891. N = 15.

particularly popular. Irishmen appear to have played prominent part in local junior football clubs. Map 8.2 illustrates the residential location of 79% of Glasgow's junior football club secretaries in 1891. 13% of the known number lived in the city's fifteen most densely populated Irish districts. Although it is not certain that they all represented clubs which contained large numbers of Irishmen, because Irish born immigrants accounted for some 10% of Glasgow's total population in 1891, it can be assumed that Irishmen were as actively involved in junior football as any other section of Glasgow's sporting population.

As in their spectator patterns, so in their active participation in sport, the Irish were extremely insular going out of their way to protect their racial and religious identity. When for instance in the summer of 1886 the St. Mary's Young Men's Society formed football and swimming sections, it was decided to call the two bodies the St. Mary's Hibernian Athletic and Swimming Clubs.<sup>81</sup> Many Irish clubs openly asked for sectional support. In September 1886 James McGrory, the secretary of Glasgow Harp Football Club, wrote to the Glasgow Observer asking, 'the Catholics of Glasgow' to support the newly formed club.<sup>82</sup> A month earlier the same paper had noted that "Young Irishmen would do well to consider the advisability of lending a helping hand" to the newly formed St. Peter's Football Club from Partick, "the only Catholic football club of repute in this district".<sup>83</sup>



Map 8.2. The residential location of junior football club secretaries and the distribution of Irish immigrants in Glasgow, 1891.<sup>80</sup>



- Notes
- ( i) Index to statistical districts: 1. Blytheswood, 2. Exchange, 3. Port Dundas, 4. High Street and Closes west, 5. St. Rollox, 6. Bellgrove and Dennistoun. 7. High Street and Closes east, 8. Greenhead and London Road, 9. Barrowfield, 10. Monteith Row, 11. St. Andrew's Square, 12. Calton, 13. St. Enoch's Square, 14. Brownfield, 15. Bridgegate and Wynds, 16. Woodside, 17. Cowcaddens, 18. Kelvinhaugh and Sandyford, 19. Anderston, 20. Kingston, 21. Laurieston, 22. Hutcheson Square, 23. Gorbals, 24. Springburn and Maryhill.
  - ( ii) • denotes the address of the secretary of one of Glasgow's junior football clubs in 1891. N = 187 (79%).
  - (iii)  denotes the statistical district in which the number of people born in Ireland exceeded 10% in 1891. N = 15.

Sport was part of a total Irish Catholic parochial way of life. It was fused with religious, political, economic and educational activities to form a completely harmonious Irish world in which the immigrants were totally immersed.

Socio-economic religious and racial differences had far reaching influences on local sporting developments. Middle, lower middle and respectable working class men formed the bulk of Glasgow's active sporting population while watching sport, particularly football, was dominated by men from all sections of the working class. At a participatory level Glaswegians gathered together in relatively homogeneous socio-economic groups to establish sports clubs which provided opportunities for regular active involvement in sport, encouraged intra-group companionship and also reinforced inter-group differences. Within the world of working class sport the massive amount of spectator interest and the relatively small degree of active involvement was influenced by ethnic and religious differences. At a spectator level large numbers of Irish Catholics and Scottish Protestants directed their support to two local football teams. As a result intra-group cultural relationships consolidated and at the same time inter-group cultural differences deepened. These effects were enhanced by low but quite distinct Irish Catholic participatory patterns.

CHAPTER 9CONCLUSIONS

For social historians, interest in sport is relatively recent and so knowledge of the area is very uneven. A small number of well defined themes have emerged and this has encouraged research along some rather neglected pathways. This concluding chapter examines three of the principal issues to emerge from studies of nineteenth century sport and assesses their relevance in the light of the Glasgow evidence. The three issues are: firstly, the extent to which sporting activity contracted during the period of early industrialization in the first half of the nineteenth century; secondly, the extent to which the character of sporting activity altered in the course of the nineteenth century; and finally, the reasons responsible for such changes that occurred.

Historians disagree about the amount of sport which existed in the period from c.1780 - c.1850. Some have suggested that as a result of a general reduction in free time, falling wage rates, declining standards of public health, a loss of public space, the demands of a factory system for a disciplined labour force and the growth of an evangelical movement which was contemptuous of the wordly pleasures of the existing culture, the initial effect of the Industrial Revolution was to destroy or severely curtail traditional popular sporting activities.<sup>1</sup> For example, Morris notes that,

"By the 1840s only chapel and public house filled the gloomy gap between bear baiting and the may-pole, on one hand and association football and the music hall on the other."<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, Malcolmsen suggests that during the second quarter of the nineteenth century much of traditional sport had been "relentlessly swept away leaving a vacuum which would be only gradually reoccupied".<sup>3</sup>

In contrast, other historians have argued that sport sustained its popularity throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. Cunningham, for example, suggests that between c.1780 - c.1840 there was a much more lively sporting life than had hitherto thought to have existed. He shows how many traditional sporting activities survived well into the nineteenth century, some like wrestling and prize fighting actually increasing their appeal, others like horse racing, changing their character to meet the new requirements of the age.<sup>4</sup> According to this view the survival of popular sporting activities was intimately related to the gradual nature of the process of early industrialization. Recent work on labour habits in Birmingham and the Black Country, for instance, suggests that early industrial development had little effect on the length of the working week, the number of holidays or the pace and regularity of work.<sup>5</sup>

Evidence from Glasgow is mixed. There was a general decline and narrowing of involvement in sport and some activities such as golf and football disappeared. However, others such as highland games events and swimming survived while boxing actually expanded for a time. Due to the pace of urban growth, pressure on open spaces, the widespread development of a system of factory production and a decline in public health and housing conditions which were greater in Glasgow than in most other parts of Britain, it might have

been expected that sport would have been totally destroyed. It was not. Even in Glasgow, sport displayed a considerable resilience. Care must be taken therefore not to exaggerate the detrimental effects of the Industrial Revolution on sport in the first half of the nineteenth century, particularly in areas where the pace of change in economic and social life was less dramatic than in Glasgow.

There is more agreement amongst historians over the extent to which the character of sporting activity altered in the course of the later nineteenth century. No one would deny that during the second half of the century many of the features of traditional sport were swept away in a quite revolutionary manner and replaced by sports with different more modern characteristics. Traditional forms of sport which were irregular undisciplined and violent, died out, to be replaced by more ordered and disciplined activities, "shaped to accord with the novel conditions of non-agrarian, capitalistic society."<sup>6</sup> On the whole, traditional sports were loosely organised, often ad hoc affairs whose rules were oral and not very elaborate. Events were of only local interest, were rarely publicized or recorded, there was little distinction made between the roles of players and spectators and a level of physical violence which would shock modern observers was tolerated.<sup>7</sup> In contrast, modern sport as it developed in the later nineteenth century and as it remains today, is based on an elaborate set of standardised, written rules; there is a clear differentiation between spectators and players; a plethora of national and international events take place; records and reports are assiduously recorded and widely publicized; relatively low



levels of physical violence are tolerated.

All these features of change in sporting activity were clearly observable in Glasgow in the second half of the nineteenth century: governing bodies were created, uniform rules were adopted, contests became increasingly cosmopolitan, the press gave widespread coverage to sport and detailed records and statistics were kept. It should however, be stressed that the transformation in the nature of sporting activity which occurred in the course of the later nineteenth century was not as dramatic as many historians suppose. As Holt points out, the attitudes of players and spectators to sporting activity altered much less radically than the character of the sports they played or watched. Most late nineteenth century rugby players, for example, continued to equate their involvement in sport more with traditional quasi-tribal conflict than with modern conventional notions of competition.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, much of the rationale for a traditional involvement in sport survived unchanged into the modern era. As it had always been, sport continued to be regarded as an important force for social cohesiveness and group unity. Team sports reinforced the sense of solidarity of the community from which players and spectators were drawn. The fierce expressions of group loyalty conveyed in a football crowd's partisan identification with a team, as in the case of Rangers or Celtic F.C.s, and the general function of spectating as an act of united collective participation was as distinctive in 1880 as it was a hundred years previously.<sup>9</sup>

In the same way, conviviality remained a powerful motive for sporting involvement. The association of singing, dancing,

gambling and drinking with sporting activities was as apparent in modern late nineteenth century sport as it had been in the sporting activities of earlier times.<sup>10</sup> This was certainly the case in Glasgow. At first glance, cycling with its dependence on technical inventiveness seems to be unequivocally modern - an impression reinforced by the way in which manufacturers and the press publicized any new aspect of mechanical improvements. Yet the behaviour of some local cycling clubs suggests that the sport was not totally modern in character. When cyclists were not riding they tended to congregate in cafés for food and drink or to organise dinners, dances or gaming sessions which like those arranged by Glasgow's late eighteenth century golf playing tobacco lords, often became excuses for heavy bouts of drinking and gambling. Similarly, a carnival atmosphere was created by partisan football supporters who were members of local 'brake' clubs. Pre and post match drinking, cheering, singing and gambling were all part of the Saturday afternoon's entertainment. The view that there was a total change in the character of nineteenth century sport is therefore to a certain extent misleading. The attitudes of players and spectators towards involvement in sport changed much less radically than the external forms of the sports themselves.

Historians have suggested various explanations for the changes which occurred in the nature of sporting activity during the second half of the nineteenth century. These include: the effects of an increase in the amount of time available for leisure which came with a reduction in the length of the working week, rising real incomes, improved standards of personal and

public health, the greater provision of space and facilities for sport and improvements in transport and communications.<sup>11</sup> As the centre of a vast commercial empire and the focus of Scottish industry, Glasgow was particularly affected by the influence of economic and urban development. In such circumstances it led many of the changes in the character of sporting activity brought about by such developments.

At the same time, the developments which occurred in the nature of sporting activity during the second half of the nineteenth century have also been regarded as a consequence of two other forces. Firstly, attempts by the middle classes to use new forms of sporting organisation as channels for controlling the leisure pursuits of the working classes in the interest of social stability and improvement. Secondly, the realisation among entrepreneurs that popular sport afforded opportunities for profitable investment.

To the middle classes, organised sport was seen as a means of improving health and fitness, releasing emotional tension, generating esprit de corps, promoting respect for authority and instilling moral discipline - qualities which they were anxious to promote among the working classes.<sup>12</sup> Meller and Cunningham show how, during the second half of the nineteenth century, municipal facilities for recreation and leisure, including swimming baths and parks as well as museums and libraries, became an essential part of efforts by local government to bring some civilisation and rationality to working class recreational activities.<sup>13</sup> Walvin stresses the importance, after 1870, of the national school system which promoted games to instil moral and social discipline to the lower classes,

both on and off the field.<sup>14</sup> In two other studies, Bailey and Lowerson and Myerscough, briefly mention the way in which the Volunteer Force also used games to influence the behaviour of recruits.<sup>15</sup>

It is generally agreed that middle class attempts to promote rational forms of sport among the lower classes for the purpose of social control and improvement met with only limited success. According to Storch, although the middle class 'message' was widely broadcast, "not enough ears were attuned".<sup>16</sup> Generally, the working classes successfully resisted the imposition of middle class values onto their sporting activities, choosing their own ways of watching and playing sport.<sup>17</sup> In any case, it is not at all clear that middle class attempts to impose their own values on working class sporting behaviour were pursued with sufficient vigour to ensure success. For example, according to Meller and Cunningham, the achievements of local authorities were limited because they were as concerned with using their municipal edifices as monuments of civic pride as using them to direct lower class recreational tastes.<sup>18</sup>

In the case of Glasgow there is little to suggest that the development of organised sport among the lower classes had much to do with middle class attempts to promote sport as a means of ensuring social and moral improvement. Contrary to the views of Walvin, Bailey, Lowerson and Myerscough, neither the Volunteer Force nor the state schools in Glasgow can be regarded as effective agents for the dissemination of games as a means of social control. In both Glasgow's and Govan's public board schools, drill, not organised games was the chosen

mechanism for teaching working class children habits of sharp obedience, smartness, cleanliness and order. Games were not widely played in the board schools until c.1910. The Volunteer Force actually made little attempt to promote sport. Moreover, most local companies were comprised of lower middle class white collar workers or labour aristocrats who sought respectability without any prompting from above.

Initially, Glasgow Corporation's provision of parks and open spaces was more a reflection of civic pride than a concern for providing areas upon which the lower classes could take part in organised sport. Parks were established and laid out with grandiose fountains, ornamental gates, flower beds and tree lined paths as areas for gentle walking and as monuments of civic pride rather than for practical sporting purposes. Indeed, until the final quarter of the century, playing games in the parks was strictly forbidden. When, after 1880, the Corporation began to establish swimming baths, golf courses and football pitches, it was responding increasingly to working class demands for such facilities rather than creating such facilities in advance of demand.

Compared to the Volunteer Force, the Glasgow Battalion of the Boys' Brigade, which took its members from a relatively wide range of social classes and was led by middle class men who were keenly interested in athleticism, was more obviously involved in promoting sport amongst its members. But even here, the cadets were not passive recipients of muscular christian ideals. Cricket, rugby and athletics which encompassed middle class attitudes to sport so closely, were offered but were not particularly popular among the boys.

They preferred football and the Brigade's officers faced a constant battle to keep football matches within the bounds of respectability.

Moreover, in Glasgow and throughout Scotland, there is little to suggest that through their control of the governing bodies of the various sports, the middle classes made any consistent, determined attempts to promote sport as an agent of social control. At both local and national level, the governing bodies of those sports most associated with middle class ideals - cricket, athletics and rugby - disapproved of the way in which increasing numbers of working class men showed little regard for existing forms of friendly competition, sporting etiquette or amateurism and so they were more concerned with protecting their sports from lower class infiltration and influence than they were with spreading them. Only in football, and to a lesser extent swimming, whose local and national governing bodies were not dominated by private school former pupils, were genuine attempts made to promote widespread activity - and in the case of football, in particular, for reasons other than social control.

The desire to profit from the growing working class interest in sport has always been regarded as being partly responsible for the rapid development and commercialization of sport in the late nineteenth century. Lowerson and Myerscough are among those who suggest that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the initiative for developing sport "could swing to those seeking financial profit from leisure".<sup>19</sup> Similarly, Walvin suggests that the men who financed football, cricket, athletics and cycling stadia were

anxious to capitalise on popular consumer power. They realised that,

"there was money to be made by providing the right kind of leisure facilities [and they] ...stumbled over each other to give the public what they wanted."<sup>20</sup>

Both Korr and Elsworth also suggest that a profit motive lay behind the provision of sports facilities and the promotion of events.<sup>21</sup> Hay, too, commenting directly on the motives behind the activities of Scottish football club directors, suggests that "there is some prima facie evidence that direct and indirect financial advantage flowed from membership of the board."<sup>22</sup> Little evidence in support of these claims however, has been marshalled.

Other historians of sport have argued that the desire for personal financial gain was not uppermost in the minds of commercial sporting activists. For example, Hay suggests that a concern for profit was sometimes overridden by other motives such as a passionate involvement in sport and a wish "to share in the local influence and patronage which membership of a club invariably provides."<sup>23</sup> These doubts about the overriding importance of personal financial gain are shared by several others who have studied the initial development of professional football. While they accept that the principal reason for the commercialization of football was to create profits, it was not for personal financial gain - the surplus money was generated in order to produce winning teams. For example, without providing detailed evidence, Molyneux notes that although football club officials aimed to make profits, it was not for self-gain but "to see the club successful on the playing field."<sup>24</sup> Similarly, using late nineteenth century

Scottish football as a model, Vamplew questions the view that profit was the ultimate objective of gate money sports clubs. He notes that while some companies involved in the promotion of cycling and horse racing were looking to deliver dividends to their shareholders, the boards of most Scottish football clubs were not so concerned with profit maximisation. From an examination of the way in which clubs operated, such as their disinterest in advertising, the availability of free entry for some spectators, the playing of uneconomical friendly and minor cup fixtures and the relative under utilization of ground facilities, he suggests that making profits was not their ultimate aim. He adds that although boards of directors were not uninterested in profit, it was not for any personal financial gain - surplus income was channelled instead into the production of teams to win as many matches and cups as possible.<sup>25</sup> This lack of concern for personal financial gain is supported by two analyses of the owners and controllers of the country's leading football clubs. In one, Mason studies the shareholdings of 47 English football clubs from 1886-1913 and in the other Vamplew examines the shareholdings of 23 Scottish football clubs from 1897-1915.<sup>26</sup> The studies conclude that as the majority of shareholders were working men, most of whom held small quantities of shares and that even those with large holdings, the majority of whom were businessmen, hardly ever received any returns on their investments, then personal pecuniary gain was not their major concern. Vamplew adds that few shareholders regarded investing money in football as a method of getting rich - more likely shareholding was an extension of their involvement as members or fans : dividends



were less important than a cheap season ticket or a vote at the annual general meeting.

The history of sport in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Glasgow tends to suggest that Vamplew, Molyneux, Mason and Hay have underrated the importance of the profit motive and the entrepreneur in the growth of sport. To make money, many Glaswegians went out of their way to give the paying public what they wanted. William Wilson and A.G. Rennie were two of hundreds of shrewd operators - tobacconists, newsagents, printers, journalists, equipment manufacturers, bookmakers, carriage hirers and jewellers - whose involvement in sport had much to do with the realization that it could prove extremely profitable.

To some extent Vamplew's conclusion that the Scottish football clubs were not primarily concerned with making profits is misleading. He argues that had the clubs been interested in making profits then, inter alia, they would have advertised widely, disregarded uneconomical friendly games and used their grounds more in the closed season. In fact, both Celtic and Rangers F.C.s. advertised generously and widely, quickly abolished unprofitable friendly fixtures and, most significantly, went out of their ways to organise and stage summer sporting spectacles in order to raise money. Similarly, Vamplew's analysis of football club shareholdings under emphasises the shareholders' concern for personal financial gain. In the case of Glasgow's two premier clubs, Celtic and Rangers F.C.s., control was increasingly taken over by local businessmen. Although they used the money which was generated at the turnstiles to construct bigger and better stadia and purchase

the finest players in order to ensure success on the field, their interest in creating large spectator followings was at least as much due to the desire for personal financial gain as it was to any pride of achievement or wish to emphasize the superiority of a particular ethnic or religious group. Many of the directors and most of the largest shareholders of these clubs were publicans, bookmakers, builders or had some association with the catering industry. It was a lucrative contract on a busy afternoon in the shop or bar which motivated these men.

During the second half of the nineteenth century in Glasgow, discordant elements jostled against each other creating a large complex exciting sporting world. While allowing that local businessmen, muscular christians, and municipal officials played a part, so much development was forced from below by working class groups with time, money and the urge to be involved in sport on a regular basis either as players or spectators. In all spheres of sport - around the cycle track, at a water polo game, on the municipal golf course or in some of the world's finest football stadia, their presence and influence was enormous - imposing their own interpretations on sporting codes to meet their own ends.

### Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used throughout the references and bibliography:

B.B.G.B.	Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion
B.P.P.	British Parliamentary Papers
G.C.	Glasgow Corporation
G.D.	Glasgow Directory
G.E.N.	Glasgow Evening News
G.E.T.	Glasgow Evening Times
G.H.	Glasgow Herald
G.H.S.	Glasgow Humane Society
G.O.C.H.	Glasgow Observer and Catholic Herald
G.P.O.D.	Glasgow Post Office Directory
G.S.B.	Glasgow School Board
Go.S.B.	Govan School Board
G.T.C.	Glasgow Town Council
N.B.D.M.	North British Daily Mail
S.A.J.	Scottish Athletic Journal
S.C.	Scottish Cyclist
S.R.	Scottish Referee
S.S.	Scottish Sport
S.U.	Scottish Umpire

# CHAPTER 1

1. For some time the event was supported by G.T.C. who asked a local shoemaker to provide balls for the annual game. In 1574 the local shoemaker John Andro was given 'xijs' as payment for providing 'sax footballs'. By 1590 the payment ceased when a cord-wainer, John Neill, in return for remission of dues on his admission as a burgess, agreed to supply footballs during his lifetime. G. C. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow, 1573-1642, I: 1573-74. 23 February. p. 451; 1574-75. 6 January. p. 455; 1575-76. 6 March. p. 459; 1576-77. 19 February. p. 462; 1577-78. 12 February p. 465; 1578-79. 20 February. p. 459; 1589-90. 31 January. p. 149; Marwick, J. D. Early Glasgow. Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1911. p. 146.
2. Shrove Tuesday was chosen for such wild outbursts as the austerities of Lent were soon to be imposed on the population. Shrovetide Football. Border Magazine, 1920, XXV, p. 26.
3. MacGeorge, A. Old Glasgow, the Place and the People. Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1888. p. 262.
4. Murray, D. Early Burgh Organisation in Scotland: I, Glasgow. Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson and Co., 1924. p. 33; G.H. 12 July 1824. p. 4.
5. Although informal athletic activities had been included at highland gatherings since 1314 when the village of Ceres in Fife held a gathering to celebrate the return of 600 bowmen from the battle of Bannockburn, modern highland games events emerged from the inspiration of local highland societies which were formed in order to retain certain aspects of traditional Scottish culture. The first to promote a gathering was the Falkirk Highland Society in 1781 but it was 1832 at Braemar before athletic activities were formally included in the programme of entertainments. For an account of the development of highland games see: Webster, D. Scottish Highland Games. Edinburgh: Reprographia, 1973; Fittis, R. S. Sports and Pastimes of Scotland. London: E.P. Publishing, 1975; Donaldson, C. Men of Muscle and the Highland Games of Scotland. Glasgow: Carter and Pratt, 1901.
6. Gordon, J. F. S. (Ed.). Glasghu Facies, II. Glasgow: John Tweed, 1873. p. 609.
7. Chapman, R. The Picture of Glasgow. Glasgow: R. Chapman, 1806. pp. 63-4; Glasgow Scrapbooks, 7, p. 35.

8. Malloch, D. M. The Book of Glasgow Anecdote. London: Foulis, T. N., 1912. pp. 75-6; Malcolmson, R. W. A History of Popular Recreations in English Society 1700-1850. Cambridge: University Press, 1973. pp. 43-4.
9. Malloch. op. cit. p. 76.
10. The Fair was "chiefly got up for the entertainment of the budding Beauties of our Spinning and Weaving Factories, and for their admiring Swains of the Engineering Shop or Paint Work". Glasgow Scrapbooks, 15, p. 229; Gordon. op. cit. pp. 578-9.
11. Urie, J. Reminiscences of Eighty Years. Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1908. p. 59.
12. Glasgow Chronicle. 17 October 1828. p. 2.
13. These early athletes, who were heavily backed, would run or walk considerable distances across country from one landmark to another. Shearman, M. Athletics. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1898. p. 20.
14. Two of the most celebrated pedestrians of the period were Captain Howe who walked 346 miles in six days for a wager of two hundred guineas in 1808 and the Scotsman, Captain Robert Barclay Allardice of Ury who walked six miles in one hour for one hundred guineas in 1806 and later one thousand miles in one thousand hours at Newmarket for a wager of one thousand guineas. Lovesey, P. and McNab, T. The Guide to British Track and Field Literature, 1275-1968. London: Athletics Arena, 1969. p. 11; Lovesey, P. The Official Centenary History of the Amateur Athletic Association. London: Guinness Superlatives Ltd., 1979. p. 14. For a fascinating account of Barclay's athletic and business career see Gardiner, L. Following in Barclay's Footsteps. Blackwood's Magazine, 1974, 315, pp. 449-60.
15. Thom, W. Pedestrianism. Aberdeen: A. Brown and F. Frost, 1813. p. 63.
16. Haley, B. The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978. p. 131.
17. At this time there was no question of forming a club simply to play the game of golf as golfers had been playing for years over the same course. These enthusiasts played in small groups at specified times and after a round they dined together at a convenient inn. In this way cliques of habitual opponents developed. Similarly there was little need to establish a club to provide land or lay out courses.

Golf was played on waste ground and common land which was ideal in its natural state. Darwin, B. A History of British Golf. London: Cassell, 1952. p. 53; Lawless, P. (Ed.). The Golfer's Companion. London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1937. p. 32; Browning, R. A History of Golf. London: J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1955. p. 42.

18. Regality Club. Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1889. p. 151.
19. In April 1789 G.T.C. received a letter from Mr William Bogle Jnr., the captain of Glasgow G.C., requesting permission to build a club house on the Green but it was 1792 before any building took place. G.T.C. built a two roomed club house and Glasgow G.C. rented one of the two rooms at £10 per annum for a maximum period of ten years. G.T.C. Report of Committees. 1782-99. pp. 158, 281; G.C. Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow. 1781-95, VIII: 16 April. p. 296; 15 June. p. 302; Woodhouse, M. K. A history of amateur club rowing in the New York metropolitan area 1830-1870. Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education, 1980, 11, p. 83.
20. Club members dined in a variety of hostelries. The two most popular were the 'Prince of Wales', a noted night house which was used for informal suppers and other convivial gatherings and 'The Buck's Head', a favourite haunt of the Glasgow aristocracy. Regality Club. op. cit. pp. 153-4.
21. Compiled from: Colville, J. The Glasgow Golf Club, 1787-1907. Glasgow: John Smith, 1907. pp. 22, 29; Jones, N. (Ed.). Reprint of Jones's Directory; or, Useful Pocket Companion for the Year 1787. Glasgow: Robert Graham, 1868. pp. 35, 46; Jones, N. (Ed.). Reprint of Jones's Directory for 1789. Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1866. pp. 5, 6, 16, 28, 30, 41, 58, 70; Devine, T. M. Glasgow merchants in colonial trade, 1770-1815, I. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1971. pp. 481-502; Devine, T. M. The Tobacco Lords. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1975. pp. 177-88.
22. *ibid.* p. 9. Although T. M. Devine notes that cultural activity sponsored by the tobacco lords flourished in various ways, he makes no mention of their sporting interests in either of his works.
23. The following two arrangements illustrate the point:  
     "Captain Grant bets that Mr. J. Towers  
     does not drive the ball once out of four  
     beyond the trees from the Humane Society

House and hole out in two";

"Dalglish five guineas v. Macinroy that A.S.D. goes in a kilt and top boots from the Humane Society House to the Cross in day light, and appears in same costume at next meeting; five pounds to go to the Club."

Colville. op. cit. p. 18; Cleland, J. Statistical Facts Descriptive of the Former and Present State of Glasgow. Glasgow: Blackie and Sons, 1837. p. 24; Ford, J. This Sporting Land. London: New English Library Ltd., 1977. p. 47; Cousins, G. Golf in Britain. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975. p. 5.

24. Graham, H. G. The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century, ". London: Adam and Charles Black. 1899. p. 143.
25. Unfortunately the garment was not very practical and did little to improve a golf swing. Colville. op. cit. p. 16; Russell, J. N. Of gentlemen, horses, and the western city: The role of Seattle's equestrian sports in the attainment of metropolitan status. Paper presented at the Annual Convention of the North American Society for Sport History, Alberta, 1980. pp. 2, 13.
26. Stewart, D. William Harley, a Glasgow worthy. Old Glasgow Club Transactions. 1905-06. I, pp. 38-9.
27. There was a cold swimming pool measuring 40' x 20' for men, a smaller pool measuring 20' x 20' for women and two 12' x 10' baths for boys and girls. There were also ten plunge or 'stretching' baths, five for ladies and five for gentlemen each with hot and cold water. In addition there were three chair baths and two shower baths for men and women each one supplied with a separate dressing room. To satisfy patrons who asked for some refreshments after a swim, he made available several cows from his farm at Sighthill, gratifying his customers with tankards of warm milk. A reading room was provided and supplied with London and Glasgow newspapers. Galloway, J. William Harley - a Citizen of Glasgow. Ardrossan: Arthur Guthrie and Sons, 1901. p. 40; Chapman, R. The Topographical Picture of Glasgow in its Ancient and Modern State. Glasgow: R. Chapman, 1820. p. 106.
28. Cleland, J. Annals of Glasgow, I. Glasgow: Brown, 1816. p. 404. In a brief historical review of baths and wash-houses, A. Campbell notes, "The Baths history of Glasgow dates back to 1800, when Mr William Harley, a philanthropist, instituted baths at moderate prices for the people". Harley could not be described as philanthropic - his prices were far

- from benevolent. Campbell, A. Report on Public Baths and Wash-Houses in the United Kingdom. Edinburgh: The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, 1918. p. 3.
29. The baths closed in 1815. Stewart. op. cit. p. 41.
  30. G.T.C. Reports, Memorials, etc., 1814-24, 3. pp. 150-1.
  31. G.H.S. Minute Book II, 1848-99. Annual General Meeting, February 1871.
  32. G.H.S. Annual Report 1890-91 and Memorial of the One Hundredth Anniversary. p. 9. James Geddes was the Royal Humane Society officer from 1839-58. He was succeeded by his brother George Geddes from 1859-89. G.H.S. Miscellaneous Newspaper Cuttings.
  33. Handley, J. E. The Navy in Scotland. Cork: Cork University Press, 1970. p. 34.
  34. The Scotsman. 31 January 1838. p. 2.
  35. For brief details of four fights held in Glasgow from 1826-29 see 'By the editor of "Bell's Life in London"'. Fistiana; or, the Oracle of the Ring: Results of prize battles from 1700 to December, 1867. London: Bell's Life in London 1868. pp. 18, 85.
  36. Glasgow Chronicle. 17 October 1828. p. 2. The Scottish interest in spectating at boxing matches is supported by the following statement from the sport's principal commentator of the period: "Irish men fight for pleasure, Englishmen for fame, and Scotchmen when they can't help it. The last love to look on, however." Egan, P. New Series of Boxiana: being the only original and complete lives of boxers. Second Volume, (V). London: George Virtue, 1829. p. 701; Ford, J. Prizefighting: The Age of Regency Boximania. Newton Abbot: David Charles, 1971. p. 25.
  37. Compiled from: Regality Club. op. cit. pp. 155-6.
  38. The route to Virginia going north around Ireland was by far the shortest from any British port and existing Navigation Acts required all colonial products, wherever destined, to pass through a British port.
  39. Middlemas, R. K. The Clydesiders. London: Hutchinson and Co. Ltd., 1965. p. 18; Slaven, A. The Development of the West of Scotland: 1750-1960. London: R.K.P., 1975. pp. 19-23; Malloch. op. cit. p. 177.
  40. Supplies of tobacco by-passed Glasgow and made direct for European ports. Slaven. op. cit. p. 23.



41. Hutchison, I. G. C. Politics and society in mid-Victorian Glasgow, 1846-1886. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1974. p. 4; Cunnison, J. and Gilfillan, J. B. S. (Eds.). The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: Glasgow. Glasgow: Collins, 1958. p. 103.
42. The connection of many of the major cotton producers with the earlier textile trade is strikingly clear. William Gillespie, a bleacher and weaving master in linen, built a spinning mill in the Barony of Glasgow at Woodside in 1784. The Finlays, a most successful local cotton family, first established themselves as linen-weaving masters in Glasgow and Paisley. Slaven. op. cit. p. 89.
43. From the turn of the century, "the expansion of the cotton, iron and coal industries encouraged the emergence of a new breed able to achieve the same levels of wealth and social prestige as the specialists in colonial trade". Devine. 1971 .I. op. cit. p. 94. These men formed "the rising generation of the middle class, better educated than their fathers ... [who] ... engaged extensively in trade and commerce, and, by honourable dealing and correct conduct, procured a name and a place in society which had been hitherto reserved for those of higher birth." Cleland. 1837. op. cit. p. 24.
44. Compiled from: Regality Club. op. cit. pp. 155-6. G.D.: 1805-07. pp. 5, 14, 23, 25-6, 47, 52, 61, 68-9, 74, 89, 97; 1809-11. pp. 60, 67, 133; 1814-16. p. 144; 1815-17. pp. 112, 125; 1816-18. pp. 34, 40, 44, 51, 113, 123-4, 148-9, 159-60, 164-5; 1818-20. pp. 36, 50, 55, 81, 100, 105, 109-10, 120, 122, 144, 145, 169, 174; 1822-24. pp. 60, 75, 91, 144, 163, 183, 216; 1825-27. pp. 57, 164, 180; 1827-29. pp. 84, 113, 188; G.P.O.D.: 1829-30. pp. 28, 157; 1831-32. p. 59.
45. As E. J. Hobsbawm noted, there "were plenty of hard-headed men ... [who paid] ... the lowest money-wages for the longest hours". Hobsbawm, E. J. Industry and Empire. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975. p. 121.
46. B.P.P. Factories, employment of children. Royal Commission 1st Report. Minutes of Evidence, 1833 (450) XX. p. 75.
47. Cunnison and Gilfillan. op. cit. p. 799.
48. The local press regularly reported swimming accidents in the River Clyde. A typical incident occurred on 7 June 1822.  
     "Yesterday, a little after mid-day, while  
     some people were bathing in the Clyde at

the Peat Bog, a lad, who was an indifferent swimmer, went down in deep water. A man observing his disappearance made to the spot, dived, and brought him up by the hair. The moment he reached the surface of the water, he seized his deliverer, and held him fast, and both were in danger of perishing, when a third person arrived and saved both."

Glasgow Chronicle. 8 June 1822. p. 1. In the three years 1853-55, 145 drowning incidents were dealt with by G.H.S. at its house on Glasgow Green while between 1863-65 the figure had fallen to 118. G.H.S. Minute Book II. op. cit. Annual General Meetings: February 1853-55, 1863-65.

49. Glasgow Scrapbooks, 18, p. 60; G.C. Minute Book, Committee on the Public Green, 1833-35. Meeting of Committee. 11 December 1834.
50. Reid, R. Glasgow, Past and Present, I. Glasgow: David Robertson and Co., 1884. p. 64.
51. In 1896, J. Bell and J. Paton had noted that, "For a period of sixty years 1792 till 1852, nothing was done by the Town Council in the way of adding to the pleasure grounds and open spaces of Glasgow". Bell, J. and Paton, J. Glasgow: its municipal organisation and administration. Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1896. p. 335; 1793 Act for Rebuilding the Tron Church, etc. Georgi III. CXXIV. Sect. VI, XXI
52. Cleland, J. Statistical and Population Tables Relative to the City of Glasgow. Glasgow: John Smith and Son, 1828. pp. 197-8.
53. G.C. Reports, Memorials, etc., 1814-24, p. 151.
54. loc. cit.; G.T.C. Minute Book, 1812-14. pp. 440-1.
55. G.C. Reports, Memorials, etc., 1814-24, p. 288.
56. Delves, A. Popular recreations and their enemies. Paper presented to the Society for the Study of Labour History Conference, University of Sussex, 1975. Paper 3, I. pp. 16-17; Malcolmsen. op. cit. pp. 110-14.
57. "By the second quarter of the nineteenth century it was probably the police who were having the major impact on the leisure of the people." Cunningham, H. Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c. 1780 - c. 1880. London: Croom Helm Ltd., 1980. p. 44. The Glasgow force is believed to be the oldest British force. It preceeded the London Metropolitan force by 29 years. Grant, D. The Thin Blue Line. London: John Lang, 1973. p. 15.

58. Glasgow Chronicle. 17 October 1828. p. 2; Ford. 1971. op. cit. p. 32; Grant. op. cit. pp. 16-25; Storch, R.D. Police intervention and working class recreations in England 1850-1880. Paper presented to the Society for the Study of Labour History Conference, University of Sussex, 1975. Paper 10, I. p. 149; Egan, P. Boxiana; or Sketches of Modern Pugilism During the Championship of Crib to Spring's Challenge to All England. (III). London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1821. p. 6.
59. Egan. 1829. op. cit. p. 720; Similarly a contest between two Townhead weavers, David Brock and James Stewart, in 1828 lasted 69 rounds. At the end of the fight, "Both their features were so disfigured, that it was scarcely possible to recognise them." Glasgow Chronicle. 17 October 1828. p. 2; Ford. 1971. op. cit. pp. 27, 64; Egan, P. Boxiana; or Sketches of Ancient and Modern Pugilism, from the Days of the Renowned Broughton and Slack, to the Champion of Crib. (I). London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1818. pp. 51-2.
60. Glasgow Chronicle: 15 July 1831. p. 2; 18 July 1831. p. 2; See R. W. Malcolmsen for a detailed account of the anti-blood sports and boxing lobby. Malcolmsen. op. cit. pp. 137-46.
61. Ritchie, A. King of the Road. London: Wildwood House Ltd., 1975. pp. 35-6; Woodforde, J. The Story of the Bicycle. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970. p. 17.
72. Hopkins, E. Working hours and conditions during the industrial revolution: a re-appraisal. Economic History Review 2nd Series, 1982, XXXV, p. 54.
63. Walvin, J. Leisure and Society 1830-1950. London: Longmans, 1978. p. 4. Bienefeld, M. A. Working Hours in British Industry. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972. pp. 20, 72; Metcalfe, A. Working class free time activities in Newcastle-upon-Tyne and South Northumberland, England; 1780-1880, with special reference to physical activity. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1968. p. 22; Kidd-Hewitt, D. The recreational use of the countryside: an investigation into nineteenth century and twentieth century problems posed by increasing leisure and urban growth. Unpublished masters thesis, University of London, 1971. p. 15. B.P.P. Children, Mills and Factories. Select Committee. Minutes of Evidence, 1816. (397) III. pp. 240-3.
64. Ferguson, T. The Dawn of Scottish Social Welfare. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1948. p. 290; Kidd-Hewitt. op. cit. p. 18; Bienefeld. op. cit. pp. 46-7; Giddens, A. Sport and society in contemporary England. Unpublished masters thesis,

- London School of Economics, 1960. p. 64; Smith, M. B. The growth and development of popular entertainment and pastimes in the Lancashire Cotton Towns 1830-1870. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Lancaster, 1970. pp. 27-32.
65. In 1850, because of administrative difficulties, the Act was amended to provide for a 10½ hour working day, a short Saturday and a sixty hour week.
  66. Poor Law Commission. Reports on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Scotland. III. London: H.M.S.O., 1842. p. 164; B.P.P. Children's Employment (Trades and Manufacturers). Royal Commission 2nd Report, 1843. (430) XIII. p. 78.
  67. Allan, K. The recreations and amusements of the industrial working class, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, with special reference to Lancashire. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Manchester, 1947. pp. 13, 14; Hodgson, J. S. The movement for shorter hours, 1840-75. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1940. p. 510.
  68. B.P.P. Children's Employment (Trades and Manufacturers). Royal Commission. 3rd Report, 1864. (3414-1) XXI. p. 43; Wadsworth, P. M. Leisure pursuits in nineteenth century Bath. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Kent, 1976, p. 56.
  69. B.P.P. Children's Employment (Trades and Manufacturers). Royal Commission 2nd Report op. cit. p. 18.
  70. Holidays were often 'made up' by working overtime before and after the event without extra pay. Operatives who refused to do such work were not paid for the holiday. Bienefeld. pp. 38, 72, 248; Cunningham. op. cit. p. 62.
  71. Compiled from: Slaven. op. cit. p. 156.
  72. Compiled from: *ibid.* p. 157.
  73. Gourvish, T. R. The cost of living in Glasgow in the early nineteenth century. Economic History Review 2nd Series, 1972, XXV, p. 78.
  74. "Incomes in these days being small, the poor rates high, there was no money for football or cricket clubs." Glasgow Scrapbooks, 10, p. 129.
  75. Chalmers, A. K. The Health of Glasgow. Glasgow: Glasgow Corporation, 1930. p. 2; Flinn, M. W. (Ed.). Introduction to Chadwick, E. Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain. Edinburgh: University Press, 1965. p. 7.

76. T. Annan shows 39 photographs of the closes and wynds of Glasgow that were scheduled for demolition under the 1860 Glasgow Improvement Act. Annan, T. Photographs of the Old Closes and Streets of Glasgow 1868/1877. New York: Dover Publications Inc. 1977.
  
77. Evidence of overcrowding was given by Captain Miller, the Chief Constable of Glasgow in 1840, when he wrote, "These places are filled by a population of many thousands of miserable creatures. The houses are unfit even for styes, and every apartment is filled with a promiscuous crowd of men, women and children, all in the most revolting state of filth and squalor." Miller, Capt. On the state of crime within Glasgow and City Police jurisdiction. Notices and abstracts of communications to the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Glasgow Meeting, Glasgow, 1840. pp. 169-170; Cairncross, A. K. (Ed.). The Scottish Economy. Cambridge: University Press, 1954. p. 6; Ferguson, T. Scottish Social Welfare. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1948. p. 57.
  
78. Allan, C. M. The genesis of British urban redevelopment with special reference to Glasgow. Economic History Review 2nd Series, 1965, XVIII, p. 604; Hodgkinson, R. (Ed.). Public Health in the Victorian Age. Farnborough: Gregg International, 1973. p. 7.
  
79. Cowan, R. Vital statistics of Glasgow, illustrating the sanitary condition of the population. Journal of the Statistical Society of London, 1840, III, p. 290.
  
80. Cholera first hit Britain in the autumn of 1831 in Sunderland. It quickly spread to the Tyne and up into Scotland, where in Glasgow in 1832 it caused 2,842 deaths. In the Burgh of Cathcart in 1834 one in seven of the population suffered from cholera and one in 24 died. A second major outbreak occurred in 1848 causing 3,772 deaths in Glasgow. Asiatic cholera was by no means the only epidemic disease. Typhus, often called 'fever' was both epidemic and endemic and was the constant accompaniment of life in the courts, closes and wynds. In Glasgow epidemics of typhus occurred in 1818 and 1832. In 1837, 2,180 people died of the fever and in 1847 another 4,346 were struck down. Moreover, these epidemics formed only the peaks of a high level of disease incidence which was capable of maintaining an annual death rate of between thirty and forty thousand. In Glasgow in 1832 this rose to 46 per thousand and in 1840 to 56 per thousand. Flinn. op. cit. p. 99; Cunnison and Gilfillan. op. cit. pp. 476, 480; Delmege, J. A. Towards National Health. London, 1931. p. 117; The New Statistical Account of Scotland, VII Renfrew and Argyle. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845. p. 496.

81. Flinn. op. cit. p. 99. A witness giving evidence to the Select Committee on the Health of Towns in 1840 also remarked that, "I did not believe, until I visited the wynds of Glasgow, that so large an amount of filth, crime, misery, and disease existed in one spot in any civilised country." B.P.P. Health of Large Towns and Populous Districts, Select Committee Report, 1840. (384) XI. p. xii.
82. As he pondered on the subject of cholera in 1831, Thomas Carlyle wrote, "This is not the era of sport, but of martyrdom and persecution." Froude, J. A. Thomas Carlyle: A history of the first 40 years of his life 1795-1835. II. New York: Scribner's, 1882. p. 182.
83. Malcolmsen. op. cit. pp. 170-1.

## CHAPTER 2

1. Only Leeds, Sheffield and Birmingham experienced higher percentage increases in population during the second half of the century. Weber, A. F. The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century. New York: Macmillan and Co., 1899. p. 450.
2. *ibid.* pp. 59-60.
3. Compiled from: Cunnison and Gilfillan. *op cit.* pp. 808-10.
4. Hutchison. *op. cit.* p. 3; Strang, J. Glasgow and its Clubs. Glasgow: John Smith and Sons, 1864. p. xxi.
5. Slaven. *op. cit.* pp. 107-8.
6. Robertson, A. J. The decline of the Scottish cotton industry 1860-1914. Business History, 1970, XII, pp. 119, 124; Cunnison and Gilfillan. *op. cit.* p. 242.
7. Hutchison. *op. cit.* p. 6; Cunnison and Gilfillan. *op. cit.* p. 243.
8. Developments in Glasgow were part of a wider, national trend as E. J. Hobsbawm noted: "The age of crisis for textile industrialisation was the age of breakthrough for coal and iron." Hobsbawm. *op. cit.* p. 109.
9. Compiled from: Cunnison and Gilfillan. *op. cit.* p. 839.
10. For a statistical analysis of the volume of shipping produced by the twenty one leading yards on the River Clyde between 1880 and 1900 see: McLean, A. Local Industries of Glasgow and the West of Scotland. Glasgow: Published by the local committee for the meeting of the British Association, 1901. p. 96-7; Thomson, F. H. The Workshops of Glasgow. Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow, 1868, VI, p. 138; Hutchison. *op. cit.* p. 9; Slaven, A. pp. 178-9.
11. Cunnison and Gilfillan. *op. cit.* p. 100.
12. In 1835 J. Strang noted: "Although the cotton manufacture, in all its various combinations, was to a certain period justly regarded as the staple trade of Glasgow and neighbourhood, it is now problematical whether or not the iron trade may not now be looked upon as equally important." Strang, J. Statistics of Glasgow for the Years 1850, 51 and 52. Glasgow: Brown, 1852. pp. 11-12.

13. Until 1879 when a few other firms entered the field it was the sole manufacturer of open-hearth steel in Scotland. Cunnison and Gilfillan. op. cit. pp. 153-5.
14. Slaven. op. cit. p. 176-7.
15. For details of the annual tonnage of goods shipped in and out of Glasgow between 1831 and 1911 see: Cunnison and Gilfillan. op. cit. pp. 849, 856.
16. In 1901, A. McLean noted, "Clyde men have been associated with practically every scientific advance in naval architecture of the last century." McLean. op. cit. p. 96.
17. For a detailed account of the development and activities of the principal producers in each of these trades see: British Association for the Advancement of Science. Some Notices of the Principal Manufacturers of the West of Scotland. Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1876. pp. 63-104.
18. Three firms were established during the period 1838-40. They were Mirrlees Watson and Co., Duncan Stewart and Co. Ltd. and Blairs. *ibid.* pp. 87-90; Cunnison and Gilfillan. op. cit. p. 211.
19. "In this new foundry an immense variety and extent of work is turned out, and art in cast iron is cultivated to such an extent and with such an amount of success as are not known elsewhere, either in this country or abroad." British Association for the Advancement of Science. op. cit. p. 68; Hutchison. op. cit. pp. 15-16.
20. "From very small beginnings the locomotive trade of Glasgow has become the most important of the kind in the country. There is no other town in the Kingdom in which it is pursued on such an extensive scale." British Association for the Advancement of Science. op. cit. p. 106. In 1876 Neilson's Springburn Works employed 1,500 men who produced 130 engines worth a total of £335,000.
21. Compiled from: Nicol, J. Vital, Social and Economic Statistics of the City of Glasgow, 1885-1891. Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1891. pp. 304-7.
22. *loc. cit.*; J. Strang also noted: "In its various manufacturers, there is indeed no city more cosmopolitan than Glasgow." Strang. 1864. op. cit. p. xxiii; Hobsbawm. op. cit. p. 119.
23. This and the next paragraph are based on Hutchison. op. cit. pp. 17-21.



24. J. H. Muir gives vivid portraits of this class which he terms 'merchant princes'. Muir, J. H. Glasgow in 1901. Glasgow: William Hodge and Co., 1901. pp. 159-63, 248-51; Hutchison. op. cit. pp. 22-27, 47; Middlemas. op. cit. pp. 18-19.
25. Muir. op.cit. pp. 154-9; Hutchison. op. cit. pp. 28-9; Gray, R. Q. Religion, Culture and Social Class in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Edinburgh. in Crossick, G. (Ed.). The Lower Middle Class in Britain 1870-1914. London: Croom Helm, 1977. p. 134; B.P.P. Census of Scotland, 1911. (6896) II. Table XXVII. pp. 298-316.
26. The Fairfield Shipbuilding and Engineering Co. Ltd. at Govan employed only 390 unskilled labourers out of a total of 1,738 workers. Messrs. James Howden and Company, Marine Engineers of 8 Scotland Street, South Side had only thirteen unskilled men in a 96 strong workforce. B.P.P. Labour. Answers to schedules of questions, Royal Commission, 1892 (6795-VII) XXXVI part III, pp. 211, 230.
27. Hutchison. op. cit. pp. 33-4; Muir. op. cit. pp. 182-3; Bailey, P. "Will the real Bill Banks please stand up?" Towards a role analysis of mid-Victorian working-class respectability. Journal of Social History, 1979, 12, pp. 338, 342-3, 346-7; Crossick, G. The labour aristocracy and its values; A study of mid-Victorian Kentish London. Victorian Studies, 1976, XIX, p. 303. For a detailed discussion of the use and limitations of the notion of a 'labour aristocracy' see: Gray, R. Q. The Aristocracy of Labour in Nineteenth Century Britain c. 1850-1900. London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1981. pp. 8-13, 30-4.
28. Treble, J. H. The Market for Unskilled Male Labour in Glasgow, 1891-1914. in MacDougall, I. (Ed.). Essays in Scottish Labour History. Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1978. p. 118.
29. See Table 2.1. p.38 ; Cunnison and Gilfillan. op. cit. p. 67.
30. Treble. op. cit. p. 121; Handley. 1970. op. cit. pp. 20-1.
31. "One may depend upon seeing mainly Catholic faces, if ever one penetrates into a district which is particularly noted for its filth and decay." Engels, F. The Condition of the Working Class in England. Translated and edited by Henderson, W. O. and Chalover, W. H. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1958. p. 105; Butt, J. Working-Class Housing in Glasgow 1851-1914 in Chapman, S. D. (Ed.). The History of Working Class Housing. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1971. p. 58.

32. Redlitch, J. Local Government in England, I. London: Macmillan, 1903. p. 451.
33. Poor Law Commission. op. cit. p. iii.
34. Russell, J. B. Public Health Administration in Glasgow. Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1905. p. 17; Allan. op. cit. p. 598.
35. Flinn. op. cit. p. 8; Allan C. M. op. cit. p. 598.
36. Russell. op. cit. p. 19; Ferguson. op. cit. p. 55; Ure, J. Statement by Mr. Ure for the Information of the Board of Police of the Sanitary Scheme and the Duties of the Medical Officer of Health. Glasgow: Brown, 1865. p. 4.
37. For a more detailed analysis of death rate statistics from 1855-1915 see: Cunnison and Gilfillan. op. cit. p. 480.
38. Annan. op. cit. p. x. McLean. op. cit. p. 249; Allan. C. M. op. cit. p. 611; Slaven op. cit. p. 249. Butt, J. Working-Class Housing in Glasgow 1900-39. in MacDougal. op. cit. p. 146.
39. There were 592 one apartment houses, 1334 two apartment houses and 257 with three rooms. There were also 16 houses of a larger size. Butt. 1971. op. cit. p. 63.
40. By 1915, 38% of all two apartment houses and 89% of all three apartment houses had separate water closets. Cunnison and Gilfillan. op. cit. pp. 462, 864.
41. Bienefeld. op. cit. pp. 82, 106-8, 111; Marwick, W. H. Economic Developments in Victorian Scotland. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1936. pp. 154, 158.
42. Compiled from: Hodgson. op. cit. pp. 573, 780, 590, 592-6, 597, 600-4, 607; B.P.P. Wage Rate (19th Century) United Kingdom, Return, 1887. (5172) LXXXIX. pp. 455-6; B.P.P. Board of Trade. Report of Trades (Hours of Work), 1890. LXVIII. pp. 597, 614, 619; B.P.P. Trade, etc. (continued). Wages (General Report) 34th volume - Part II, 1893-94. (6889) LXXXIII - Part II. p. 216.
43. *ibid.* p. 219.
44. Bienefeld. op. cit. p. 143; Cunningham. op. cit. p. 147; Pimlott, J. A. R. Recreations. London: Studio Vista Ltd., 1968. p. 40.
45. Hodgson. op. cit. p. 513.

46. *ibid.* pp. 267-74.
47. B.P.P. Public Institutions, Select Committee Report, 1860. (181) XXI. p. iv.
48. Hodgson. *op. cit.* pp. 326-35.
49. *ibid.* pp. 377-8; B.P.P. Factory and Workshops Act, Royal Commission. Volume II. Minutes of Evidence, 1876. (1443-1) XXX. pp. 694, 697, 706, 769.
50. "There was a much greater sense that a regular part of the week was set aside for leisure." Cunningham. *op cit.* p. 147.
51. Compiled from: Bowley, A. L. The statistics of wages in the United Kingdom during the last hundred years. (Part VII). Wages in the building trades - cont. Scotland and Ireland. Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 1900, LXIII, pp. 494-5; Bowley, A. L. and Wood, G. H. The statistics of wages in the United Kingdom during the last hundred years (Part X). Engineering and shipbuilding. A. Trade Union standard rates. Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 1905, LXVIII, pp. 115-7; Bowley, A. L. and Wood, G. H. The statistics of wages in the United Kingdom during the last hundred years. (Part XII). Engineering and shipbuilding. C. Statements of wages from non-trade union sources in shipbuilding and engineering at shipbuilding centres. Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, 1905, LXVIII, pp. 572-5; B.P.P. Wage Rate (19th Century) United Kingdom; Return, 1887. *op. cit.* p. 494; G.C. Glasgow Municipal Commission on the Housing of the Poor. Glasgow: William Hodge and Co., 1904. p. 305.
52. A. L. Bowley calculated a similar local trend in average money wages. In the ten year periods between 1860-70 and 1890-1900, average money wages in the building trade increased by 30% while those in the engineering industry rose 28%. Bowley, A. L. Notes on Glasgow Wages in the Nineteenth Century. Report of the Seventy First Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Glasgow: John Murray, 1901. p. 754.
53. Between 1880 and 1896 national real wage rates increased by between 40% and 45%. Bowley, A. L. Wages and Incomes in the United Kingdom since 1860. Cambridge: University Press, 1937. pp. 27-32. B. R. Mitchell and P. Deane support Bowley's estimates. Their statistics show a rise of approximately 40% in real wage rates between 1870 and 1900. Mitchell, B. R. and Deane, P. Abstract of British Historical Statistics. Cambridge: University Press, 1962. pp. 343-4; See also Kellet, J. R. The Impact of

- Railways on Victorian Cities. London: R.K.P., 1969. p. 91; Dingle, A. E. Drink and working-class living standards in Britian, 1870-1914. Economic History Review 2nd Series, 1972, XXV, pp. 615-7; Slaven. op. cit. p. 256
54. Payne, P. L. The Savings Bank of Glasgow, 1836-1914, in Payne, P. L. (Ed.). Studies in Scottish Business History. London: Frank Cass and Co. Ltd., 1967. pp. 157-68; Walvin. op. cit. p. 61.
  55. loc. cit.; Hobsbawm. op. cit. p. 159; Slaven. op. cit. pp. 256-7.
  56. Walvin. op. cit. pp. 18, 71.
  57. Slaven. op. cit. pp. 43-5; Cunnison and Gilfillan. op. cit. p. 317.
  58. Slaven. op. cit. pp. 46-7.
  59. Jobling. I. F. Urbanisation and Sport in Canada, 1867-1900. in Gruneau, R. S. and Albinson, J. G. (Eds.). Canadian Sport - Sociological Perspectives. Don Mills: Addison-Wesley (Canada) Ltd., 1976. pp. 65-7.
  60. In 1898 an underground railway was opened to complement and reinforce the existing tramway system. In 1900, fourteen million Glaswegians travelled along the network which linked the north and south sides of the river. Cunnison and Gilfillan. op. cit. p. 572.
  61. Roberts, R. The Classic Slum. Manchester: Manchester University Press. 1971. p. 115; Stenhouse, D. Glasgow - A Short Account of the Municipal Undertakings of the Corporation of the City of Glasgow. Glasgow: G.C., 1934. p. 105; Kellet. op. cit. pp. 288-9.

## CHAPTER 3

1. Between 1861 and 1901 the population of Glasgow almost doubled while the number of drowning incidents dealt with by G.H.S. from its base on Glasgow Green fell by 50%. The decline could have been due to more people acquiring the ability to swim. However, as there was little formal swimming teaching for adults before c.1885, it is reasonable to assume that the general decline in incidents was due to a reduction in the number of people swimming in the river. G.H.S.: Minute Book II. Annual General Meeting, May, 1905; Cunnison and Gilfillan. op. cit. p. 799.
2. In 1892 a local reporter noted that civilisation had squeezed Glaswegians, "into lanes and closes, factories and offices. It had also polluted the Clyde and the streams around, so that they have no place to walk to for a swim." G.C. Baths and Wash-houses Report, 1892. p. 17. In 1888 a special open air swimming event was arranged on the River Kelvin (a tributary of the River Clyde) as part of the Glasgow International Exhibition. Although the event was a popular success, with the river lined eight and nine deep with spectators, the swimmers showed great concern over the condition of the water. "One thought it 'unco thick';" "another spluttered out, 'It's as bad as caster ile, an' I'd rather swallow Gregory's mixture ony day.'" G.E.T. 18 June 1888. p. 2; S.U. 19 June 1888. p. 4.
3. At high tide the River Clyde was a fast flowing dangerous expanse of very deep water while during low tide it was reduced to a small stream enclosed by mud banks. G.C. Minute Book under Glasgow Corporation Parks Act, 1859. 4. Sub-Committee on Glasgow Green. 25 May 1880; G.H.S. Annual Report 1890-1891 and Memorial of the One Hundreth Anniversary. p. 11.
4. In 1874 barricades were erected on the river bank to, inter alia, protect the respectable from the distressing sight of proletarian nudity. G.H.S. Minute Book II. Annual General Meeting, February 1872. Cunningham. op. cit. p. 79; McLellan, D. Glasgow Public Parks. Glasgow: J. Smith and Son, 1894. p. 36.
5. From 27 July to 6 October 1877, 17,718 persons paid to use the pool. It was closed each year from early October to May. G.C. Minute Book under Glasgow Corporation Parks Act, 1859. 4. Committee on Parks. 15 August 1877.
6. S.U. 25 March 1885. p. 5; Black, J. and Whyte, H. Dennistoun - a brief history. Unpublished, 1973. p. 26; Victoria Baths Co. Ltd. Memorandum of

Association, 1876. p. 1; Pollokshields Baths Co. Ltd. Memorandum of Association, 1883. p. 2.

7. Three private bathing establishments were built in the third quarter of the century. In 1853 the Eastern Public Baths Co. built a set of baths in London Road. Twelve years later a second set, the St. Andrew's Public Baths, was established in Green-dyke Street. In 1870 a third set of baths was built in South Kinning Place. Although low admission charges of 1d. and 2d. were offered to encourage artisans to use the baths, they were poorly supported. There was not sufficient income to meet running costs and satisfy shareholders. As a result the St. Andrew's Baths closed in 1873, the Eastern were taken over by G.C. in 1876 and the Kingston building was closed in 1884. G.P.O.D.: 1865-66. p. 195; 1869-70. p. 454; 1873-74. p. 501; 1884-85. p. 345.
8. In the public baths, "On all large surfaces of water, dust, grease, and soot soon gathers, this gives to the water a dirty appearance, and, in fact, the grease adheres to the neck, shoulders, or face of the bathers, and it also causes a greasy black mark on the sides of the pond just at the water level." N.B.D.M. 6 July 1886. p. 6.
9. "A parent or guardian has great diffidence in taking or sending his sons to the bath in order that they may have instruction in swimming when full grown men are running about in a perfectly nude state." loc. cit.
10. Compiled from: Arlington B.C. Annual Reports and Accounts for years ending 31 March 1875 to 31 March 1910.
11. Compiled from: Campbell op. cit. pp. 212-9; G.C. Baths and Wash-houses Reports: 1891. p. 19; 1904. p. 5; 1906. p. 5; 1914. p. 5.
12. Compiled from: G.C. Baths and Wash-houses Reports: 1900. p. 10; 1904. p. 11; 1905. p. 11; 1906. p. 11; 1907. p. 13; 1908. p. 13; 1909. p. 13; 1910. p. 13; 1911. p. 13; 1912. p. 16; 1913. p. 16; 1914. p. 16.
13. Compiled from: loc. cit.
14. S.U. 23 August 1887. p. 13. On nineteen practice nights between 5th April and 9th August 1888, Glasgow's South-Side S.C. attracted 2,287 members - an average of 120 a night.
15. Swimming clubs made use of all the public baths which were located at various sites throughout Glasgow. Fees were very cheap. In 1883 it cost 1/- to enter and 3/6 for a subscription to the West of Scotland

S.C. Wilson, W. The Swimming Instructor. London: Horace Cox, 1883. p. ii.

16. As it was relatively easy to report on swimming by sitting at a table on the balcony of a warm swimming pool and since reports did not clash with accounts of football games for column space, the local press gave the sport a lot of coverage. Throughout the eighties the S.U. contained a weekly column written by a local sports journalist, with the pseudonym "Ino". This was later copied by "Aqua" in S.S. and "Ripple" in the G.E.T.
17. Mr W. P. M. Black also wrote a number of articles and letters in the local press advocating the importance of learning to swim. In a typical letter to the G.H. in 1889 entitled "The End of the Drowning Season" he urged people to acquire swimming skills and invited competent swimmers to learn a number of life-saving practices. G.H. 5 September 1889. p. 10. A similar article entitled "The Prevention of Drowning Accidents" appeared twelve months later in The Sun. 3 May 1890. pp. 575-6.
18. S.U. 29 April 1885. p. 6.
19. G.C. Baths and Wash-houses Reports: 1900. p. 20; 1914. p. 20.
20. Western Amateur S.C. Newspaper cuttings, 1903-27. pp. 43, 59; S.S. 11 March 1892. p. 5.
21. There were contests for club members throughout the season. Races ranged from fifty to three hundred yards, with the winners often receiving medals or cups donated by honorary club members or officials. Although the number of open races was rather limited, good prizes often attracted the city's fastest swimmers.
22. At the Eastern S.C.'s annual gala in November 1898 at the Greenhead Baths, "there was an attendance of spectators that completely filled every corner of the building." Western Amateur S.C. Newspaper cuttings, 1903-27. p. 46. At the Western Amateur S.C. annual gala in 1905, "Long before the proceedings opened, the large and commodious building was packed to the doors, and it was a case of standing room only when a start was made with the programme." *ibid.* p. 60.
23. After the game, Wilson changed the rules to make it more attractive for both players and spectators. The first game under the revised code was played at Paisley Baths in October 1877. Sinclair, A. and Henry, W. Swimming. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1900. p. 260.

24. S.S. 5 July 1889. p. 11. The parochial nature of the competition led to the growth of distinct loyalties. Local support for a neighbourhood team resulted in a healthy spectator interest. In September 1888, "Between 300 and 400 aquatic football enthusiasts paid for admission to Cranstonhill Baths last Tuesday, to witness the cup tie - Western v. South Side." S.U. 18 September 1888. p. 4.
25. Glasgow was a hot bed for water polo playing talent. From 1890-99, 53 of the 70 players representing Scotland in the annual Anglo-Scottish International were drawn from clubs in Glasgow. Sinclair and Henry. op. cit. pp. 403-4.
26. "We have bearded the lion in his den, and he is not the lion today he was a week ago - Puir auld Scotland sent up her best seven, and they have come home laden with honour." S.S. 1 August 1890. p. 12.
27. Wilson, W. Swimming, Diving and How to Save Life. Glasgow: J. Menzies and Co., 1891. pp. 106-123. The book was first published in 1876. The towing and methods of release included in the book were a result of a number of practical sessions with members of Glasgow South-Side S.C. Morrison, W. The history of the Scottish branch of the Royal Life Saving Society. Unpublished paper available from the author. pp. 106-123.
28. The twelve lessons were spread over a period of six weeks. The course was so successful that the students formed the Glasgow Rescue and Resuscitation Club. See the N.B.D.M.: 23 July 1891. p. 2; 25 July 1891. p. 2 for the teaching drills which received immediate national acceptance. They were adopted by the newly formed S.L.S.S. who printed and circulated the work in handbook form. The Society was so grateful to Wilson for his contribution that he later became a Life Governor of the Society and the Honorary District Representative for Glasgow. S.L.S.S. First Report to the Central Executive Committee. 1891-92. p. 3; S.S. 11 April 1890. p. 12; Arlington B.C. Ladies' Minute Book, 1872-96. Swimming Programme of Annual Competition. 19 April 1884.
29. Sinclair and Henry. op. cit. p. 215.
30. The gutta percha ball was introduced in 1848. Before this time players had used a leather ball stuffed with feathers. This was rather unsatisfactory since it became waterlogged in wet weather, often moulted and at 2/6d. each, it was very expensive. In contrast, the rubber ball was cheap, durable and extremely consistent and reliable on the greens.



Lawless. op. cit. p. 43; Arlott, J. (Ed.). The Oxford Companion to Sports and Games. London: Oxford University Press, 1975. p. 428; MacArthur, C. (Ed.). The Golfers Annual for 1869-70. Ayr: Henry and Grant, 1870. pp. 7, 28, 32, 43, 56, 65, 73, 92-4, 103, 108, 130-1.

31. Attempts were made to form a club in Glasgow before 1870 "but it proved abortive, as the members were prohibited the use of the green." 'A Golfer'. Historical Gossip about Golf and Golfers. Edinburgh: John Hughes, 1863. p. 4.
32. In 1870, twenty out of a total of 127 members of Prestwick G.C. lived in Glasgow. MacArthur. op. cit. pp. 104-8; Smith, R. H. (Ed.). The Golfer's Year Book for 1866. Ayr: Smith and Grant, 1867. p. 35.
33. The principal instigators were Baillies William Wilson and James Salmon. The former had learned his golf at Prestwick G.C. where he had a summer residence on the south side of the old links. Baillie Salmon was introduced to the game by Wilson. The first annual subscription at Glasgow G.C. was one guinea. MacArthur. op. cit. pp. 105, 107.
34. "The once well-clothed turf became a honeycomb of cups left by negligent golfers with a turn for agriculture. The putting greens, too, during the greater part of the year were absolutely devoid of grass, and what otherwise was the finest part of the game degenerated into the purest luck." Miscellaneous Prints, 26, p. 64.
35. Compiled from: Duncan, D. S. (Ed.). The Golfing Annual. London: Horace Cox: 1889. p. 216; 1890. pp. 178, 181; 1891. pp. 221, 223-4; 1892. pp. 176, 178-80; 1893. pp. 201-4; 1894. pp. 233-235-7; 1895. pp. 254, 256-8; 1896. pp. 278, 280-3; 1897. pp. 281, 288-92, 296; 1898. pp. 269, 293-6, 298; 1899. pp. 268, 270, 272-3; 1900. pp. 261, 263-7; 1901. pp. 261-3, 265-6; 1902. pp. 267-9, 271-3; 1903. pp. 254-7, 259; 1904. pp. 267, 291, 292, 294-6; 1905. pp. 304-7, 311, 330; 1906. pp. 329, 331-2, 334, 336, 350; 1907. pp. 294-7, 299-301; 1908. pp. 311-3, 315-7, 320, 337, 346-7, 350; 1909. pp. 337-45; 1910. pp. 338-44, 346-8.
36. Compiled from: *ibid*: 1889. p. 216; 1890. pp. 178, 180-1; 1891. pp. 221, 223; 1892. pp. 176, 178; 1893. pp. 201-4; 1894. pp. 235-7; 1895. pp. 256, 258; 1896. pp. 278, 280-3; 1897. pp. 288-92; 1898. pp. 293, 294, 296-9; 1899. pp. 268-9, 271-3, 295; 1900. pp. 261-7; 1901. pp. 261-6; 1902. pp. 267-73; 1903. pp. 254-9; 1904. pp. 291-5, 297; 1905. pp. 304-11; 1906. pp. 329-37; 1907. pp. 294-301, 320; 1908. pp. 311-14, 316-20.

37. Ray, E. Inland Golf. London: T. Werner Laurie Ltd., 1913. p. 6. The G.H. also noted, "To wander through the grounds is to forget the stir and toil of the city ... [as] ... there is a fine soothing feeling of retirement from the moment one enters the gates." G.H. 23 May 1904. p. 10.
38. "Old and young are votaries of the pastime; the healthy and weak find equal pleasure in the game, and the burly and the spare alike forget their constitutional differences in the enthusiasm of the tussle." Duncan. 1908. op. cit. p. 53.
39. Darwin, B. British Golf. London: Collins, 1946. p. 12; G.E.T. 5 September 1891. p. 4.
40. Compiled from: Duncan. op. cit. 1890. p. 180; 1892. pp. 178-80; 1893. p. 204; 1894. p. 237; 1895. pp. 256, 258; 1896. pp. 279-81; 1897. p. 296; 1898. pp. 261, 269, 296; 1899. pp. 271; 1900. pp. 263-4; 1901. pp. 265, 270; 1902. p. 272; 1903. pp. 255, 257-8; 1904. pp. 294-7, 312; 1905. pp. 306, 308, 330; 1906. pp. 332-7; 1907. pp. 295, 297-302; 1908. pp. 312, 315-20; 1909. p. 341; 1910. pp. 340, 343-4, 346; G.E.T. 19 September 1891. p. 4; Sandyhills Golf Club, Sandyhills Golf Club 1905-1955. Glasgow: Hedderwick Kirkwood Ltd., 1955. p. 6; Reid, W. Seventy Five Years of Golf at Cathkin Braes 1888-1963. Glasgow: Cathkin Braes G.C., 1963. p. 8; The Golfer's Handbook, 1903. Edinburgh: Golf Agency, 1903. p. 181; Dalrymple, W. (Ed.). Golfer's Guide to the Game and Greens of Scotland. Edinburgh: White and Co., 1894. p. 149.
41. For a detailed account of the formation of Cathkin Braes G.C. see Reid. op. cit. passim.
42. Examples included: Claremount United Free Church G.C.; The Ramblers' G.C.; Glasgow Lady Teachers' G.C.; Glasgow Junior Conservative Club G.C.; Glasgow Medical G.C.; Glasgow Grocers' G.C. and St. Rollox Locomotive G.C.. Duncan. op. cit. 1902. p. 272; 1906. p. 332; 1909. p. 341; 1910. p. 344.
43. Bone, D. D. Fifty Years Reminiscences of Scottish Cricket. Glasgow: Aird and Coghill, 1898. pp. 238, 293.
44. Arlott. op. cit. p. 200.
45. Bone. op. cit. p. 39.
46. See Table 8.1 p.244 for an occupational analysis of the founder members of Clydesdale C.C.

47. Metcalfe, A. Organised Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal: 1840-1901. in Gruneau and Albinson. op. cit. p. 97.
48. West of Scotland C.C. Roll of Members Book: 1867-74; 1881-88.
49. Volunteer News. 19 March 1870. p. 219.
50. Many of the West of Scotland C.C. members also played for the Western and Caledonian C.C.s. For example, Daniel Duff was a member of the Clydesdale, Caledonian and West of Scotland C.C.s.
51. "A new invention has greatly contributed during the last few years to the development of cricket throughout Great Britain. I mean railways." Esquiros, A. The English at Home. London: Chapman and Hall, 1862. p. 93.
52. Bone. op. cit. pp. 37, 56.
53. Scottish Guardian. 23 September 1851. p. 4.
54. Phelps, G. Arlott and Trueman on Cricket. London: B.B.C., 1977. p. 45. There were many English 'national' touring sides. In 1852 due to a disagreement over pay, a split developed in the All England XI. It resulted in the formation of a second touring side - The United All England XI. In 1862 a further feud between northern and southern professionals came to a head in 1865 when the most prominent members formed a United South of England XI. Altham, H. S. and Swanton, E. W. A History of Cricket. London: Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1948. pp. 89-93.
55. Low, D. M. (Ed.). Kelvinside Academy 1878-1928. Glasgow: William Hodge, 1928. p. 25.
56. Boys at Glasgow High School were attracted to Clydesdale C.C. as the school rented a practice ground at Titwood for inter-school games. S.U. 15 May 1888. p. 13; Sievwright, W. Historical Sketch of the Perth Cricket Club. Perth: James Barlas, 1880. p. 307.
57. Bone. op. cit. p. 28; Volunteer News. 28 November 1868. p. 27.
58. McNair, D. Physical Education in Scotland prior to 1914. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Manchester, 1961. p. 11.
59. West of Scotland C.C. Roll of Members Book: 1881-88; 1896-1903.

60. Hutchinson, H. G. The Parlous Condition of Cricket. National Review, 1900, XXXV, p. 796.
61. "Here in Glasgow, football has done much to kill not only cricket, but other summer games, and so long as it is regarded the proper thing to play football in June, we need never expect to find a reaction in favour of cricket." S.S. 14 April 1893. p. 6.
62. West of Scotland C.C. Minute Book 1885-1901. Meeting of Directors. 5 April 1898; Stuart, C. D. West of Scotland Football Club 1865-1965. Glasgow: Hodge and Co. Ltd., 1965. p. 52.
63. S.S. 7 May 1895. p. 10. Twelve years earlier the S.A.J. noted that the success of football had caused a decline in cricket. "Ever since the youth took to football they have renounced the "royal game", and unless some of our leading clubs, such as the Queen's Park and Rangers, confine their season to six or seven months, which, I hold, is quite long enough, the game of cricket will never make any progress." S.A.J. 10 August 1883. p. 9.
64. In 1888 United Northern C.C. had similar problems. "The United Northern are under some uncertainty as to the length of time they can retain their present ground at Brighton Park, Govan as the Suburban Railway may require the club to clear out at any time." S.A.J. 3 April 1888. p. 11; Hamilton, W. Portrait of a Cricket Club, Drumpellier 1850 to 1950. Glasgow: Drumpellier C.C., 1950. p. 29; Hillhead High School. Hillhead High School Club 1902-1952. Glasgow: Hillhead High School War Memorial Trust Ltd., 1952. p. 7. See chapter 5 pp. 169 - 171 for an account of the contribution of G.C. to the establishment of cricket facilities.
65. S.R. 25 May 1906 p. 4; 6 July 1906. p. 3; S.U. 1 May 1888. p. 7.
66. S.R. 13 April 1906. p. 4.
67. See chapter 4 pp.131-3 for a more detailed account of the introduction of games into the local board schools.
68. Cricketers expected good match wickets, professional coaching and attractive fixture cards. In 1880 some of West of Scotland C.C.'s major expenses included £93 for feu duty, £101 for a new fence and £34 for the wages of two professionals. Although income from annual athletic sports and membership fees covered these items, there was no excess. West of Scotland C.C. Cash Book 1868-89.

69. In 1878 West of Scotland C.C. made a profit of £80 from a match with the first Australian touring side while four years later they made over £100 from a third Australian visit. S.A.J. 29 September 1882, p. 7.
70. During 1886 West of Scotland C.C. drew nine of its nineteen games while in the Clydesdale v. Lasswade one day fixture, Lasswade occupied the wicket for a whole day scoring 308 runs. This was no isolated incident: "It was altogether a very slow and uninteresting game that Golfhill and Cathcart served up to the cricket enthusiasts of Dennistoun on Saturday afternoon ... one player took over an hour to put nine runs together." S.R. 9 July 1906. p. 2; King, P. (Ed.). Scottish Cricketers' Annual and Guide, XVII. Edinburgh: P. King, 1888. p. 35; S.S. 16 April 1895. p. 13.
71. As Giddens noted, "The competitive element in working-class sport is its most characteristic distinguishing facet." Giddens. op. cit. p. 65; For a discussion of the group/individual attractiveness of sport see: Turner, I. "A comment". Historical Studies, 1971-73, 15, p. 538.
72. S.S. 19 May 1891. p. 13.
73. Quiz. 10 August 1883. p. 3.
74. See chapter 7 pp.217-221 for an indication of the popularity of summertime cycling and athletic events.
75. For example Mr. J. C. Grant, the club's first goalkeeper was a chiel from Grantown-on-Spey. Fabian, A. H. and Green, G. (Eds.). Association Football, 4. London: Caxton Publishing Co. Ltd., 1960. p. 4.
76. Robinson, R. History of the Queen's Park Football Club 1867-1917. Glasgow: Hay and Nisbet and Co. Ltd., 1924. p. 9; Crampsey, R. A. The Game for the Game's Sake. Glasgow: Queen's Park F.C. Ltd., 1967. p. 2. J. Rafferty notes that "The first Scottish club had been formed in 1867 by some members of the Glasgow Y.M.C.A. who used to meet in the South Side Park to enjoy a kick about." Rafferty, J. One Hundred Years of Scottish Football. London: Pan Books, 1973. p. 10. He appears to miss the point that the original members of Queen's Park F.C. were a group of businessmen who had the necessary management skills to organise a club on formal lines in order to enjoy a game introduced into the city by church officials.
77. The Scotsman - Glasgow 800 Supplement. 9 May 1975. p. ix; Fabian and Green. op. cit. p. 6.

78. It was formed in 1872 by a group of white collar workers who came to Glasgow from Gareloch and neighbouring parts of south Argyle. Their initial interest was rowing. They trained on the River Clyde which was accessible from Glasgow Green. After watching Eastern F.C. which also played on the Green, they introduced informal games into their training sessions. In July 1873 they abandoned rowing to form a football club. One member, Moses McNeil, suggested "Rangers A.F.C." as a suitable title for the team. It was readily adopted and subscriptions were collected to buy playing equipment. Allan, J. The Story of Rangers, 50 Years of Football 1873-1923. Glasgow: Rangers F.C. Ltd., 1923. p. 9.
79. The club called the ground Hampden Park after Hampden Terrace, a group of houses overlooking the south side of the ground. Robinson. op. cit. p. 34.
80. See chapter 8 pp.258-261 for a detailed account of the socio-occupational composition of football crowds. See chapter 7 pp.211-15 for a more detailed account of local attendance patterns after 1870.
81. Taylor, H. (Ed.). The Scottish Football Book 1955-56. London: Stanley Paul and Co. Ltd., 1956. p. 9.
82. The first Scottish Cup competition began in 1873. Glasgow's dominance was apparent. Not only did it provide the cup winners in the form of Queen's Park F.C. but of the sixteen entrants, ten were clubs based in Glasgow. Robinson. op. cit. p. 134.
83. G.H. 16 April 1874. p. 5. The international which was "One of the best contested and most interesting football matches ever played north of the Border" attracted 7,000 spectators. loc. cit; James, B. England v. Scotland. London: Pelham Books, 1969. p. 27.
84. Other competitions included a Glasgow 2nd XI Association League which began in 1891 and a Glasgow Reserve League, established in 1895. They were formed by the professional clubs to provide regular practice for their squads of reserve players. Robinson. op. cit. p. 356.
85. See chapter 7 pp.210-17 for a more detailed account of the commercialization of football.
86. The two trophies were presented by a local businessman, John Bell. S.J.F.A. Annual 1886-87. p. 18.
87. Miscellaneous Prints, 26, p. 221.
88. S.J.F.A. Annual: 1886-87. pp. 24, 40; 1887-88. pp. 55, 61; 1892-93. p. 72.

89. S.J.F.A. Annual 1895-96. p. 51.
90. In 1886, 24 teams entered the Glasgow Junior 2nd XI Football Association's inaugural cup competition. Twelve months later the figure had risen to 34 and a North v. South representative fixture was played. S.J.F.A. Annual: 1886-87. pp. 22-3; 1888-89. p. 45.
91. The Glasgow North West Juvenile Football Association was formed in 1888 and a cup competition began in the same year. The Glasgow North East Juvenile Football Association was established in 1887. It also started a cup tournament in 1888. The prize was a silver trophy presented by Mr. William Penman, a local sports outfitter. S.J.F.A. Annual: 1890-91. p. 65.
92. In December 1855, J. Thomas, the well known English pedestrian entertained the "admiring multitudes of the Glasgow populace, who gave him tremendous cheering." Bell's Life in London. 2 December 1855. p. 7. In the same month, "The match for £10 a side between Alexander Reid of West-street and Thomas Macintosh of Nicholson-street, Glasgow, for a half mile spin, Reid getting five yards start, took place about a quarter past three on Saturday, the 1st inst, near the Halfway House, on the Paisley-road." Bell's Life in London. 9 December 1855. p. 7.
93. Pedestrians were guilty of 'roping' - holding back in order to lose a race, 'running to the book' - disguising form to conserve a generous handicap and 'standing in' - the sharing of money prizes amongst schools of competitors. A. R. Downer the famous Scottish athlete admitted, "The best known "peds", as a rule, "stand in" with one another, which means they agree to divide among themselves any prize-money the school may win." Downer, A. R. Running Recollections and How to Train. London: Gale and Polden Ltd., 1900. p. 41. Equally, promoters often conspired to fix handicaps in an unfair manner - termed 'ringing in'. In the novel 'Wobble to Death', P. Lovesey gives a fascinating account of some other methods of cheating including physically impeding opponents and taking stimulants. Lovesey, P. Wobble to Death. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1980.
94. In September 1878, 4,000 people attended Queen's Park F.C.'s Amateur Sports at Hampden Park while in contrast, a one mile professional handicap at the Springfield Recreation Grounds attracted, "a meagre attendance of spectators". G.E.T. 9 September 1878. p. 4; 21 September 1878. p.4.
95. During the Glasgow Exhibition of 1888 Paddy Cannon, a famous four mile 'star', broke the three and four mile world professional running records under floodlights at

the Exhibition Ground at Gilmorehill. The novelty attracted over 10,000 spectators. Similarly during the 50th anniversary of Queen Victoria's reign, numerous athletic sports were organised as part of the jubilee celebrations. Although most of these were run on amateur lines there were also several minor professional events. For example, at the Victoria Ground, Govan a £50 sprint handicap signalled the start of several promotions. S.S. 9 November 1888. p. 3; 13 November 1888. p. 1.

96. "In one respect the Celtic Football Club have no reason to regret holding a professional meeting; it will swell their exchequer by a handsome sum." S.S. 18 August 1896. p. 8. In May 1897 A. R. Downer, running over 200 yards, drew 12,000 spectators to Celtic Park. On the Queen's Birthday in the same month, J. J. Mullen, the champion of Ireland and J. Craig, the champion of Scotland attracted 10,000 spectators when they competed over two miles for a £100 prize. S.S. 18 May 1897. p. 14; 25 May 1897. p. 10.
97. During the period 1895-1900 Celtic F.C. was the most successful club in Scotland. It won five Scottish cup and seven league titles. In the season 1897-98, the championship was won without a defeat. Woods, P. Celtic F.C. Facts and Figures 1888-1981. Glasgow: Celtic Supporters Association, 1981. pp. 13, 83. See also: Vamplew, W. Counting the pawbees: An economic Analysis of Scottish gate-money football 1890-1914. Working Paper in Economic History, The Flinders University of South Australia, 1980, 2, Tables 6(a) and (c) for further evidence of the club's playing success. In the season 1908-09 it made a profit of £1753.
98. During the spring of 1908 Alfred Shrubbs returned to Britain after a highly successful American tour. On 23rd May at Ibrox Park, Rangers F.C. offered 'the World's Greatest Runner' the opportunity to improve upon his one hour running record which he had created some four years earlier on the same ground. A 'capital attendance' saw him fail in his attempt. Similarly at Shawfield Park in July 1913, 'a splendid attendance' witnessed world sprint champion Jack Donaldson the Australian 'blue streak' run over 120 and 220 yards. S.R. 22 May 1908. p. 2; 25 May 1908. p. 2; 25 July 1913. p. 3; 28 July 1913. p. 3.
99. At the 1896 Govan Police Sports, which attracted 20,000 spectators, the programme opened with a two mile cycle race for policemen in uniform "which should put the crowd in good humour". S.S. 5 November 1896. p. 12; 9 June 1896. p. 7. The 1907 Partick Police Games included competitions for bagpipe playing,



dancing the Irish jig, weight lifting, football, a pillow fight and a wrestling competition for Corporation Tramway Employees. S.S. 10 June 1907. p. 3. For a pictorial view of the 1892 Glasgow Police Sports see The Bailie Cartoon Supplement. 11 May 1892. p. 5.

100. In July 1861 at the camp of one of Glasgow's leading corps at Luss, the weekend was spent enjoying a number of military and athletic activities. On the Saturday afternoon a well organised volunteer sports was enjoyed by a 220 strong company. Hill running, a number of jumping events and putting the stone were some of the activities for which prizes were awarded. Glasgow Examiner. 20 July 1861. p. 2.
101. Rifle shooting was particularly popular. It "seemed heaven-sent coming as it did at the lacuna in the history of recreation between the decline of pre-industrial and the establishment of industrial sports." Cunningham, H. The Volunteer Force. London: Croom Helm, 1975. p. 115.
102. Wilkinson, H. F. Modern Athletics. London: Horace Cox, 1877. p. 18.
103. Orthodox sprint and middle distance races were combined with hammer throwing, pole vaulting and putting the stone. Robinson. op. cit. pp. 330-1.
104. In 1878 the Alexandra Athletic F.C.'s sports had a programme with an English public school bias while at Pollokshaw F.C.'s sports some highland events were included. G.E.T. 20 May 1878. p. 4; 17 June 1878. p. 4.
105. In most cases the races were confined to club members and entry fees were high. Queen's Park F.C.'s sports in 1872, "was the first meeting held by the Queen's Park Club, and was the precursor of a series of confined meetings held for the encouragement and entertainment of the members." Robinson. op. cit. pp. 330-1.
106. In 1896 Celtic F.C. drew £505 when it attracted 18,000 to its annual sports. In 1895 Rangers F.C. made a profit of £200 "in spite of the opposition which included two first-class football matches and a liberal, an all too liberal, supply of rain." S.S. 6 August 1895. p. 4. In June 1896 Ibrox Stadium was the venue for the Govan Police Sports. Despite a wet day, around 20,000 paid £474 to spectate. S.S. 9 June 1896. p. 5.
107. There were championships held in Glasgow in 1898 and 1902 but no gate receipts could be traced. S.A.A.A. Minute Book II 1894-1900. p. 205; Minute Book III

- 1900-06. pp. 36, 107; Minute Book IV 1906-14. pp. 212, 242, 272.
108. The summer demand for football was "most discouraging and chilling to all sports-holding clubs". S.R. 17 May 1912. p. 1. The sheer number of 5-a-side fixtures on any Saturday during the summer was sufficient competition for athletics. On three randomly selected Saturdays in May and June 1907, Glasgow was the venue for six athletic events and fifteen 5-a-side football competitions. Moreover, the popular local atmosphere of tournaments was very damaging. Other occasional games accelerated the decline. In May 1912 West of Scotland Harriers held Olympic trials as part of its annual sports at Celtic Park. Yet even such an important event could not compete with a Scotland v. England schoolboy football game held at Hampden Park on the same day. The trials drew £75 while the football international made £112. S.R. 3 May 1907. pp. 2-3; 31 May 1907. p. 3; 7 June 1907. pp. 1-3.
  109. At the West of Scotland Harriers' sports in May 1909, "The attendance was pitiful to look at in its skeleton array, and the amount drawn, some £30, is also pitiful to contemplate." S.R. 31 May 1909. p. 1. Novelty events included relay races, amateur boxing matches, marathon races, 5-a-side football and even hockey games.
  110. The 1906 Street Betting Act gave powers to local police forces and sports promoters to stop betting at sporting events. Betting was made illegal on unenclosed grounds on which the public had unrestricted access. On enclosed grounds sports promoters could prohibit betting by exhibiting a notice at every public entrance to the ground: "and the words "public place" shall include any public park, garden, or sea beach, any unenclosed ground to which the public for the time being have unrestricted access, and shall also include every enclosed place (not being a public park or garden) to which the public have a restricted right of access, whether on payment or otherwise, if at or near every public entrance there is conspicuously exhibited by the owners or persons having the control of the place a notice prohibiting betting therein". 1906 Street Betting Act. 6. Edward. 7. XLIII, IV.
  111. At Merchiston Castle School Edinburgh in the 1840s a particular type of football was played. "The whole school, masters and boys, young and old, big and little, played together and at once, divided into two sides, kicking the ball from one end of the field: there were no rules except that the ball must be kicked, not carried, but it might be caught, and if it was, the captor was entitled to a free and clear kick:

- there were no limits as to numbers or as to time; there were no points." Murray, D. Merchiston Castle School 1855-1858. Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1915. p. 14. During the same period at Glasgow College, H. H. Almond, "used to play a game which we enjoyed very much". This was also a kicking game played between walls or 'hails' which were 400 yards apart. Almond, H. H. Rugby Football in Scottish Schools. in Marshall, Rev. F. (Ed.). Football. The Rugby Union Game. London: Cassell and Co. Ltd., 1894. p. 51.
112. See Thorburn, S. The History of Scottish Rugby. London: Johnston and Bacon, 1980. pp. 10-11; Titley, U. A. For gentlemen only: 100 years of rugby football. Country Life, 1 October 1970, p. 841; The Edinburgh Academicals. The Edinburgh Academical Football Club Centenary History. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Academical F.C., 1958. p. 11 and Titley, U. A. and McWhirter, R. Centenary History of the Rugby Football Union. London: R.F.U., 1971. p. 56, for detailed accounts of the backgrounds of the personalities involved in bringing the game to Edinburgh.
113. Thorburn. op. cit. pp. 9, 14; Glasgow Academy. The Glasgow Academy - The first 100 years 1846-1946. Glasgow: Blackie and Sons Ltd., 1946. p. 160.
114. In their early organisation both clubs drew on the experience of the Edinburgh Academicals. The whole notion of a club for the former pupils of Glasgow Academy was modelled on the lines of the Edinburgh Academical Club which had been formed in 1830. The organisation of the Glasgow club with a variety of sporting and social sections was copied directly from their Edinburgh counterparts. The West of Scotland club was helped in a more individualistic manner. One of the early secretaries of the Edinburgh Academicals' rugby and cricket sections was Mr W. H. Dunlop who took up residence in Glasgow in 1866. He advised the members on a plan for the laying out of a suitable rugby field and drew up a list of bye-laws which were similar to those implemented by the Edinburgh club. Glasgow Academical Club Centenary Volume 1866-1966. London: Blackie, 1966. p. 3; Stuart. op. cit. p. 2.
115. It is probable that the inter-city connection owed something to West of Scotland C.C. which had been formed in 1862. Some of its early members included several Glasgow Academicals, Edinburgh Academicals and Merchistonians. Moreover, two of its earliest opponents were Merchiston Castle and Grange C.C.s whose own players included many Edinburgh Academicals Merchistonians and Lorettonians. When West of Scotland F.C. was inaugurated in 1865, the cricket

links continued during the winter months.

116. Inter-city fixtures were also facilitated by the development of an efficient inter-city train link and the adoption of a universal set of rules.
117. Some indication of Academical loyalty can be gleaned from the following quote by D. Miller, an Academy pupil from 1887-92. "For one thing I shall always be grateful to the Academy: it was the Academy that first imbued me with the love of Rugby Football... When I think of all the comradeship and staunch friendship that the game brought to me in later years, I am grateful beyond words to my first school." Glasgow Academy. op. cit. p. 76.
118. In 1887 the club was "profiting by importations from the leading public schools". S.A.J. 25 October 1887. p. 17. By 1895, "The club had long been in a privileged position in that nearly all former pupils from Public Schools gravitated to Hamilton Crescent." Stuart. op. cit. p. 39. Since the West of Scotland F.C.'s practice ground was used by boys from Glasgow High School, it is reasonable to assume that some of its former pupils joined the senior club. B.P.P. Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland), 1903. (1507) XXX. p. 534.
119. S.A.J. 3 October 1884. p. 3.
120. The 'Greys' were the 1st Lanarkshire Volunteer Regiment 1st XV. S.A.J. 6 August 1886. p. 11.
121. A year later the Coventry Sewing Machine Company took an interest in French velocipedes and by 1869 the firm was supplying the home market with models. Woodforde. op. cit. p. 23.
122. He imported a riding instructor from France and offered lessons to affluent gentlemen in Edinburgh. Unfortunately the venture was not a financial success and the project was quickly abandoned. The machine was given the nick-name 'bone-shaker' since the flat iron wheels gave a rather rough ride. S.C. 26 December 1888. p. 575.
123. The ordinary was extremely quiet and relatively fast. The competent rider felt reasonably comfortable, even relaxed, sitting high and upright astride the large driving wheel. Moreover, the rolling, billowing motion with which the high wheel covered the ground was a most enjoyable experience. Woodforde. op. cit. p. 39.
124. In many cases falls could be taken in such a way that barely a scratch resulted, but not everyone was so lucky. During June 1890 Mr. J. S. Woodburn, a member

- of the Glasgow based Royal Scottish B.C. was "riding an ordinary, and in some unaccountable manner went over the handles in Bellahouston Terrace, Great Western Road. When lifted he was unconscious, and bleeding badly from mouth and ear." S.C. 11 June 1890. p. 1069.
125. S.C. 18 June 1890. p. 1088; Molyneux, D. D. The development of physical recreation in the Birmingham district from 1871-1892. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Birmingham, 1957. p. 114; Harmond, R. Progress and flight: An interpretation of the American cycle craze of the 1890s. Journal of Social History, 1971-2, 5, p. 236; Rees, R. The development of physical recreation in Liverpool during the 19th century. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Liverpool, 1968. p. 101.
126. The safety cycle was introduced in 1885 by Starley and Sutton of Coventry. It was soon improved upon by Wood-head, Angois and Ellis of Nottingham who designed the new standard diamond frame. Further innovation came when Max and Reinhard Mamesman patented a new process for the production of weldless steel tubes which enabled stronger but lighter frames to be produced. For a more detailed account of these and other cycle developments see: Harrison, A. E. The competitiveness of the British cycle industry, 1890-1914. Economic History Review 2nd Series, 1969, 22, p. 287; Betts, J. R. The technological revolution and the rise of sport 1855-1900 in Loy, J. W. and Kenyon, G. S. (Eds.). Sport, Culture and Society. New York: Macmillan, 1969. p. 158; Rubinstein, D. Cycling in the 1890s. Victorian Studies, 1977, XXI, p. 48.
127. Its long wheel base reduced side slips, it was good at climbing hills, its free steering design was devoid of strain, it was light, fast and required little space for storage. Unlike riding a high ordinary, length of leg was of no consequence. Perhaps most significantly, the safety brought riders closer to the ground and minimised the danger of serious spills. Woodforde. op. cit. p. 87; Harmond. op. cit. p. 238; Kelly, F. C. The great bicycle delirium. American Heritage, 1975, 26, p. 62.
128. S.S. 11 April 1893. p. 7.
129. Porter, L. H. Cycling for Health and Pleasure. London: Edward Arnold, 1895. p. 13.
130. "Suffering mentally and physically from depression consequent on a week's hard work, which attendance at the great football match was ill calculated to relieve, and after listlessly sitting at the fireside for a couple of hours, the thought suddenly presented itself

to seek remuneration in our favourite pastime. Wheeling out our New Howe safety, we were soon skimming over the frozen roads, the keen night air stimulating us to more than ordinary exertion ... Thus again we are convinced that great benefit can be derived from a judicious recourse to the use of the wheel in cases both of bodily and mental depression." S.C. 21 March 1888. p. 28.

131. To ensure safety and comfort en route, local riders were served by a complex system of aids ranging from maps and guides to information on the state of roads and refreshment stops which were published in the local press. If the weather became too bad the cycle was even abandoned for the train. On a local club meet in 1909 to Bridge of Weir, "it is hoped there will be a large attendance of members. In the event of weather being wet, members will travel by the 3.30 train from St. Enoch Station." Cyclists' Touring Club Gazette. October 1909. p. 465; Tobin, G. A. The Bicycle Boom of the 1890s: The development of private transportation and the birth of the modern tourist. Journal of Popular Culture, 1974, 7, p. 842.
132. "To those who are troubled by constipation, indigestion, piles, varicose veins, chronic or rheumatic gout, sluggishness of the blood, want of action in the skin, lassitude, loss of appetite or lack of muscular power cycling is curative or decidedly beneficial." S.C. 27 March 1889. p. 180.
133. As the G.E.N. so perceptively noted, "I should like to remind some of our club men that it is not generally considered good form to appear regularly at fashionable promenades sporting a club badge, and the form is even worse when the club uniform is not considered "swell" enough to display the manly proportions of the 'cyclists off duty. Superfin kerseymere with silk stockings, is doubtless taking to the feminine eye; but, in my humble opinion, the fair creatures have more solid respect for the unassuming efficiency star on a weather-beaten serge sleeve." G.E.N. 12 June 1880. p. 4.
134. In May 1895, 267 riders from 23 western clubs left Glasgow on the second annual inter-club run of the Cathkin C.C. to Fenwick. S.C. 4 April 1888. p. 64; S.S. 12 May 1893. p. 15.
135. Parkhouse C.C., like many local groups, held its annual races on the Kilmarnock Road.
136. S.C. 24 February 1904. p. 131. In December 1908 the editor of S.C. convened a meeting of all cycling club secretaries in the hope of stimulating more club activity.

137. Compiled from: S.R. 1898: May: 2. p. 4; 6. p. 4; 9. p. 4; 13. p. 4; 16. p. 4; 20. p. 4; 23. p. 4; 27. p. 4; 30. p. 4; August: 1. p. 4; 5. p. 8; 8. p. 4; 12. p. 4; 15. p. 4; 19. p. 4; 22. p. 4; 26. p. 4; 29. p. 4; 1901: 29 April. p. 4; May: 3. p. 4; 6. p. 4; 10. p. 4; 13. p. 4; 17. p. 4; 20. p. 4; 24. p. 4; August: 2. p. 4; 5. p. 4; 9. p. 4; 12. p. 4; 16. p. 4; 19. p. 4; 23. p. 4; 26. p. 4; 30. p. 4; 1904: 29 April p. 6; May: 6. p. 6; 9. p. 6; 13. p. 6; 20. p. 6; 27. p. 6; August: 1. p. 6; 5. p. 6; 12. p. 6; 19. p. 6; 26. p. 6; 1907: 29 April p. 6; May: 3. p. 6; 10. p. 6; 17. p. 6; 24. p. 6; 29 July. p. 6; August: 2. p. 6; 9. p. 6; 16. p. 6; 23. p. 6; 30. p. 6; 1910: 29 April. p. 4; May: 2. p. 6; 6. p. 4; 13. p. 4; 19. p. 4; 27. p. 4; 29 July. p. 6; August: 5. p. 6; 12. p. 3; 15. p. 5; 19. p. 4; 26. p. 4.
138. Compiled from: loc. cit.
139. Despite the relative security which the safety provided, accidents could happen at any time: "there be punctures and sideslips, landslips and water-slips, horse carriages and devil carriages (I mean motors), and then there is the peril of children, dogs, and old ladies. Every stone on the road, every nail and bit of broken glass, every greasy patch is an ambush. Waggon's are waiting for him round corners on the wrong side of the road; cows are preparing to emerge suddenly from invisible gates. Can he trust his chain, can he trust his brakes, above all, can he trust himself." Allen, J. W. Wheel Magic or Revolutions of an Impressionist. London: John Lane Co., 1909. p. 36.
140. The regular weekly club run which was at the centre of club activity soon became boring. "The novelty wears off, the attendances dwindle away, and ere the season has half-gone the secretary and captain are permitted to enjoy the club run in splendid isolation." S.C. 5 September 1900. p. 608. It was only at annual club races when prizes became available that any interest was shown.
141. Jobling. op. cit. p. 69; Segrave, J. O. The decline of the cycling craze of the mauve decade: A new approach. A.A.H.P.E.R. Research Consortium Symposium Papers, 1978, I, pp. 47-51; Atkinson, P. Fitness, Feminism and Schooling. in Delamont, S. and Duffin, L. (Eds.). The Nineteenth Century Woman - her culture and physical world. London: Croom Helm, 1978. p. 123.
142. Road surfaces were unsuitable for high speed cycling while the Corporation's habit of laying sewer gratings with their bars running parallel to the line of the roadway was a particularly unwelcome hazard. The local police often put a stop to races, with riders

being fined for 'furious driving'. Due to the widespread use of the handicap system, riders found it difficult to know their position in a race. S.A.J. 21 September 1883. p. 13; Smith, R. A. A Social History of the Bicycle. New York: American Heritage Press, 1972. pp. 145, 148; Sturmev, H. The Complete Guide to Bicycling or How to Become a Bicyclist. London: Illiffe and Son, 1885. p. 77.

143. In the same year, Rangers F.C. built a cycle track. The club's first promotion was a joint cycle and athletics programme arranged with the help of Clydesdale Harriers. 4,000 spectators saw two very exciting cycle races. S.C. 11 July 1888. p. 76; 4 July 1888. p. 260; Quiz. 13 July 1888. p. 184.
  
144. The programme presented at the Glasgow Merchant's C.C. sports at Celtic Park in 1893 typified developments. There were flat races ranging from 100 yards to one mile and a series of field events. Cycle races extended from a very fast quarter mile dash to standard one and three mile events. There was a race for riders in fancy dress while A. A. Zimmerman, "the greatest wheelman ever seen on Scottish soil" appeared in a five mile invitation scratch race. There was also a Glasgow v. Belfast inter-city team competition. S.S. 23 May 1893. p. 13; 25 April 1893. p. 14; 5 May 1893. p. 14.
  
145. In 1910 Celtic F.C. offered prizes to the value of £33 to attract the leading British and Irish amateur cyclists. The club also included motor cycle competitions and a novelty race between a motor cycle and a paced safety.
  
146. S.C. 7 September 1910. p. 1.



## CHAPTER 4

1. All six rectors at Edinburgh Academy from 1824-1901 were Oxbridge graduates. Thomson, I. The contribution of private schools to the development of sport in Scotland. VIth H.I.S.P.A. Conference Report, Dartford, 1977. p. 581; McNair. op. cit. p. 109.
2. For a detailed account of the acquisition of playing fields by Edinburgh Academy at Raeburn Place see: The Edinburgh Academy. One Hundred Years at Raeburn Place 1854-1954. Edinburgh: The Edinburgh Academical Club. 1954. pp. 8-11.
3. In contrast to the compulsory nature of games in the boarding schools, pupils in the private day schools played games voluntarily after school. Glasgow Academical Club. op. cit. pp. 3-4, 14; The Edinburgh Academicals. op. cit. p. 12.
4. In 1883 Glasgow Academy moved from Kelvinside to a new seven acre site at Anniesland Road. The school spent over £600 to put the ground in order and £100 to renovate the pavilion. Glasgow Academical Club. op. cit. p. 15.
5. In 1886 Glasgow Academy Former Pupils' Club appointed a professional to help with both school and club coaching. At Glasgow High School drill was taken by an ex-army sergeant who had fought in the Crimean War. Thomson, I. The acceptance of a national policy for physical education in Scotland, 1872-1908. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Stirling, 1976. pp. 80-1; Bridie, J. One Way of Living. London: Constable and Co., 1939. p. 40.
6. The school used the Western B.C. at Hillhead B.P.P. Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland), 1903. op. cit. pp. 534-5.
7. Low. op. cit. p. 16.
8. Wilson, W. The Story of Hutchesons' Grammar School's Swimming Classes. Glasgow: Carson and Nicol 1899. pp. 4-13.
9. Smith, D. A. Stretching Their Bodies. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1974. pp. 90-1; McNair. op. cit. p. 11; McIntosh, P. C. Physical Education in England Since 1800. London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1974. pp. 109-118; McIntosh, P. C., Dixon, J. G., Munrow, A. D. and Willetts, R. F. Landmarks in the History of Physical Education. London: R.K.P., 1981. p. 203.

10. G.S.B. Monthly Public Meetings. 4, 1891-96: 18 May 1891; 20 March 1893; 19 November 1894; G.S.B. Minutes 1905-06. Committee on Physical Training. 14 November 1905.
11. School pools were provided at: Stewartville, 1891; Lorne Street, 1894; Strathbungo, 1895; Broomloan Road, 1896; Greenfield, 1902; Church Street, 1905 and Balshagray, 1906. The decision of G.S.B. to provide school swimming pools had a number of distinct advantages over G.S.B.'s use of public baths. In Govan swimming lessons were more conveniently assimilated into the school timetable, water time was increased through the absence of travelling, systematic instruction was offered throughout the year, and the construction of specialist teaching pools was particularly conducive for teaching non-swimmers. Maxwell, J. D. School Board and Pupil Welfare: Govan School Board, 1873-1919. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1973. p. 48.
12. Smith. op. cit. pp. 99-100; Whitehill School Magazine, 1946, 54, pp. 63, 91; Whitehill Public School. Prospectus 1905-06. Glasgow, 1905. p. 8.
13. Whitehill School Magazine, 1946, 54, p. 64.
14. During the enquiries of the 1903 Royal Commission on Physical Training, Hugh Muir the headmaster of Dobbies Loan School, Glasgow was asked what facilities existed for games. He replied that, "The playgrounds are all asphalt or concrete and quite unsuitable for games." B.P.P. Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland), 1903. op. cit. p. 582. The Commission recommended that voluntary help should be sought with games by elementary schools. It suggested two possible sources: former pupils and local sports clubs. However, to expect adult clubs to lend grounds, equipment and the members' time was a pious hope. *ibid.* pp. 9, 19.
15. G.S.B. Minutes 1909-10. Committee on Physical Training. 4 November 1909; 3 February 1910.
16. *ibid.* Meeting in Committee. 27 May 1909; Committee on Physical Training. 12 May 1910.
17. Elston, F. Organised Games. Leeds: E. J. Arnold and Sons Ltd., 1904. *passim*.
18. Thomson. 1976. op. cit. p. 8.
19. Hurt, J. S. Drill, Discipline and the Elementary School Ethos, in McCann, P. (Ed.). Popular Education and Socialisation in the Nineteenth Century London: Methuen, 1977. pp. 170-6; Aitkinson. op. cit. p. 94.

20. Maxwell. op. cit. pp. 47-9, 265, 266.
21. The Edinburgh Academy. op. cit. p. 10. For over ten years the boys had shared the upper end of Bruntsfield Links with other games players. Magnussen, M. The Clacken and the Slate. London: Collins, 1974. p. 148.
22. The Edinburgh Academy. op. cit. p. 13.
23. Magnusson. op. cit. p. 166.
24. *ibid.* pp. 192-3; The Edinburgh Academicals. op. cit. p. 11; Smith, D. A. The acceptance and evolution of organised games in boarding schools in England 1840-1914. IVth H.I.S.P.A. Conference Report, Levuen, 1975. p. 3; McIntosh et al. op. cit. p. 185; Thomson, I. Almond of Loretto and the development of physical education in Scotland during the nineteenth century. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1969. p. 4; Titley and McWhirter. op. cit. p. 56.
25. Thomson. 1969. op. cit. p. 87; Similarly J. A. Mangan noted, "Almond was undoubtedly a Muscular Christian typical of the period. He matched the archetype Kingsley in personality and practice ... In his robust Christianity Almond was one with so many Victorian public school headmasters, such as Temple at Rugby, Thring of Uppingham, Warre of Eton, Welldon of Harrow, and Hart of Sedbergh." Mangan, J. Almond of Loretto: Rebel, Reformer and Visionary. in McNair, D. and Parry, N. A. (Eds.). Readings in the History of Physical Education. Hamburgh: Verlag Ingrid Czwalina, 1981. pp. 29, 30.
26. Glasgow Academy. Rector's Annual Report. 1865-66. p. 7.
27. Other factors were improvements in public playing facilities, the introduction of cricket leagues and cup competitions, the decline of athletics as Glasgow's principal summer spectator sport and the contraction of cycling as both a participant and spectator activity. Numbers of sportsmen took up alternative forms of physical recreation in their leisure time. Some took up golf, others continued to play and watch football while some became involved in cricket.
28. S.R. 25 May 1906. p. 4; 6 July 1906. p. 3; S.U. 1 May 1888, p. 7.
29. Compiled from: G.S.B. Minutes 1901-13. Sites and Buildings Committee Meetings: 3 October 1901; 9 October 1902; 3 October 1903; 8 September 1904; 5 September 1907; 3 September 1908; 9 September 1909; 8 September 1910; 7 September 1911; 5 September 1912; 9 October 1913.

30. The Chairman of Go.S.B. had noted in 1903 that all swimming competitions organised by the Board were for both 'better' and 'lower' class children. B.P.P. Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland), 1903. op. cit. p. 394.
31. Go.S.B Minutes 1894-98. Sites and Buildings Committee Meetings: 4 October 1894; 7 January 1897; Monthly Committee Meeting 20 September 1898; Minutes 1900-07. Sites and Buildings Committee Meetings: 4 October 1900; 5 September 1907.
32. Western Amateur S.C. Book of newspaper cuttings, 1903-27. p. 142. In 1903 Rev. John Smith, Chairman of Go.S.B., voice a similar opinion. He noted that, "boys who received all their instruction in swimming in these baths [Govan] have been successful in gaining medals and prizes in open competitions in the public baths of the city." B.P.P. Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland), 1903. pp. 391-2.
33. At this time, teams were 20-a-side. Guillemard, A. G. International matches and players 1871 to 1880 in Marshall, Rev. F. (Ed.). Football. The Rugby Union Game. London: Cassell and Company Ltd., pp. 139-166. See also D. McNair who noted that "It is in these schools that the credit for the playing of rugby in Scotland must go, and the excessive value placed on it is understandable in view of the world-wide reputation, as the nurseries of the top players, held by these schools." McNair. op. cit. p. 124.
34. At the Scottish Inter-Scholastic Games from 1900-14, the school provided the Open 120 yards hurdles champion on ten occasions. Thorburn. op. cit. p. 338; Whitton, K. and Jamieson, D. A. (Eds.). Fifty Years of Athletics - an historical record of the Scottish Amateur Athletic Association. Edinburgh: S.A.A.A., 1933. p. 152; The Glasgow Academical Club. op. cit. p. 96.
35. Whitehill School Magazine. 1946, 54, pp. 89, 105.
36. Western Amateur S.C. Book of newspaper cuttings 1903-27. op. cit. pp. 22, 35.
37. Many of the earliest members of West of Scotland F.C. were former pupils of the Glasgow Academy. Glasgow Academy. op. cit. p. 160.
38. G. H. 4 May 1868. p. 6; McIntosh et al. op. cit. p. 198; Thomson. 1977. op. cit. p. 583.
39. In September 1895 a request from the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society to use the Lorne Street Baths was turned down by Go.S.B. In the next few years

other voluntary organisations such as Fairfield S.C., Govan Workmen's Rambling Society, Hillhead S.C. and the 20th Company (Glasgow Battalion) Boys' Brigade also had their requests to use school swimming pools in Govan rejected by the School Board. Go.S.B.: Minutes 1894-98. Monthly Committee Meetings: 15 September 1896; 20 October 1896. Minutes 1901-13. Sites and Buildings Committee Meetings: 3 March 1899; 5th June 1902.

40. B.B.G.B. Annual Reports: 1885-86. p. 2; 1888-89. p. 7.
41. B.P.P. Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland), 1903. p. 56; Docherty, A. G. Urban working class recreation before 1914. Unpublished undergraduate masters dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1971, p. 16; Somerville, Dr. W. F. Manners and Recreations of Young People. The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 1908, XVII, p. 56; McFarlan, D. M. First for Boys. The story of the Boys' Brigade 1883-1983. Collins: Glasgow, 1982. p. 15.
42. B.B.G.B. Annual Report 1902-03. p. 10.
43. B.B.G.B. Annual Reports: 1889-90. p. 8; 1891-92. p. 19; 1902-03. p. 6; 1913-14. p. 99.
44. B.B.G.B. Annual Reports: 1890-91. p. 11; 1893-94. p. 17; 1901-02. p. 11; 1909-10. pp. 31, 48.
45. B.B.G.B. Annual Report 1913-14. p. 16.
46. Springhill, J. Youth, Empire and Society. London: Croom Helm, 1977. pp. 15, 23, 126.
47. B.B.G.B. Annual Report 1887-88. p. 5.
48. B.B.G.B. Annual Report 1913-14. p. 16.
49. B.B.G.B. Annual Report 1894-95. p. 8.
50. B.B.G.B. Annual Report 1909-10. p. 13 .
51. The Boys' Brigade Gazette, 1896, V, p. 53.
52. The Boys' Brigade. A History of the Glasgow Battalion. Glasgow: Blackie, 1891, p. 31.
53. B.B.G.B. Annual Report 1900-01. p. 11.
54. In A History of the Glasgow Battalion, the Battalion Recreation Sub-Committee noted that it had "met with another difficulty, namely that of securing ground where the recreations of boys can be carried on under suitable conditions." It added that, "No response seems to be forthcoming from the public authorities,

to whom the question is usually addressed ... May the day come soon when the aspirations, hitherto gently expressed, for securing to the citizens and their children a few of such lungs within the municipality will assert themselves more loudly." The Boys' Brigade. op. cit. pp. 39-40; G.S.B. Minutes 1910-11. Committee on Physical Training. 18 May 1911.

55. Cunningham. 1975. op. cit. p. 7.
56. Grierson, J. M. Records of the Scottish Volunteer Force 1859-1908. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1909. pp. 16, 348-9.
57. ibid. pp. 232, 265-6; B.P.P. The Condition of the Volunteer Force in Great Britain. Royal Commission, 1862. (5067) XXVII. p. 282. Similarly, at a national level, in 1904, at least 70% of all rank and file volunteers were recruited from 'the working class'. Cunningham. 1975. op. cit. p. 33.
58. Glasgow Examiner. 20 July 1861. p. 2.
59. Marshall Cavendish Book of Football, 1971, 5, p. 1314; Third Lanark Chronicle. December 1888. pp. 24-25.
60. Metcalfe. 1968. op. cit. p. 244; Cunningham. 1975. op. cit. pp. 118, 154.
61. "Volunteering was indeed extremely popular all over this part of the country, and received the encouragement of the leading people - first, because of the fact that healthful employment was found for the youngmen during their leisure hours [and because] they were not only improving and preserving their health but becoming valuable members of society." Orr, W. History of the Seventh Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers. Glasgow: Robert Anderson, 1884. p. 446.
62. Glasgow Examiner. 21 July 1860. p. 4.
63. loc. cit.
64. Dr. W. G. Blackie was a captain commanding No. 8 Battery 1st Consolidated Brigade of the Lanarkshire Artillery Volunteers. J. L. Lang, a vice-president of the Glasgow Abstainers' Union was a captain in the Third Regiment of the Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers. G.P.O.D.: 1862-63. p. ix, 58; 1864-65. pp. ix, 70.
65. Glasgow Examiner. 31 August 1861. p. 2. In the same months Messrs. Brown, Price and Co., glass bottle manufacturers and George Smith and Co., owners of the Sun Foundry in Port Dundas, arranged excursions for their employees to Lochgoilhead. Both groups spent

their Saturday afternoons enjoying 'competitive races'. Glasgow Examiner, 14 September 1861, p. 2; 21 September 1861. p. 2.

66. Marshall Cavendish Book of Football . 5. p. 1314. He played sixteen times for Scotland. He is still renowned for scoring a goal direct from a punt in a game against Motherwell F.C. in 1910. It was a strange feat - he had already conceded a similar goal from his opposite number earlier in the game.
67. In fairness this was mainly because recruits found rifle shooting far more interesting than athletics. At the plethora of regularly organised shooting contests they could use their rifles to win a variety of prizes and boost their self-respect by receiving the plaudits of fellow participants and reading their names in the local press. Cunningham. 1975. op. cit. pp. 111, 115, 118.

## CHAPTER 5

1. Liverpool, Manchester, Derby, London, Birkenhead and Oldham were a few of the many towns and cities which had parks by 1850. Hammond, J. L. and Hammond, B. The Age of the Chartists 1832-1854. Hamden: Anchor Books, 1962. p. 346; Cunningham. 1980. op. cit. p. 94.
2. The Alexandra Park was named in honour of the Princess of Wales. The Queen's Park was named after Mary, Queen of Scots, after the battle of Langside which took place close to the park. McLellan. op. cit. p. 86; Cunnison and Gilfillan. op. cit. pp. 569-70; Chadwick, G. F. The Park and the Town. London: Architectural Press, 1966. p. 89; 1866 Glasgow Improvement Act. 29 Victoriae. LXXXV, 24.
3. In 1845 the Health of Towns Commission noted, "In the course of our inquiries into the sanitary state of large towns and populous districts, where a high rate of mortality and much disease is prevalent, we have noticed the general want of any public walks." B.P.P. Health of Towns and Populous Districts, Select Committee Second Report, 1845. (610) XVIII, 1. p. 67.
4. Kidd-Hewitt. op. cit. p. 36; B.P.P. Public Walks and Places of Exercise, Report of the Select Committee, 1833. (448) XV, p. 5.
5. In 1833, Mr. Slaney, the M.P. who successfully proposed the establishment of a Select Committee on Public Walks, noted that working men were forced into public houses, "there being no other place for him to amuse himself". Hansard. XV. c. 1054. For further support on the notion of public open spaces providing competition for drinking, gambling and other demoralising activities see: Poor Law Commission. Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain. I. London: H.M.S.O., 1842. p. 275.
6. Flinn. op. cit. p. 99.
7. Glasgow Saturday Post. 22 February 1851. p. 3.
8. G.C. Municipal Glasgow - its evolution and enterprise. Glasgow: Robert Anderson, 1914. p. 162.
9. In 1851 the Scottish Guardian went to some length to compare aspects of Kelvingrove Park with two famous London Parks. "The length of the drive will be fully 3,000 yards, the grand drive of Hyde Park, in London, being 4,300 yards. As compared with the St. James Park, London, it will be greater, both in length and breadth. The length of St. James Park is 835 yards by



335 broad. The breadth of the proposed West End Park will be 600 yards, and its length 870 yards." Scottish Guardian. 21 February 1851. p. 41. The first arboretum was laid out by John Claudius Loudon in 1840 in Derby's first public park. A number of other towns in the Midlands soon copied the idea and by the mid sixties the fashion had reached Glasgow. Chadwick. op. cit. pp. 62-5; Cunningham. 1980. op. cit. pp. 95-6; Hardy, S. 'Parks for the People': Reforming the Boston Park System, 1870-1915. Journal of Sport History, 1980, 7, p. 11; McLellan. op. cit. pp. 19, 83.

10. In 1847 The Towns Improvement Act and twelve months later the Public Health Act included clauses which allowed local authorities to use the rates for building public parks without special leave from Parliament. However, the legislation did not apply to Scotland. 1847 Towns Improvement Act. 10, 11 Victoriae. XXXIV, passim; 1848 Public Health Act. 11, 12 Victoriae. LXIII, passim.
11. A letter from 'Spectator' in the Reformer's Gazette indicated the feeling of opposition to the feuing of parkland, "the "Noble Westend Park" of this fine city, is to become the subject of a pitiful petti-fogging money-making feuing job." Reformer's Gazette. 14 May 1853. p. 2; Carrick, J. Report by the City Architect on the Feuing Lands adjacent to the Public Parks of the City of Glasgow. Glasgow: Robert Anderson, 1884. pp. 3-4; Branston, J. G. The development of public open spaces in Leeds during the nineteenth century. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Leeds, 1972. p. 38; Chadwick. op. cit. p. 314.
12. 'Noremac' (Ed.). The Public Parks of Glasgow. Historical and descriptive articles. Glasgow: James Cameron Ltd., 1908. p. 56.
13. *ibid.* p. 77.
14. In March 1851 rate payers in the 15th ward presented a petition to Glasgow Corporation in which they indicated their opposition to the construction of the Kelvingrove Park since "it was a scheme promoted to serve the pecuniary interests of private jobbers in the locality." G.H. 14 March 1851. p. 4; Glasgow Examiner. 22 February 1851. p. 3; Reid. 1884. op. cit. p. xxxv.
15. Kelvingrove and Queen's Park were designed by Joseph Paxton, the eminent Victorian architect and gardener. Connell, J. Glasgow Municipal Enterprise. Glasgow: Labour Leader Publishing Dept., 1899. p. 66; Cunningham. 1980. op. cit. pp. 90. 95; McLellan. op. cit. p. 19; Chadwick. op. cit. pp. 66, 89, 373.

16. In 1878 Mr Alexander McCall, the Chief Constable of Glasgow, drew attention to the fact that "in the summer months the magistrates have established bands of music in the parks of the city in the evening. There are four very fine public parks in Glasgow, and these are largely frequented, and I have no doubt the music there draws away the people from the public-houses." B.P.P. Report on Intemperance. Select Committee Fourth Report, 1878. (338) XIV. p. 168; Gallagher, A. L. The social control of working-class leisure in Preston, c. 1850 - c. 1885. Unpublished masters dissertation, University of Lancaster, 1975. p. 4; Smith, C. H. Parks and Pleasure Gardens. London: Black, 1852. p. 163.
17. Miscellaneous Prints, 3, p. 326.
18. In mid Victorian Lancashire, M. B. Smith noted, "By the mid-fifties, for most of the working classes, there was sufficient leisure to follow several interests and the local authorities were playing a much more important part in filling these social needs." This may have been the case in Lancashire, it was not a fact in Glasgow. Smith. 1970. op. cit. p. 177. H. E. Meller would also disagree with Smith. In her study of Bristol she wrote, "One of the curious facts about the municipal provisions for leisure and pleasure was how little their development owed, in most instances, to popular demand." Meller, H. E. Leisure and the Changing City, 1870-1914. London: R.K.P., 1976. p. 97; G.C.: Minute Book. Kelvingrove Park and under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1859. I. Committee on Parks. 29 May 1857; Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1859. II. Committee on Parks: 29 August 1864; 5 October 1864.
19. loc. cit.
20. Mr. Fleming was a former resident of Glasgow who had moved down to Manchester in the late fifties. The apparatus consisted of several rows of horizontal, parallel and asymmetric fixed metal bars. A picture of the gymnasium can be found in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. See the Glasgow Room Collection of Prints. No. 322425.
21. The disregard which G.C. had for football was exemplified by the absence, in any official capacity, of the Corporation's Executive from important local games. In 1896, a local weekly publication noted, "By the way when are our civic rulers going to countenance the charity fixtures as they should. After being ignored for 21 years we were told that Lord Provost and Lady Bell had made up their minds to remove this stigma and attend one of the charity matches." They never attended the fixture. Quiz. 14 May 1896. p. 139.

22. The swearing, drunkenness, fighting and gambling which was associated with the commercial side of football merely confirmed the Corporation's opinions. Bailey, P. C. 'Rational recreation': the social control of leisure and popular culture in Victorian England, 1830-1885. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of British Columbia, Canada, 1974. p. 197.
23. G.C. Billboard Poster. Regulations for the Cathkin Braes Park. 24 May 1887.
24. McLellan. op. cit. pp. 115, 120.
25. In September 1883, Carrington F.C. applied to the Parks Committee for a pitch on Alexandra Park. The request was refused as the pitches had already been let out for the forthcoming season. The Parks Committee was particularly harsh with Benburb F.C. in April 1898 when the club was refused an extension to its lease in order to complete its run in a local knock-out tournament. The club withdrew from the competition. G.C.: Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1878. 5. Committee on Parks: 25 September 1883; 23 October 1883; Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1878. 10. Committee on Parks: 26 April 1898; 1 June 1898.
26. "Only a few companies are able unaided to pay for, even if they could secure, ground within a reasonable distance of the city for their own special use for athletics. Most of them are consequently left to choose one of two alternatives. Either they cannot recognise athletics at all ... or they have to suffer their boys to betake themselves for the purpose either to the streets or to such recreation grounds as exist for public use. This involves the boys joining in the struggle for existence which may be seen taking place at the last named resorts on any Saturday afternoon." The Boys' Brigade. op. cit. p. 39; B.B.G.B. Annual Report 1889-90. p. 13.
27. G.H. 6 February 1880. p. 10.
28. G.C.: Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1878. 5. Committee on Parks. 22 July 1878. pp. 98-9; Additional bye-laws for the Kelvingrove Park, Queen's Park and Alexandra Park, Glasgow. 6 May 1878.
29. In February 1885, Hugh Callan of 6 Wilton Terrace wrote to the Parks Committee requesting to cycle one day a week between 12.30 pm and 4pm through Kelvingrove Park from University Avenue to Radnor Street. His application was refused. However, in 1886 the Glasgow Local Centre of the National Cyclists' Union was allowed a right of passage on a particular carriage drive in Kelvingrove Park at any time of day.

Similar rights were made on Glasgow Green twelve months later. G.C.: Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1878. 5. Committee on Parks. 24 February 1885; Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1878. 6: Committee on Parks. 23 March 1886; Sub-Committee on Glasgow Green. 22 July 1887; Committee on Parks. 27 September 1887; Kelvingrove Park - Notice as to the use of Velocipedes and Bicycles in the Parks. April 1886.

30. Hardy. op. cit. p. 19; G.C.: Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1859. 3. Committee on Parks. 7 April 1873.
31. *ibid.* Sub-Committee on Alexandra Park. 30 June 1873.
32. Dobbs, B. Edwardians at Play - Sport 1890-1914. London: Pelham Books, 1973. p. 28; Bailey. 1974. op. cit. p. 124.
33. Quoted by J. Thomson, a member of Glasgow G.C. Bauchope, C. R. The Golfing Annual. I. 1887-88. London: Horace Cox, 1888. p. 56; Golf's moral qualities were also noted by W. Dalrymple: "it is unquestionably for the richness and nobility of its moral training that GOLF stands on a place all its own." Dalrymple, W. (Ed.). Handbook to Golf. London: W. H. White and Co., 1895. p. 25.
34. There were no referees to count and record shots. Wadd, K. The development of golf in England: an essay in the sociology of leisure. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Leeds, 1964. p. 60.
35. Some of the bye-laws operated by G.C. at Alexandra Park reflected the importance of correct golfing manners: "All players shall call the cry of Fore before he plays off his tee shot on through the green when any person is within danger"; "Every player shall at once replace and press down with his foot all turf removed by his club in the act of playing." G.C.: Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1878. 8. Committee on Parks. 8 May 1894.
36. Miscellaneous Prints, 30, p. 456.
37. Bauchope, J. The Golfing Annual. II. 1888-89. London: Horace Cox, 1889. p. 102.
38. In 1874 when the club moved to Alexandra Park, a green keeper/club maker was engaged at £25 per annum. He was in charge of improvements to the course. In 1885 a new field was acquired and the course was extended to fifteen holes. Three years later it was finally extended to eighteen holes. Miscellaneous Prints, 26, pp. 223-4; Colville. op. cit. p. 53.

G.C.: Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1859. 4. Committee on Parks. 28 May 1877; Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1878. 6. Committee on Parks. 25 January 1887.

39. See chapter 3. p.72
40. Duncan. 1893. op. cit. p. 84.
41. "On Saturdays the course became so congested that starters had intolerable waits at the first tee." Miscellaneous Prints, 26, p. 64.
42. The Blackhill course was opened on 6 April 1895. For a plan of the course see loc. cit. G.C. did not show total disregard for the needs of Glasgow G.C. The ground at Blackhill was owned by the Corporation. It leased it to Glasgow G.C. at the reasonable cost of £160 for the first two years and £175 thereafter. Colville. op. cit. p. 91; G.C.: Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1878.8: Committee on Parks. 6 February 1894; Committee on Playing Fields at Alexandra Park. 16 February 1894.
43. For the twelve months ending 31 May 1897 receipts amounted to £225.11.2. By 1904 they had risen to £335.11.6. G.C.: Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1878.9. Committee on Parks: 25 August 1896; 2 June 1897. p. 320; Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1878.14. Committee on Parks. 6. July 1904.
44. In 1900 the Bellahouston Course raised £98.11.9 and £69.4.10 the following year when receipts were reduced by a wet July, August and September. In 1902 the income rose to £150.15.0 and by 1903 it had reached £214.0.0. G.C. Letters from the Parks Department Bellahouston Park Golf Course: Returns for twelve months ending 31 May 1901 with comparison of the similar period ending 1900; Returns for twelve months ending May 1903 with comparison of the similar period ending 1902; Returns for twelve months ending May 1904 with comparison of the similar period ending 1903.
45. "Since the game was transferred to Blackhill three years ago the park frequenters have found the distance to the new course too tiresome." Miscellaneous Prints, 35, p. 120; Duncan. 1906. op. cit. p. 338
46. Compiled from: The Golfer's Guide and Official Handbook for Scotland. Glasgow: John McMurtie, 1902. pp. 235-8; Duncan. op. cit. 1894. p. 236; 1896. p. 280; 1897. pp. 290, 296; 1898. p. 261; 1899. p. 271; 1900. p. 263; 1901. p. 265; 1902. pp. 270, 272; 1903. pp. 257-8; 1904. pp. 294-7, 312; 1905.

pp. 306-10, 330; 1906. pp. 332-7; 1907. pp. 295, 297-302; 1908. pp. 312, 315-8; 1909. pp. 340-1; 1910. pp. 340, 343-4, 346.

47. Class A was for scratch golfers with a handicap of 1-9, while class B was for players with handicaps of 10-18. Miscellaneous Prints, 30, pp. 454-5. For a list of the rules of the two competitions see G.C. Minute Book 1899-1900. Committee on Parks. 3 October 1900.
48. G.C. Minute Book 1907. Special Sub-Committee on Golf. 3 September 1907.
49. This was particularly attractive since new clubs could use the facility in a relatively exclusive fashion on important days in their calendars without having to pay out unnecessary maintenance costs and associated overheads at less busy periods of the year. For the arrangement to function smoothly, applications for preferential treatment had to be made to the Parks Committee at the beginning of each season. G.C. Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1878. 8. Committee on Parks. 8 May 1894.
50. See chapter 3. pp.73,5.
51. In 1900 it cost adults 2d. for a swim and boys and girls under 13 years of age 1d. Cards admitting boys and girls for twelve sessions could be purchased for 9d. In 1914 adult charges remained unchanged while for boys and girls under 16 years of age it cost 1d. or 2d., depending upon the time of entry. G.C. Baths and Wash-houses Report. 1891. p. 20.
52. Compiled from: G.C. Baths and Wash-houses Reports: 1900. p. 20; 1904. p. 12; 1906. p. 12; 1908. p. 14; 1910. p. 14; 1912. p. 20; 1914. p. 20.
53. In 1887 the cost of hiring a large swimming pool was 10/- per hour. It was reduced to 6/8 in 1890. By 1900 the cost had been reduced to 5/-. After the first reduction in April 1889 the Glasgow Sportsman noted, "The reductions are substantial, and should enable the swimming clubs to carry on their good work with more comfort than formerly." Glasgow Sportsman. 3 April 1889. p. 2.
54. In 1903 it cost 1/6d. to join and 2/6d. to subscribe to the very popular Western A.S.C., while weekly contributions were as low as 2d.
55. Particularly where football was concerned. In 1889 the Lord Provost had remarked, "I sometimes wonder on the Saturday afternoons what young men in Glasgow used to get to do. Now you see them coming from north and

- and west and south and east to play football in every quarter." Miscellaneous Prints, 26, p. 221; Bailey. 1974. op. cit. p. 102; Gallagher. op. cit. pp. 42, 46.
56. When the Phoenix Recreation Ground was opened in 1893, the Lord Provost was eager to declare the Corporation's positive commitment to working class sporting needs. He said that "those who worked hard all day earning their bread by the sweat of their brow must desire to have a place of recreation, where they could enjoy the fresh air, as near their own doors as possible; and it was the object of the Corporation, as far as it was in their power, to provide that." Miscellaneous Prints, 25, p. 308; Whitton, J. The Public Parks of Glasgow. London: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne and Co. Ltd., 1919. p. 54.
  57. G.C. Baths and Wash-houses Report, 1892. op. cit. p. 17. In 1892 street football had become so commonplace and was causing such a nuisance that the authorities decided to take action. In August 1892 the first fine of 10/6 under the 1892 Police Act, was imposed on 3 young footballers for playing on the street. G.E.N. 26 August 1892. p. 4.
  58. Petition signed by 131 Glasgow athletic clubs in favour of the proposed purchase of the lands of Camphill. Unpublished: Glasgow, 1893; G.C. Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1878. 10. Committee on Parks. 22 June 1898. For five of the scores of requests from local clubs to use the parks see: G.C.: Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1859. 3. Committee on Parks. 16 October 1876; Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1859. 5. Committee on Parks. 19 February 1884; Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1878. 6. Committee on Parks. 25 March 1890; Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1878. Sub-Committee on Maxwell Park: 10 October 1892; 20 December 1892.
  59. Letter from the Medical Officer of Health to the Sub-Committee on the Burnhouse Recreation Ground in G.C. Minute Book under Glasgow Public Parks Act, 1878. 8. Committee on Parks. 20 February 1895.
  60. In reply, Lord Provost Bell sidestepped the issue. He said, "I don't know whether the Corporation will see it to be their duty to provide football fields or not, but they are entirely at one with you in the necessity of preserving the open spaces we have at present inside our borders." In 1904 a number of witnesses who gave evidence at the Commission on Housing also reminded G.C. of its responsibility to provide open spaces. G.C. Glasgow Municipal Commission on the Housing of the Poor. op. cit. pp. 443,

539, 574.

61. S.A.J. 29 March 1887. p. 16.
62. Reid, J. M. Glasgow. London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1956. pp. 133-4; Harvie, C. The Industrialisation Process, 1830-1914. Bletchley: Open University Press, 1971. p. 132; Middlemas. op. cit. p. 17; Vernon, H. R. The Socialist Labour Party and the working class movement on the Clyde 1903-21. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Leeds, 1967. p. 10.
63. Rollo, D. A. T. Comparative aspects of Irish Politics in Boston, New York and Glasgow. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1971. pp. 248-250; G.H. 30 October 1896. p. 8; 31 October 1896. p. 6.
64. As I. G. C. Hutchison noted, "Party affiliation was never alluded to as a factor in council proceedings ... It was only in the late 1890s that party lines began to be drawn up in municipal politics, a process which accelerated as the Irish and the I.L.P. sought election." Hutchison. op. cit. pp. 141, 150.
65. G.H. 29 October 1896. p. 6. c.c. For other examples see Councillor Holmes's speech reported in the G.H. 31 October 1896. p. 6. and Councillor Scott's support for baths and parks which was reported by the G.H. during the 1895 municipal elections. G.H. 2 November 1895. p. 11.
66. G.C. Souvenir Handbook of Glasgow - issued by the Corporation on the occasion of the 22nd congress of the Sanitary Institute held in Glasgow from 25-30 July 1904. Glasgow: G.C., 1904. p. 28. Bell and Paton. op. cit. p. 337; 1891 City Extension Act. 54 and 55 Victoriae. CXXX, 49, 57, 63, 68.
67. McLean. op. cit. pp. 269-271; Whitton. op. cit. p. 47; 'Noremac'. op. cit. p. 81.
68. Compiled from: G.C. Parks Department. Rules for the use of sites and spaces in parks, etc. for football and other games. 1909. p. 1; G.C. Minutes 1909. Committee on Parks. 10 August 1909.
69. G.C.: Minutes 1908. Committee on Parks. 2 July 1908; Parks Department. Rules for the use of sites and spaces in parks, etc. for football and other games. 1909. pp. 2-4.



## CHAPTER 6

1. Thorburn. op. cit. p. 28; Addison, W.I. A Roll of Graduates of the University of Glasgow, 1727-1897. Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1898. p. 70; Scotsman. 26 February 1883. p. 6; S.U. 31 January 1888. p. 5; S.A.J. 31 January 1888. p. 30; Robinson. op. cit. pp. 15, 26; Correspondence with S. Thorburn, Honorary Historian S.C.U. 1982; G.P.O.D. 1888-89. pp. 158, 385, 518; West of Scotland C.C. Roll of Members, 1867-74; Correspondence with H O Smith, Secretary, Aberdeenshire Cricket Club 1982.
2. S.A.S.A. Constitution and rules. Unpublished and undated pamphlet. p. 1.
3. loc. cit.
4. loc. cit.
5. S.F.A. Annual 1875-76. p. 9; S.F.U. Minute Book I. Annual General Meeting. 9 October 1873.
6. Metcalfe. 1976 . op. cit. pp. 96-7; Giddens. op. cit. pp. 52-3, 56, 59-60; Redmond, G. Some Aspects of Organised Sport and Leisure in Nineteenth Century Canada. in Gruneau and Albinson. op. cit. p. 85; Adelman, M. L. The first modern sport in America: Harness Racing in New York City, 1827-1870. Journal of Sport History, 1981, pp. 24-5.
7. The impetus for the establishment of a governing body for Scottish swimming occurred in September 1884 when the existing national organization, the London based Swimming Association of Great Britain, passed a resolution which prohibited professionals from competing with amateurs in swimming events. Although most of Glasgow's club swimmers were amateur, there was a handful of local professionals. Consequently in December 1884 representatives from Glasgow's swimming clubs met to debate the whole amateur-professional question. Their discussions resulted in the formation of the A.S.C.G. Since Glasgow was the only Scottish city with any significant number of clubs, the A.S.C.G. was in effect, the first national governing body for Scottish swimming. Within three years a sufficient number of clubs had developed in Dundee, Edinburgh and Aberdeen and at a meeting of the A.S.C.G. in June 1887 the S.A.S.A. was formed. One of its first actions was to form a Western District Centre which took over the assets and liabilities of the A.S.C.G. S.U.: 18 September 1884. p. 6; 17 December 1884. p. 5; 28 June 1887. p. 7; 31 May 1887. p. 15.

8. Fabian and Green. op. cit. p. 13.
9. These were essentially the R.F.U. rules. The International Rugby Football Board was made up of representatives from the four home countries: England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Thorburn. op. cit. pp. 15, 55.
10. Initially the game, which Wilson called 'aquatic football', was introduced to relieve spectators from the monotony of watching long programmes of competitive swimming. After two inaugural games in Aberdeen and Glasgow, Wilson revised the rules to make it more attractive for both players and spectators. The new revised single uniform code was introduced at Paisley Baths in October 1877. Sinclair and Henry. op. cit. p. 260.
11. *ibid.* pp. 264-8, 278.
12. Giddens. op. cit. p. 59; Dunning, E. and Sheard, K. Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players - a sociological study of the development of rugby football. Oxford: Robertson, 1979. p. 122.
13. In May 1910 the W.C.A.S.A. donated some money to the Bellahouston Academy gala fund. In May 1907 the Glasgow Blind Asylum asked the W.C.A.S.A. to supply two instructors to teach a group of non swimmers. They were supplied by clubs using the Townhead Baths. During 1886 the S.A.S.A. began a series of meetings with G.C. Baths Committee and through influence and agitation obtained very favourable hire terms for evening practice sessions. Periodic meetings brought further concessions. W.C.A.S.A. Minute Book 1907-12. Monthly meetings: 7 May 1907; 2 May 1910; Glasgow Sportsman. 3 April 1889. p. 2; S.U. 7 April 1886. p. 6.
14. In 1891 five Scottish championships were staged by clubs in Glasgow. They were: 100 yards - Dolphin A.S.C.; 220 yards and graceful diving - Southern A.S.C.; 440 yards - Western A.S.C.; 500 yards - West of Scotland A.S.C. Only the 600 yard championship was held outside Glasgow. S.S. 2 January 1891. p. 10.
15. Letter from the W.S.A.S.A. to James Donaldson, a member of Partick Town Council. 9 June 1911. Enclosed in pages of W.S.A.S.A. Minute Book 1907-12. Monthly meeting 5 July 1911.
16. S.F.A. Annual: 1875-76. *passim*; 1877-78. *passim*; 1899-1900. *passim*.

17. G.H. 16 April 1874. p. 5.
18. Rafferty. op. cit. pp. 156-9.
19. From 1872-95 264 caps were awarded to Scottish players in Anglo-Scottish international games - 172 to footballers who were members of Glasgow clubs. James. op. cit. pp. 24-34.
20. From 1874-93 Glasgow clubs provided twenty of the forty Scottish cup final teams. In the twenty years after the introduction of professionalism, 23 of the forty finalists came from Glasgow. Archer, I. and Royle, T. (Eds.). We'll Support You Evermore - The Impertinent Saga of Scottish "Fitba". London: Souvenir Press, 1976. pp. 232-3.
21. The 1876 Scottish cup competition was the making of Rangers F.C. The club emerged from nowhere to take the cup from the well established Vale of Leven F.C. Peebles, I. Growing with Glory. Glasgow: Rangers F.C., 1973. p. 28.
22. Robinson. op. cit. p. 212; S.F.A. Annual: 1883-4. p. 117; 1886-87. p. 95.
23. During the next ten years only three clubs from Glasgow joined the S.F.U. In comparison nine new football clubs from Glasgow registered with the S.F.A. in the twelve months ending 31st December 1876. S.F.U. Minute Book I. Annual General Meeting. 9 October 1873. p. 1; Scotsman. 9 May 1975. p. ix.
24. As the rather conservative G.H. noted, "Rugby Football in Scotland has been and we trust will always continue to be played for the pure pleasure of playing and not for any outside consideration." G.H. 15 October 1909. p. 15.
25. Phillips. op. cit. p. 155.
26. No points were scored.  
 "The ground was a quagmire, and the match ended in a draw which, while stubbornly fought out by the players, must have been monotonous to a degree to the onlookers and must have had a great deal to do with depopularising the Rugby game in Glasgow. It was one succession of weary mauls, broken by an occasional rush ... the impression left was that of a muddy, wet, struggling 100 minutes of steamy mauls."  
 Irvine, R. W. International Football: Scotland. in Marshall. op. cit. p. 204. The lack of interest in Glasgow was reflected in the press coverage given to

the game. The Scotsman gave 7" to a pre-match report and 17" to a report of the game while the N.B.D.M. confined itself to 2" for a pre-match commentary and 12" for the contest itself. Scotsman. 3 March 1873. p. 7; 4 March 1873. p. 7; N.B.D.M. 3 March 1873. p. 6; 4 March 1873. p. 5.

27. In 1882 play at the Scotland v. Ireland game "was not up to International form". G.E.N. 20 February 1882. p. 7. In 1885 the S.A.J. suggested that "Everyone who was at Partick must have been disappointed with the play" after watching the Scotland v. Wales contest. Another account in the same issue referred to the game as "the Welsh fiasco". S.A.J. 14 January 1885. p. 5; Rowan's Rugby Guide 1922. Glasgow: Rowan and Co. Ltd., 1922. pp. 68-72, 76-7.
28. The 1884 Scotland v. Ireland international was changed from Glasgow to Edinburgh because the S.F.U. Secretary "did not anticipate a substantial, if indeed any, balance in favour of the Union at the close of their financial year" if the game was played in Glasgow. S.F.U. Minute Book I. General Meeting. 26 January 1884.
29. In the seasons 1874-75 and 1875-76 Glasgow Academicals were the unofficial club champions of Scotland. However it was 1881 before Glasgow won its first inter-city game. Glasgow Academy. op. cit. p. 46; Rowan's Rugby Guide 1922. op. cit. pp. 79-80.
30. From 1886-92 receipts from the inter-city game played in Glasgow ranged from a minimum of £42.13.9 in 1886 to a maximum of £86.11.3 in 1890. Presuming that the minimum cost of entry was 6d., attendances ranged from approximately 1,700 to 3,500. S.F.U. Account of Charge and Discharge: 1887-88; 1890-91; 1892-93.
31. Glasgow Weekly Herald. 21 March 1896. p. 4; Dobbs. op. cit. p. 33.
32. Thorburn. op. cit. pp. 29-30.
33. S.A.J. 27 April 1883. p. 5.
34. Grange C.C. could not afford to give up any part of its income from representative fixtures since it had just paid £11,000 for the ground at Raeburn Place. S.A.J. 23 November 1883. p. 11; 24 September 1882. p. 9; 8 December 1882. p. 9; 23 February 1883. p. 9.
35. S.A.J. 30 November 1883. p. 14; 4 January 1884. p. 9.
36. S.A.J. 14 December 1883. p. 10.

37. The six original members of the W.D.U. which were described by the S.R. in 1906 as the 'Select circle' were Clydesdale C.C., West of Scotland C.C., Greenock C.C., Drumpellier C.C., Pollock C.C. and Uddingston C.C. Bone. op. cit. p. 119; S.R. 13 July 1906. p. 3.
38. West of Scotland C.C. was all too aware of the problem. In 1901 the club successfully opposed the entry of Ferguslie and Kelburn Cricket Clubs to the W.D.U. An increase in the number of league clubs would have required the existing W.D.U. members to have relinquished several important long standing fixtures with clubs in Edinburgh. West of Scotland C.C. Minute Book 1901-10. Meeting of Directors. 22 November 1901.
39. The notion of hammering opponents into the ground was quite distasteful to most cricketers. For some Clydesdale C.C. members, cricket was a social experience where gentlemanly conduct and cultivated display took precedence over winning. "Like some of the older members of the senior Glasgow club, Mr McLeod was quite indifferent whether he played in the First or Second eleven, provided he had a pleasant game and genial companions to share the outing with him." Similarly, "Mr Strachan has been a true sportsman in every sense of the word, and played the game for its own sake." Bone. op. cit. pp. 206, 217.
40. Since membership fees were a major source of income, clubs like West of Scotland C.C. experience considerable financial problems. In 1897 the club made a loss of £100. Four years later the loss was £115. West of Scotland C.C. Roll of Members: 1881-88; 1896-1903.
41. In 1906 the S.R. published a cartoon entitled "The Amateur Revival". It offers unique pictorial evidence of the growing interest amongst working men for playing a variety of sports, including cricket. It shows three men dressed in their working clothes. One is portrayed as an athlete while the other two, one of whom is wearing a cricket pad, are engaged in an informal game of football. S.R.: 25 May 1906. p. 4; 6 July 1906 p. 3; S.U. 1 May 1888. p. 7.
42. Although it is difficult to assess the socio-economic composition of the clubs who joined these associations, it appears that a number of players were drawn from lower middle and respectable working class backgrounds. In the G.D.S.S.C.L., Hamilton Crescent, Albert Road, Carlton, North Kelvinside and Shawlands Academies introduced cricket to boys from a wide socio-economic background. It is reasonable to presume that clubs such as Civil Service C.C. contained many white collar, lower middle class clerks and Glasgow Temperance Athletic C.C. had a number of respectable artisans as members. Parkhead Forge C.C. and Cowlairst C.C. probably contained workers in the railway

construction and engineering industries.

43. In April 1866 private school amateur athletics was given a boost with the inauguration of the Edinburgh Inter-Scholastic Games which were a direct imitation of the Oxford and Cambridge Inter-Varsity Sports. Wilkinson. op. cit. p. 18.
44. Compiled from: Thorburn correspondence 1982; Scotsman. 26 February 1883. p. 6; G.P.O.D. 1882-83. pp. 308, 366.
45. S.A.J. 23 March 1883. p. 9.
46. The clubs who joined the W.S.A.A.A. included Rangers F.C., Queen's Park F.C., Abercorn F.C., Kilmarnock F.C., Vale of Leven F.C., Glasgow A.C., Larchfield Academicals F.C., 1st L.R.V.F.C., Dumbarton F.C., Paisley Olympics F.C., Falkirk F.C., Morton F.C. and West of Scotland C.C. S.S. 26 April 1895. p. 5; Quiz. 23 March 1883. p. 5.
47. S.A.J. 4 January 1884. p. 9. At the height of the season the S.A.J. noted, "Everywhere in the West of Scotland athletics are flourishing." S.A.J. 6 July 1883. p. 9.
48. The following offers an insight into the middle class nature of the W.S.A.A.A. membership and following: The W.S.A.A.A. Championships in 1883 were described as 'fashionable'. S.A.J. 6 April 1883. p. 6; The 1st L.R.V. Sports was held at the Burnbank Drill Ground, "in the best part of the city, where the rough seldom sets his foot". S.A.J. 27 April 1883. p. 4. See also two cartoons in Quiz which illustrate the respectable nature of West of Scotland C.C.'s sports in 1882 and 1883. Quiz: 21 April 1882. p. 5; 20 April 1883. p. 9; S.A.J. 9 March 1883. p. 10; Scotsman. 26 February 1883. p. 6; Robinson. op. cit. p. 414; G. P. O. D. 1882-83. p. 308.
49. Whitton and Jamieson. op. cit. p. 26.
50. S.A.A.A. Minute Book I. p. 64.
51. In 1885 West of Scotland C.C. collected £96.8.7 in gate receipts at its annual sports. In 1888 it drew £139.9.2 and in 1893 £146.2.9 In May 1894, 1200 spectators attended the Glasgow Merchants' C.C. sports while three months later, "about fourteen thousand" gathered at Celtic F.C.'s annual athletic sports. 600 entries were received for the Clydesdale Harriers' sports in June while every Saturday in May and June Hampden Park was the venue of an athletic meeting of

one sort or another. At the same time "Hampden Park is the busiest training quarter in Glasgow at present. As many as thirty athletes and nearly the same number of cyclists may be seen doing their "breathings" of an evening." S.S.: 22 May 1894. p. 12; 29 June 1894. p. 12; 18 May 1894. p. 12; 14 July 1894. p. 8; West of Scotland C.C. Cash Book: 1868-89; 1889-1903; S.A.A.A. Minute Book I. pp. 1, 7, 13, 39, 44, 49, 51, 65, 68, 75, 80.

52. By the mid-eighties tripping, ducking, hacking, pushing and charging during football matches had reached epidemic proportions much to the annoyance and frustration of many players and spectators. To control rough play the S.F.A. created a number of bye-laws including fines and suspensions. S.F.A. Annual 1886-87. pp. 7-8.
53. For a detailed account of the internal changes which took place at Celtic F.C. between 1892-97, see McNee, G. The Story of Celtic - An Official History 1888-1978. London: Stanley Paul, 1978. pp. 93-7. Some of the men who developed Celtic F.C.'s pecuniary interests in sport included: John Glass, a building manager; M. Dunbar, a wine and spirit merchant; James McKay, a hairdresser; J. Shaughnessy, a lawyer and James Kelly, an 'adventurous' and 'farsighted' publican. Celtic F.C. Memorandum of Association, 1897;
54. Celtic F.C. Celtic Football Guide 1938-39. Glasgow: Celtic F.C., 1938. p. 31; Woods, P. Celtic F.C. - A Miscellany. Unpublished miscellany of articles, etc. on Celtic F.C., 1980; Wettan, R. and Willis, J. Sport and Social Class in New York City Athletic Clubs, 1865-1915. Part II Paper presented at the North American Society for Sport History Convention, Boston, 1975. p. 1; Celtic F.C. Summary of Capital and Shares, 1907. It should be stressed that they were only two of several clubs in Glasgow who were never exposed, "Everyone knows that the Celtic, the West Harriers, the Queen's Park, equally with Rangers, committed a breach of the "spirit of the rules" in paying expenses to competitors." S.S. 26 February 1894. p. 10; Rangers F.C. were reinstated a month after the suspension. S.A.A.A. Minute Book I. p. 173.
55. S.S. 16 April 1895. p. 5. S.A.A.A. Minute Book I. p. 172; Wettan, R. and Willis, J. Effect of New York's elite athletic clubs on American amateur athletic governance - 1870-1915. Research Quarterly, 1976, 47, p. 502.
56. S.S. 2 July 1895. p. 11. Some indication of McLaughlin's business and leadership qualities can be gleaned from

the following comment:

"In the matter of management Celtic are considered in Scotland as a pattern to the world. Sound business principles characterise their every action, and for this they have to thank the guiding influence of such men as Mr J. M. McLaughlin, whose grasp of everything pertaining to the game is equalled only by his ability to sway an audience to his will."

Gibson, A. and Pickford, W. Association Football and the Men who Made It, IV. London: Caxton Publishing Co., 1907. p. 11; Rafferty. op. cit. p. 27; Scottish Field. July 1967. p. 24; Rangers F.C. Minutes of Agreement between the Committee of the Rangers Football Club on behalf of the members of said club and John Douglas MacIntyre as Trustees for the Rangers Football Club Ltd., 1899.

57. Whitton and Jamieson. op. cit. p. 30.
58. "Scottish athletics are chiefly ruled from Edinburgh, and however much the classic capital may have done at her schools and colleges to foster and develop athletics in Scotland, or produce athletes, the cycling leaders assert she lags behind, and is, in fact, a drag upon the progressive, enterprising spirit of the age." S.R. 12 April 1895. p. 2.
59. S.S. 6 August 1895. p. 4.
60. Maley used his athletic and business skills wisely. As well as being a prominent Scottish sprinter, he trained as a chartered accountant and later set up shop selling clothes and sports goods in the east end of Glasgow. "For over a quarter of a century Celtic Sports were regarded as events of almost international importance. The genius and organising ability of William Maley were responsible for the appearance of champions from all parts of the world." Scottish Field. March 1940. p. 46. Similarly J. R. Gow's "long connection with athletics, and his commercial training, combined with smart business qualifications" assured him of much success. S.S.: 7 May 1895. p. 14; 31 July 1896. p. 6; G.E.N. 24 January 1955. p. 15.
61. "The probability is that, had the West Harriers been able to place cycling on their programme, they would have added £50 at least to their gate." S.S. 14 June 1895. p. 10. In 1896 the club failed to hold sports. S.S. 15 May 1896. p. 5.
62. At an S.A.A.A. meeting at Hampden Park on 15 June 1895 Queen's Park F.C.'s share of the drawings did not exceed



- 50/- "which would barely cover the cost of watering the ground and replacing the window which a man with more weight than brains knocked his elbow through." S.S. 18 June 1895. p. 12.
63. In 1896 the S.A.A.U. Championships at Hampden Park attracted 10,000 spectators. The S.A.A.A. Championships at Powderhall Stadium in Edinburgh was patronised by only 1,500 people. In February 1892 the S.A.A.A. had a credit balance of £71.8.0. By February 1897 after the athletic crisis, the balance was £3.6.7. As S.S. noted,  
     "Union is strength" - who dare deny  
     The Union's right to rule?  
     The S.A.A.A., are high and dry,  
     And sitting on the stool."  
S.S. 24 May 1895. p. 12; 30 June 1896. p. 8; S.A.A.A. Minute Book; I. p. 126; II. p. 113.
64. The following football clubs in Glasgow had representatives on the first S.F.A. Committee: Clydesdale F.C., 3; Queen's Park F.C., 3; Eastern F.C., 1; Dumbreck F.C., 1; Granville F.C., 1; 3rd Lanark R.V.F.C., 1. Vale of Leven provided the eleventh member. Officials from swimming clubs in Glasgow held four of the six offices on the first S.A.S.A. Committee. West of Scotland S.C. provided two members and there was one representative from Western and Southern S.C.s Robinson. op. cit. p. 126; S.U. 31 January 1888. p. 5.
65. Compiled from: Thorburn correspondence 1982; Thorburn. op. cit. p. 28; Addison. op. cit. p. 70.
66. Compiled from: Thorburn correspondence 1982; West of Scotland C.C. Roll of Members 1867-74; Smith correspondence 1982.
67. G.P.O.D. 1888-89. pp. 385, 481, 518, 731; S.U. 31 January 1888. p. 5; S.F.A. Annual 1889-90. pp. 15-16.
68. They were not interested in the affairs of the S.A.S.A. however, because unlike football, cycling and athletics, swimming events could not be used to fill football stadia. No other group ever used swimming for serious commercial ends because, inter alia, the limited spectator capacities of swimming pools restricted the amount of money which could be made from spectators.
69. Celtic F.C. 1938. op. cit. p. 39; Celtic F.C. Summary of Capital and Shares, 1907; Catton, J. A. H. The Real Football. London: Sands and Co., 1900. p. 192.

70. S.F.A. Annual: 1889-90. pp. 15-16, 481, 546; 1894-95. pp. 15-16.
71. The exclusive nature of nineteenth century Scottish rugby is clearly illustrated by a piece of evidence provided by D. Smith and G. Williams in their history of Welsh Rugby. They quote Mr. Crawford Findlay, a Scot, who refereed the 1904 England v. Wales International. "Mr. Findlay did not seem to appreciate the finer points of the Welsh game nor, perhaps, their structure, for he had informed the school teacher Rhys Gabe ... at a dinner in 1903 that he was "surprised that Wales selected miners, steelworkers and policemen for their inter-national teams and suggested that these players should join the Northern Union.""  
Smith, D. and Williams, G. Fields of Praise. The Official History of the Welsh Rugby Union. 1881-91. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1980. p. 124.  
See also Shearman, M. Football. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1899. p. 249.

# CHAPTER 7

1. Glasgow Academical Club. op. cit. p. 9.
2. West of Scotland C.C. Cash Book 1868-69.
3. G.E.T. 9 September 1878. p. 4.
4. Hutchinson, J. Some aspects of football crowds before 1914. Paper presented to the Society for the Study of Labour History Conference, University of Sussex, 1975. Paper 13, I. p. 2; Mason, T. Association Football and English Society 1863-1915. Sussex: The Harvester Press, 1980. p. 138-9.
5. In 1880 an English sporting publication noted that Glasgow was "a veritable home for football. Few but those who have been present at the Scottish matches can realise the extraordinary enthusiasm displayed by the spectators. Thousands and thousands witness even minor contests, and consequently the contrast is wonderful to one accustomed to the sprinkling of onlookers at a metropolitan contest. Angus, K. J. The Sportsman's Year Book. London: Cassell, Peter, Galpin and Co., 1880. p. 19.
6. As market leaders, Celtic and Rangers F.C.s became known as the 'Old Firm'. The cartoon illustrated in Appendix II, published prior to the 1904 Celtic v. Rangers cup final, illustrates their preoccupation with business and profit. The cartoon is the first known reference to the term "Old Firm". The S.R., like other sporting journals of the period, had not overcome its distaste for professionalism and commercialization. The paper often portrayed the two clubs as business firms who were overwhelmingly concerned with attendances, gate receipts and profits. Many cartoons portrayed treasurers with beaming grins and bags full of money especially if there was a drawn cup game. Alternatively there was often a treasurer with a worried look and empty cash box as a result of rain, hail, sleet or snow - weather conditions not altogether unknown in Glasgow. Murray, W. J. Celtic v. Rangers: Ideology or a business in bigotry. Paper presented at the first Australian Symposium on the History and Philosophy of Physical Education and Sport, Preston Institute of Technology, Melbourne, 1980. pp. 154-5.
7. G.C. let the ground on condition that Queen's Park kept the fences in good order and did not sublet the property. The ground was called Hampden Park after Hampden Terrace, a group of houses overlooking the south side of the ground. Robinson. op. cit. p. 34.

8. *ibid.* pp. 34-5; Allan. 1923. *op. cit.* p. 19.
9. Compiled from: Robertson, F. (Ed.). Mackinlay's A to Z of Scottish Football. Loanhead: Macdonald, 1979. pp. 28-9. Major representative matches were chosen since there is no easy method of discovering how many people watched inter-club games. The local press often did not publish attendance figures and even when it did, the figures were not particularly accurate. Mason. *op. cit.* p. 138.
10. Glasgow was one of the world's most fanatical footballing centres. "One has got to be in Glasgow on International day to realise adequately how tremendous is the hold the game has on the Scottish mind. The enthusiasm of the Scot for the Association game is without parallel in any other race for any particular sport or pastime ... For nine months the major portion of the male inhabitants of the land of cakes, Bibles and whiskey, discuss little else than the Saturday performances of their favourite clubs and players, and during the other three months of the year they indulge in extravagant speculations in regard to the team that is to wipe out England next April." Connell, R. M. The Association Game in Scotland in The Book of Football. London: Amalgamated Press Ltd., 1906. p. 45.
11. S.S.: 19 May 1893. p. 6; 26 May 1893. p. 9.
12. S.F.A. Annual 1889-90. p. 41; Allan. 1923. *op. cit.* p. 19; Vamplew. *op. cit.* p. 6.
13. During the season 1895-96 Celtic F.C. drew £843 from a long run in the Scottish Cup competition. In the following season the club was defeated in an early round and received only £23. S.S.: 26 May 1896. p. 10; 11 June 1897. p. 9.
14. Compiled from: Robinson. *op. cit.* p. 212; S.F.A. Annual 1883-84. p. 117; Archer and Royle. *op. cit.* pp. 232-3.
15. S.S. 21 June 1895. p. 12; 28 May 1895. p. 6; 31 May 1895. p. 10.
16. The four Glasgow members of the S.F.L. were Rangers, Celtic, Third Lanark and Cowliars F.C.s. The other six were Dumbarton, Cambuslang, Abercorn, St. Mirren, Vale of Leven and Heart of Midlothian F.C.s. The five Glasgow members of Division II were Cowliars, Clyde, Partick, Northern and Thistle F.C.s. The remaining five clubs were Hibernian, Motherwell, Port Glasgow, Abercorn and Morton F.C.s. Walvin, J. The People's Game - A Social History of British Football.

- London: Allen Lane, 1975. p. 81; Archer and Royle. op. cit. p. 231; Mallory, J. (Ed.). Football League Tables 1889 to the Present. Glasgow: William Collins and Sons Ltd., 1977. pp 6-14; Rafferty. op. cit. p. 28.
17. In 1892 Third Lanark F.C. had an income of £993 from gate and stand receipts. By 1897 it had risen to £3055. Similarly in 1893, Rangers F.C.'s gate and stand receipts totalled £2808. In 1899 it drew £9930. S.S.: 26 May 1899. p. 5; 26 May 1893. p. 9; 20 May 1898. p. 5.
  18. In 1895 with only ten clubs involved in the S.F.L., the fixtures were finished early in the New Year. By 1907 an expanding S.F.L. was capable of providing season long fixtures and the Inter-City League was disbanded. S.F.L. Handbook: 1906-07, 1907-08. Gibson, A. and Pickford, W. Association Football and the Men who Made it, III. London: Caxton Publishing Co., 1907. p. 6.
  19. In an economic analysis of Scottish gate-money football 1890-1914, W. Vamplew notes that clubs took powers to use their stadia for non footballing activities, particularly in the close season, "but apart from the occasional circus, or athletic and cycling meeting, little appears to have been done." Vamplew. op. cit. p. 8. The degree of involvement was far more significant than Vamplew suggests.
  20. Smith. 1972. op. cit. p. 148; Holt, R. J. Aspects of the social history of sports in France, 1870-1914. Unpublished doctoral thesis, St. John's College, Oxford, 1977. p. 99; Brohm, J-M. Sport - a Prison of Measured Time. London: Ink Links Ltd., 1978. pp. 68, 74.
  21. They were already experienced in providing customers with what they wanted and so new investments were made in the sure knowledge that a public existed which wanted a temporary diversion on a Saturday afternoon and could pay 6d. for the privilege.
  22. At Celtic F.C.'s sports in 1896 a one hundred yards invitation race was arranged. A selection of Scotland's leading sprinters took part including J. Auld, Ayr A.C.; W. Wilson, Clyde F.C.; T. Gordon, Motherwell Harriers; H. Bell, Clydesdale Harriers; J. Hunter, Hamilton Academicals F.C. and J. Cooney, Hibernian F.C. S.S. 17 August 1896. p. 2; McNee, G. The Story of Celtic - An Official History 1888-1978. London: Stanley Paul, 1978. p. 98.

23. The first full page advertisement for any local sporting event appeared in S.S. on 31 July 1896. It was headed: "To-morrow at Ibrox! - Remember! Rangers' Annual Sports!" A week later in the same newspaper a second full page advertisement appeared entitled "Records, Begone! Celtic Sports!" S.S. was quick to note, "The splendid success of the Rangers' sports is very largely due to the enterprise and speculation in booming it so splendidly. Money spent in printers' ink all comes back with rich interest." S.S.: 4 August 1896. p. 11; 31 July 1896. p. 8; 7 August 1896. p. 16.
  
24. Compiled from: S.C.: 23 August 1893. p. 647; 9 August 1893 p. 604; 4 August 1897. p. 742; 7 July 1897. p. 634; 9 June 1897. p. 533; 1 June 1904. p. 371; 8 June 1904. p. 393; 15 June 1904. p. 408; 10 August 1904. p. 526; 17 August 1904. p. 540; 8 June 1910. p. 458; S.R.: 15 August 1910. p. 1; 19 May 1910. p. 2; 20 June 1910. p. 1; 6 June 1910. p. 6; 13 June 1910. p. 1; 23 May 1910. p. 6; S.S.: 25 May 1897. p. 4; 15 June 1897. p. 5; 6 June 1893. p. 13; 23 May 1893. p. 13; 11 July 1893. p. 6; G.H.: 23 May 1910. p. 13; 15 August 1910. p. 10; 17 May. 1897. p. 5; 9 August 1897. p. 5; 26 April 1897. p. 9; 7 June 1897. p. 10; 6 August 1897. p. 12; 9 August 1897. p. 10; 16 August 1897. p. 11; 12 June 1893. p. 10; 24 April 1893. p. 10; 22 May 1893. p. 5; 12 June 1893. p. 5; 10 July 1893. p. 4; Scotsman. 6 June 1904. p. 10; Daily Record and Mail. 30 May 1910. p. 6; World Cyclist. 31 July 1897. p. 5; Hutchinson. op. cit. p. 1.
  
25. From 1894-99, Celtic F.C.'s income from sports, as a percentage of total annual income, ranged from 3.8%-11.3%. Rangers F.C.'s statistics were slightly lower at 3%-10.3% S.S.: 11 May 1894. p. 11; 7 May 1895. p. 13; 31 May 1895. p. 10; 12 May 1896. p. 7; 26 May 1896. p. 10; 11 June 1897. p. 9; 18 May 1897. p. 10; 15 May 1898. p. 5; 27 May 1898. p. 5; 26 May 1899. p. 5; 30 May 1899. p. 4.
  
26. It was normal practice for the football clubs to retain stand and reserve terrace drawings. From two cycle meetings in May 1897, Celtic F.C. drew £410.
  
27. For a more detailed account of the composition of shareholders see pp. 237-242.
  
28. S.S. 31 March 1899. p. 4; Greig, T. 'The Bully Wee' - being an appreciation of the first hundred years in the history of Clyde Football Club. Glasgow: Clyde F.C., 1978. p. 36; Rangers F.C.: Memorandum Certificate of Incorporation, 1899.

29. S.S. 31 July 1894. p. 9; Usher, C. M. (Ed.). The Story of Edinburgh University Athletic Club. Edinburgh: Athletic Club of the University of Edinburgh, 1966. p. 56.
  
30. H. Nixen, a West of Scotland C.C. professional had "(a) To attend regularly at such times as shall be fixed by the Directors of the club for practice, and to bowl, (b) To play in Matches and to stand Umpire when required, (c) To keep, or to assist in keeping the Ground in Thoroughly good order with such assistance as the Directors of the club shall direct and to prepare practice and match wickets when these are required, (d) And generally to discharge all similar duties which may be imposed on him by the Directors." West of Scotland C.C. Letter Book 1902-07. p. 141.
  
31. West of Scotland C.C. Minute Book 1885-1901. Meeting of Directors. 7 February 1885; Allan. 1923. op. cit. p. 75; Walvin. 1975. op. cit. pp. 82-3; B.P.P. Board of Trade (Hours of Work) III - Building and Woodworking Trades in 1906, 1910.(158) LXXXIV. pp. 40, 154; B.P.P. Board of Trade (Hours of Work) VI - Metal, Engineering and Shipbuilding Trades in 1906, 1911. (186) LXXXVIII. pp. 82, 114.
  
32. Suspensions were introduced in 1886 for players found guilty of 'rough play'. Tripping, ducking, hacking, jumping at a player, pushing and charging from behind were regarded as 'rough play'. S.F.A. Annual 1886-87. pp. 7-8; Sloan, P. J. The labour market in professional football. British Journal of Industrial Relations, 1969, VII, p. 183.
  
33. The comparison is strengthened by the fact that the transfer often involved the payment of a fee to the club with whom the player was registered. S.S. 31 May 1895. p. 12; Sloan. op. cit. p. 183; Mason. op. cit. p. 104.
  
34. In the novel Man and Wife, Wilkie Collins wrote a seminal study on the ills and abuses in athletics. He described how Geoffrey Delamayne, a champion long distance runner, was beaten by a relatively unknown athlete. At the finish Delamayne collapsed on the track and was taken to the pavilion. At the end of the sports, the only supporters who took the recovered athlete from the pavilion were two men who had 'hedged' their bets and privately backed the successful outsider. The rest had disappeared. Collins, W. Man and Wife, III. London: Ellis, F. S., 1870. pp. 96-9; Crawford, S. A. G. M. Golden girl - an athlete? British Journal of Physical Education, 1979, 10, p. 164.

35. At a West of Scotland C.C. sports, "J. Rodger was too impetuous in the mile. He rushed up in the inside, knocking several of the men off their stride." Similarly in a 600 yards race at Hampden Park, the same athlete "gave the Dubliner a decided push with his left hand about twenty yards from home, from the effects of which he tottered, and finally fell at the post." S.S.: 31 July 1894. p. 11; 23 April 1894. p. 13.
36. Although reductions in race distances stopped some slow riding, attempts to induce men to quicken the pace by offering lap prizes failed miserably. The prizes were too small to risk being outpaced in a sprint for the top money awards. For a most illuminating account of 'loafing' see a report on the World Cycle Championships held at Celtic Park in August 1897 in Scottish Pictorial - Supplement: 7 August 1897. pp. 3-4, 10.
37. McNee. op. cit. pp. 90-1.
38. G.E.N. 23 November 1888. p. 3; S.A.J. 27 September 1887. p. 15; Ensor, E. The football madness. Contemporary Review, 1898, LXIV, p. 758; Edwards, C. The new football mania. Nineteenth Century, 1892, XXXII, pp. 626-7.
39. See S.A.J. 30 August 1887. p. 17 and S.U. 21 August 1884. p. 3. for examples of middle class writers condemning working class behaviour at local games.
40. S.S. 20 May 1898. p. 5; Greig, op. cit. pp. 10, 36; Vinnai, G. Football Mania. London: Ocean Books, 1973. p. 62.
41. At a West of Scotland Harriers sports in 1897 the winner of the half mile professional cycle race received £4 while the five mile champion drew £5. In contrast, the affluent Rangers F.C. offered a cash prize of £10 for a one mile professional race and £15 for first place in the five mile event. Table 7.2 indicates the difference in attendance totals for Clydesdale Harriers and Rangers and Celtic F.C.'s annual sports. S.S.: 1 June 1897. p. 7; 27 August 1897. p. 7.
42. By 1900 Celtic, Third Lanark and Rangers F.C.'s were paying over £200 per annum for police supervision. Hutchinson. op. cit. p. 14; S.S.: 20 May 1898. p. 5; 30 May 1899. p. 4; 12 May 1896. p. 7.
43. Queen's Park F.C. offered a reward of £100 for any information which would lead to the apprehension and conviction of any person or persons concerned with



- the invasion. G.O.C.H. 24 April 1909. pp. 2, 7; Robinson. op. cit. p. 326. See Scottish Referee. 25 March 1905. pp. 1, 3 for another account of property damage caused by rioting spectators.
44. When Benburb F.C. won the Glasgow 2nd XI Cup in 1892, four team members immediately joined senior clubs. S.J.F.A. Annual 1892-93. p. 57. Similarly in 1894 Celtic, Cowlaids, Blackburn and Accrington Stanley F.C.s induced players from Ashfield F.C. - the holders of the Scottish, Glasgow, Glasgow North Eastern and Maryhill Junior Cups. S.J.F.A. Annual. 1894-95. p. 64.
  45. District and national championships which had been watched with a reasonably high level of interest were rather boring with no foreign riders present. At a club meeting in May 1897, over 20,000 fans attended Celtic Park to watch Gormey, 'the crack Irish Amateur Rider', and F. W. Chinn, 'the Birmingham flier'. A week later 30,000 watched Zimmerman, J. W. Stocks, the 'famous hours rider' and Platt-Betts, the 'fastest rider the world has ever seen', compete at the same venue. In the same stadium a week later the more parochial S.C.U. Western District Championships attracted a 'poor crowd'. S.S.; 7 May 1897. p. 7; 25 May 1897. p. 4; 21 May. 1897. p. 7.
  46. In 1904, "Meetings in Glasgow were principally under the aegis of harrier or football clubs, who, as a rule, gave more attention to the athletic than to the cycling section of their programme." S.C. 31 August 1904. p. 569.
  47. See S.S. 1 October 1889. p. 11 for a crowd's unsympathetic response to a poorly organised professional event; Jamieson, D. A. Powderhall and Pedestrianism - the history of a famous sports enclosure. (1870-1943). Edinburgh: W. A. K. Johnston, 1943. p. 56.
  48. S.S. 17 August 1894. p. 13.
  49. G.P.O.D.: 1885-86. p. 899; 1890-91. p. 910; 1895-96. p. 894; 1900-01. p. 1057; 1905-06. pp. 1178-9.
  50. Hire purchase was introduced in Scotland by the Glasgow firm of Mackenzie and Co. in 1889. It was not long before many shops adopted similar schemes. Dickie Bros. of Great Western Road offered terms of 10/- per month in 1905, while four years later G. O. Holloway of Duke Street required a deposit and monthly payments of 6/11. S.C. 27 February 1889. p. 112; Rees. op. cit. pp. 97-8; 'S.C.' Road Book

- and Annual 1894-95. p. 6; The Scottish Road Book: 1905. p. 10; 1909. passim.
51. Compiled from: N.B.D.M. 4 April 1892. p. 10; James. op. cit. pp. 24-111; Handley. 1960. op. cit. pp. 32, 42, 64; Anderson, C. Association Football - Scotland v. England (1872-1947). Edinburgh: Cousland and Sons Ltd., 1947. p. 25; Queen's Park F.C. Queen's Park F.C. - Souvenir of Greater Hampden Park. Glasgow: Graham, Robertson and Co. Ltd., 1947. p. 13; Rafferty. op. cit. p. 44; Football Handbook 1902.-03. Dundee: The People's Journal, 1902. p. 69; G.E.N. 30 October 1903. p. 3.
  52. Owning Glasgow's finest stadium not only enhanced a club's prestige and reputation but also generated important sources of extra income. At all international games and cup finals, the host club received total stand receipts which were usually quite considerable. 64,323 spectators watched the 1904 Celtic v. Rangers Scottish cup final played at Hampden Park. The host club, Queen's Park, received the total stand taking which amounted to £400 - one fifth of all money taken at the match. S.R. 18 April 1904. p. 1.
  53. Handley. 1960. op. cit. pp. 32, 42; S.A.J. 23 August 1887. p. 11; S.S. 13 August 1895. p. 4; Robinson. op. cit. p. 35.
  54. "Palatial, colossal, gargantuan, pyramidal are some of the adjectives suitable to apply to the Queen's third and perpetual home" S.R. 15 April 1904. p. 1. The three stadia housed Scotland's finest cycling tracks. Both the Ibrox and Hampden tracks measured four laps to a mile. They had excellent cinder surfaces, well thought out banking and good width. Celtic F.C. had separate running and cycling tracks.
  55. "The pitch is entirely surrounded by a neat wooden railing, painted white, of about 3½ feet high. From this railing, backwards to the fences, the ground has been gradually raised in small ash terraces of about three feet wide. There are as many as four of these terraces at some parts ... from whatever standpoint, and no matter what number of people may be in the enclosure, a capital view of the game will be had by everyone." S.A.J. 23 August 1887. p. 11.
  56. Unfortunately the problem of condensation caused by breathing was overlooked. The glass was soon removed. McNee. op. cit. p. 96.
  57. Crampsey. op. cit. p. 61; G.E.N. 30 October 1903. p. 3; Queen's Park F.C. op. cit. p. 13.

58. "We consider that the remuneration these leading players received ... is ample and sufficient, and should make them the envied of their fellows. Why, many a professional man, many employer, cannot boast so large an income as is possible to them. They are really very well off." S.S. 14 May 1894. p. 9.
59. S.A.J.: 27 April 1886. p. 5; 26 January 1883. p. 5.
60. The text included basic advice on how long to stay in the water, when to swim and an analysis of a number of strokes. By using a very simple, easy to read instructional format, the book was a useful source of reference for beginners. Wilson. 1891. op. cit. pp. 1-2. The book was first published in 1876.
61. It contained chapters on plunging, touching and turning, rough sea swimming, diving and training. Wilson. 1883 op. cit. passim; Wilson, W. The Bather's Manual, Glasgow: Kerr and Richardson, 1880. p. 7. The book was first published in 1878.
62. Baker, W. J. The making of a working-class football culture in Victorian England. Journal of Social History, 1979, 13, pp. 246-7.
63. "What a contrast to First Hampden with its little shack and the two pails of water, one for each team so that the last unfortunate on either side to perform his ablutions was confronted with a revolting sludge-like consistency!" Crampsey. op. cit. pp. 37, 64.
64. The cycle and athletic tracks were available on three nights a week from 1st April to 31st August for training. At Celtic Park, athletes paid 1/6d. per month or 5/- per season while cyclists were charged 3/- a month or 10/6d. for the season. Handley. 1960. op. cit. p. 32.
65. G.P.O.D.: 1885-86. p. 988; 1900-01. p. 1114.
66. S.C.: 28 April 1897. p. 1; 19 April 1893. p. 275.
67. 'S.C.' Road Book and Annual 1894-95. op. cit. p. 8; Aronson, S. H. The Sociology of the Bicycle in Lasswell, T.E., Burma, J. H. and Aronson, S. H. (Eds.). Life in Society. Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1965. p. 62.
68. Tobin. op. cit. p. 839; "S.C.' Road Book and Annual 1894-95. p. 47, 57.
69. G.P.O.D. 1887-88. p. 146; S.A.J. 23 August 1887. p. 12.

70. Robinson. op. cit. p. 434. The five papers were the S.A.J. 1882-88; S.U. 1884-88; S.S. 1888-1900; S.R. 1888-1914 and S.C. 1888-1918. The first Saturday evening 'football special' - Saturday Night - was produced in Birmingham in September 1882. Blackburn followed with the Saturday Football Journal in September 1883. Bolton, like Glasgow had a Saturday evening paper, Football Field and Sports Telegram in 1884. Mason. op. cit. p. 192.
71. G.P.O.D.: 1886-87. p. 369; 1887-88. p. 132; 1888-89. p. 371; S.J.F.A. Annual 1886-87. pp. 17, 24.
72. Compiled from: Rangers F.C. Summary of Capital and Shares: 1899; 1914; Celtic F.C. Summary of Capital and Shares: 1900; 1901; 1903; 1914.
73. W. Vamplew used ten occupational categories to analyse the shareholdings of 23 Scottish football clubs, including Celtic F.C. and Rangers F.C., in the period 1897-1914. His data confirms that businessmen, clerical staff and manual workers dominated the shareholdings of the two clubs. Vamplew, W. Ownership and control in gamemoney sport: Scottish football before 1915. Canadian Journal of History of Sport, 1981, XII, pp. 56-83.
74. Of ten of Scotland's leading football clubs, apart from Celtic F.C., only Falkirk F.C. (10% in 1907-08 and 1912-13) and St. Mirren F.C. (5% in 1909-10) paid dividends prior to 1914. Vamplew, W. The economics of a sports industry: Scottish gamemoney football, 1890-1914. Economic History Review 2nd Series, 1982, XXXV, p. 556.
75. Celtic F.C. Summary of Capital and Shares, 1900.
76. In some cases extra income could also be made from serving on a club's executive committee. After incorporation in 1897, John Glass, Celtic F.C.'s President, received an honorarium of £100, £105 in director's fees, a substantial testimonial and a 20% dividend on his 100 x £1 shares. By 1900 he was the third largest investor with 401 x £1 shares. loc. cit.; Handley. 1960. op. cit. p. 47; McNee. op. cit. p. 86; S.S. 31 March 1899. p. 4; Rangers F.C. Summary of Capital and Shares. 1899; Vamplew. 1982. op. cit. p. 558; Hay, R. Soccer and social control in Scotland. 1873-1978. in Cashman, R. and McKernan, M. Sport: Money, Morality and the Media. Kensington: New South Wales Univ. Press Ltd., pp. 241, 265.
77. Celtic F.C. Summary of Capital and Shares: 1900; 1901; 1903.

78. Rangers F.C. Summary of Capital and Shares, 1899.
79. In 1899 the holder of a £1 share in Rangers F.C. had the opportunity of voting at annual general meetings and the privilege of a season ticket to the ground and stand at Ibrox at a reduced price. £5 proprietary shareholders had the additional benefit of the right of election to the board of directors. S.S. 17 March 1899. p. 4; Vamplew. 1980. op. cit. pp. 11-12.

# CHAPTER 8

1. Compiled from: Courtney, S. As Centuries Blend - 106 Years of Clydesdale Cricket Club. Glasgow: Clydesdale C.C., 1954. p. i; Bone. op. cit. pp. 38, 44, 129; Colville. op. cit. pp. 39-40, 99, 126; Smith. 1867. op. cit. p. 35; MacArthur. 1870. op. cit. pp. 104-5; G.P.O.D.: 1844-45. p. 230; 1847-48. p. 115; 1850-51. p. 235; 1857-58. pp. 168, 2-3, 255; 1870-71. pp. 80, 208; 1871-72. pp. 439, 510-11; 1872-73. pp. 51, 54-5, 57, 60, 103, 112, 118, 190, 207, 209, 317, 336, 343, 371, 418, 473, 506, 515, 527, 529, 552-3, 743, 745. Burgh of Glasgow. Register of Voters: 1870-71. w. 7. p. 34; w. 10. p. 43; 1856-57. w. 1. p. 17, w. 2. p. 3, w. 4. pp. 5, 12. w. 8. p. 4, w. 13. p. 4, w. 16. p. 5; 1859-60. w. 1. p. 17, w. 2. pp. 4, 7, 9, w. 3. pp. 16, 21. w. 4. pp. 7, 13. w. 5. p. 9, w. 8. p. 25. w. 12. p. 7. w. 13. p. 20, w. 15. p. 20. Arlington B.C. Ladies' Minute Book 1872-96.
2. Sunday Standard. 5 July 1981. p. 29; S.S. 22 May 1891. p. 9; Robinson. op. cit. pp. 8, 14, 16; Scottish Athletic Celebrities' Album, I. Glasgow: S.A.J., 1886. p. 17.
3. Thorburn. 1980. op. cit. p. 21; Stuart. op. cit. p. 2.
4. In 1883, "The Degree List" issued by Glasgow University contains two names which are favourably known in local wheel circles, and, strange to say, both are members of the Lanarkshire. J. F. Fergus and W. J. Mitchell are the gentlemen I refer to. The one is studying medicine ... the other has resolved to try his luck at the Bar." S.A.J. 4 May 1883. p. 11; At the Lanarkshire B.C.'s annual dinner at the Grand Hotel in 1883 the members were described as 'gentlemen', "and their actions were the actions of gentlemen." S.A.J. 16 February 1883. p. 10.
5. Compiled from: G.P.O.D.: 1899-1900. pp. 62, 68-9, 120, 126, 162, 181, 208, 251, 265, 269, 288, 335, 405, 421, 430, 435, 437, 448, 449, 470, 476-7, 504, 513, 527, 534, 634; 1900-01. p. 288; 1907-08. p. 96; 1908-09. pp. 56, 121, 192, 296, 381-2, 420, 482, 569, 619, 621, 640, 643-4, 646, 690, 726; 1909-10. p. 390; Burgh of Glasgow. Register of Voters. 1910-11. w. 3. p. 1, w. 15. p. 9, w. 2. p. 2, w. 24. p. 53; Thomson, J. Drumpellier Cricket Club, 1850 to 1906. Airdrie: Black. 1908. p. 65; Arlington B.C. Proposal Book 1897-1901. Cyclists' Touring Club Gazette: February 1909. p. 96; March 1909. p. 144; May 1909. p. 234; June 1909. p. 280; July 1909. p. 326; August 1909. p. 372; September 1909. p. 420; November 1909. p. 516; West of Scotland C.C. Roll of Members 1896-1903.

6. The Book of Football. London: Amalgamated Press. Ltd., 1906. p. 240.
7. S.U.: 21 October 1885. p. 5; 25 November 1885. p. 5; Duncan. 1902. op. cit. p. 272; King, P. (Ed.). Scottish Cricketers' Annual and Guide, 1882-83. Edinburgh: P. King, 1883. p. 65.
8. G.E.T. 4 June 1888. p. 4; Duncan. 1906. op. cit. p. 300.
9. G.E.T. 4 June 1888. p. 4; S.U. 9 September 1885. p. 14.
10. Since both the Greenhead and St. Helens C.C.s met in Mechanics' Halls they probably had associations with upper working class improvement societies. G.H. Year Book. Glasgow: George Outram and Co., 1913. p. 312; Harrison, B. Religion and Recreation in Nineteenth Century England. Past and Present, 1967, 38, p. 106; Sturmev, J. The Cyclists' Year Book, 1899. London: Illiffe, Sons and Sturmev Ltd., 1899. pp. 170-1; Reid, W. History of the United Co-operative Baking Society Limited. Glasgow: United Co-operative Baking Society Ltd., 1920. pp. 254-6.
11. Quite a number occupied prominent positions in the trade union world while one had been a senior magistrate and two held seats on G.T.C.; S.C. 26 January 1910. p. 77; Rubinstein, D. Cycling in the 1890s. Victorian Studies, 1977, XXI, p. 69.
12. At the 1909 May Day demonstrations in Glasgow, "200 cyclists turned out with their cycles, and, headed by a brass band, paraded the principal streets of the city." S.C.: 26 January 1910. p. 77; 2 November 1910. p. 864; The Clarion. 6 October 1911. p. 6; Prynn, D. The Clarion Clubs, Rambling and the Holiday Associations in Britain since the 1890s. Journal of Contemporary History, 1976, II, pp. 65, 67, 69.
13. Bone. op. cit. pp. 238, 294.
14. See chapter 5 for a full account of the growing availability of public facilities.
15. Robinson. op. cit. p. 21; Rafferty. op. cit. p. 10; Boothby, J. and Tungatt, M. F. Amateur sports clubs. Their salient features and major advantages. International Review of Sport Sociology, 1978, 4, p. 29.
16. The initial competition was for a Captain's Medal which had been presented by the Lord Provost,

- W. Rae Arthur while the second was for the Wilson Challenge Handicap Medal which had been donated by the Treasurer, William Wilson. Both trophies were played for over eighteen holes on the Queen's Park course. They were so popular that in 1875 William Wilson offered another medal which was competed for on a monthly basis. Colville. op. cit. p. 58; G.H. 27 March 1871. p. 6.
17. S.S. 12 May 1893. p. 15.
  18. See chapter 3 pp.98-104 for a more detailed account of the growth of a variety of cup and league competitions.
  19. Miscellaneous Prints, 26, pp. 223-4; Colville. op. cit. p. 53.
  20. Queen's Park F.C. was formed to supply "recreation and amusement for its members". Robinson. op. cit. p. 35; Holt, R. Sport and Society in Modern France. London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1981. p. 150.
  21. S.A.J.: 2 March 1883. p. 10; 9 March 1883. p. 9. Important sporting events were always marked with a good dinner. When William Clarke's All England XI played against XXII of Clydesdale C.C. at Kinning Park in 1851, a banquet was arranged which was attended by over 100 'gentlemen'. G.H. 22 September 1851. p. 3.
  22. Arlington B.C.: Programme of Arlington B.C. Debating Society. 5th Annual Dinner, March 1908; Programme of 'Arlington Baths Bazaar', November 1900.
  23. 'Creston'. Cycling and cycles. Fortnightly Review, 1894, LV, p. 678.
  24. Hutchison. op. cit. p. 53; Kellet. op. cit. pp. 354-5; Russell. 1980. op. cit. p. 3.
  25. Duncan 1893. op. cit. pp. 201-4; Wettan, R. and Willis, J. Sport and social stratification in the United States 1865-1900. Paper presented at the North American Society for Sport History Convention, London, Ontario, 1974. p. 11.
  26. The four clubs were 1st L.R.V., Kelvinside Academicals, Glasgow High School F.P. and Glasgow Technical College F.C.s. S.F.U. Account of Charge and Discharge: 1887-88; 1888-89; 1889-90; 1890-91; 1891-92; 1892-93; 1893-94; 1894-95; 1895-96; Cousins. op. cit. pp. 52, 71.
  27. The 'mermaids' were the lady members. Arlington B.C. Ladies' Minute Book 1872-96.



28. The Chiel. 21 April 1883. p. 187; S.A.J. 6 April 1883. p. 10.
29. Dunning and Sheard. p. 181.
30. Gray. 1976. op. cit. p. 37; Crossick, G. An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society. London: Croom Helm, 1978. pp. 136-150.
31. Western A.S.C. Newspaper cuttings 1903-27. pp. 4-6.
32. S.R. 11 April 1892. p. 2.
33. S.S. 14 August 1892. p. 8.
34. S.S. 17 August 1894. p. 9. Numerous references to bad language also indicates that working class men were well represented at cycle meetings. To middle class spectators, playing the game in a fair manner was as important as winning. This attitude was antithetical to working class men who were not adverse to shouting abuse at riders or officials. At Celtic's Sports in 1895 reports of bad language were 'pretty general' while at Ibrox the previous week, officials were subjected to a running fire of 'picturesque language.' S.S. 13 August 1895. p. 10; Wirth, L. Urbanism as a way of life. American Journal of Sociology, 1938, XLIV, p. 22.
35. N.B.D.M. 14 March 1892. p. 7.
36. Compiled from: G.P.O.D. 1902-03. pp. 677, 686, 693, 707-8, 734, 736, 782, 801, 805, 812, 834, 836, 838, 842, 853, 873, 891, 908, 957, 959; Burgh of Glasgow. Register of Voters. 1900-01. I. w. 1. p. 9, w. 2. p. 12, w. 4. p. 5, w. 6. p. 12, w. 13. p. 4, w. 14. pp. 13-14, 45, w. 16. pp. 4, 17, 20, 39, 42, 50. w. 17. p. 56. II. w. 18. p. 56, w. 19, p. 35, w. 20. pp. 8, 24, 88, w. 21, p. 43, w. 22. p. 25, w. 25. pp. 2, 20, 51; G.H.: 7 April 1902. p. 9; 8 April 1902. p. 7; 9 April 1902. p. 10; 10 April 1902. p. 3.; 11 April 1902. p. 7; 12 April 1902. p. 10; 14 April 1902. p. 9.
37. Metcalfe, A. Sport in nineteenth century England: An interpretation. Paper presented at the 2nd world symposium on the History of Sport and Physical Education, Banff, Alberta, May 1971. p. 10.
38. In 1901 J. H. Muir described the appeal of football to a typical Glaswegian who was employed as a fitter in a local machine tool factory: "Football is his game, for no other can give the same thrill, the same fierce exhilaration, the same outlet for the animal spirits which machinery has suppressed."

- Muir. op. cit. p. 192; Vinnai. op. cit. p. 39; Hammond, J. L. and Hammond, B. The Town Labourer 1760-1832. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1919. p. 39.
39. Dunning, E. The development of modern football in Dunning, E. (Ed.). The Sociology of Sport - a selection of readings. London, Frank Cass, 1970. p. 144; Baker op. cit. p. 248; Atyeo, D. Blood and Guts, Violence in Sports. London: Paddington Press Ltd., 1979. p. 243.
  40. At the opening of Ibrox Stadium in 1887, spectators were "rising and singing the Rangers chorus". S.A.J. 23 August 1887. p. 13.
  41. "Quite suddenly you will hear a great clatter of wheels, and loud cries and shrill blasts of trumpets, and a brake full of men in "gravats" and "bunnets" rattles past you with a banner flying, and much clamour and loud chaff. These are the "fitba" supporters now back frae their gem". They are great strapping men, dight in their Sunday braws, all belonging to the "Legion that never was "listed". The business of their football club is other than to play. They "support"; they follow their team from field to field; they drive to and from the match in their brake; they wave their banner with the strange device - "Camlachie Shamrock 'Celtic' Football Club"; they roar obliquely and ridicule to any rival club whose brake may pass theirs." Muir. op. cit. p. 184; Petryszak, N. Spectator sports as an aspect of popular culture - an historical view. Journal of Sport Behaviour, 1978, I, p. 20.
  42. Priestley, J. B. The Good Companions. London: W. Heinemann Ltd., 1929. p. 250.
  43. In 1851 Irish people accounted for 18% of Glasgow's population. By c. 1885 three quarters of Glasgow's Irish immigrants were Catholics. Hutchison. op. cit. p. 477; Butt. 1971. op. cit. p. 56; McCaffrey, A. J. The Scottish Mind: Glaswegian social structure and its relationship to the Scottish character. Unpublished masters dissertation, University of Durham, 1976. p. 56; Sunday Standard. 14 March 1982. p. 15.
  44. McCaffrey. op. cit. pp. 16, 55-7; Scotsman. 9 May 1975. p. ix; Ross, A. Development of the Scottish Catholic Community; 1878-1978. in McRoberts, D. (Ed.). Modern Scottish Catholicism, 1878-1978. Glasgow: John S. Burns and Sons, 1979. pp. 34, 39; Drummond, A. L. and Bulloch, J. The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874. Edinburgh: St. Andrews Press, 1975. p. 64.

45. In 1886, Dr J. B. Russell, Glasgow's Medical Officer of Health, reported that over 55% of the city's Irish population lived in districts where sanitary conditions were rated as below average. McCaffrey, J. The Irish vote in Glasgow in the later nineteenth century. A preliminary survey. The Inness Review, 1970, XXI, p. 32.
46. Conditions in chemical works were particularly hazardous. In the production of bleaching powder at Tennant's works at St. Rollox, a man had to enter the hot chamber to rake the floor while chlorine drifted about him. A companion stood waiting at the door to drag him out when he collapsed. "Only the threat of starvation drove men to accept such work and the Irish got more than their share of it." Drummond and Bulloch. op. cit. p. 74.
47. "To be Catholic is to be part of a group; to be non-Catholic is to be excluded." McCaffrey. 1976. op. cit. p. 111.
48. One of the most notable feature of Irish Catholic life was the power exercised by local priests. "No doubt the power of the priest reflected his superior education, his influence over the distribution of a little of the goods of this world, and his monopoly of the means of transport to the next. Perhaps most important of all, the priesthood was a familiar institution to those settled in a country otherwise alien and uncongenial." Walker, W. M. Irish immigrants in Scotland: Their priests, politics and parochial life. The Historical Journal, 1972, XV, p. 657.
49. ibid. pp. 655-7; Wood, I. Irish nationalism and radical politics in Scotland, 1880-1906. Scottish Labour History Society Journal, 1975, 9, pp 21, 27; Gallagher, T. Catholics in Scottish politics. The Bulletin of Scottish Politics, 1981, I, p. 23.
50. McNee. op. cit. p. 84.
51. S.U. 30 October 1888. p. 3.
52. Woods. 1981. op. cit. pp. 8-14, 83.
53. McNee. op. cit. p. 86.
54. The Bulletin. 19 May 1917. p. 4 .
55. In the first year, 1888, its principal disbursements were £164 to the St. Vincent de Paul Conferences, £50 to Whitevale Refuge and £50 to Little Sisters of the Poor. In addition it gave a regular weekly contribution to the Poor Children's Dinner Table in the

three previously mentioned east end parishes.  
Handley. 1960. op. cit. p. 19.

56. S.R. 11 April 1892. p. 3.
57. S.S. 20 November 1888. p. 9. S.U. 11 September 1888. p. 11.
58. S.R. 11 April 1892. p. 2.
59. S.S. 12 April 1892. p. 10. There were similar comments on pp. 3, 8.
60. S.S. 8 September 1896. p. 6.
61. See Appendices IV and V. For similar cartoons see S.R.: 7 March 1904. p. 1; 13 May 1904. p. 1.
62. Woods, P. Celtic F.C. The first decade 1888-98. Unpublished newspaper cuttings, 1980. p. 6. Murray. 1980. op. cit. p. 169.
63. Woods. 1980. op. cit. p. 8.
64. P. F. Young made a brief comment about the clubs' developing religious symbolism in A History of British Football. "The symbol of partisanship in British Football is Rangers v. Celtic ... it epitomised the ancient tribal animosities by now wrapped up in religious colours." Unfortunately he never developed this point. Young, P. F. A History of British Football. London: Arrow Books Ltd., 1968. p. 190.
65. Compiled from: Rangers F.C.: Summary of Capital and Shares. 1899; Minutes of agreement, etc., 1899.
66. S.J.F.A. Annual 1888-89. p. 70. Similarly, at the Govan Police Sports at Ibrox in 1895, "Many well-known Glasgow Baillies were present." S.S. 11 June 1895. p. 14.
67. Many of the club's original members came from Argyle. Allan. 1923. op. cit. p. 6.
68. Treble. op. cit. p. 122.
69. In 1939 W. Maley, who was the Secretary of the club at the turn of the century, hints at the notion of profiteering from conflicting cultural symbolism. In his history of the club he wrote, "The two clubs have on occasion had many differences, but in the main these were only side issues which soon rectified themselves, and both sides have realised that the stern opposition was a very paying proposition."

- Maley, W. The Story of Celtic. Glasgow: Celtic Football and Athletic Co. Ltd., 1939. p. 28. Similarly in 1935 the novelist George Blake wrote that at a Celtic v. Rangers match "Not a man on the terraces paused to reflect that it was a spectacle cunningly arranged to draw their shillings." Blake, G. The Shipbuilders. London: Faber and Faber, 1935. p. 103.
70. Young. op. cit. p. 191; Handley, 1960. op. cit. p. 228; Celtic F.C.: Memorandum of Association, 1897; Summary of Capital and Shares, 1900.
71. S.S.: 30 May 1899. p. 4; 26 May 1899. p. 5.
72. Other Catholic players were J. Tutty, T. Dunbar and W. Donnachie. Murray. 1980. op. cit. pp. 163-4; Woods. 1980. op. cit. pp. 16-19.
73. "Wilton seems to have been the man whose influence confirmed the Protestant image." Sunday Standard. 5 July 1981. p. 28. Tom Vallance, D. McKenzie and J. McIntyre who were members of Rangers F.C.'s executive committee in the early nineties held a total of 200 x £1 shares. S.S.: 2 May 1890. p. 9; 1 May 1891. p. 3; Rangers F.C. Minutes of agreement, etc., 1899.
74. Maley. op. cit. pp. 75-6; S.S.: 3 August 1897. p. 6; 10 August 1897. p. 8; 25 April 1893. p. 14.
75. S.S. 25 June 1895. p. 11.
76. For evidence of highland games champions who were members of police forces in the west of Scotland see Donaldson. op. cit. pp. 61-2, 65, 96.
77. "The Govan Police tug-of-war team will be dressed in a very pretty uniform of the Rangers' colours at their sports at Ibrox Park, on May 26, when they hope to vanquish the champion team of the Dublin Police." S.S. 29 May 1894. p. 11. Twelve months earlier a similar inter-city contest had resulted in a victory for the Dublin Police. The loss of Scottish pride manifested itself in the G.H. It carried a letter from a Scot living in Ireland who noted that he was surprised that the Dublin Police had beaten the Glasgow Police. He referred to the former as "a few 'Paddies'". G.H. 24 October 1893. p. 9.
78. Compiled from: Russell, J. B. Old Glasgow. Glasgow: Blackie. 1891. Appendix II; 'S.C.' Road Book and Annual 1895-96. pp. 58-9; Bartholomew, J. Map of Glasgow with suburbs. in G.P.O.D. 1891-2; Bartholomew, J. Sketch map of the city and royal

burgh of Glasgow as divided into statistical districts. Glasgow: Office of Public Works, 1891.

79. Wood. 1975. op. cit. pp. 21, 27; For a similar example of the preservation of a traditional ethnic identity through participation in athletics see Cheska, A. T. Antigonish Highland games: A community's involvement in the Scottish festival of eastern Canada. Unpublished revised edition of a paper presented to the N.A.S.S.H. Conference, Hamilton, Ontario, May 1981.
80. Compiled from: Bartholomew, J. 1891-92. op. cit.; Bartholomew, J. 1891. op. cit.; Russell. 1891. op. cit. Appendix II; G.P.O.D. 1891-92. pp. 74-79; S.J.F.A. Annual 1891-92. pp. 87-92.
81. G.O.C.H. 5 June 1886. p. 7. Similarly, in the same month St. Andrew's Total Abstinence Society formed a football club under the title 'Glasgow Harp'. G.O.C.H. 19 June 1886. p. 5.
82. loc. cit.
83. G.O.C.H. 7 August 1886. p. 5. For similar examples of the concern for an Irish Catholic sporting identity see: G.O.C.H. 11 September 1886. p. 6; 2 October 1886. p. 6; 26 March 1898. p. 5.

## CHAPTER 9

1. For detailed examinations of these factors see:  
Malcolmsen. op. cit. pp. 89-118; Reid, D.A. The decline of St. Monday. Working class leisure in Birmingham 1760-1875. Paper presented to the Society for the Study of Labour History Conference, University of Sussex, 1975. Paper 5, II. p. 4; Pimlott. op. cit. pp.37-40; Rees. op. cit. pp. 17, 21-4; Delves. op. cit. pp. 16,31; Pollard, S. Factory discipline in the industrial revolution. Economic History Review 2nd Series, 1963, XVI. pp. 254-70.
2. Morris, R.J. Class and class consciousness in the Industrial Revolution 1780-1850. London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1979 .p.53.
3. Malcolmsen . op. cit. pp. 170-1. Further more, J.Hutchinson notes that, "As a result, between about 1840 and 1860 there was a sort of interlude when many of the older activities had gone, and nothing had come to replace them."  
Hutchinson, J. The Football Industry. Glasgow: Richard Drew Publishing Ltd., 1982. p.9. For similar views see: Baker, W.J. The leisure revolution in Victorian England: A review of recent literature. Journal of Sport History, 1979, 6. p. 81; Walvin. 1975. op. cit. pp. 27, 52; Molyneux. op. cit. p. 2.
4. Cunningham. 1980. op. cit. pp. 9, 22-7. In both Liverpool and Manchester sport remained popular throughout the period 1800-50. Rees. op. cit. pp. 32-9; Allan, K. 1947. op. cit. p. 83.
5. Hopkins. op. cit. pp. 57, 66.
6. Malcolmsen . op. cit. pp. 170-1; Walvin. 1978. op. cit. p. 161; Walvin. 1975. op. cit. pp. 29, 56; Baker. 1979.(i). op. cit. p. 81.
7. Dunning and Sheard. op. cit. pp. 30-4; Adelman. op. cit. pp. 5-7.
8. Holt, R.J. Change and continuity in late nineteenth century French sport. Paper presented at the British Society for Sports History Conference, University of Liverpool, 1982. Paper 4. pp. 17-21.
9. Malcolmsen. op. cit. p. 84.
10. *ibid.* pp. 76-7.
11. Rees. op. cit. pp. 43-57; Bailey. 1974. op. cit. p. 159; Molyneux. op. cit. pp. 14-25; Walvin. 1975. op. cit. p. 63; Pimlott. op. cit. p.42; Smith, M.B. 1970. op. cit. p. 25; Jobling. op. cit. pp.65-8; Metcalfe. 1971. op. cit. p. 5; Metcalfe. 1968. op. cit. pp.58-66; Redmond, G. Some

- aspects of organised sport and leisure in nineteenth century Canada. Sport and Leisure, 1979, 2, pp.87-9.
12. Dobbs. op. cit. p. 28; Lowerson, J. and Myerscough, J. Time to Spare in Victorian England. Sussex: Harvester Press, 1977. p. 119; Meller. op. cit. p. 225; Bailey, P. "A mingled mass of perfectly legitimate pleasures" : the Victorian middle class and the problem of leisure. Victorian Studies, 1977, 21, p. 25.
  13. Meller, op. cit. p. 99; Cunningham. 1980. op. cit. pp. 89-91.
  14. Walvin. 1978. op. cit. pp. 86, 162.
  15. Bailey. 1974. op. cit. p. 118; Lowerson and Myerscough. op. cit. p. 97.
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Appendices

- I        The Glasgow Stalwarts, 1898.
- II       Cartoon:    The Scottish Final.
- III      Cartoon:    The League Championship.
- IV       Cartoon:    On the Eve.

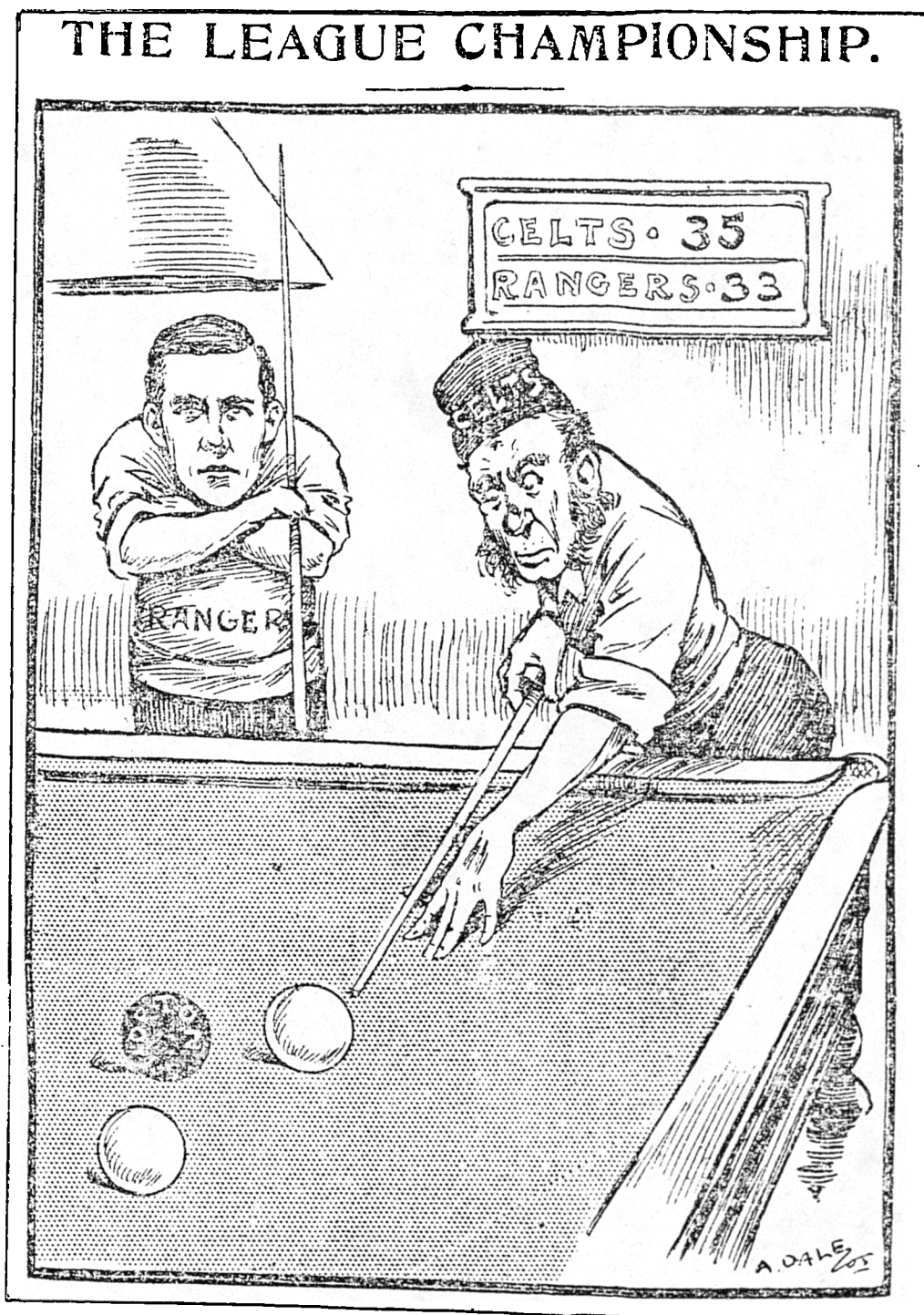
Appendix IThe Glasgow Stalwarts, 1898.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Ward</u>	<u>First Elected</u>
John Cronin	Steelworker	Dalmarnock	1896
John Ferguson	Publisher	Calton	1893
J. Shaw Maxwell	Lithographer	Mile-End	1896
George Mitchell	Ironmoulder	Mile-End	1895
P. G. Stewart	Brushmaker	Hutchesontown	1895
A. Hunter	Baker	Cowlairs	1891
William Forsyth	Butcher	Townhead	1897
Patrick O'Hare	Publican	Springburn	1897
John Battersby	Compositor	Hutchesontown	1891
James Johnstone	Engineer	Springburn	1897
Dr. Erskine	Surgeon	Anderston	1898
Boyd Stewart Brown	Unknown	Calton	1896

Source: Rollo. op. cit. p. 287.

Appendix IIThe Scottish Final

Source: S.R. 15 April 1904. p. 1.

Appendix IIIThe League Championship

Source: S.R. 3 February 1905. p. 1.

Appendix IVOn the Eve

Source: S.R. 17 February 1905. p. 1.

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