



University
of Glasgow

McDowell, Matthew Lynn (2010) *The origins, patronage and culture of association football in the west of Scotland, c. 1865-1902*. PhD thesis.

<http://theses.gla.ac.uk/1654/>

Copyright and moral rights for this thesis are retained by the author

A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge

This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the Author

The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the Author

When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

**The origins, patronage and culture of association football
in the west of Scotland, c. 1865-1902**

Matthew Lynn McDowell BA

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for
The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History, Scottish area
Faculty of Arts
University of Glasgow

September 2009

ABSTRACT

Rangers and Celtic Football Clubs, together known as the 'Old Firm', have received the lion's share of attention given to Scottish association football in both scholarly and popular literature. During Scottish football's formative years, however, the ascendancy of the Old Firm was far from set in stone. The exhaustive study of these two extraordinary organisations, therefore, greatly distorts our understanding of Scottish football's Victorian origins. Both clubs were part of a far greater scene which included not only fellow 'senior', well-established clubs, but also any number of 'junior', 'juvenile' and non-classified football clubs, as well as fledgling associations which oversaw the regulation of the young game. This thesis will examine the birth and growth of football in the west of Scotland, during a period stretching from the mid-1860s to the Ibrox disaster of April 1902.

Clubs were formed at any number of locations, from schools and churches, to factories and coal pits, as well as the many spaces in between. Clubs' respective connections in their own communities not only dictated *how* and *why* the game was played, but also determined the local support and patronage that each club received from local establishment figures. Victorian football organisations were as much social clubs as they were organisations dedicated to the playing and winning of the sport, and the sociability and conviviality of clubs determined their place in a complex social hierarchy, often leading to hedonistic excess. What pulled football away from this social scene, however, was its undisputed status as a gate money bonanza, one which saw not only the formation of a partisan supporter culture, but also the creation of a niche press dedicated to the ins and outs of the nascent game, both of which continued to fuel participation in the young sport. When the game itself became the main attraction, and when victory became more important than camaraderie, professionalism was not far behind. Play-for-pay irrevocably changed the relationship between players, supporters, the press and football clubs' local communities. This thesis will examine the interrelationships between the players, the supporters, sport clubs' patrons and the press, as well as the local and national connotations present in the building and advancement of the newly-popular association game.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	i
List of abbreviations	iv
List of figures in appendix	vi
1. Introduction	1
I: Football and institutions	21
2. Football and the institutions of order	22
3. Football, migrant communities and social welfare	44
II: Football and industry	60
4. Football and industry: theory	61
5. Football and workplace paternalism in Dunbartonshire	68
6. Football in coal and iron communities.....	82
7. The association game and the workplace.....	99
8. The changing landscape (of sport)	117
III: Football and society	135
9. The social gatherings of early Scottish footballers	136
10. Supporter culture and the atmosphere of the terraces	168
11. Violence in early Scottish football.....	189
12. The press and early Scottish football	208
13. Conclusion	234
Bibliography	238
Appendix	a

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to several individuals at Glasgow University's history department, whose support has assisted me greatly during my time at the university. I would first like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Irene Maver, whose assistance and patience over the past four years I have greatly appreciated. I would also like to thank Dr. Martin MacGregor, Dr. Karin Bowie, Dr. Graeme Small and Mrs. Margo Hunter for their assistance with tutoring and work experience.

I also wish to express my gratitude to the board of examiners for my *viva voce*: my internal examiner Dr. Mark Freeman, lecturer in the Department of Economic and Social History at Glasgow University; and external examiner Dr. Wray Vamplew, emeritus professor in the Department of Sports Studies at Stirling University.

I am also grateful to the libraries, archives and museums in the west of Scotland whose contents were used through the course of my research. I would first like to thank the staff at the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, where I performed the majority of my initial primary source research. I am grateful for their time and their patience. The following university libraries and archives were instrumental in the completion of this thesis: the Glasgow University Library (including the special collections department); the Strathclyde University Library; the Strathclyde University Archives; the Stirling University Library; the Mina Rees Library at the City University of New York (CUNY) Graduate Center; and the Scottish Football Museum at Hampden Park, Glasgow. The following libraries and local history centres have also assisted me greatly: the Dick Institute, Kilmarnock; the Burns Monument Centre, Kilmarnock; the Carnegie Library, Ayr; the Vennel Local and Family History Centre, Irvine; the Baird Institute, Cumnock; the Ardrossan Library; the Paisley Central Library; the Watt Library, Greenock; the Dumbarton Library; the Alexandria Library; the Milngavie Library; the Hamilton Town House Library; the Airdrie Library; the Coatbridge Library; the Larkhall Library; the Motherwell Library; and the Motherwell Heritage Centre.

I also wish to express my thanks to several other individuals within Scottish football: John Byrne, historian, Arthurlie FC; Tony Cowden, office administrator, Greenock Morton FC; Albert Moffat, president, Petershill FC, Richard Moss, chairman, Albion Rovers FC; David

Ross, historian, Kilmarnock FC; Scott Struthers, secretary, Hamilton Academical FC; and Robert Watson, secretary, Wishaw FC. My thanks to all.

Finally, I wish to thank my parents, whose support – financial and otherwise – has been greatly appreciated over the course of the past five years.

For Kayleigh

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Organisations and titles

AC	Athletic Club
ARV	Ayrshire Rifle Volunteers
BLFC	British Ladies' Football Club
CC	Cricket Club
CYMA	Catholic Young Men's Association
DRV	Dunbartonshire Rifle Volunteers
ERV	Edinburgh Rifle Volunteers
FA	The Football Association, other Football Associations
FC	Football Club
FP	former pupils' club
ICI	Imperial Chemical Industries
ILP	Independent Labour Party
LRV	Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers
MP	Member of Parliament
MSP	Member of Scottish Parliament
QP	Queen's Park Football Club
RRV	Renfrewshire Rifle Volunteers
SFA	Scottish Football Association
SFL	Scottish Football League
SJFA	Scottish Junior Football Association
SNP	Scottish National Party
UP	United Presbyterian Church
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

Archives

AL	Airdrie Library
BMC	Burns Monument Centre, Kilmarnock
DI	Dick Institute, Kilmarnock
DL	Dumbarton Library
GUL	Glasgow University Library, Special Collections
HTHL	Hamilton Town House Library
MHC	Motherwell Heritage Centre
ML	Mitchell Library
PCL	Pailsey Central Library
SFM	Scottish Football Museum
VLFHC	Vennel Local Family and History Centre, Irvine
WL	Watt Library, Greenock

Newspapers and periodicals

AA	<i>Airdrie Advertiser</i>
ASH	<i>Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald</i>
TB	<i>The Bailie</i>
DKH	<i>Dalry and Kilbirnie Herald</i>
DH	<i>Dumbarton Herald</i>
GO	<i>Glasgow Observer</i>
GP	<i>Govan Press</i>

<i>GT</i>	<i>Greenock Telegraph</i>
<i>HA</i>	<i>Hamilton Advertiser</i>
<i>IH</i>	<i>Irvine Herald</i>
<i>IFT</i>	<i>Irvine and Fullarton Times</i>
<i>JA</i>	<i>Johnstone Advertiser</i>
<i>KH</i>	<i>Kilmarnock Herald</i>
<i>KS</i>	<i>Kilmarnock Standard</i>
<i>MT</i>	<i>Motherwell Times</i>
<i>PDE</i>	<i>Paisley Daily Express</i>
<i>PMP</i>	<i>Partick and Maryhill Press</i>
<i>PGEO</i>	<i>Port Glasgow Express and Observer</i>
<i>StM</i>	<i>St. Marnock</i>
<i>SRSE</i>	<i>St. Rollox and Springburn Express</i>
<i>SAJ</i>	<i>Scottish Athletic Journal</i>
<i>SR</i>	<i>Scottish Referee</i>
<i>SS</i>	<i>Scottish Sport</i>
<i>SU</i>	<i>Scottish Umpire and Cycling Mercury</i>
<i>TLC</i>	<i>Third Lanark Chronicle</i>

LIST OF FIGURES IN APPENDIX

14.1	Ardrossan Seafield FC, list of matches, 1878-79	a
14.2	Trophy collection, 3 rd Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers, c. 1890	b
14.3	Placard, River Leven, Renton	c
14.4	Illustration of Alexander Wylie	d
14.5	3 rd LRV regimental ball, 6 December 1889	e
14.6	Preview, 1898 Scotland-England international, Celtic Park	f
14.7	Buckfast: ‘medicinal’ alcohol	g
14.8	A.S. Boyd’s drawing of the 1884 Glasgow Charity Cup final	h
14.9	Football in the park, c. 1890	i
14.10	Football’s roughness	j
14.11	The New Woman and her cycle	k
14.12	Feminine Football: a game with the Lady Footballers	l
14.13	Ready-Made Interviews	m
14.14	Fitba’ Chats, by Bauldy	m
14.15	The Football King Arrives!	N

1. INTRODUCTION

...the story of football's influence on the Scottish people cannot be told without reference to the small clubs, whether playing professionally in the Scottish League itself or in a variety of junior and semi-professional leagues scattered throughout the country. Their world, which includes such evocative club names as Dundonald Bluebell, Kirkintilloch Rob Roy, Irvine Meadow and Gala Fairydean, was once the lifeblood of the Scottish game, although as a new millennium beckons, players are more likely to be recruited by leading clubs from Europe, Africa and the Caribbean than from the former coal-mining regions of the country or the tenements of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee.¹

The 1879 Minute Book of Ardrossan Seafield Football Club discusses the details of an organisation whose memory has long been forgotten. At the club's 10 April 1879 general meeting, preparations were underway for an upcoming match against Saltcoats's Crescent FC.² The captain of the Ayrshire club's first eleven, Harry Flinn, proposed that members of the second eleven should stay at home, unless assisting their ground's gatekeepers in the collection of entry monies. A proposal was also made that a representative of the club speak to Mr. J. Craig, the local police commissioner, to request that a constable be present at the match. Meanwhile, a list was drawn up of those gentlemen who were to be given tickets for the game. These included W.G. Barron, Esq. of Seafield Towers, grocer R. Hogarth, shipping agent Hugh Cameron, publisher W. Guthrie, ironfounder J. Goodwin and many others.³ But the club's respectability could easily be shattered; at a committee meeting on 6 May 1879, J. Allison proposed that a fine of one penny be levied upon any member caught swearing.⁴ Of course, as a football club, this group of men occasionally spent time actually playing the sport. At the end of the minute book, a list reveals the matches played during the 1878-79 season, with their locations, results and the scorers of goals. Played against such illustrious opponents as Ardrossan Rovers, Irvine White Star, Kilwinning Monkcastle, Stevenston Ardeer, Barkip, and the aforementioned Crescent, little regard is given for the goals scored by the opposite team. While Seafield's scorers'

¹ Alan Bairner, 'Football', in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Grant Jarvie and John Burnett (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), p. 96.

² VLFHC, *Ardrossan Seafield Football Club*, 1879 Minute Book.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

names are acknowledged in the club's victories, all goal scorers on the opposite sides are given one simple appellation: 'strangers'.⁵ (See Figure 14.1 in the Appendix.)

Ardrossan Seafield, however, were only one among hundreds of association football clubs that existed in the west of Scotland during the late 1870s; and, unlike Seafield, their presence has been confirmed merely by their names alone, as they did not leave minute books with which to guide the historians of Scottish sport. Despite the popularity of football in Scotland, the overall historiography on early community football is patchy at best. The entry point for many historians, journalists and laymen into the discussion of early Scottish football has been through Celtic and Rangers, the two Glasgow clubs collectively nicknamed the 'Old Firm'. Together they have dominated the Scottish game since the late 1890s, and the academic interest is understandable, if over-saturated.⁶ The Old Firm is world-famous through the clubs' intense rivalry, fuelled by perceived ethno-religious competition between Protestant Scots and the Catholic descendants of Irish migrants. Unfortunately, the story of Rangers' and Celtic's ascent to the global consciousness has come at the expense of a more complete study of Scotland's football culture. Neil Tranter, a sport historian whose research focuses on central Scotland, laments that studies of 'atypical' sporting organisations – he cites Rangers and Glasgow's Queen's Park – have come at the expense of the 'typical' and 'mundane', distorting what modern historians know of the evolution of Victorian and Edwardian sport.⁷ This thesis is an attempt at that end, examining the popularity and the participation of association football in Scotland between 1865 and 1902, ascertaining the game's presence across the popular

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ An *incomplete* list of the academic texts on the history of the Old Firm: Bill Murray, *The Old Firm: Sectarianism, Sport, and Society in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984, 2000); Idem., *Glasgow's Giants: 100 Years of the Old Firm* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1988); Idem., *Bhoys, Bears, and Bigotry: The Old Firm in the New Age* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1998); Joseph M. Bradley, *Ethnic and Religious Identity in Scotland: Culture, politics and football* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1995); Idem., 'Football in Scotland: A History of Political and Ethnic Identity', in *International Journal of the History of Sport* 12 (1) (April 1995), pp. 81-95; Graham Walker, "'There's not a team like the Glasgow Rangers': football and religious identity in Scotland", in *Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Modern Scotland*, ed. by Graham Walker and Tom Gallagher (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp. 137-159; Idem., 'Identity Questions in Contemporary Scotland: Faith, Football and Future Prospects', *Contemporary British History* 15, (1) (Spring 2001), pp. 41-60; Gerry P.T. Finn, 'Racism, Religion and Social Prejudice: Irish Catholic Clubs, Soccer and Scottish Society – I The Historical Roots of Prejudice,' *International Journal of the History of Sport* 8 (1) (1991), pp. 70-93; Idem., 'Racism, Religion and Social Prejudice: Irish Catholic Clubs, Soccer and Scottish Society – II Social identities and conspiracy theories', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 8 (3) (1991), pp. 370-397; Idem., 'Scottish Myopia and Global Prejudices', in *Football Culture: Local Contests, Global Visions*, ed. by Gerry P.T. Finn and Richard Giulianotti (London: Frank Cass, 1999), pp. 54-99.

⁷ Neil Tranter, *Sport, economy and society in Britain, 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 96.

cultural spectrum. While this study will not be the final word on Victorian football in Scotland, it will go some way towards correcting the imbalance in present football historiography.

More importantly, this thesis is firmly rooted in a specific region of Scotland, and in that local context the game's popularity and significance will be examined. While Glasgow's footballers alone could be examined in their own right, the focus is on the entire *west of Scotland*: the city of Glasgow, and the counties of Dunbartonshire, Lanarkshire, Ayrshire and Renfrewshire – a relatively small region almost 2,500 square miles large, about 8% of Scotland's total area.⁸ Anthony Slaven states that this region did not exist as a cohesive unit until 1750, created largely through unprecedented population growth, improvements in transport, the expansion of foreign trade into world markets, agricultural reform and the creation of a machine-powered manufacturing industry.⁹ Amongst the male population who lived in and migrated to this area, by the late nineteenth century association football was one of the major cultural activities, and was partaken actively both as a participant and a spectator. This discussion of football will not revolve around charts of cup progressions, league tables, and the number of goals scored within certain seasons; but rather the origins and patronage of early clubs in the west of Scotland, with a focus on the unique culture that evolved alongside what would become Scotland's working-class pastime. Never to be lost in this discussion is the idea of locality. While some early participants of football may have been concerned with the grander cultural implications of the game being played, others looked out onto a football pitch and saw only 'strangers', ones without names or stories of their own.

This examination of football in the Victorian west of Scotland will first be accomplished by giving an overview of Scottish sport up to the late nineteenth century, and by briefly discussing the folk origins, codification and spread of the rules-based football games outside their initial bases in England and Scotland, including a brief overview of Scottish football up to the Ibrox disaster of 1902. The methodology and historiography moulding the tenor and parameters of this thesis will also be considered. Section I views the association game and its relationship with state institutions, especially the schools and the military, and the connections between football, migration and social welfare. Section II

⁸ Anthony Slaven, *The development of the west of Scotland, 1750-1960* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), pp. 1-3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

examines the relationship between football, employers and the working class, including case studies from the region's textiles and extractive industries. Section III, meanwhile, places football in the context of the outside world, examining the social and cultural environment that influenced the players, supporters and prognosticators of the game.

Early sport in Lowland Scotland

The popularity of association football in the west of Scotland was not inevitable, but there were certain precipitating factors that enabled the game, along with other codified sports, to grow in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Shorter working hours were coming into effect, particularly in the form of the Saturday half-day holiday.¹⁰ Furthermore, the search for rational recreation was taking place in earnest from the 1840s onwards. This came in several forms: not only through the temperance movement, but through grand municipal and philanthropic projects such as libraries, museums and parks dedicated to providing leisure for the masses. Meanwhile, the growth of tourism and holiday excursions, possible through the extension of the Scottish railway network during the decade, gathered pace.¹¹ Railways were crucial in fuelling the popularity of sports that already existed in the west of Scotland, allowing greater freedom of movement for participants and spectators.¹² Of the thirty-seven Scottish football league grounds in existence in 1987, twenty were within one hundred yards of a railway station.¹³

In the sporting tradition of Lowland Scotland, association football was a latecomer.¹⁴ A wide array of sports existed prior to the codified game's arrival, one of the most popular being curling. Between 1770 and 1880, the game was increasingly popular in the Lowlands, including amongst labourers, and Ayrshire's villages typically fought matches as 162-a-parish teams in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁵ Another game with considerable

¹⁰ Irene Maver, 'Leisure Time in Scotland During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', *Scottish Life and Society: A compendium of Scottish ethnology (Volume 9) – The individual and community life*, ed. by John Beech et al (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2006), pp. 182-183.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 178-181.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 183.

¹³ John Burnett, 'Sport in Scotland', in *The individual and community life*, ed. by Beech et al, pp. 232-233.

¹⁴ John Burnett has extensively documented the wide range of sports and traditional competitions that existed in Lowland Scotland in *Riot, Revelry and Rout: Sport in Lowland Scotland before 1860* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-65; David B. Smith, 'Curling', in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Jarvie and Burnett, pp. 69-86.

working-class participation was quoiting, ‘a sport in which heavy metal rings, usually weighing 8 to 12 lbs, but sometimes as heavy as 23 lbs, are thrown at a pin in the ground.’¹⁶ Tranter, who has extensively written about quoiting, states that the game’s considerable popularity plummeted when less physically gruelling recreations became available.¹⁷ Golf, meanwhile, although far more popular on the east coast of Scotland, spurred development in the Ayrshire villages of Prestwick and Troon, with Prestwick hosting the first Open Championship in 1860.¹⁸ Horse-racing had a long history in the Lowlands, and was both popular with spectators and well-patronised by the aristocracy, with the Ayr Gold Cup, initiated in 1804, one of the oldest flat races in Britain.¹⁹

Sport in Lowland Scotland, however, was not merely influenced by developments in its own neighbourhood. The Highland games, whose origins are shrouded in mystery, are believed to have had a profound influence on the character of similarly-minded Lowland games days.²⁰ Meanwhile, shinty, or *camanachd*, which shares its ancestry with the Irish hurling, was somewhat popular in the Lowlands prior to the twentieth century; and, as will be discussed, shinty clubs in Dunbartonshire played a crucial role in association football’s early days.²¹ An eighteenth century invader from south of the Border played an even greater role in assisting the association game. Cricket was significant in the fact that, as John Burnett states, it was ‘the first clear example of a sport being imported from England’.²² Around four decades before soccer was seen on its fields during the 1870s, cricket was being played on Glasgow Green.²³

¹⁶ Burnett, *Riot*, p. 35.

¹⁷ Neil Tranter, ‘Quoiting’, in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Jarvie and Burnett, pp. 193-210; Idem., ‘Organised sport and the working classes of central Scotland, 1820-1900: the neglected sport of quoiting’, in *Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain*, ed. by Richard Holt (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 45-66.

¹⁸ Olive M. Geddes, ‘Golf’, in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Jarvie and Burnett, pp. 105-127; Burnett, *Riot*, p. 203; John Strawhorn and William Boyd, *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: Ayrshire* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1951), p. 567; John Foster, *Ayrshire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), p. 170.

¹⁹ Burnett, *Riot*, pp. 101-141; Joyce Kay and Wray Vamplew, ‘Horse-Racing’, in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Jarvie and Burnett, pp. 159-173.

²⁰ Grant Jarvie, ‘Highland Games’, in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Jarvie and Burnett, pp. 128-142. Burnett, *Riot*, pp. 230-237, examines the influence of the Highland games on Lowland sport.

²¹ Hugh Dan MacLennan, ‘Shinty’, in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Jarvie and Burnett, pp. 211-228; Roger Hutchinson, *Camanachd! The Story of Shinty* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1989).

²² Burnett, *Riot*, pp. 249-256.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 252-253.

The folk football that existed in Scotland during this period belonged to a very different tradition than cricket, one that bordered on ill repute. Local games were mass-participant, low-regulation events typically linked to seasonal festivals or fairs taking place either on New Year's Day or Shrove Tuesday, known in Scotland as Fastern's E'en.²⁴ Two traditions survive to this day: Kirkwall Ba', a New Year's Day game between land workers ('uppies') and sea workers ('doonies') in Kirkwall, Orkney; and the Jedburgh Ba', a Fastern's E'en match between two sides of town (also known as 'uppies' and 'doonies') in Jedburgh, Roxburghshire.²⁵ Separate Fastern's E'en's competitions often took place for women.²⁶ In Kilmarnock, the Fastern's E'en fair historically featured 'matches at football', among other activities including 'throwing at cocks'.²⁷ Cock-fighting was 'inextricably associated' with Fastern's E'en fairs; while the practice was banned in 1850, it continued underground for many years.²⁸ Similarly, early folk football, as part of this carnival tradition, had been subject to official scrutiny and had even been banned throughout previous centuries.²⁹ But football and cock-fighting were not the only sports associated with fairs: communities along the River Irvine instituted annual foot-races for their citizens.³⁰

²⁴ Maver, 'Leisure Time', p. 177.

²⁵ John D.M. Roberston, *The Kirkwall Ba': Between the Water and the Wall* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2005). A complete examination of active folk football traditions throughout Britain is Hugh Hornby, *Uppies and Downies: The extraordinary football games of Britain* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2008).

²⁶ Jessica Macbeth, 'Women's Football in Scotland: An Interpretive Analysis' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Stirling, 2004), pp. 96-99.

²⁷ Archibald McKay, *The History of Kilmarnock* (Kilmarnock: Standard Printing Works, 1909), pp. 400-401.

²⁸ Maver, 'Leisure Time', pp. 176-178. Burnett, *Riot*, pp. 80-93, discusses fair holidays in the Lowlands, and their relationships with folk football and shinty. *Riot*, pp. 93-98 discusses the history of cock-fighting and other animal bloodsports associated with fairs in the Lowlands.

²⁹ Francis P. Magoun Jr., 'Scottish Popular Football, 1424-1815', *The American Historical Review* 37 (1) (October 1931), pp. 1-13.

³⁰ Burnett, 'Sport', p. 231.

The origins of association football

Folk football was nevertheless part of a changing world. The game, along with organised athletics, was a component of the curriculum of the English private school syndicate.³¹ The Scottish dimensions of the games ethic will be discussed in the next chapter. In England, however, schools and universities were far more integral to the fabric of the early association game's institutions. The football game played at Rugby School was immortalised in Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, which clearly articulated the moral, 'muscular Christian' ethos for the codified sports being played in Britain's schools.³² Between 1845 and 1862, pupils and staff at seven leading schools wrote separate rules for each of their versions of football.³³ In October 1862, Uppingham assistant master J.C. Thring used what he called 'the simplest game' for a match at Cambridge between two teams of eleven Etonians and Harrovians.³⁴ A year later, in October 1863, several clubs in southern England connected with public schools met to form the Football Association (FA), a body that would play 'Cambridge rules' football.³⁵ A different code of the game, however, existed in Sheffield, one going strong since the formation of Sheffield Football Club in the late 1850s. The Sheffield Football Association was duly formed in 1868. Both codes were different to Rugby rules in that opponents were prohibited from using their hands, but Sheffield rules introduced subtle innovations, such as corner kicks. A watershed in early association football took place when a London eleven met Sheffield in 1871.³⁶

If Edinburgh's 'The Football Club' was anything to go by, football had long been associated with Scotland's upper classes. Its existence was first confirmed by its presence

³¹ The battles within athletics between amateur and professional forces were amongst the most brutal within British and Scottish sport, in no small part due to athletics' private school origins. Ian Thomson, 'Athletics', in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Jarvie and Burnett, pp. 19-38; Jeremy Crump, 'Athletics', in *Sport in Britain: A Social History*, ed. by Tony Mason (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 44-77.

³² Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, ed. by Andrew Sanders (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989 [1869 text]); Tony Mason, *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915* (Brighton: The Harvester Press Ltd., 1980), p. 13; Tony Collins, 'Rereading *Tom Brown's Schooldays*' (unpublished conference paper, British Society of Sports History Conference, University of Stirling, 18 July 2009).

³³ Mason, *Association Football*, p. 14.

³⁴ James Walvin, *The People's Game: The History of Football Revisited* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1994), p. 42.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43; Mason, *Association Football*, pp. 15-16.

³⁶ Mason, *Association Football*, pp. 15-16.

in the papers of an Edinburgh law firm.³⁷ The club, established by John Hope in 1824, lasted a decade, and played a non-handling variety of the game. Tranter ‘wonders how many similar organisations in other parts of Britain are waiting to be discovered.’³⁸ The answer to this question is unknown, although Hope’s ‘Rules for Football’ were used at his Stockbridge Sports Playground in the 1850s.³⁹ As will be discussed in the next chapter, another loose form of the association game existed at Glasgow University by the early 1860s. Rugby, however, was a regular presence in Edinburgh’s schools from the 1850s onwards, and the game was slower to catch on in Glasgow’s schools. The Scottish Rugby Union was formed in 1873.⁴⁰ The only region where rugby enjoyed significant working-class support and participation was the Borders, where the codified game was introduced by migrant Yorkshire textile workers.⁴¹ Queen’s Park Football Club, which started life in 1867, was the first formal ‘association’ club to be formed in Scotland, but the game existed in Scotland before then. Queen’s Park were taught the game by a local group of youths belonging to the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA). This was by no means a finite exhibition of what is now called ‘soccer’. In early games, played between members of the club, numbers between sides varied considerably, as did the dimensions of the pitch, and draws were broken via ‘touchdowns’.⁴² Peter Bilsborough makes the connection that Queen’s Park were not just familiar with the game, but as a group of businessmen, were amongst the first association players in Scotland to have the finance and the organisational acumen needed to run a sports club.⁴³ Roy Hay cautions against the need to continually search for the exact routes of travel for football’s different codes. Codification, he states, merely superimposed itself on a series of games already embedded in indigenous traditions, and the rapid growth of the association game is explained by the fact that, in a different

³⁷ Neil Tranter, ‘The First Football Club?’, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 10 (1) (April 1993), pp. 104-107; John Hutchinson, ‘Sport, Education and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-century Edinburgh: The Emergence of Modern Forms of Football’, *Sport in History* 28 (4) (December 2008), pp. 557-559.

³⁸ Tranter, ‘First Football Club?’, p. 107.

³⁹ Hutchinson, ‘Nineteenth-century Edinburgh’, pp. 559-563. Rev. David Jamie, *John Hope: Philanthropist and Reformer* (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1900), pp. 98-99, discusses John Hope’s love for ‘football’.

⁴⁰ Allan Massie, ‘Rugby’, in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Jarvie and Burnett, pp. 248-260.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 250-253, Burnett, ‘Sport’, p. 231.

⁴² Robert A. Crampsey, *The Game for the Game’s Sake: The History of Queen’s Park Football Club* (Glasgow: The Queen’s Park Football Club Ltd., 1967), p. 7.

⁴³ Peter Bilsborough, ‘The development of sport in Glasgow, 1850-1914’ (unpublished M.Litt. thesis, University of Stirling, 1983), p. 96, p. 321.

form, the game was already present.⁴⁴ The spirit of folk football hardly died with codification.

The organisation of the early game

Queen's Park had important links with England, and the club were among the first to take part in the inaugural FA Cup tournament in 1872. The semi-final was played at Kensington Oval against Wanderers; but after a draw, the second match was scratched due to money issues, and logistical problems of replaying the tie in Glasgow (Queen's Park did not yet have a permanent ground).⁴⁵ The importance of Queen's Park's early, crucial forays into Lanarkshire and particularly Dunbartonshire will be discussed in Chapters 2 and 5. The main catalyst for the further adoption of the association code, however, took place on 30 November 1872 at the West of Scotland cricket ground on Hamilton Crescent, Partick. The occasion was the first representative football international between players representing England and Scotland, the Scotland players all being members of Queen's Park. 4,000 spectators were present, and an income of £33 was generated for the fixture.⁴⁶ Soon after the match, Queen's Park and seven other clubs met at Dewar's Temperance Hotel, Glasgow on 13 March 1873 to institute a cup competition under the auspices of the new Scottish Football Association (SFA) for the 1873-74 season.⁴⁷ This cup tournament was similar to that of the FA, itself based on a popular football club competition at Harrow.⁴⁸ Cup competitions meant something to players and supporters, sustaining interest, and replacing 'friendlies' with meaningful matches. As Bilsborough states, this included 'abolish[ing] freedom of preference in selecting fixtures.'⁴⁹ Local associations and their corresponding cup competitions were similarly arranged in Ayrshire (1877),

⁴⁴ Roy Hay, 'A Tale of Two Footballs: The Origins of Australian Rules and Association Football Revisited' (unpublished conference paper, British Society of Sports History Conference, University of Stirling, 17 July 2009).

⁴⁵ Crampsey, *Game*, pp. 13-17.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-22. An account of the match, written from an English perspective, is in Richard Sanders, *Beastly Fury: The Strange Birth of British Football* (London: Bantam Press, 2009), pp. 61-84.

⁴⁷ Hugh Keevins and Kevin McCarra, *100 Cups: The Story of the Scottish Cup* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1985), p. 7; Bilsborough, 'Sport in Glasgow', p. 187.

⁴⁸ Mason, *Association Football*, pp. 16-17.

⁴⁹ Matthew Taylor, *The Association Game: A History of British Football* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2008), p. 41-44; Bilsborough, 'Sport in Glasgow', pp. 99-100.

Renfrewshire (1878), Glasgow (association in 1883, cup in 1888), Dunbartonshire (1884) and Lanarkshire (1879).⁵⁰

But the existence of these organisations and tournaments did not accurately reflect the wider participation in the sport in the west of Scotland at this time. Associations typically played select squads from their own counties to play against other associations. Annual fixtures were taking place against England and Wales, and by the 1880s, Ireland. The participation in the game was reflected in the two-tier system of what were termed ‘senior’ and ‘junior’ football clubs. The term ‘junior’ does not refer to the age of players; rather, at the time, the age of the *club* in comparison with older organisations. The senior/ junior division still exists in Scottish football, and is different from similarly-termed football in England. Matthew Taylor refers to the Scottish appellation as meaning ‘semi-professional’.⁵¹ Conversely, when Nicholas Fishwick refers to the importance of grassroots ‘junior’ football in Edwardian England, he is referring to the age of the footballers themselves.⁵² Junior clubs represented even more highly-localised communities than the senior ones, and their proliferation ensured mass participation in the sport. The west of Scotland’s myriad junior football associations included Glasgow (created in 1884), Glasgow North East (1885), Govan and Plantation (1886), Cambuslang and District (1883), Ayr (1880), Lanarkshire (1885), Greenock and District (1882), Dumbarton (1886), Kilmarnock (1888) and a united Ayrshire Junior Association (1889).⁵³ The Scottish Junior Football Association (SJFA), the national umbrella organisation, was formally created in Glasgow in October 1886, but the local organisations were still required, simply because too many football clubs existed for the SJFA to deal with on its own.⁵⁴ Around the same time, ‘juvenile’, ‘second XI’ (reserve team) and ‘junior second XI’ football, with their accompanying organisations, also existed, creating by 1900 what

⁵⁰ John Gardiner McIlveen, *The Birth of Football in Burns Country: With a Philosophy of Football, etc.* (self-published, 1978), p. 16; John Weir, *The Boys from Leven’s Winding Shore: A History of Vale of Leven Football Club* (self-published, 1997), pp. 37-42; Bilsborough, ‘Sport in Glasgow’, pp. 187-188; John Byrne, *The Renfrewshire FA Cup – First Fifty Years* (Stuart Davidson, 1993); *Scottish Football Association Annual, 1892-93*, p. 60.

⁵¹ Taylor, *Association Game*, pp. 131-132.

⁵² Nicholas Fishwick, *English Football and Society, 1910-1950* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 1-25.

⁵³ David McGlone and Bill McLure, *The Juniors: 100 Years – A Centenary History of Scottish Junior Football* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1987), p. 25; Drew Cochrane, *The Story of Ayrshire Junior Football* (self-published, 1989), p. 9; Bilsborough, ‘Sport in Glasgow’, pp. 102-105.

⁵⁴ McGlone and McLure, *Juniors*, p. 25; Bilsborough, ‘Sport in Glasgow’, pp. 102-105.

Bilsborough refers to as a well-organised ‘pyramidal playing structure’ for the many levels of the Scottish game.⁵⁵ These junior clubs often served as recruiting grounds for the senior organisations; nevertheless, once junior footballers forsook their junior status, they were formally registered with the SFA as senior footballers, and were not permitted to return.⁵⁶ These organised classifications, however, obscured the countless matches that took place outwith the organised arena of associations or even clubs.

Nevertheless calling associations ‘organised’ can be a stretch, given the amount of inter-club and inter-organisational skulduggery that occurred before these associations honed their acts. Cup ties were often protested, either due to suspected professionalism, ‘roughness’, ‘encroachment’ on the vaguely-defined touchlines, or by rules pertaining to player registration (which typically stated that a player could not participate with other clubs in the same or related competitions, especially with regard to cup tournaments). An example of extreme disorganisation comes in the Lanarkshire Junior Cup ties of 1890-91. At the meeting of the Lanarkshire Junior FA on 31 January 1891, Haywood FC protested against Blantyre Victoria. One of Vics’ players, Thomas Carr, recently played a Charity Cup tie at Motherwell with Cambuslang Hibs against Larkhall’s Royal Albert. Victoria admitted that he played the game, but stated that the charity tie was not under the jurisdiction of any association. Haywood also stated that as Cambuslang Hibs were a senior organisation, Carr would therefore be forced to give up his junior registration.⁵⁷ While the committee agreed that the Motherwell charity ties were not under the jurisdiction of a particular organisation, they nevertheless ordered that the tie be replayed.⁵⁸

Parallel to the rise of codified sport was its commercialism, and the money involved required that participants were compensated for taking part in what was now a commercial enterprise.⁵⁹ From the early 1880s, rumours persisted in the Scottish sport press that some west of Scotland clubs were following the lead of working-class clubs in the north of England by secretly paying players, which was illegal under SFA rules. In September

⁵⁵ Bilsborough, ‘Sport in Glasgow’, pp. 104-105.

⁵⁶ *Scottish Sport*, 8 January 1896, quoted in *Drink, Religion and Scottish Football: 1873-1900*, ed. by John Weir (Renfrew: Stuart Davidson, 1992).

⁵⁷ SFM, *Lanarkshire Junior Football Association, 1887-1895 Minute Book*, 31 January 1891.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Wray Vamplew, *Pay up and play the game: Professional sport in Britain, 1875-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 51-153.

1884, the *Scottish Umpire* commented that ‘importation’ was a common practice among Glasgow clubs, chastising two South Side senior clubs, Rangers and Third Lanark, for requisitioning players from smaller local outfits.⁶⁰ The same year, Edinburgh’s Heart of Midlothian were discovered to be harbouring professionalism. The club lured two players, Maxwell and McNee, from the Busby, Renfrewshire football club Cartvale. Hearts’ secretary gave 25 shillings a week to a George Balfour, who lodged with McNee, and in turn gave the money to McNee. Once discovered, Hearts were suspended from the SFA.⁶¹ In England, professionalism was legalised in 1885, shaking the SFA to its core, and opening questions of rules and jurisdiction with regard to clubs’ membership in multiple associations. When the entry of Scottish clubs other than Queen’s Park into the FA Cup saw Queen’s Park and Partick Thistle drawn against each other in 1887, the SFA re-asserted its dominion over Scottish clubs, and barred them all from participating in the FA Cup for the following year.⁶² Meanwhile in England, the gate generated solely by cup fixtures, whose tournaments could be very one-sided, could not alone justify the paying of professional salaries. The answer, simply put, was more football. The Football League, initiated in 1888, included twelve clubs, all of which were from the north of England and the Midlands, and organised on a league system borrowed from American baseball.⁶³ The game’s rising popularity encouraged the major clubs to build even greater stadia to accommodate their supporters, most notably the state-of-the-art second Hampden Park, Queen’s Park’s ground.⁶⁴

Under the same spirit of commerce, the Scottish Football League (SFL) was created two years later by Scotland’s major clubs (Queen’s Park excepted), with another division added below it by 1893. Promotion and relegation were not merely determined by wins and losses, however, and election to the league by other members was incumbent upon a club’s sound finances.⁶⁵ Yet the equation was different in Scotland than in England; when the SFL was created, professionalism did not yet formally exist, despite the fact that in 1890

⁶⁰ *Scottish Umpire*, 25 September 1884.

⁶¹ Kevin McCarra, *Scottish Football: A Pictorial History from 1867 to the Present Day* (Glasgow: Third Eye Centre, 1984), p. 17.

⁶² Vamplew, *Pay up*, pp. 62-63, pp. 138-139.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62; Mason, *Association Football*, pp. 16-17.

⁶⁴ Peter Bilsborough, ‘The commercialisation of sport: Glasgow, 1870-1914’, *Momentum* 9 (2) (1984), p. 9.

⁶⁵ Bob Crampsey, *The First 100 Years: The Scottish Football League* (Glasgow: The Scottish Football League, 1990), pp. 1-56.

over two hundred players were examined by the SFA for irregular finances. *Scottish Sport* in 1892 claimed that one club's professional wage bill equalled £1,150.⁶⁶ The situation was untenable, and the SFA legalised professionalism in 1893, with fifty clubs immediately registering 560 professionals with the association. Within two seasons there were 936 registered professionals.⁶⁷ Many other leagues were created after the SFL, most of which were administered in concert with local football associations, some of which featured clubs that could not win election to the SFL. Other important league innovations took place in the junior game. The Scottish Junior Football League was initiated in 1892, with the local junior associations following suit and adopting their own league competitions.⁶⁸ The juniors, even at this point, were semi-professional; while many juniors found senior money too attractive to stay with their native clubs, 'amateur teams find it useless to approach most juniors, who can make more in badges, clocks, bags, etc, where they are than they could do in a senior team, unless they get good money.'⁶⁹

Participation and spectatorship

One association football club existed for every 160 males aged between fifteen and twenty-nine years old in central Scotland by 1900.⁷⁰ The sport, with its great popularity amongst the working-class, was an extension of the conviviality of the Scottish workplace, one which created exclusively male domains, such as the nineteenth-century public house.⁷¹ Participation amongst women existed to a far lesser degree, in large part due to the incredible middle-class hostility directed at women who played the game. An unofficial meeting of Scotland and England 'tens' took place on 9 May 1881 in Edinburgh, nine years after male football's first official international, and the first women's match under SFA auspices took place in 1892 at Shawfield Park, Glasgow.⁷² When the FA warned its

⁶⁶ SS, 14 October 1892, quoted in McCarra, *Scottish Football*, p. 17.

⁶⁷ Vamplew, *Pay up*, pp. 193-194.

⁶⁸ Bilsborough, 'Sport in Glasgow', p. 104.

⁶⁹ SS, 8 January 1896, quoted in Weir ed., *Drink, Religion and Scottish Football*.

⁷⁰ Neil Tranter, 'The Chronology of Organized Sport in Nineteenth-century Scotland: A Regional Study I – Patterns', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 7 (1) (May 1990), pp. 198.

⁷¹ W. Hamish Fraser, 'Developments in Leisure', in *People and Society in Scotland: Volume II, 1830-1914*, ed. by W. Hamish Fraser and R.J. Morris (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1995), pp. 240-243. I will discuss this in further detail in Chapter 10.

⁷² Macbeth, 'Women's Football', pp. 96-105.

clubs against playing charitable matches against ‘ladies’ teams’ in 1902, an equivalent dictum was handed down by the SFA.⁷³

Football statistician and Kilmarnock FC historian David Ross has studied the crowd attendance of Scotland’s most important games. At the first England-Scotland international in 1872, the crowd was considered incredible, while at the 1876 international 17,000 were present at Hampden Park. At the SFL’s institution in 1890, excellent opening day attendances included 3,400 (Heart of Midlothian vs. Rangers), 3,000 (Cambuslang vs. Vale of Leven), and 2,000 (Dumbarton vs. Cowliars).⁷⁴ Major sporting events in Glasgow between 1870 and 1914 received far more customer patronage than equivalent competitions in England.⁷⁵ By 1880, an average crowd of 10,000 was present at Glasgow’s principal football cup ties. In the 1890s, however, the numbers attending were becoming out of hand, in no small part due to the cynicism of the SFA and promoters. 40,000 attended the 1892 Scottish Cup final, played between Rangers and Celtic. After a draw, when the replay fee was doubled to two shillings, only 15,000 attended.⁷⁶ At the turn of the century, however, there was no doubt about not only which two clubs were most powerful, but which were making the most money. The intense tussles of Rangers and Celtic were growing increasingly lucrative.⁷⁷ In 1898, the two clubs rescheduled, in concert with the SFL, a replay of the New Year’s Day match – marred by a pitch invasion – for the Easter holiday, so as to attract the maximum gate money.⁷⁸ As Rangers and Celtic placed a stranglehold on football, they began to corner markets in other sports too, most notably cycling, where professionals were paid considerable sums to participate in well-attended meetings at Ibrox and Celtic Parks.⁷⁹ By 1900, an entire cottage industry of equipment, apparel and printing shops catered to the sport’s participants.⁸⁰ Despite the seemingly endless possibilities for football’s commercialisation, Wray Vamplew has

⁷³ Ibid., p. 105.

⁷⁴ David Ross, *The Roar of the Crowd: following Scottish football down the years* (Glendaruel, Argyll: Argyll Publishing, 2005), pp. 14-29.

⁷⁵ Billsborough, ‘Commercialisation’, pp. 7-13.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 10.

⁷⁷ Murray, *Old Firm*, pp. 26-45.

⁷⁸ *Scottish Referee*, 10 January 1898.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 11.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 11-13.

warned against considering early Scottish football clubs as ‘profit-maximisers’, believing ‘utility’ to be of greater value to early Scottish football clubs, many of which struggled to maintain positive balance sheets.⁸¹ Most clubs, after all, were nothing like the Old Firm.

Early in the game’s existence, association football was considered a preserve of the west of Scotland. When a combined group of Queen’s Park and Vale of Leven footballers presented an exhibition of the association game in Edinburgh in September 1873, the event was met with indifference.⁸² The *SFA Annual, 1877-78*, shows only seven clubs in the east of Scotland – six in Edinburgh, one in Fife – registered to the SFA, compared with 117 in the west of Scotland.⁸³ The first Edinburgh club to win the Scottish Cup was Hibernian in 1887, followed by Hearts in 1891 and St. Bernard’s in 1895. The watershed for Edinburgh was the 1896 final, held at Logie Green between Hearts and Hibs, the first final not to include a west of Scotland club.⁸⁴ Codified football in Dundee had its origins in the mid-1870s, and the advertisement of football kit in Dundee newspapers appeared for the first time in 1878.⁸⁵ By the time Hibs won their first Scottish Cup, association football was still a rarity altogether in Aberdeen, and it was not until the 1890s that the game flourished in the Granite City.⁸⁶

Methodology and historiography

Two primary templates for research in this thesis are the works of Tranter and Alan Metcalfe. Both Tranter’s and Metcalfe’s works on Victorian sport, in central Scotland and east Northumberland respectively, are based on research in local newspapers and other locally-based primary sources; and, as such, are a study of sport from the ground up.⁸⁷ The

⁸¹ Wray Vamplew, ‘The Economics of a sports industry: Scottish gate-money football, 1890-1914.’ *The Economic History Review* 35 (4) (November 1982), pp. 549-567.

⁸² *The Scotsman*, 29 December 1873. Hope’s contributions to football in Edinburgh will be discussed in Chapter 3.

⁸³ *SFA Annual, 1877-78*, quoted in *A Scottish Football Review of 1877/78*, ed. by Stuart Davidson (Paisley: Stuart Davidson, 2002), pp. 36-48.

⁸⁴ Keevins and McCarra, *100 Cups*, pp. 228-231.

⁸⁵ Jim Wilkie, *Across the Great Divide* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1984), pp. 11-13.

⁸⁶ Irene Maver, ‘Leisure and Culture: The Nineteenth Century’, in *Aberdeen, 1800-2000: A New History*, ed. by W. Hamish Fraser and Clive H. Lee (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), pp. 417-418.

⁸⁷ Tranter, ‘Nineteenth-century Scotland I’, pp. 188-203; Idem., ‘The Chronology of Organized Sport in Nineteenth-century Scotland: A Regional Study II – Causes’, *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 7 (2) (September 1990), pp. 365-387; Idem., ‘The Patronage of Organised Sport in Central Scotland’, *Journal*

work of Vamplew on Victorian sport's economy has also been taken into account.⁸⁸ As this thesis is primarily a discussion of the west of Scotland's unique football culture, the language of early sport must be included in any attempt to view this culture within its natural context. Most of the initial research was performed in sport-only papers of the time: *Scottish Athletic Journal*, *Scottish Umpire*, *Scottish Referee* and *Scottish Sport*. While these journals have been used in a great deal of research on early Scottish sport, their content is exhaustive, especially with regard to smaller 'senior' clubs and junior football circles. For a unique approach, the popular Glasgow dailies of the time – the *Glasgow Herald*, the *North British Daily Mail* and the *Evening Times*, as well as Edinburgh's *The Scotsman* – were viewed only in passing, and instead more time was spent on smaller, weekly Glasgow papers, such as the *St. Rollox and Springburn Express*, and well as sister publications the *Govan Press* and the *Partick and Maryhill Press*, not to mention the semi-satirical *The Bailie*. Aside from local club histories, other local newspapers in the west of Scotland have hardly been used in early academic research on football. To that end, the local libraries and heritage centres of the region were also thoroughly mined for their content; not only for newspaper accounts and discussions of football, but also any local literature on the sport, its patrons and related matters. Research in the Scottish Football Museum's archives was performed near to completion of the thesis, largely to address any gaps in evidence.

As this thesis regards a populist topic, there are elements of 'public history', in the forms of local history and 'amateur' club histories that have been incorporated into this paper.⁸⁹ As this thesis has progressed, Jeffrey Hill's challenge to integrate public history in the writing of sport history, while critically examining the 'banal nationalism' that sometimes lies behind it, has been considered.⁹⁰ Post-modern historian Douglas Booth is altogether

of Sport History, 16 (3) (Winter 1989), pp. 227-247; Idem., 'The Social and Occupational Structure of Organized Sport in Central Scotland during the Nineteenth Century', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 4 (1) (May 1987), pp. 301-314; Alan Metcalfe, 'Football in the mining communities of east Northumberland, 1882-1914', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 5 (3) (1988), pp. 269-291; Idem., *Leisure and Recreation in a Victorian Mining Community: The Social Economy of Leisure in North-East England, 1820-1914* (London: Routledge, 2006).

⁸⁸ Vamplew, *Pay up*; Idem., 'Economics', pp. 549-567.

⁸⁹ While I do not cite anything from its webpage as historical evidence, an excellent example of the thriving amateur history culture that surrounds Scottish football is the *Scottish League Website* forum, maintained by David Ross <<http://www.scottishleague.net/>> [accessed 19 August 2009]. I am grateful to Ross for allowing me to give the name of his website.

⁹⁰ Jeffrey Hill, 'Sport, History, and the Public: In Search of a Radical Perspective' (Sir Derek Birley Lecture, British Society of Sports History Conference, University of Stirling, 18 July 2009).

scathing of ‘archival fetishism’, and believes that most historians suffer from a lack of critical engagement with regard to primary source research in sport history.⁹¹ With respect to Scottish football, psychologist Gerry Finn has criticised the use of Victorian primary sources to provide an accurate picture of early Scottish football, especially as it relates to prejudice against Irish Catholics and their descendents.⁹² However, this study endorses Martin Johnes’s view that, while any primary source material reflects the bias of its authors, most reputable historians are fully aware of the risks inherent in using archival and primary source material.⁹³ It would be impossible to double back on the whole of the research to find its pure, unbiased meaning, which Johnes believes forces discussion of the method to overshadow the content itself. Any interpretation otherwise of the research would certainly enrich the discourse on the subject. Nothing in this thesis has been written with an uncritical eye; and, as even the bias inherent in primary source research enriches the discussion of football’s earlier rhetorical culture, there is no reason to fear that what follows will provide a wildly inaccurate picture of early Scottish football.

This discussion has become an all-too-important one in historiography on the Old Firm. Allen Guttman states that: ‘The debate over the alleged “sectarianism” of the Rangers and Celtic football clubs has been feud-like in its intensity.’⁹⁴ The masterwork on the Old Firm’s history is still Bill Murray’s *The Old Firm: Sectarianism, Sport and Society in Scotland*.⁹⁵ Strictly as a historical study of Rangers and Celtic, *The Old Firm*, the first edition of which was written in 1984, largely stands the test of time. It is in *interpretation*, however, where Murray’s work has gained its detractors, most notably Finn and historian Joseph Bradley. Finn’s criticisms of Murray, and vice versa, will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3. Bradley’s *Ethnic and Religious Identity in Scotland: Culture, politics and football*, meanwhile, is the closest to an alternative history of the Old Firm. Bradley believes that the intensity of the Old Firm rivalry is proof that a ‘growing ethno-religious cleavage’ exists in Scotland between Protestants and Catholics.⁹⁶ Bradley’s view towards

⁹¹ Douglas Booth, ‘Sites of Truth or Metaphors of Power? Refiguring the Archive’, *Sport in History* 26 (1) (April 2006), pp. 91-109.

⁹² Finn, ‘Racism I’, p. 73.

⁹³ Martin Johnes, ‘Archives, Truths and the Historian at Work: A Reply to Douglas Booth’s “Refiguring the Archive”’, *Sport in History* 27 (1) (March 2007), pp. 127-135.

⁹⁴ Allen Guttman, ‘Sport, Politics and the Engaged Historian’, *Journal of Contemporary History* 38 (3) (July 2003), p. 369.

⁹⁵ Murray, *Old Firm*.

⁹⁶ Bradley, *Ethnic*, p. xi, pp. 1-8.

this division is achieved through a survey taken amongst those attending football grounds, Church of Scotland and Roman Catholic churches, Orange Order lodges, Irish organisations and other groups during the mid-1990s.⁹⁷ Bradley's methodology, however, has been condemned by sociologist Steve Bruce for seeking a heavily polarised sample that is unrepresentative of mainstream Scottish society.⁹⁸ Furthermore, as Bradley's book has a significant historical bent, there is a distinct lack of primary source material prior to 1950, even in one case attributing a clarification by Murray – towards explaining a racist, anti-Irish cartoon that appeared in *Scottish Referee* in February 1905 – to the *Referee* itself.⁹⁹

Burnett expresses dismay that sectarianism is the over-arching theme in the majority of Scottish football historiography, stating acerbically that: 'The emphasis of existing publications is on sectarianism and football, and on sport and national identity. But supporters have views on other things, such as home life, the weather, shopping, and other supporters.'¹⁰⁰ With that in mind, one of the inspirations for this thesis is independent researcher John Weir. Weir's 1991 edited collection of primary sources and his own essays, *Drink, Religion and Scottish Football*, is a starting point for any researcher who wishes to learn about Victorian football's more mundane topics, like class, alcohol, sex, SFA financing and the actual role of the clergy in promoting or discouraging football.¹⁰¹ Weir is also responsible for writing histories of two long-defunct football clubs: Vale of Leven and Cowliars.¹⁰² Studying the lives of players and supporters is integral to understanding the crucible in which early Scottish football was forged; but, aside from Weir's enlightening research, there is a significant gap in research on grassroots football in the Victorian west of Scotland.

⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 203-209.

⁹⁸ At the time of the survey's taking, 14% of Scots regularly attended church, while only 2% regularly attended football matches. Steve Bruce, Review, *Contemporary Sociology* 25 (4) (July 1996), pp. 551-552.

⁹⁹ Murray, *Old Firm*, p. 87, subtitled the cartoon 'Apes and Aryans'. Bradley, *Ethnic*, p. 193, attributes the quote to the *Referee* itself, without mentioning Murray's book. The same mistake is made in Bradley, 'Football in Scotland', p. 92. Murray discusses the incident in *Bhoys*, p. 265. The cartoons will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter 14.

¹⁰⁰ Burnett, 'Sport', p. 237.

¹⁰¹ Weir ed., *Drink, Religion and Scottish Football*.

¹⁰² Weir, *Boys*; Idem., *A History of Cowliars Football Club: 1876-1896* (Renfrew: SNLR [Stuart Davidson], 1990).

One of the most prolific popular sources on early Scottish football is the late Bob Crampsey, Queen's Park footballer and broadcaster, his best work being his 1990 history of the SFL.¹⁰³ Given the amount of scholarly and popular work that has been written on Scottish football, however, the historiography of the Victorian game north of the Border has no equivalent for Tony Mason's *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915*, written almost thirty years ago.¹⁰⁴ Mike Huggins's *The Victorians and Sport* successfully captures the breadth of the Victorian sporting culture, while integrating discussions of Scotland, Wales and Ireland into 'British' sport. Once again, no equivalent exists solely for Scotland. However, Huggins admits that discussing Scotland in the context of Britain poses certain unique issues, stating that: 'It is difficult to describe succinctly the complexities of Scottish identity, with its regional and historical tensions, and social culture and regional diversity.'¹⁰⁵ Richard Holt believes that in Scotland, far more so than in England: "'Fitba" was the working-man's game. Devotion to it was more complete and more passionate than anywhere else in the English-speaking world.'¹⁰⁶ Taylor, on the other hand, considers the 'British' conundrum when discussing whether to include the sporting histories of Scotland, Wales and Ireland into a greater British model.¹⁰⁷ Alan Bairner believes that Scottish football's independence from English football has played a pivotal role in maintaining Scotland's distinctiveness as a nation, almost as much as its religious, educational and legal institutions.¹⁰⁸ The national, 'nationalist' dimension has become an understandably important one in Scottish sport historiography, especially in the lead-up to the re-convening of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, and the historic election of a minority Scottish National Party (SNP) government in 2007.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, the search for deeper meanings in sport north of the Border has led some occasional exaggeration. Historian and SNP Member of Scottish Parliament (MSP) Christopher

¹⁰³ Crampsey, *Game*; Idem., *First 100 Years*; Idem., *The Scottish Footballer* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1978); Idem., 'Sport and "King Football": Professionalism and "Industrialisation"', in *Changing Identities, Ancient Roots: the history of West Dunbartonshire from earliest times*, ed. by Ian Brown (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), pp. 182-202; Matt Vallance, 'Obituary: Bob Crampsey', *The Herald*, 29 July 2008.

¹⁰⁴ Mason, *Association Football*.

¹⁰⁵ Mike Huggins, *The Victorians and Sport* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), p. 214.

¹⁰⁶ Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 254-255.

¹⁰⁷ Taylor, *Association Game*, pp. 11-13.

¹⁰⁸ Bairner, 'Football', pp. 88-90; Idem., 'Football and the Idea of Scotland', in *Scottish Sport in the Making of the Nation: Ninety Minute Patriots?*, ed. by Grant Jarvie and Graham Walker (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1994), pp. 9-12.

¹⁰⁹ A review of historiography on the topic leading up to 1999 is in G. Jarvie and I.A. Reed, 'Sport, Nationalism and Culture in Scotland', *Sports Historian* 19 (1) (May 1999), pp. 97-124.

Harvie, along with fellow historian Peter Jones, refer to the 1886 Queen's Park-Preston North End riot at Hampden as being a major 'cultural influence' on early Scottish nationalism. Perhaps so, but not in the way worded by Harvie and Jones:

Following a fracas in October 1886 at a football match at Hampden Park between Preston North End and Queen's Park – a cup tie, conducted under the auspices of the Football Association (FA) – differences between the FA and its junior organisation, the Scottish Football Association (SFA) came to a head and the SFA disaffiliated itself.¹¹⁰

While as an FA Cup tie in Scotland this incident was certainly under the SFA's scrutiny, the fight was over *jurisdiction*. The SFA was the junior of the FA only in age, not in *stature*, and the two were never 'affiliated' – they were *equals*. The SFA was re-asserting its own national sovereignty, *not* declaring independence from England when they already had it in the first place. In any event, while much can be said about football's importance to Scotland, there are still dangers in drawing conclusions that are too far-reaching. Sectarianism and nationalism *are* important subtextual elements of Scottish sport, but they are not the only ones. Further discussions of historiography will be conducted throughout this thesis.

¹¹⁰ Christopher Harvie and Peter Jones, *The Road to Home Rule: Images of Scotland's Cause* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2000), p. 25.

I: FOOTBALL AND INSTITUTIONS

2. FOOTBALL AND THE INSTITUTIONS OF ORDER

Association football arrived via routes of the old British and Scottish establishment. These institutions of order – the schools, the military and the church – promoted ideals and practices for good citizenship and fitness in the British Empire. While these institutions were often ancient in their origin, their obsession during Victorian times was thoroughly modern: to reconceptualise respectable British culture in an industrial and imperial setting. Churches and their contribution to the association game will be discussed in the next chapter. Within the schools and the military, central to this recalibration was the presence of athletic sports, in what J.A. Mangan, when referring to schooling, terms as the ‘games ethic’. The ‘educational, social and moral connotations’ present in sport were crucial to the development of a ‘*British* middle-class cultural identity’ (Mangan’s emphasis) rather than merely a Scottish one.¹ Sport was not merely a recreational activity, but was also a means of preparing for the Empire’s defence. It is easy to assume that if elite educators and clergymen used sport for its social qualities, then the military used it for its physical properties. However, the different branches of the establishment were not mutually exclusive, and understood throughout both was a unified idea of the Anglo-Saxon, Protestant order.

The origins of school sport in Scotland

Mangan states that the educational system of the British Isles was crucial to the inculcation of respectable cultural ideals in a growing British bourgeoisie.² He believes the propagation of an athletic regimen at schools signalled a change with burgeoning middle-class interest in crashing the old private school system, beginning largely in the 1840s.³ Bilsborough, meanwhile, believes that the aspiring Scottish middle class was overwhelmingly dissatisfied with the quality of education in burgh schools, wanting instead a guaranteed route of social mobility that would be available only through private

¹ J.A. Mangan, ‘Missionaries to the Middle Classes’, in *Scottish Life and Society: a compendium of Scottish ethnology (Volume 11) – Institutions of Scotland: Education*, ed. by Heather Holmes (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), p. 416.

² While Mangan’s work consistently examines the phenomenon of school athletics, the work which best exemplifies this train of thought is J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian public school: the emergence and consolidation of an educational ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981). For a shorter, more Scottish-orientated synopsis, see Idem., ‘Missionaries’.

³ Mangan, *Athleticism*, pp. 13-14.

schooling.⁴ These developments occurred parallel to the 1862 Clarendon Commission for the reform of private schooling, largely brought about by Evangelical revivalist criticism of such institutions, whereby new ideologies were introduced into the curricula of these schools.⁵

One of the most important Scottish educational reformers of this time was Hely Hutchinson Almond, the Oxbridge-educated headmaster of the Loretto School in Musselburgh, near Edinburgh, who purchased the school in 1862. Almond initiated a programme of what he called 'Lorettonianism', an amalgam of English private school ideas on games, coupled with a profound anti-intellectualism that criticised the complacency of the middle class.⁶ The English schools' love of codified sport was based on a belief that games could be used as a tool not only for education, but also character training, as well as to inculcate 'the ability to both command and obey'.⁷ In Almond's mind, such physical preparation had a worldlier end. Almond was, as Mangan states, 'a passionate imperialist' who fostered drill and quasi-military physical exercise for a life serving the British Empire.⁸ 'I do not think there can be any doubt', Almond once stated, 'that an army of football-players, hunting-men, and deer-stalkers would beat an army of *literati*, mathematicians, and philosophers out on the field.'⁹ And indeed, Loretto's enthusiastic graduates were well-connected for 'a shrewd and pragmatic approach to imperial employment.'¹⁰ Robert Anderson believes that the efforts of Almond and other like-minded reformers were crucial in instilling a clubbish solidarity in Scottish secondary schools, giving the schools a more 'corporate' framework hitherto lacking in the early nineteenth century.¹¹

⁴ Peter Bilsborough, 'School sport for Boys in Glasgow, 1866-1914', *Physical Education Review* 11 (2) (1988), p. 97.

⁵ Mangan, 'Missionaries', p. 416.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 416-420.

⁷ Mangan, *Athleticism*, p. 9.

⁸ Mangan, 'Missionaries', pp. 419-420.

⁹ Quoted in Robert Jameson Mackenzie, *Almond of Loretto: Being the life and a selection from the letters of Hely Hutchinson Almond* (London: Archibald Constable and Co., 1905), p. 274.

¹⁰ Mangan, 'Missionaries', p. 420.

¹¹ Robert Anderson, 'Secondary schools and Scottish society in the Nineteenth Century', *Past and Present* 109 (November 1985), pp. 195-198.

But even before the arrival of Almond at Loretto, rectors and headmasters in Scotland were beginning to see the value of school sport. Land for a cricket pitch, with the intention of fielding an academy team, was purchased by Edinburgh Academy rector Rev. Dr. John Hannah in 1853; while Merchiston Castle and Royal High School, two Edinburgh private schools, were engaging in regular rugby matches by 1857. Glasgow was somewhat behind, with Glasgow Academy leasing land in Burnbank, Kelvinbridge for sport in 1866 (although several Old Boys asked for permission to use the Academy gymnasium to form a sporting club in 1861).¹² Kelvinside Academy, which opened in September 1878, did not institute an Academicals' club until February 1884, and even then struggled for years, briefly discussing amalgamation of their Academicals' club with Glasgow Academy.¹³ This was not for lack of practitioners in Glasgow: Dr. Donald Morrison, rector at Glasgow Academy from 1861 to 1898, was a firm believer in the gospel of team sports.¹⁴ Later, during the 1890s, John Guthrie Kerr assumed the headmastership at Allan Glen's, a trade school in Glasgow, and pushed a heavily Almond-inspired games and drill curriculum. Other principal figures included Bingham Turner at Kelvinside Academy, H.J. Simpson at Glasgow High School, and Edwin Temple, who succeeded Morrison as rector of Glasgow Academy in 1899.¹⁵ Glasgow Academy adopted rugby and cricket into their programme through 'former pupils' clubs' (FP) which Anderson states was the most common body of organised sport clubs amongst Scotland's private schools, largely as a means of keeping the clubs self-sufficient, distanced from the school authorities themselves.¹⁶ Bilsborough states that: 'By the late [1860s] all the Scottish private boarding schools had introduced games and there was a flourishing network of inter-school competition.'¹⁷

Scottish universities similarly introduced amateur sports into their curriculum, most notably rugby, cricket and athletics. One of the major proponents of games at Glasgow

¹² Bilsborough, 'School Sport', p. 97; Sir Tennant Sloan, 'The Glasgow Academical Club', in *The Glasgow Academy: The First Hundred Years*, ed. by Anon. (Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1946), p. 160.

¹³ Sloan, 'The Glasgow Academical Club', p. 160; D.M. Low, *Kelvinside Academy, 1878-1928: Some memories of the first fifty years* (Glasgow: William Hodge & Co., 1928), pp. 20-21.

¹⁴ Bilsborough, 'School Sport', p. 101.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101; Anderson, 'Secondary schools', p. 197; J.A. Mangan, 'Catalyst of Change: John Guthrie Kerr and the Adaptation of an Indigenous Scottish Tradition', in *Pleasure, profit, proselytism: British culture and sport at home and abroad, 1700-1914*, ed. by J.A. Mangan (London: Frank Cass, 1988), pp. 86-104.

¹⁶ Anderson, 'Secondary schools', pp. 197-198.

¹⁷ Bilsborough, 'School Sport', p. 97.

University was George Ramsay, professor of Latin at the university from 1861 to 1906. Ramsay was a Rugby School graduate who had been a cricketer, and he encouraged games at the university.¹⁸ Association football, however, was in short supply at these gatherings. Anderson theorises, at least in the case of university sports, that football's presence at the schools was hampered by its working-class associations.¹⁹ While Almond himself believed the University of Glasgow to have little sporting tradition, a genteel, loosely-organised variant of the 'dribbling' game was played at the institution as early as 1862.²⁰ A formal association club was founded at the university in 1877, one which competed with little success in the Scottish Cup. The team failed in their attempts to obtain fair use of the university's Recreation Ground due to an inequitable sharing allotted by the University Senate in 1879, despite a membership of 75, larger than the rugby club at the time. Due to this arrangement, the football club chose not to participate in the 1881 formation of the Glasgow University Athletic Club, not being able to field a permanent standing club until 1895, when a popular campaign from students ensured its revival.²¹ Billsborough states that Glasgow's schools did not formally institute a football league competition until 1904, putting it almost level to the development of cricket in the city's schools.²²

Kilmarnock Academy, cricket and football

Further afield from Glasgow, football's popularity amongst students and educators was less in doubt. An example rests in one of Scotland's oldest clubs. Kilmarnock Football Club was formed in October 1868, largely through the enterprise of nineteen-year-old John Wallace, player and secretary for Kilmarnock Shaw Cricket Club. He saw the switch to 'football' as being a winter activity not only for his cricket team, but also for his fellow pupils of Kilmarnock Academy. Wallace was an intriguing character who exemplified the cultured air of school football. Along with his background as a cricketer, he was also the secretary of a local chapter of the Young Men's Literary Association, and eventually

¹⁸ R.D. Anderson, 'Sport in the Scottish Universities, 1860-1939', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 4 (1) (1987), pp. 176-179.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

²⁰ Hutchinson, 'Nineteenth-century Edinburgh', pp. 549-550.

²¹ Donald J. Fergusson, *The History of Glasgow University Football Club 1877-1895-1995* (Glasgow: Glasgow University Football Club, 1995), pp. 1-5.

²² Billsborough, 'School Sport', p. 102.

played an important role in the formation of Ayrshire football.²³ The code played by this particular ‘football’ team was a variant on rugby, which included the association rule that ‘goals’ could be scored only through kicking. Kilmarnock’s ground, at the time of writing, is still known by the unusually generic name ‘Rugby Park’.²⁴ Billsborough believes that the discourse between Scottish schools contributed to the ultimate codification of popular sports such as football, rugby and cricket, allowing for ‘the development of certain desirable values which constituted the amateur ideal’ amongst schools that participated in codified sport.²⁵

Kilmarnock Academy was undergoing changes in the 1860s. The school, founded in 1807, was controlled largely by the Established Church of Scotland until 1861, when links with the Kirk were loosened somewhat. These links were wholly dissolved by the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, which saw the creation and election of the Kilmarnock School Board the following year. During the 1860s, the school instituted a modern curriculum, including science and art classes to accompany the English language and classics courses that had long existed at the school.²⁶ Sport was encouraged by certain teachers at Kilmarnock Academy, and J.F.T. Thomson states that although the school’s rector kept games at arm’s length, Kilmarnock FC was initially formed from a circle excluding anyone outside of Kilmarnock Academy pupils and former pupils.²⁷ They played their earliest games of ‘football’ on Barbadoes Green (now Howard Park) before obtaining Rugby Park. Between December 1872 and March 1873, correspondence took place between Queen’s Park and Kilmarnock, as the Glasgow club attempted to meet Kilmarnock for a strictly association game. Inside this invitation was an incentive: a £1 subscription for Kilmarnock’s participation in a national trophy, which became the catalyst for Kilmarnock to enter the competition and become a founding participant of the Scottish Cup in the 1873-74 season. Their first Scottish Cup tie took place at Hampden on 18 October 1873 against Renton, with the Dunbartonshire team winning by two goals. An account in the

²³ David Ross, *Killie: The Official History – 125 Years of Kilmarnock F.C.* (Harefield, Middx.: Yore Publications, 1994), p. 12.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁵ Billsborough, ‘School Sport’, p. 102.

²⁶ James A. Mackay, *Kilmarnock: A history of the Burgh of Kilmarnock and of Kilmarnock & Loudoun District* (Darvel, Ayrshire: Alloway Publishing, 1992), pp. 92-97; McKay, *Kilmarnock*, pp. 159-163. For a discussion of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, see Walter M. Humes, ‘State: The Governance of Scottish Education, 1872-2000’, in *Education*, ed. by Holmes, pp. 84-91.

²⁷ J.F.T. Thomson, *‘More than a game’: Kilmarnock Rugby Football Club – a centenary history* (Kilmarnock: Smith Brothers, 1973).

Glasgow News stated that ‘Killie’ only played with ten men, and were consistently penalised for handling the ball.²⁸ When the switch to association football became permanent, the requisition a new ground was largely due to an inter-organisational favour. In 1876, Killie moved to Holm Quarry, the private ground of Kilmarnock Cricket Club, whose club secretary, James Dickie, was also a committee member of Kilmarnock FC.²⁹

Amalgamation did not formally occur between the two clubs, however, and by 1877 the cricketers were keen to exploit football’s exploding popularity in Kilmarnock. Kilmarnock CC exacted a far higher rent from the footballers for their use of Holm Quarry, precipitating the football club’s eviction later in the year.³⁰ Burnett states that cricket in Scotland’s central belt was ‘initially dominated by men who had learned the game in the public school’; and, as cricket’s working-class popularity collapsed with the rise of football, the game remained a province of the elites.³¹ The most successful Kilmarnock cricket club in the later Victorian era was, in fact, the fourteenth Earl of Eglinton’s personal XI, a side comprised largely of English professionals. Their great rivals were Kilmarnock CC, far from a working-class group in their own right (although not able to defeat the Earl’s club until 1898).³² The *Scottish Athletic Journal* noted in March 1882 that ‘there is a sort of aristocratic tinge about [Kilmarnock CC’s] present members that decidedly keeps the working class aloof, and were this less glaring, there would be a large addition to the membership.’³³ Fifteen years later, the *Scottish Referee* noted that: ‘It is not every club can boast of having as office-bearers, a Duke, two divines, two real Bailies, and a host of “lawyer buddies,” yet such is the case with the Kilmarnock [Cricket] Club.’³⁴

The split of the football and cricket factions of Kilmarnock FC therefore had no shortage of class symbolism attached to it. Kilmarnock Athletic, as the Kilmarnock Cricket and Football Club eventually became known, was now the toast of a different crowd to that of Kilmarnock FC. In September 1882, the *Scottish Athletic Journal* noted that Kilmarnock

²⁸ Quoted in Ross, *Killie*, p. 13.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-16.

³⁰ Ross, *Killie*, pp. 15-17; Hugh Taylor, ‘Go, Fame...’: *The Story of Kilmarnock Football Club* (Kilmarnock: Kilmarnock Football Club, 1969), pp. 14-17.

³¹ John Burnett, ‘Cricket’, in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Jarvie and Burnett, pp. 55-60.

³² Mackay, *Kilmarnock*, p. 143.

³³ *Scottish Athletic Journal*, 9 March 1883.

³⁴ *SR*, 15 April 1895.

Athletic were then ‘the hope and pride of a large and influential circle of friends’.³⁵ No such comment was made of Kilmarnock FC, in an era when middle and upper-class clubs were always noted as such by the press. By 1888, the *Kilmarnock Herald*, a local paper highly sympathetic towards Kilmarnock Athletic, was referring to Kilmarnock FC as a club of ‘miners.’³⁶ One region where cricket *did* have strong artisan support was Renfrewshire, particularly around Barrhead and Paisley. In 1874, Barrhead’s Arthurlie FC was established from what club historian John Byrne believes was a cricket club.³⁷ Meanwhile, in nearby Paisley, St. Mirren FC and its rugby section were created in 1877 from a cricket club formed two years earlier.³⁸ Irene Maver states that cricket in Paisley, along with bowling and lawn tennis, was heavily patronised by the J. & P. Coats Ferguslie Threadworks in the 1880s, with Ferguslie CC surviving at the time of writing.³⁹

Ayr and Hamilton Academies

Similar developments in school sport were occurring further south. Ayr Academy, in 1868, was noted by observers as having not only high attendance fees, but also ‘a genuine middle class population’; 50% of its attendees the ‘children of shopkeepers and clerks.’⁴⁰ As with Kilmarnock, changes were afoot at the Academy during this time. The Academy, unusually for a Christian institution dating back to 1233, was placed under burghal control as early as the eighteenth century, and its move into the hands of the Ayr School Board in 1873 was accomplished smoothly. James MacDonald, an educational reformer from Elgin, assumed the rectorship of the Academy in 1862. MacDonald’s task was to streamline the organisationally-shambolic Academy, and he did so not only by introducing a ‘modern-style’ timetable, but through introducing extra-curricular sport into the Academy’s

³⁵ *SAJ*, 15 September 1882.

³⁶ *Kilmarnock Herald*, 14 March 1888.

³⁷ John Byrne, *A Game of Two Halves: A History of Arthurlie Football Club 1874-1994* (self-published, 1994), p. 9. I am grateful to Byrne for lending me his copy of the book.

³⁸ Jack Paterson and Bob McPherson with Brian Wright, *Marching On...: 125 Years of the St. Mirren Football Club, 1877- 2002* (Paisley: The St. Mirren Football Club, 2005), pp. 9-12.

³⁹ Irene Maver, ‘The Social and Associational Life of the Scottish Workplace’, in *Scottish Life and Society: A compendium of Scottish ethnology (Volume 7) – The working life of the Scots*, ed. by Mark Mulhern, John Beech and Elaine Thompson (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2008), p. 515.

⁴⁰ John Strawhorn, *750 years of a Scottish school: Ayr Academy, 1233-1983* (Ayr: Alloway, 1983), p. 49.

programme.⁴¹ Cricket appeared at Ayr Academy by the 1860s, having a great deal of support in the town from the five adult and three juvenile clubs in the area.⁴²

Meanwhile, Ayr Academy FC was formed in 1872; and, as befitted the chaotic structure of early association football, the club was unsure about which code of football to adopt.⁴³

Strawhorn gives the example of one of Ayr Academy's first matches against Irvine Academy, whereby Irvine defeated Ayr 2-1 in an apparent association game.⁴⁴

Furthermore, rugby had long been associated with the school, with a rugby XV formally instituted by 1874. Nevertheless, Ayr Academy entered into the first Ayrshire Football Association Cup in 1877.⁴⁵ Three future Scotland internationalists: John Smith, W.W. Beveridge and David Allan, were pupils of Ayr Academy.⁴⁶ The contributions of Allan and (especially) Beveridge to football will be discussed later, but Smith's career is instructive in its own right. A native of Mauchline, Ayrshire, he is credited with introducing association football to the rugby-dominated Edinburgh University.⁴⁷

Significantly, the first soccer club at Edinburgh University, started in 1878, was based around students from Ayr Academy.⁴⁸ Smith also later played for Queen's Park, Corinthians and London Swifts before setting up a successful medical practice in Kirkcaldy.⁴⁹ Meanwhile, Ayr Academy pupils established themselves as the major power in Ayr football, first absorbing the struggling Ayr Eglinton in 1876 under the banner Ayr Academicals, then merging with their local derby rivals Ayr Thistle in 1879 to create the formidable Ayr FC.⁵⁰ The success of Ayr Academicals on the football pitch spurred the development of Ayr Academy's first Sports Day, held at Springvale Park in 1877,

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 46.

⁴² Ibid., p. 69.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 69-70.

⁴⁴ John Strawhorn, *The History of Irvine: Royal Burgh and New Town* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985), p. 158.

⁴⁵ Strawhorn, *750 years*, p. 71.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 71.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 71.

⁴⁸ Anderson, 'Sport in the Scottish Universities', p. 180.

⁴⁹ Richard Robinson, *History of the Queen's Park Football Club, 1867-1917* (Glasgow: Hay, Nisbet & Co., 1920), pp. 422-423.

⁵⁰ Duncan Carmichael, *The Official History of Ayr United Football Club — Volume 1: 1876-1939* (Ayr: Ayr United Football & Athletic Club, 1990), pp. 1-9.

featuring senior and former pupils. By 1880, Sports Days became regular occurrences, and by 1897 Ayr Academy began giving regular instructions in gymnastics.⁵¹

Another major educational institution important in the formation of football in the west of Scotland was Hamilton Academy. Queen's Park's first formal opponents were a club known as Hamilton Gymnasium, who played two matches – one home and one away – against the Glasgow gentry in 1869, losing both games.⁵² The name 'gymnasium' itself implies educational origins, and it was journalist Richard Robinson's belief that the club was loosely linked to Hamilton Academy.⁵³ Hamilton Academicals Football and Cricket Club was later founded by the rector of the Academy, James Blacklock, in 1873, and was comprised solely of pupils and former pupils of the Academy. The club played its first competitive match against the closely-related second eleven of Hamilton FC in December 1874.⁵⁴ Blacklock, trained at the Normal College of the Established Church of Scotland, assumed the rectorship in 1863, when the Academy was at a low ebb in its history, and tied to a programme related to the teachings of the Kirk. In 1868, Latin and English were still the only compulsory subjects, although the standardisation of curriculum came with the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act. Hamilton Academy, like Ayr Academy, was a middle-class institution. In 1866, the school had 252 scholars, 'mostly from shopkeeping, trading and farming classes, and mostly living within 4 miles of the school'.⁵⁵

Old boys' football in Glasgow

While Kilmarnock, Ayr and Hamilton Academies may have been more sympathetic to codified sport than their Glasgow counterparts, educational backgrounds were nevertheless crucial to football's development in the city. Though not formally associated with any

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 4-5, Strawhorn, *750 years*, p. 71.

⁵² Crampsey, *Game*, p. 9; Peter McLeish, *Hamilton Academical Football Club: A History* (unpublished), p. 1. I am grateful to Hamilton Academical FC secretary Scott Struthers for providing me with this club history.

⁵³ Robinson, *Queen's Park*, p. 34.

⁵⁴ McLeish, *Hamilton Academical*, pp. 1-2; Charles F. Barral, "*To the common weal of the burgh*": *The history of Hamilton Academy since 1452* (Glasgow: Jordanhill College of Education, 1973); Sandra Merry, 'Sport in Hamilton,' in William Wallace ed., *Hamilton 1475-1975* (Hamilton: Committee, Burgh of Hamilton Quincentenary, 1975), p. 74. Merry states that the club was founded in 1873, but McLeish states that the club's first match was on 12 December 1874 against Hamilton FC's second eleven. McLeish states several of the names that appear on Hamilton's team sheet in the local papers 'reappear when the Academicals come on the scene.'

⁵⁵ Barral, "*Common weal*"; Anon., *Hamilton Academy 1588-1950* (Kilmarnock: Standard Printing Works, 1950).

specific school or university, Queen's Park were heavily indebted to the education system for their amateur ethos, as well as their composition. Robinson, in his 1920 club history, described the alliance between Queen's Park and London's Corinthians FC. This was not merely a meeting of 'kindred spirits... with the same principles and purpose as its own' against professionalism; it was one drafted into Corinthians' informal rulebook:

While no rule existed on the subject, the Corinthians had an unwritten law, requiring a public school or university qualification for their members. There have been exceptions to this rule, but not many. The best men of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, and the great public schools, together with the highest amateur talent of any nationality, formed a collective assembly of football talent...⁵⁶

Queen's Park shared a number of players with Corinthians, including Walter Arnott, Charles Campbell, William Sellar, Andrew Watson, and the aforementioned John Smith and David Allan.⁵⁷ Hampden Park, meanwhile, accommodated academic football matches. Glasgow University FC secretary W.W. Beveridge requested matches with both Cambridge and Oxford at Hampden Park in December 1878, with Queen's Park allowing a match against the latter.⁵⁸ Smith, Allan and Beveridge, not long after their days at Ayr Academy, were members of a very select elite in British sport, one which was exclusive, almost familial, in its composition.

Other clubs had more direct links to academic institutions. Glasgow Deaf Football Club was formed in 1871, one year before Rangers. The club were originally known as Glasgow Deaf and Dumb FC, and were founded at the Glasgow Deaf and Dumb Institute (Langside College at the time of writing) in close proximity to Queen's Park. Glasgow DFC were leading advocates of deaf football, encouraging other former pupils' clubs at other British deaf schools to partake in football.⁵⁹ The writer of the *SFA Annual, 1880-81*, one of the original Queen's Park team, stated that the students at the Deaf and Dumb Institute taught Queen's Park how to use their hands to communicate on the pitch.⁶⁰ Pollokshields Athletic, another club close in proximity and social network to Queen's Park, were noted for their rarefied backgrounds. When the club was first organised in 1877,

⁵⁶ Robinson, *Queen's Park*, pp. 233-234.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 120-124.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 420.

⁵⁹ Martin Atherton, David Russell and Graham Turner, 'Playing to the flag: a history of deaf football and deaf footballers in Britain', *Sports Historian* 19 (1) (1999), pp. 43-45.

⁶⁰ John Rafferty, *One Hundred Years of Scottish Football* (London: Pan Books, 1973), p. 11.

their members were ‘scholars’ at Pollokshields Academy.⁶¹ The ‘athletic’ prowess of the club was noted by Shields’s aptitude for tennis. At one particular match between Pollokshields Athletic against Vale of Leven in 1884, an after-match game of tennis took place, with Shields’s Forbes and Macpherson on opposite teams paired up with Brown and Lawson from the Vale.⁶² After a first-round Scottish Cup defeat by the juvenile St. Andrew’s in August 1886, the *Scottish Athletic Journal* mocked Pollokshields Athletic, hinting they should stick to tennis.⁶³ The club played on the ground of Hags Castle, built in 1585 to house the Earls of Pollok and later the Stirling-Maxwell Baronets.⁶⁴ Sir John Stirling Maxwell, the tenth Baronet, was a Conservative MP who represented the College Division of Glasgow from 1895 to 1906.⁶⁵ In 1895, Stirling Maxwell was cited by the *Scottish Referee* as an example of an MP closely associated with football (along with Alexander Wylie and Peter Denny, who will be discussed in the next section).⁶⁶ When fullback Walter Arnott – who Crampsey believes was popular enough to be ‘the first Scottish player to enjoy cult status’ – joined Queen’s Park from Pollokshields Athletic in 1882, his academic pedigree, and his connections to Glasgow high society, certainly assisted him in being welcomed into the club.⁶⁷

Queen’s Park’s close neighbours and relatives, Battlefield FC, were no different. As late as 1895, when professionalism had largely taken its toll on the struggling club, Battlefield still enjoyed ‘a good reputation... in the provinces’ for their *savoir-faire*:

⁶¹ *SU*, 28 August 1884.

⁶² *SU*, 2 October 1884.

⁶³ *SAJ*, 28 August 1886.

⁶⁴ Hags Castle (Sp. Coll. Dougan Add. 73, University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections), *The Glasgow Story* <<http://www.theglasgowstory.com/image.php?inum=TGSB00283>> [accessed 27 May 2009]; Hags Castle (Glasgow City Archives, Photographic Series [P1953]), *The Glasgow Story* <<http://www.theglasgowstory.com/image.php?inum=TGSA01513>> [accessed 27 May 2009].

⁶⁵ George Eyre-Todd, *Who’s Who in Glasgow in 1909: A biographical dictionary of nearly five hundred living Glasgow citizens and notable citizens who have died since 1st January, 1907* (Glasgow: Gowans & Gray, 1909) <<http://gdl.cdlr.strath.ac.uk/eyrwho/eyrwho1253.htm>> [accessed 27 May 2009]; Biography of Sir John Stirling Maxwell of Keir, *The University of Glasgow Story* <<http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH0132&type=P>> [accessed 27 May 2009].

⁶⁶ *SR*, 26 July 1895. Stirling Maxwell’s interest in football did not wane with time. He later provided a field from his estate (named Hags Park) to the young Pollokshaws Working Lads (later Pollok) F.C. in 1908. The club subsequently adopted his colours and family crest onto their uniforms. Chris Paterson, ‘Pollok F.C.’, in *Scottish Non League Football Histories: Volume 1*, ed. by Stuart Davidson (Renfrew: SNLR [Stuart Davidson], 1990).

⁶⁷ Robert A. Crampsey, ‘Arnott, Walter (1861–1931)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, September 2004; online edition, January 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52815>> [accessed 28 May 2009].

...and FEW JOLLIER FELLOWS SIT ROUND PANCAKES AND PASTRY than the Battlefield. They dress well and talk well, and as they are always attended by the 'doctor' in case of accident. They are enjoyable guests and, when occasion requires it, admirable hosts.⁶⁸

Shared genteel manners and a criss-crossing membership roll, including the notable the William Sellar, did not prevent the two clubs from being bitter enemies by the end of the 1880s, largely due to the rules involving player registration with more than one club.⁶⁹ Queen's Park and its immediate circle may have been at the vanguard of British sport, but it was nevertheless an incestuous one which was doomed by its introspective amateurism.

The military and Scottish football

Membership of several clubs was by no means a novel concept in the early days of Scottish football, but one club's origins hint at the elite influences present in the west of Scotland's early football organisations. The 3rd Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers' unit (3rd LRV) was formed on 25 July 1859, basing itself in Strathbungo, now south Glasgow.⁷⁰ Later that year, the battalion formed part of Queen Victoria's honour guard for the opening of the Loch Katrine reservoir, a major civic event in Glasgow's history.⁷¹ The unit went on to institute the most successful regimental football club in Scotland's history, moving effortlessly into the 'senior' realm of Scottish football.⁷² (See Figure 14.2.) The football section of the regiment was created at a meeting in the unit's orderly room on 12 December 1872, with the request to create a football club seconded by the majority of the regiment's officers.⁷³ An honorary club president, in the person of Lt. Col. H.E. Crum-Ewing, was secured, and the club were amongst the participants in the first Scottish Cup in 1873. As the *Third Lanark Chronicle* noted, forming a football club was made

⁶⁸ SR, 2 August 1895.

⁶⁹ Robinson, *Queen's Park*, pp. 197-201.

⁷⁰ *Third Lanark Chronicle* 11 (7) (January 1895), p. 10.

⁷¹ Eyre-Todd, *Who's Who* <<http://gdl.cdlr.strath.ac.uk/eyrwho/eyrwho1304.htm>> [accessed 23 October 2008]. Irene Maver, *Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), pp. 90-92, discusses the considerable pomp at the ceremony inaugurating the Loch Katrine reservoir.

⁷² Anon., 'Third Lanark!' (1936), in *Third Lanark F.C.: A Miscellany*, ed. by P. Woods, (Glasgow: Mitchell Library). A former supporters' history is Bert Bell, *Still Seeing Red: A History of Third Lanark A.C.* (Glasgow: Glasgow City Libraries and Archives, 1996).

⁷³ Bob Laird, *Images of Sport: Third Lanark Athletic Club* (Stroud, Gloucs.: Tempus, 1999), p. 10.

considerably easier by the regiment's status in its south Glasgow neighbourhood.⁷⁴ Many members of Queen's Park were enlisted in the battalion, including several of those who played as the Scottish team in the 1872 international with England, whom the *Chronicle* stated were an inspiration to the entire 3rd LRV. While established Queen's Park players did not join the regimental football club in large numbers, they certainly made their presence felt in the regiment itself, in particular one company. J.J. Thomson of Queen's Park joined the regiment in 1869, forming what the *Chronicle* described as 'the nucleus [sic] of a very strong Q.P. contingent' in H Company. Another member of H Company included Joseph Taylor, Queen's Park player and officer who joined 3rd LRV in 1872, and remained a member until his death in 1888. The company commander, Captain Cassells, remembered when 'a particularly good team could have been picked out of his own ranks.'⁷⁵ The club were originally nicknamed 'the Redcoats' before giving way to the better-known 'Hi Hi', and a proposal in 1875 to rename themselves 'Glasgow Wanderers' was shot down in committee.⁷⁶

Third Lanark were the most successful regimental football club, but they were far from the only ones. Greenock also had a regimental football club, the 1st Renfrewshire Volunteer Battalion of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders (1st RRV), widely perceived as successful in its short lifespan. The *Greenock Telegraph* first noted in April 1883 that rumours were flying that 1st RRV was starting a football club. 'The idea strikes me', noted the *Telegraph's* 'Dribbler', 'as being a rather good one. What patronage the club would be sure to get. Their officers and friends would be sure to give them every assistance.'⁷⁷ One of the regiment's influential members was 'muscular Christian' W. W. Beveridge of Ayr Academy and Glasgow University fame. Shortly after Beveridge was ordained a minister at Edinburgh University in 1883, he moved to his new congregation at the Port Glasgow United Presbyterian Church, where he worked until his retirement in 1927.⁷⁸ During the

⁷⁴ *TLC* 1 (December 1888), p. 24.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

⁷⁶ Anon., 'Third Lanark!', p. 4.

⁷⁷ *Greenock Telegraph*, 5 April 1883.

⁷⁸ *SAJ*, 8 June 1883; 'William Beveridge', *Scottish Football Association* <http://www.scottishfa.co.uk/player_details.cfm?playerid=113200&CFID=1954380&CFTOKEN=40052504> [accessed 16 November 2008].

mid- and late-1880s, Beveridge was a lieutenant colonel in the unit, doubling as the unit chaplain and presiding over all the 1st RRV's athletic activities.⁷⁹

The popularity of football in Newmilns, Ayrshire, a lace-weaving village, can be attributed to the presence of the 2nd Ayrshire Rifle Volunteers' regimental football club in the 1880s.⁸⁰ A vague reference is also made by *Scottish Athletic Journal* to the existence of Paisley Athletic in the early 1880s, nicknamed 'the Zulus'.⁸¹ In a March 1883 match between Paisley Athletic and Third Lanark, the *Journal* noted that Third Lanark were playing their 'brother warriors... the Zulus'.⁸² In December 1888, *Third Lanark Chronicle* noted that only 3rd LRV, 1st RRV and 2nd ARV were on the association's books at the time, although other early Volunteer clubs in the west of Scotland included 1st, 10th and 19th LRVs and 4th RRV, all of which had, by then, fallen by the wayside.⁸³ The multitude of other west of Scotland volunteer clubs that appear in club histories and statistical accounts would be too numerous to mention. Lorna Jackson states that just outwith west central Scotland in Argyll, Dunoon's Rifle Volunteers' Club, affiliated with the Argyllshire Rifle Volunteers, were winners of the 1889, 1890 and 1891 Argyll FA Cups.⁸⁴

Standing Army units were also heavily involved in the early football craze, both in Scotland and abroad.⁸⁵ In 1884, Greenock Morton scrapped a match against Clyde, and instead played an attractive home match at their ground of Cappielow Park to 'face what the squadrons of the great Napoleon shuddered to face – the Scots Greys.'⁸⁶ In 1890, the Black Watch featured several footballers of note in their 2nd Battalion, stationed at Belfast. Professional Preston North End were keen to sign two Scottish footballers from the unit, McKenna and Stewart. W. McKenna, a corporal, was originally from Renton and featured

⁷⁹ Col. William Lamont, *Volunteer Memories* (Greenock: James McKelvie and Sons, 1911), p. 62.

⁸⁰ *SAJ*, 17 January 1888, mentions the Volunteer connections of the Newmilns club. A year and a half later, *SAJ*, 26 August 1889, refers to Newmilns as 'that old volunteer club'.

⁸¹ *SAJ*, 15 December 1882.

⁸² *SAJ*, 23 March 1883. Paisley Athletic were founded in 1879: *SFA Annual, 1882-83*, p. 149.

⁸³ *TLC* 1 (December 1888), p. 24.

⁸⁴ Lorna Jackson, 'Patriotism or Pleasure? The nineteenth century Volunteer Force as a vehicle for rural working-class male sport', *Sports Historian* 19 (1) (May 1999), pp. 131-132.

⁸⁵ In England, the first FA Cup in 1872 was contested by the officers of Royal Engineers of Chatham against public schoolboys Wanderers: Bryon Butler, *The Official Illustrated History of the FA Cup* (London: Headline Book Publishing, 1996), pp. 20-24.

⁸⁶ *SU*, 4 September 1884.

in 2nd Renton's lineup at the club's zenith in the 1880s. However, *Scottish Sport* noted that 'village life was too quiet for him', as he ended up joining the Army. McKenna was scouted by Preston North End during Black Watch's Army Cup semi-final against 92nd Highlanders, and were able to secure his contract by purchasing the remaining £15 pay on his army term of service.⁸⁷ In the same year, Clyde enlisted a player named Britton, who had obtained a reputation as an excellent footballer in the British Army in India.⁸⁸ Two clubs listed with the SFA as late as 1895 were the Gordon Highlanders, whose ground was at the Maryhill Barracks, and Cameronians.⁸⁹

As an institution of Empire, the military's long-term goals for the mental and physical well-being of the nation were similar to that of the schools. The British military, especially the Volunteer force, had long recognised the value of recreation among its members, including team sports. Burnett states that the military had an important role in bringing cricket into Scotland, particularly with a 1841 War Office decree requiring all British garrisons to create cricket pitches on their ground, a decision which Burnett believes 'introduced individual Scots to English culture' through the medium of sport.⁹⁰ For Volunteers, however, recreation for recreation's sake was an attraction for middle- and working-class males. Inter- and intra-unit rifle competitions, as well as hunting, were means not only of winning prestige, but also of winning prize money and objects. The Volunteer force, formed in 1859 for national self-defence after the Crimean War, was used as an attempt by the new professional bourgeoisie of Britain to claim a portion of military control from the landed aristocracy.⁹¹ There was a social control element to their aspirations: many contemporary observers viewed the British population as being in need of 'martialisation', and believed robust leisure played a key role in doing so. '[M]iddle-class enthusiasts', states Hugh Cunningham, 'saw in volunteering an answer to what they had long regarded as the problem of leisure – to devise a form of recreation which could safely be recommended to the working class.'⁹² And, while team sports such as cricket

⁸⁷ *SS*, 13 June 1890.

⁸⁸ *SS*, 21 March 1890.

⁸⁹ *SFA Annual, 1895-96*.

⁹⁰ John Burnett, 'Cricket', in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Jarvie and Burnett, p. 56. Burnett believes that the Army's garrison at Ayr was largely responsible for cricket's popularity in the region in the mid-nineteenth century.

⁹¹ Hugh Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force: A Social and Political History 1859-1908* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1975), p. 11.

⁹² *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113.

and football were viewed as competitors by some Volunteer leaders, other sought to integrate them into the Volunteer programme, making their recreations into rational ones.⁹³

The 3rd LRV similarly toed the line between patriotic, rational recreation and embracing sport on its own terms. Lt. Col. H.J. McDowall, commander of 3rd LRV, was full of praise for the regimental football team (even as the club surreptitiously engaged in professionalism), but in 1892 he tempered his enthusiasm with a warning against distraction:

It is said, and possibly with some truth, the difficulty in getting recruits is yearly increasing, and I must admit this is to a slight extent felt in the Third Lanark. At the same time, it is questionable that the interest taken in outdoor sports is on the increase, such as Football, Tennis, Harriers, Cricket, Cycling, &c., all of which apparently attract the attention of young men more than the quieter, and at the same time necessary work of Drill and Rifle Practice. I say *necessary*, as the best interests and safety of the country depend very largely on the fitness of the Service for either 'attack' or 'defence,' and in urging friends to join our ranks I would recommend the question of national duty is being recklessly overlooked by the public in their eager pursuit of athletic sports...⁹⁴

McDowall then menacingly recalled an earlier period of Scottish history, whereby three kings of Scotland in the fifteenth century banned the playing of football and golf due to their diversions from 'archery and other military exercises.' He implored his troops, while listing the banning acts in their entirety in the adjoining column of the *Third Lanark Chronicle*, to consider that:

From these Acts it will be seen that athletics have always found favour with the Scottish people, and they do so still; but I trust that the present rising generation, while enjoying to the fullest their love for our national sports, will not forget they owe a duty to their country, which ought to take precedence of all outdoor recreations...⁹⁵

Such a threat was partially carried out in Greenock, where a brief football banning order was placed into effect at Academy Park, the drill and occasional football ground of 1st RRV, just in time for the start of the 1886-87 season.⁹⁶

⁹³ Ibid., pp. 118-119.

⁹⁴ *TLC* 4 (January 1892), pp. 99-100.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 100.

⁹⁶ *GT*, 16 September 1886.

The political and cultural symbolism of military involvement in the early days of football was hardly lost on the participants. Whilst recreation was a key incentive towards working-class recruitment in the Volunteer forces in Britain, the officer corps remained artisanal at its very poorest, with battalion commanders typically members of the aristocracy or the industrial elite upon whose patronage the units relied.⁹⁷ Lt. Col. James Merry, 3rd LRV's commander at the turn of the 1870s 'who took a lively interest in out-of-door sports', was the son of a calico printer from Kilmarnock.⁹⁸ The aforementioned H.J. McDowall, originally from Johnstone, Renfrewshire, was part of the John McDowall & Sons foundry.⁹⁹ Meanwhile, Lt. Col. Joseph N. Smith of 1st LRV was an employee of Wylie & Lochhead furniture makers, but he was not the only one.¹⁰⁰ L Company of 1st LRV was made up entirely of employees of Wylie & Lochhead, while M Company was comprised of workers from J. & W. Campbell & Co.; in fact, all the companies of 1st LRV were compartmentalised by trade and profession, including bankers, grocers, lawyers, accountants, among other occupations.¹⁰¹ As will be discussed in the next two chapters with regard to the Vale of Leven and the Monklands respectively, Volunteer connections to industry were incredibly important to the diffusion of football, part of what Maver calls a 'robust associational culture' in the Scottish workplace.¹⁰² At the same time, Volunteers were gaining access to the corridors of power in the SFA. John Mellish, the president of Rangers in the late 1880s, was in the 1st LRV himself. A graduate of Glasgow Academy, and a former worker at an MP's office in London, he was also a 'promising marksman' in the unit.¹⁰³ Col. Merry was a top official in the SFA, one of the founders and the main

⁹⁷ Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, pp. 54-57; Jackson, 'Patriotism or Pleasure?', pp. 131-132; Ian F.W. Beckett, *The amateur military tradition, 1558-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 169-179. Jackson's research specifically concerns the Argyllshire Rifle Volunteers of the late nineteenth century. Meanwhile, Beckett (pp. 177-178) believes that recreation was *the* primary attraction to 'the artisan.'

⁹⁸ *The Bailie*, 'Men You Know' series, 346, 4 June 1879.

⁹⁹ *TB* 972, 3 June 1891.

¹⁰⁰ *TB* 503, 7 June 1882.

¹⁰¹ David Howie, *History of the 1st Lanark Rifle Volunteers: list of officers, prize winners, men present at royal reviews, &c* (London, William Mitchell & Co., 1887), pp. 201-380. Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, p. 21, states that Wylie & Lochhead claimed to be the first private firm in Britain to raise a Volunteer unit (in November 1859). Several of the officers were Wylies.

¹⁰² Maver, 'Scottish Workplace', pp. 513-516.

¹⁰³ *SR*, 12 August 1889.

chairman of the Glasgow Charity Cup.¹⁰⁴ In 1889, the unit offered a lieutenantcy to James A. Crerar, president of the SFA and representative from Third Lanark.¹⁰⁵ And, lest there be any doubt about Third Lanark's political place in the footballing universe, at the opening of Cathkin Park's new pavilion in April 1888, a toast was given to both the Queen and the British Army by the officials present.¹⁰⁶

The idea of military readiness was a dominant theme in education of the time. H.H. Almond and private school educators may have viewed games as the means by which to foster a military-ready society in the British Empire, but state schools made the military connection more explicit with their physical education regimen. The 1872 Education (Scotland) Act instituted 'drill' into state schools' curricula, and the Act's second Code of Regulations in 1875, as well as a more robust code in 1895, stated that this drill was 'military' in nature. In Glasgow and Govan, for example, janitors were typically paid to lead drill instruction.¹⁰⁷ The institutions of Empire and state forged different means of attaining similar patriotic goals with regard to sport; and football, despite existing on another plane of popularity from other sports in the west of Scotland, was also indebted to the older figures of British power.

Football and Scottish nobility

The older institutions of power, however, were not immune to the times. Even in bourgeois and elite circles, industrialisation and immigration were radically changing the social and cultural landscape. Yet the patronage of landowning elites was still very important to sport in some areas. For example, one of the major forces in early Lanarkshire sport was Col. Sir David Carrick-Buchanan, a noble landowner, member of the 2nd LRV, captain of the 'Queen's Own' Yeomanry, and an honorary president of both the SFA and the Lanarkshire FA.¹⁰⁸ From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the former Marleybone Cricket Club member Carrick-Buchanan was associated with Drumpellier CC,

¹⁰⁴ *SFA Annual, 1890-91*; *SR*, 7 June 1895. Robinson, *Queen's Park Football Club*, p. 178, states that Lt. Col. Merry was one of the 'influential Glasgow gentlemen' responsible for raising the funds of the Glasgow Charity Cup.

¹⁰⁵ *SR*, 4 February 1889; Rafferty, *One Hundred Years*, p. vi.

¹⁰⁶ *SAJ*, 3 April 1888.

¹⁰⁷ Bilsborough, 'School Sport', p. 98.

¹⁰⁸ *SFA Annual, 1879-80*; *SFA Annual, 1882-83*, p. 107.

a club patronised by him and housed on his Drumpellier estate near Coatbridge for many years.¹⁰⁹ He was ‘a great sportsman’, stated *The Bailie*, ‘the Master of the Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire hunt’, and one of Lanarkshire’s greatest athletes and sporting patrons:

Hardly a cricket club in the country-side... does not number him among its patrons, and has not required from him substantial encouragement and support. Indeed, the game of cricket may almost be said to have been his own creation so far as the West of Scotland is concerned.¹¹⁰

Carrick-Buchanan was a believer in ‘all kinds of exercise, in preference to doctors’ drugs’, including football: the cricket club also had a football side that competed against local clubs from the 1870s onwards, albeit with limited success.¹¹¹

Meanwhile in Ayrshire, the Earls of Eglinton and Winton were a crucial force in sport for decades before the introduction of association football. Archibald William Montgomerie, the thirteenth Earl of Eglinton, is most famous for the 1839 Tournament held on the Eglinton estate near Kilwinning. Yet he was also a keen sportsman. A renowned figure in Ayrshire’s – and England’s – horse racing scene by the mid-1830s to the 1850s, he was both a participant in and patron of curling and golf in the county.¹¹² Eglinton’s relationship with cricket was more distant: while known for playing in Switzerland, he merely presided at the dinner of the All-England XI in 1849, more due to his social position rather than his cricketing ability.¹¹³ However, his son, the fourteenth Earl, also named Archibald William Montgomerie, not only played cricket for a professional club in Kilmarnock, but was also a patron of early football.¹¹⁴ He was the first honorary patron of the Ayrshire Football Association, with the first Ayrshire cup engraved with an inscription

¹⁰⁹ *TB* 290, 8 May 1878; Rev. William Hamilton, ‘Coatbridge and the Parish of Old Monkland’, *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Lanark*, ed. by George Thomson (Glasgow: Collins, 1960), p. 219; John Thomson, *Drumpellier Cricket Club, 1850 to 1906* (Airdrie: Baird and Hamilton Printers, 1908), pp. 1-3, pp. 241-243.

¹¹⁰ *TB* 290, 8 May 1878.

¹¹¹ *SR*, 25 February 1889 (quote); *SU*, 25 September 1884; R. W. Marwick, *The boys from the 'Brig: the life and times of Albion Rovers* (Airdrie: Monklands Library Services Department, 1986), pp. 13-16.

¹¹² John Tolson, ‘The Thirteenth Earl of Eglinton (1812-1861): A Notable Scottish Sportsman’, *Sport in History* 28 (3) (September 2008), pp. 477-486; Ian Anstruther, *The Knight and the Umbrella: An Account of the Eglinton Tournament, 1839* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1963); Burnett, *Riot*, pp. 176-207.

¹¹³ Tolson, ‘Earl of Eglinton’, p. 487.

¹¹⁴ Archibald William Montgomerie, the fourteenth Earl of Eglinton, lived from 1841 to 1892: Mary S. Millar, ‘Montgomerie, Archibald William, thirteenth earl of Eglinton and first earl of Winton (1812-1861)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19057>> [accessed 5 November 2008]. ‘Archibald Montgomerie, 13th Earl of Eglinton’ <<http://thepeerage.com/p2158.htm>> [accessed 23 June 2009]; Burnett, *Riot*, p. 255.

of the Eglinton coat of arms.¹¹⁵ The Earl took a more active role, however, in attempting to secure lands for a group of football players in Ardrossan. After Castle Hill passed into the hands of Ardrossan's burgh commissioners in 1889, football's excessive popularity amongst youths in the park was becoming a public nuisance.¹¹⁶ The Earl, sympathetic to the footballers, sent two representatives to negotiate for public land to let.¹¹⁷ Later in 1899, the fifteenth Earl, George Arnulph Montgomerie, granted the use of Winton Park in Ardrossan at a small annual fee to allow juvenile footballers Ardrossan Winton Rovers to move out of their meeting place by a railway bothy.¹¹⁸

The SFA also carried with it the elite patronage of Liberal former Prime Minister Archibald Philip Primrose, the fifth Earl of Rosebery. The national team volunteered to wear the Earl's primrose and pink racing colours in the 1900 international with England (now known as the 'Rosebery' international) to celebrate the victory of the Earl's horse in the Derby the previous year.¹¹⁹ But this was no one-off: it was the third time that Rosebery's colours had been used by the Scottish national team, the first in 1881.¹²⁰ In 1898, the *Scottish Referee* even advocated the use of the Earl's colours by the national team, slamming the dark blue that 'belittles our men, and gives them the appearance of sweeps in comparison with their rivals.'¹²¹ In Rosebery's case, the motive can be seen as a political one, allowing an aristocratic politician a chance to be associated with the people's game. The Montgomeries and Carrick-Buchanan, however, were detached from public opinion, and their interest in football existed at a distance that did not approach their love of cricket. Early football in the west of Scotland, therefore, owed its patronage far more to the emerging Scottish middle class and *nouveau riches*, one which was forged from an entirely different order, and fuelled largely by urbanisation.

¹¹⁵ Carmichael, *Ayr United*, p. 6.

¹¹⁶ *Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald*, 12 April 1882.

¹¹⁷ *ASH*, 19 April 1889.

¹¹⁸ J. Weir, *Ardrossan Burgh Centenary, 1846-1946* (Ardrossan, Ayrshire: Arthur Guthrie & Sons, 1946), p. 42.

¹¹⁹ Rafferty, *One Hundred Years*, p. 45; Robert A. Crampsey, 'McColl, Robert Smyth (1876-1959),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/57466>> [accessed 7 November 2008].

¹²⁰ McCarra, *Scottish Football*, p. 20.

¹²¹ *SR*, 1 April 1898.

Conclusion

The aristocracy typically kept at arm's length from actually playing football, and it was initially the educated middle class that pursued the codified game with vigour. As time progressed however, 'muscular Christians' were marginalised in a game that was fast becoming a mass popular passion and a commercial draw. Two Kelvinside clubs of the 1880s exemplified the waning power of the moral middle class to influence the game's popularity in the west of Scotland. At the outset of the 1884-5 Scottish Cup, Northern FC's first-round opponents were the Glasgow University YMCA Athletic Club. The club was a satellite of the university, which had no formal football club during these years, but was tarred by the *Scottish Umpire* with the conspicuous nickname of the 'Christian Athletics'.¹²² In 1887, a more forbidding comment was made on middle-class football by the *Scottish Athletic Journal* by 'Our Low Tout', a 'journalist' with close connections to Queen's Park. The occasion was the defeat of the fledgling Kelvinside Athletic by Queen's Park at Hampden:

The Kelvinside Athletic young men may not be all they aspire to be in the world of football, but they can at any rate lay the flattering unction to their souls that their presence at Hampden Park was more than appreciated. The 'Young men' are very fine specimens of the muscular Christian, played the game as it ought to be played, and accepting defeat with all the inherent grace pertaining to gentlemen.

It is a matter of eternal regret that the game is not indulged in with any degree of success by the middle class 'young man' throughout the length and breadth of Scotland. There are too many artisan clubs, and too few better class ones, and such clubs as Kelvinside Athletic should receive all the fostering that Queen's Park's influence can give them.¹²³

The user-friendly codification of association football, ensured the game's popularity well beyond the walls of the privileged. Murray believes that Queen's Park's aloofness with regard to the changing social climate in the west of Scotland, especially in the guise of anti-professionalism, consigned its influence to the margins in the post-SFL world of 1890.¹²⁴ Queen's Park, the early press and the more affluent football clubs and officials of west central Scotland badly misjudged the public mood on amateurism and

¹²² *SU*, 11 September 1884.

¹²³ *SAJ*, 27 September 1887.

¹²⁴ Murray, *Old Firm*, p. 7.

professionalism, resulting in a game that nowadays has little to do with the imagined Empire-building of H.H. Almond and other Scottish muscular Christians.

3. FOOTBALL, MIGRANT COMMUNITIES AND SOCIAL WELFARE

While the next section specifically discusses football clubs built around the workplace, this chapter will look into the contributions made by middle-class migrants to Glasgow and the immediate vicinity, as well the churches and related social welfare organisations that catered to large swathes of their respective congregations. There was no sole coherent approach held by the many different church-related organisations that spurred working- and middle-class football supporters into becoming participants in the game, but there were many different reasons and motivations for their doing so. For the middle-class migrants to Glasgow, who were among the Scottish game's first players, the motivations (aside from the most obvious: amusement) remain buried, and few realised that their clubs would later become world-famous. Nevertheless, their circles of influence in business and fraternity, like those in the educational world, provided a careful incubation for the sport before the more worldly concern of winning trophies would necessitate changes in the way that football clubs were operated and players recruited. Despite Queen's Park's original members' protestations, winning mattered a great deal.

Football and the Highland community in Glasgow

In 1851, 14,959 people residing in Glasgow, or 4.54% of the city's population, were born in Highland counties.¹ By 1891, this percentage remained fairly consistent, with 3.27% of Glasgow's population (18,536 people) originally from the Highlands.² Highland migrants in west central Scotland, as well as their children in Glasgow, formed the backbone of many early Scottish football clubs and the SFA. Typically, sports scholars and amateur historians have only mentioned the Highland affiliations of early sport clubs in passing, rarely examining middle-class Glasgow Highlanders as a social sphere in which sport could thrive. The very first club of Highlanders was indeed *Scotland's* first club: Queen's Park's founding players derived overwhelmingly from Speyside, Morayshire, Banffshire and Aberdeen, one exception being William Klinger, a German immigrant. James C.

¹ Charles W. J. Withers, *Urban Highlanders: Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, 1700-1900* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), p. 88. In Withers's research, the following counties are 'Highland': Argyll, Bute, Inverness, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Highland Caithness, Highland Moray, Highland Perth and Highland Nairn.

² *Ibid.*, p. 109.

Grant, one of the club's first members, recommended the club call itself Queen's Park due to its location, and the name was adopted only after much discussion about possible alternatives that mentioned the club's origins: 'Northern', 'Morayshire', and most intriguingly 'Celts'.³ The club began in the 1860s as an informal athletic gathering amongst northern professionals living in Glasgow, moving from nearby Strathbungo to the Recreation Ground at Queen's Park in 1867 to make use of better facilities. A very loose variant of association football, with large teams and little regard for rules, was introduced to the group by local youths from a branch of the YMCA, who played their game on the same field. Only one game was played between them, and afterwards both Grant and first club president Mungo Ritchie were keen to stress the end of the connection; this despite an article by 'an old black-and-white' in the *SFA Annual, 1880-81*, stating that the club's members had contacted *Sporting Life*, the Glasgow YMCA's preferred newspaper, for advice on how to play the association game.⁴ Robinson believed that their love of athleticism came not from the YMCA youths, but rather their background as Highlanders:

There is much truth in the statement that among the founders of the Queen's Park Football Club in 1867 were many north-country men, who brought to Glasgow the inherent love of athletics possessed by every Highlander, particularly as regards muscular events. Mr. J.C. Grant is strong on this point, and his testimony, that the Highland section ... [originally] ... indulged in hammer-throwing, putting the ball, pole vaulting, and tossing the caber...⁵

Robinson, however, had not taken into account the club's social background, one which adds further context to their love of athletics.

Honorary club secretary Archibald Rae noted at the club's annual meeting in 1874 that the YMCA's 'muscular Christianity ... was not always in favour' with some elements of the team.⁶ Subsequent members of Queen's Park, however, arrived via elite educational institutions, whose programmes *were* very much based on muscular Christianity. The club was exclusively amateur, so much so that until 1910, players were required to purchase their own strips.⁷ Business connections were equally as important as educational ones;

³ Robinson, *Queen's Park*, pp. 8-12; Crampsey, *Game*, p. 5.

⁴ Robinson, *Queen's Park*, pp. 8-9, p. 327 ; *SFA Annual, 1880-81*, p. 84.

⁵ Robinson, *Queen's Park*, p. 327.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 427.

Crampsey said as much in the prologue to his 1967 club history.⁸ Mungo Ritchie was linked with Mann, Byars & Co.⁹ Another club president, H.N. Grant (1871-2), was with the firm of Smith & Wellstood.¹⁰ The club furthermore secured elite patronage in 1873 from the Earl of Glasgow and Col. Sir Archibald Campbell (later Baron Blythswood), a Conservative MP and commander of the 4th Battalion of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.¹¹

In later decades, once the original cadre of Highlanders had moved on, the club still largely recruited players from educational and professional pedigrees. Aside from Ayr's John Smith and David Allan, two of the most famous were Andrew Watson and Robert Smyth McColl. Andrew Watson was Scotland's first black international footballer, and the nation's only Afro-British international until 2004.¹² The son of a Scottish sugar baron, Watson's background as an elite member of British society, educated at Halifax Grammar School, Rugby School and Glasgow University, seemingly negated the need to discuss his maternal Guyanan heritage at great length in the *Scottish Athletic Journal's* 'Modern Athletic Celebrities' column. In an era of overt racism, there are only vague references to Watson's skin colour.¹³ Several exaltations are given to Watson being 'courtesy and unostentation personified', but the matter of his race is either assumed or is overcome by his respectability:

Although on more than one occasion subjected to vulgar insults by splenetic, ill-tempered players, he uniformly preserved that gentlemanly demeanour which has endeared him to opponents as well as his club companions. As a companion at the social board, he is invaluable, and to those of his friends who have had opportunities of thoroughly knowing him he is the embodiment of a rare geniality and kind-heartedness, affording a 'feast of reason and flow of soul' to which the dull eyes of superficial critics are blind.¹⁴

⁸ Crampsey, *Game*, p. 2.

⁹ Robinson, *Queen's Park*, p. 416.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 20; Eyre-Todd, *Who's Who* <<http://gdl.cdlr.strath.ac.uk/eyrwho/eyrwho0329.htm>> [accessed 7 November 2008].

¹² 'History calls on Quashie', *BBC News*, 26 May 2004 <<http://news.bbc.co.uk/sport1/hi/football/internationals/scotland/3751759.stm>> [accessed 7 November 2008].

¹³ *SAJ*, 15 December 1885.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

Meanwhile, ‘Toffee Bob’ McColl was native to Glasgow’s South Side, and attended the nearby Queen’s Park School. He was signed by the football club in 1893, when seventeen years old. His father was superintendent of the City of Glasgow Cleansing Department. Aside from his considerable footballing ability as a centre forward, for which he received fifteen Scottish international caps, McColl was most famous for establishing a confectionery enterprise in 1901 in Crosshill, Glasgow. R.S. McColl Ltd. was so named to exploit McColl’s footballing fame, and McColl’s considerable business acumen allowed him to make an ‘unprecedented’ return to amateurism and Queen’s Park in 1908 after a successful professional career with Newcastle United and Rangers.¹⁵ Crampsey believes that McColl’s controversial return to Queen’s Park, as late as 1908, ‘may have been prompted by the realisation that it was a businessman’s club, and could assist a commercial career.’¹⁶

In earlier decades, the club’s missionary outreach in football even included other clubs of Highlanders in west central Scotland. Queen’s Park’s early opponents included Drummond FC, a club that Robinson states ‘consisted for the most part of... Perthshire youths.’¹⁷ Drummond played ‘under the colours of Drummond Castle, caps in Drummond tartan’; when their players turned up short-handed to play Queen’s Park in a sixteen-a-side game in 1870, the club were assisted by two pupils from the Deaf and Dumb Institute.¹⁸ But the most Highlanders to take up association football were representatives of the west coast, and took the name ‘Rangers’ from an English rugby club. Rangers’ original members, a Glasgow Green club who played their first match on May 1872, were natives of Argyll.¹⁹ Rangers were originally rowers, and learned about football by watching several matches played between the members of Eastern FC. Rangers were hardly a cohesive outfit in the first year of their existence, and several of its players – most

¹⁵ Brenda M. White, ‘Robert Smyth McColl’, in *Dictionary of Scottish business biography 1860-1960 – Volume 2, processing, distributing, services*, ed. by Anthony Slaven and Sydney Checkland (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990), pp. 376-377.

¹⁶ Crampsey, ‘McColl’ <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/57466>> [accessed 7 November 2008].

¹⁷ Robinson, *Queen’s Park*, p. 36.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.

¹⁹ Murray, *Old Firm*, p. 7; John Allan, *The Story of the Rangers: Fifty Years of Football, 1873-1923* (originally published Glasgow: The Rangers Football Club, Glasgow, 1923; reprinted Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex: Desert Island Books, 1996), pp. 9-11. Murray’s research unearthed serious doubts about Allan’s evidence for an 1873 birth of the club, the date still officially acknowledged by Rangers FC. Murray believes that Allan may have dated the club’s inception to the year when office-holders were first formally chosen.

prominently brothers William, Harry, Moses and Peter McNeil, all members of a Gareloch family who resided in Glasgow – were also members of the appropriately-named Argyle FC. A ball was donated by Mr. McDonald of the firm Stewart & McDonald, who employed the McNeils' father.²⁰ Formal office-holders were chosen in 1873.

Rangers were loosely connected to Queen's Park, particularly since Harry and Moses McNeil were briefly associated with the club in the mid-1870s.²¹ However, the ties were far stronger with two clubs named Clydesdale. When Rangers moved to Kinning Park from Burnbank in 1876, Clydesdale CC were vacating to their new ground at Titwood Park, Crossmyloof. Upon their departure, Rangers took over their ground.²² While Allan states that Clydesdale's footballing side died a quick death afterwards, the name 'Clydesdale' was far from dead. Clydesdale Harriers were formed in 1885, partially through the influence of the McNeil brothers. Hamish Telfer states that the name 'Clydesdale' came from a Lanarkshire region in which the McNeils once resided, although it is as likely that the cricket club influenced the name of the new harriers' club.²³ Regardless, the harriers' connection is undisputed: in 1887 Clydesdale Harriers joined Rangers, thus entering into an alliance of multi-sport participation, promotion and patronage. Telfer believes that participation in multiple sports, long before the trade specialisation brought about by professionalism, was a key component of the amateur ideal: that strengthening brotherly bonds, rather than mere victory, was the goal.²⁴ Clydesdale Harriers also opened Rangers to other connections: the harriers' patrons in 1890 included former Lord Provost Sir James King, Col. T. Glen Coats, and MPs Hugh Watt and Sir George Trevelyan.²⁵ Finn states that Rangers desperately 'coveted' the class and social trappings, as well as the footballing ability, of Queen's Park.²⁶ At the same time, Rangers had considerable prestige within their own playing and officiating ranks. After the premature death of club president Archibald Harkness at age twenty-six in 1882,

²⁰ Murray, *Old Firm*, pp. 9-11.

²¹ Robinson, *Queen's Park*, p. 258.

²² Allan, *Rangers*, p. 19.

²³ Hamish M. Telfer, 'The Origins, Governance and Social Structure of Club Cross Country Running in Scotland, 1885-1914', (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Stirling, 2006), pp. 112-114.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 150-151.

²⁶ Finn, 'Racism I', p. 85.

the *Scottish Athletic Journal*'s obituary noted that Harkness was an auctioneer who owned considerable land in Argyll.²⁷

It was Rangers' patronage, from the outset, that determined the club's exclusivity. Another business colleague of the McNeils' father, Alexander Bannatyne Stewart, was among the earliest financial supporters. Stewart had roots in Rothesay, Bute, near the McNeils' ancestral lands; he was a staunch Conservative, Presbyterian and Freemason. Stewart's son went on to replace Alexander Whitelaw as president.²⁸ Perhaps the most important patron in Rangers' early history was John Ure Primrose, a Liberal Unionist MP who pledged himself and Rangers to support the Masonic cause at a fund-raising event organised for his mother lodge, Lodge Plantation No. 581, in 1890.²⁹ The club's Masonic and ancestral connections allowed it access to a considerable social and entrepreneurial network in the South Side. However, the man who best exemplifies Rangers' myriad connections is not a football player, but architect Archibald Leitch. Born in 1865 in Glasgow's East End, his father came to Glasgow from Lochgilphead, Argyllshire, in the 1840s.³⁰ By the 1890s Leitch had become an engineer with Mirlees, Watson & Co., and resided in Ibrox. While progressing through the trade years earlier, he had become a Freemason.³¹ He was also a Rangers supporter, owning shares in the club when it became a limited liability company, and frequenting the popular Paisley Road restaurant of ex-Ranger Tom Vallance. Leitch was commissioned to redesign Rangers' Ibrox Park ground in 1899, and did so free of charge.³² He went on to become the most celebrated designer of early British football grounds, including redesigning Hampden. While by the 1880s Rangers' recruitment looked beyond Highlanders to other working-class Glaswegians and Irish Protestant migrants, the club's deeply-ingrained culture of association was not easily overcome by maturity, and continued to influence the club as it forged alliances with like-minded Clydeside employers.

²⁷ *SAJ*, 10 November 1882.

²⁸ Finn, 'Scottish Myopia', pp. 60-62. Alexander Whitelaw's place in west central Scotland's politics and industry will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

²⁹ Gerry P.T. Finn, 'In the grip? A psychological and historical exploration of the social significance of freemasonry in Scotland', in *Sermons and Battle Hymns*, ed. by Walker and Gallagher, pp. 179-180.

³⁰ Simon Inglis, *Engineering Archie: Archibald Leitch – football ground designer* (London: English Heritage, 2005), p. 10.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

The ultimate nod to the Highland elite's involvement in football came from the formation of Glasgow Perthshire AC in 1890, a Possilpark junior outfit initially noted as having connections to the Perth Cricket Association. The club was to be made up of Perthshire 'gentlemen' residing in Glasgow.³³ The idea of a 'county' club existing in Glasgow was gaining more traction by the end of the decade, when the *Scottish Referee* heard rumours of a possible tournament involving 'county' football clubs comprised of Highland natives living in Glasgow.³⁴ Glasgow Perthshire, however, shared their name with one particular institution of Highland high society: the Glasgow Perthshire Charitable Society, formed in 1835. *The Bailie* stated in 1888 that: 'The association was, at sometime, to be more or less charitable in its character, the charity devoted to the aiding of natives of Perthshire who were needy or in distress.'³⁵ This, however, changed over time. While the organisation continued to include 'residents in Glasgow but connected with Perth', the membership itself needed very little in the way of charity; as *The Bailie* noted: 'The membership of the society ... has included every distinguished Perthshire native or landowner of the past half century.' Past patrons included the Duke of Atholl, the Marquis of Breadalbane, Lord Dalhousie and Sir William Stirling-Maxwell.³⁶ The chair of the organisation in 1888 was Lt. Col. James Menzies, a member of the 10th LRV (known colloquially as the 'Glasgow Highlanders'), a Freemason and a champion marksman.³⁷ When Glasgow Perthshire AC held their March 1895 concert, the master of ceremonies was Perth Town Councillor Halley, himself a member of the Perthshire County CC.³⁸ The Glasgow Perthshire Charitable Society was among a multitude of Glasgow Highland societies during the nineteenth century whose mission changed over the years.³⁹ While there were initially considerable differences amongst these organisations (namely which Highland county they represented), elite Highland philanthropy, though still clinging to the trappings of tartanry and 'Highland' culture, became more concerned with integration

³³ *SS*, 17 October 1890.

³⁴ *SR*, 1 September 1898.

³⁵ *TB* 845, 26 December 1888.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ *Ibid.*; Eyre-Todd, *Who's Who* <<http://gdl.cdrl.strath.ac.uk/eyrwho/eyrwho1255.htm>> [accessed 6 November 2008].

³⁸ *SR*, 1 March 1895.

³⁹ Withers, *Urban Highlanders*, pp. 183-186. A list of Glasgow Highland societies and their formation dates is in *Ibid.*, p. 186.

rather than preservation.⁴⁰ Little wonder, then, that Glasgow Perthshire were a noted football and cricket club, and not a shinty one.

Football and the Roman Catholic Church

The influence of religion in Scottish football is an often-misunderstood element of the game's growth and prosperity. The Protestantism of post-Reformation Scotland and the British nation-state has complicated the means by which discussions of 'religion' have taken place in Scottish sport historiography. In particular, the emergence of sectarianism in early Scottish football has been the starting point for a heated academic argument between Murray and Finn. Finn assails Murray for his alleged fudging of the term 'sectarianism', believing Murray seriously underestimates the amount of 'systemic' bias experienced by Irish Catholics and their descendents in Scotland, and how this particular form of 'racism' has found its way into academic discussions of the Rangers-Celtic rivalry.⁴¹ Murray, in turn, has slammed both Finn and Bradley. Murray believes that Finn 'is obsessed with what he sees as the sectarianism that oozes out of every pore of the Scottish body politic', and that both Finn and Bradley reveal 'touches of the persecution complex more readily associated with Parkhead.'⁴² The pitfalls, therefore, of any discussion on religion and football are clear.

It is consequently Finn's contention that the old institutions of order were vigorously Protestant and anti-Catholic, even if not always explicitly stated. 'Muscular Christianity' was not merely for the defence of Empire, but also for the preservation of common morality and decency. Perhaps football's most obvious example, as discussed by Finn, is that of the 3rd Edinburgh Rifle Volunteers. 3rd ERV were founded in 1867 by the aforementioned John Hope, Conservative town councillor, ardent temperance activist and prominent anti-Popery campaigner. The unit was one made up exclusively of teetotal Protestants. After the December 1873 demonstration by west of Scotland footballers in Edinburgh, 3rd ERV formed a football club, and Hope was actively involved in its

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 183-190.

⁴¹ Finn's initial criticisms of Murray (who, in Finn's eyes, represents establishment discourse on Scottish football as a whole) appear in two articles: Finn, 'Racism I', pp. 72-95; and Finn, 'Racism II', pp. 370-397. A follow-up on these earlier articles is Finn, 'Scottish Myopia', pp. 54-97.

⁴² Murray, *Bhoys*, pp. 183-184. Murray also takes Finn to task in *Old Firm*, p. 18, accusing him of 'playful distortion' of his first edition of *Old Firm* and *Glasgow's Giants*. The most succinct third-party critique of Murray's and Finn's work (with more deference shown to Finn) is Richard Giulianotti in *Football: A Sociology of the Global Game* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), p. 18.

formation and management. While 3rd ERV's football side was short-lived, members of the club were nevertheless integral to the management of the Edinburgh FA, one which repeatedly discriminated against Hibernian for no apparent footballing reason, aside from the vaguely-defined 'roughness'.⁴³ Towards the end of the 1870s, members of the 3rd ERV's football club reconstituted themselves as St. Bernard's FC, whose crowning achievement was victory in the 1895 Scottish Cup.⁴⁴

This example of muscular Protestantism occurred within the context of the state. In Britain as a whole, the role of organised religion on the participation and popularity of football is difficult to ascertain. Mason, for one, believes that while many clubs in England derived from churches, 'the nature of the connection between the football club and the church or chapel from which it may have sprung varied enormously.' Many of England's most famous clubs have their origins in churches, including Bolton Wanderers, Manchester City, Barnsley and Fulham. Birmingham's Aston Villa-Birmingham City rivalry crosses a Protestant-Catholic divide, if not as deep-seated as the Old Firm's.⁴⁵ Most famously, Liverpool's Everton was formed in 1878 from St. Domingo's New Connexional Methodist Church. The club soon took up headquarters in local drinking establishments, including John Houlding's Sandon Hotel in Anfield, providing the club with technical expertise and financial backing.⁴⁶ Their finance-driven attempted takeover by Houlding, a local brewer and leading Conservative, as well as the anger levelled at him by Everton's Liberal, nonconformist officials, led to the formation of Liverpool FC in 1892.⁴⁷ As Mason states, however, these church connections were by no means consistent, and neither were they in Scotland; where, despite his research into the matter, Weir is still unable to come to a definitive conclusion on what Scottish churches, of all denominations, preached on the matter of football.⁴⁸

⁴³ Gerry P.T. Finn, 'Faith, Hope and Bigotry: case studies of anti-Catholic prejudice in Scottish soccer and society', in *Scottish Sport in the Making of the Nation*, ed. by Jarvie and Walker, pp. 92-99.

⁴⁴ Hutchinson, 'Nineteenth-century Edinburgh', p. 562.

⁴⁵ Mason, *Association Football*, pp. 24-26. For a different approach towards England's early church clubs, see Peter Lupson, *Thank God for Football!* (London: Azure, 2006).

⁴⁶ David Kennedy, 'The Division of Everton Football Club into Hostile Factions: The Development of Professional Football Organisation on Merseyside, 1878-1914' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leeds, 2003), pp. 114-135.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 136-175.

⁴⁸ John Weir, 'The clergy and early Scottish football', in *Drink, Religion, and Scottish Football*, ed. by Weir.

It is typically Catholic priests who are noted for establishing football clubs related to their churches. Scotland's first 'Catholic' club, as such, was Hibernian, founded in Edinburgh in 1875 by St. Patrick's Church's branch of the Catholic Young Men's Association (CYMA), and seconded by Canon Edward Hannan. Only practising Catholics were members.⁴⁹ Meanwhile Dundee Harp, founded in 1879, represented Dundee's 'Irish' population; and, like Hibernian, were also formed out of a chapter of the CYMA.⁵⁰ In the vicinity of Glasgow, Partick Hibernian and Partick Celtic merged in 1885 to form St. Peter's, named after a local Catholic church in their new home of Govan, on the opposite shore of the Clyde.⁵¹ According to Celtic's first manager Willie Maley, Edinburgh's Hibernian were extremely popular in Glasgow, especially with citizens of the East End. Their ranks were filled by players from other west of Scotland football clubs, including Lugar Boswell Thistle, Cowlares, Vale of Leven and Airdrie, and were familiar figures to many in west of Scotland football.⁵² In May 1887, Edinburgh Hibs – the Scottish Cup winners – met Renton – winners of the Glasgow Charity Cup – at Clyde's Barrowfield Park for a charity match. 12,000 spectators attended, with £120 drawn, and according to the *Scottish Athletic Journal*, 'a great many of the Catholic clergy were present.'⁵³ A similar match was played again between the two clubs in August of that year, this time only 4,000 filling Barrowfield. Nevertheless, the match again supplied funds to 'some friends of the Catholic charities.'⁵⁴ These charities included the Poor Children's Dinner table of the East End, among others.⁵⁵ At the same time, Renton's James Kelly helped organise a benefit match involving a club known as 'Western Hibernians' against Partick Thistle to help raise funds for St. Peter's, whose Govan ground was repeatedly vandalised, plunging the club into debt.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ John Kelly, 'Hibernian Football Club: The Forgotten Irish?', *Sport in Society* 10 (3) (May 2007) pp. 514-536; Finn, 'Racism I', pp. 79-80; Murray, *Old Firm*, p. 12. Finn's first criticism of Murray lies in Murray's labelling Hibernian as 'the first sectarian team in Scotland', essentially instituting discrimination in their club constitution by requiring club members to be practicing Catholics. Finn states that a CYMA club would assume their members to be Catholics, and thus would not require such an article in their 'constitution'. A similar argument regarding Hibernian's 'sectarianism' is made by Weir in 'The clergy'.

⁵⁰ Finn, 'Racism II', p. 378; Wilkie, *Great Divide*, pp. 13-18.

⁵¹ Finn, 'Racism II', p. 379.

⁵² Willie Maley, *The Story of the Celtic, 1888-1938: A Jubilee History* (Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex: Desert Island Books, 1996), p. 2.

⁵³ *SAJ*, 31 May 1887.

⁵⁴ *SAJ*, 9 August 1887.

⁵⁵ Maley, *Celtic*, p. 2.

⁵⁶ *SAJ*, 9 August 1887.

The Edinburgh club's popularity in Glasgow, and the need for and popularity of charity matches, inspired Brother Walfrid (nee Andrew Kerins), a Marist brother originally from County Sligo. With the backing of the Archbishop of Glasgow and of other East-End Catholic churches, he founded Celtic Football Club in November 1887 as a charitable organisation for young Catholic men.⁵⁷ From the outset, Celtic looked outwith the Catholic community for inspiration, and was part of a wider Catholic programme in Glasgow to emulate the Protestant social welfare network during the depression of the 1880s. There was a 'defensive element' to Celtic's charity, specifically attempting to limit the contact of poor Catholic youth with the Protestant network of soup-kitchens scattered throughout Glasgow. At the same time, Celtic and its officials desired an active role in bourgeois Scottish society.⁵⁸ This integrationalist spirit is best personified by the two of the club's most important signings: the brothers Maley.⁵⁹ William 'Willie' Maley was born in 1868 on the Army Barracks in Newry, the third son of Thomas Maley, a sergeant in the British Army. The Maleys migrated from Ireland to Cathcart, Renfrewshire in 1870, where Thomas continued to serve as a drill instructor in the 3rd Renfrewshire Battalion of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders. Willie's brother Tom was a former footballer for Hibernian, but his father strongly disapproved of his son's membership in the Edinburgh club, believing the more inward-looking Hibs were discouraging Irishmen from integrating into Scottish society. Tom later moved to a club which his father, with his military background, greatly approved of: 3rd LRV. When the Maleys were first pursued by Celtic, the elder Maley also approved of the new club, as Celtic was intended as a bridge to Protestant Scotland rather than as an 'Irish' organisation, and as such did not restrict themselves to Catholic players.⁶⁰

Elsewhere in the west of Scotland, other Catholic clergymen encouraged football. *Glasgow Observer* noted in February 1899 that the South Side's Lambhill Harp FC were part of the St. Agnes's Branch of the League of the Cross.⁶¹ Airdrie St. Margaret's FC,

⁵⁷ Maley, *Celtic*, p. 4; Murray, *Old Firm*, pp. 11-13.

⁵⁸ Finn, 'Racism II', pp. 388-389. Finn has criticised Murray for overemphasising Celtic's and Hibernian's Irish-ness, ignoring the two clubs' designs on participating in Scottish society.

⁵⁹ Maley, *Celtic*, pp. 10-11.

⁶⁰ David W. Potter, *Willie Maley: The Man Who Made Celtic* (Stroud, Gloucs.: Tempus, 2003).

⁶¹ *Glasgow Observer*, 11 February 1899.

meanwhile, had the Rev. H. Van Stiphout as master of ceremonies at their March 1900 annual concert, held in the St. Margaret's Church's main hall.⁶² Similarly, a priest associated with Paisley Celtic, Rev. Dr. Mullin, defended clergymen's attendance at football matches in 1889.⁶³ Football was so popular in Greenock's substantial Catholic community that a Greenock Catholic Football Association was in existence by 1886.⁶⁴ Meanwhile, Catholic football in the west of Scotland received its loudest cheerleading in the pages of the Catholic newspaper *Glasgow Observer*, which instituted its own junior charity football cup 'open to all junior teams claiming to be Irish or Catholic.'⁶⁵ Junior football had its more established Catholic footballing entities, such as Benburb FC, a Govan institution noted by the *Observer* in 1895 as being supported by 'South-Side Irishmen' allied with 'fellow countrymen' Celtic and Townhead's St. Mungo's FC.⁶⁶ The need to mirror a Unionist, Presbyterian, *mainstream* sporting social network was born largely out of necessity. The evidence is still inconclusive as to whether *all* Irish immigrant clubs were directly related to Catholic churches, although as will be discussed with regard to Dumbarton in Chapter 5, churches provided a friendly social support network for like-minded immigrant footballers to meet without fear of harassment, intimidation and exclusion. Weir believes that Catholic involvement with football clubs tended to be 'patristic' rather than 'managerial' in nature, meant to strengthen the bonds of the Catholic community far more than impress the imperial ethos of 'muscular Christianity'.⁶⁷

Football and Protestantism

Overall, the Scottish Catholic hierarchy was friendly to the newly-popular sport. Presbyterian churches, however, are more difficult to decipher in terms of their attitude towards the nascent game. The Established Church and the United Presbyterian (UP) Church had no official position on athletics, and attitudes towards sport varied wildly

⁶² *Airdrie Advertiser*, 17 March 1900.

⁶³ *SR*, 22 April 1895.

⁶⁴ *GT*, 11 March 1886.

⁶⁵ *GO*, 11 March 1899. In *GO*, 18 March 1899 and *GO*, 25 March 1899, the clubs signing up for the cup competition are listed as: Glasgow Hibs, Kilmarnock Hibs, Campsie Minerva, Busby Minerva, Uddingston St. John's, Airdrie St. Margaret's, St. Mungo, Loyola, Hogganfield, Kilsyth Emmet, Fauldstone Hibs, Bonhill Hibs, Blantyre Hibs, St. Gerald's, Dumbarton Albion and Glasgow Harp.

⁶⁶ *GO*, 5 October 1895; *GO*, 27 April 1895.

⁶⁷ Weir, 'The clergy'.

between particular ministers and churches. William Watson, the minister at West Bridgend Church in Dumbarton in the late 1880s, was not against the concept of athletics. He was, however, very concerned by football supporters' obsession with their clubs, believing this led only to drinking, gambling and further sin. The *Scottish Referee* wryly attacked this position as being 'a great deal that is original, and nothing that is common sense'.⁶⁸ Rev. Robert Leggat of the Beith UP Church criticised the 'excitement' caused by the game, and was particularly scathing in his condemnation of professional footballers, stating that: 'They had fallen into drinking habits, and had lost character, health and situation.'⁶⁹ Kilmarnock's Rev. John Thomson was perplexed as to why football supporters would rather give their favourite club money than listen to one of his sermons.⁷⁰ The Free Church of Scotland's ministers, however, were far sharper in their criticism, with Rev. John McNeill, at the 1892 Assembly of the Free Church, lamenting the 'wiles of the serpent who was busy wriggling into the country a terrible sin in the shape of "fitba", which had already devoured many.'⁷¹ Weir states that ministers' insecurities regarding the game can be distilled into four arguments regarding the game's evils: that football was a distraction from church; that more money was being spent on football than on the church; that athletes were becoming secular rivals to God; and that the game led to drinking, gambling and other sinful behaviour.⁷² Presbyterian churches, specifically in Dumbarton, Hamilton and Paisley, also believed football to be a 'rival attraction' not just to God, but to the Church itself.⁷³

But these were far from consistent opinions. For example, Free Kirk opposition to football did not prevent one of its committees from noting in 1895 that a decrease in 'immorality' generally occurred when there had been an increase in certain forms of athletics.⁷⁴ Many other Presbyterian clergymen were keen not only to exploit football's popularity, but also foster its participation. Plantation UP Church in Kinning Park, who were at one point Rangers' neighbours, organised a game between its Bible Class and Church Choir in May

⁶⁸ SR, 13 May 1889.

⁶⁹ *Dalry and Kilbirnie Herald*, 12 April 1895.

⁷⁰ Weir, 'The clergy'.

⁷¹ Quoted in *Ibid.*, and Crampsey, "King Football", p. 188.

⁷² Weir, 'The clergy'.

⁷³ T.C. Smout, *A Century of the Scottish People, 1830-1950* (London: Fontana Press, 1986, 1997), p. 154.

⁷⁴ Weir, 'The clergy'.

1890, with the Bible Class winning 6-2.⁷⁵ Not only was Rev. A.R. McEwan minister of the Anderston UP Church, but he was also an advocate of football in its ‘manly’ and ‘gentlemanly’ form, and was president of Finnieston junior club Minerva in 1887.⁷⁶ Football even had its own clerical ambassador: the aforementioned W.W. Beveridge. Almost immediately after his 1883 appointment in Port Glasgow, Beveridge requested to become the patron of Port Glasgow Athletic FC, a club that the *Scottish Athletic Journal* noted was ‘well-connected’.⁷⁷ Twelve years later, the *Port Glasgow Express and Observer* noted that Beveridge’s interest in the club was still running strong, with ‘the Rev. W. W.’ appearing prominently in the stands at a match against Renton at Clune Park, Port Glasgow.⁷⁸ Beveridge, according to Weir, regularly received space for his opinions in the *Scottish Athletic Journal*, one time revealing his body to be a temple of alcoholic abstinence.⁷⁹

Presbyterian clergy typically relied on their more influential parishioners to take the lead with regard to self-improvement. Churches in the late-nineteenth century were becoming increasingly influenced by middle-class parishioners, ones who sought a wider role for the church in the mitigation of urbanisation’s social by-products.⁸⁰ Church voluntary organisations were at the forefront of this movement. In order to broaden their message, these volunteer missionary groups were forced to make changes to their often educational missions, trimming dogma and introducing more robust programmes that sought to engage rather than sermonise. The focus, as Callum Brown states, was shifting to ‘sport, outings and militaristic youth movements’. A case in point was the YMCA, which by the 1880s had become ‘predominantly a sporting outfit.’⁸¹ The Bands of Hope and, more importantly, the Boys’ Brigade, increasingly turned to sport in order to woo working-class youths. The Boys’ Brigade was a crucial exponent of football in Glasgow, and provides an intriguing example of the meeting of secular leisure and patriotic and religious

⁷⁵ *SS*, 27 May 1890.

⁷⁶ *SU*, 5 January 1887; *SAJ*, 6 September 1887.

⁷⁷ *SAJ*, 8 June 1883.

⁷⁸ *Port Glasgow Express and Observer*, 5 April 1895.

⁷⁹ *SAJ*, 13 October 1882, quoted in Weir, ‘The clergy’.

⁸⁰ Callum G. Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London: Methuen, 1987), p. 143.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

improvement.⁸² Graham Walker and Tom Gallagher refer to the Boys' Brigade as a 'popular expression of empire', and Walker also believes that the organisation 'further reinforced the "loyalist" ethic' with regard to future Rangers support.⁸³ The organisation was founded by Col. William A. Smith of the 1st LRV in 1883. Smith, a member of the Free Church, was a native of Thurso on Scotland's northern coast, and came from a heavily military background. Influenced by his own membership in the Glasgow YMCA, as well as the 1874 evangelical revival tour of Scotland by Americans Dwight Moody and Ira Sankey, Smith petitioned the elders at the College Free Church in Glasgow's West End for a religious programme to occupy boys from their early to late teens, years largely ignored by the YMCA and other organisations.⁸⁴ Smith planned to introduce the 'brigade' system, one based 'within a framework of military discipline', complete with uniforms.⁸⁵ The organisation's 'Object' was the 'advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys and the promotion of habits of Reverence, Discipline, Self-respect and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness.'⁸⁶ The mission operated out of North Woodside, and evangelical Christians were keen to spread the format throughout Glasgow and the rest of Scotland.⁸⁷

Athletics were a crucial component of the Brigades' activities, so important that the first annual athletic sports day of the Glasgow Battalion of the Boys' Brigade was held immediately after the first annual inspection of the companies at Burnbank on 8 April 1886. The sports day, held at an expense of over £16, made a profit of over £38.⁸⁸ The Glasgow Battalion's First Annual Report in 1885-86 also requested that names of any sporting club, including football, interested in playing matches against other Boys' Brigade companies be forwarded to the Battalion secretary for transmission.⁸⁹ One of

⁸² Bilsborough, 'Sport in Glasgow', pp. 144-149, also discusses the importance of the Boys' Brigade in fostering football in Glasgow. Bilsborough, however, is somewhat more convinced of the Boys' Brigade footballers' commitments to amateurism.

⁸³ Graham Walker and Tom Gallagher, 'Protestantism and Scottish politics', in *Sermons and Battle Hymns*, ed. by Walker and Gallagher, p. 87; Walker, "'Glasgow Rangers'", p. 142.

⁸⁴ John Springhall (coordinating ed.), Brian Fraser, Michael Hoare, *Sure & Stedfast: A History of the Boys' Brigade, 1883 to 1983* (London: Collins, 1983), pp. 28-39. Maver, *Glasgow*, pp. 146-148, discusses how the evangelical thinking influenced Glasgow (and Scottish) politics in the late nineteenth century.

⁸⁵ Springhall et al, *Sure & Stedfast*, pp. 28-39.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁸⁸ GUL, *The Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, First Annual Report, 1885-86*, presented at first annual meeting of the Battalion Council, 27 September 1886, pp. 3-5.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

these matches, in 1889, included a face-off between 42nd BBs and 23rd BBs, held on the ground of Glasgow's United Abstainers. The man of the match, according to the *Scottish Referee*, was Alick McMillan, who wished to play for Dumbarton when he grew up.⁹⁰ By 1891, the Glasgow Battalion introduced a formal cup competition – the first victors being 31st BB (St. Vincent Parish Church Sunday School and Band of Hope) – and instituted inter-city matches with Edinburgh and Sheffield.⁹¹ This particular competition inspired some members to make the leap to football outwith the organisation. *Scottish Referee* noted in July 1898 that officials of the Glasgow junior club Corunna was heavily comprised of members and officials from 41st Boys' Brigade FC, champions of the 1895 and 1896 Boys' Brigade Cup.⁹²

Conclusion

As the examples of the Boys' Brigade clubs show, football's impact among the working class had less to do with upholding the British Empire, and more to do with forging a semi-permanent niche in a field in which they saw themselves succeeding against better-heeled opponents. This was the case especially for Celtic and other Catholic clubs; who, as will be discussed in the next section, faced discrimination both on the employment front and on the football pitch, and therefore used football as a means of uniting their local communities. Middle-class Highlanders' contributions to the early Scottish game are incalculable, in no small part due to their ability to utilise both friendly society and business connections to their advantage. The Presbyterian struggle with rational recreation created windows for many future footballers, paradoxically allowing many of them to forget altogether the game's initial moral connotations within the Kirk's youth organisations.

⁹⁰ *SR*, 10 June 1889.

⁹¹ J. Berend Shaw, *The Glasgow Battalion of the Boys' Brigade, 1883-1983* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1983), pp. 19-20.

⁹² *SR*, 29 July 1898.

II: FOOTBALL AND INDUSTRY

4. FOOTBALL AND INDUSTRY: THEORY

The academic obsession with the Old Firm has come at the cost of studying football in the west of Scotland's other industrial communities, studies which tell historians a great deal about the region's history, as well as Scottish football's past and present. Particularly in village and neighbourhood clubs, footballers were friends and work colleagues off the pitch. When professionalism arrived, senior clubs' links with their native localities became heavily eroded. But professionalism did not immediately lead to the decline of community football, and Scottish football's two-tier senior/junior system allowed – and even encouraged – a continuous local football programme. Bairner states that: 'For most of its history, Scottish football has been a favourite pastime of the nation's working-class men ... it has been the industrial working class which has provided the game in Scotland with the overwhelming majority of its most fervent adherents.'¹ Indeed it is Bairner who uses popular sport literature, in the form of Robin Jenkins's 1954 novel *The Thistle and the Grail*, to better examine the social milieu of Scottish industrial working class.² Understanding the origins and associations of many early clubs, as well as the *ad hoc* popularity of the game in the Victorian period, requires a historical perspective outwith established sport history on the west of Scotland.

While the general trends in Scottish sport and leisure exist, these trends are not always universal, and give little feel for the atmosphere of specific industrial communities in west central Scotland. The region's football is far better covered by local history and supporter-inflected club history. Elsewhere, with regard to his research on the male working-class culture of Coventry, Brad Beaven makes the case that football's popularity was crucial in creating a sense of shared communal identity amongst Coventry's migrant community.³ N.A. Phelps, meanwhile, identifies Portsmouth FC as an important part of the local shipbuilding culture.⁴ Scotland's politics, and west central Scotland's unique social milieu, however, complicate attempts at cross-Border comparisons. That complexity is only

¹ Bairner, 'Football', p. 96.

² Alan Bairner, 'Memory and the Literary Imagination: Religion, Politics and Football in Robin Jenkins's *The Thistle and the Grail*', *Sport in History* 29 (2) (June 2009), pp. 171-189.

³ Brad Beaven, *Leisure, citizenship and working-class men in Britain, 1850-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 72-80.

⁴ N.A. Phelps, 'Professional football and local identity in the 'golden age': Portsmouth in the mid-twentieth century', *Urban History* 32, 3 (2005), pp. 450-480.

hinted at in the large volume of historiography on the Old Firm. One of Finn's main criticisms of Murray's *The Old Firm* is that Murray does little to examine the early associations and patronage of Rangers, adding that more work needs to be done on the figures responsible for the founding, patronage and support of other Scottish football clubs. While Finn is generally over-enthusiastic about the need to view *all* of early Scottish football through sectarian lenses, he is correct that insufficient research has been performed into this rather rich vein of historical inquiry – while then proceeding to perform only a small part of it himself. In industrial communities throughout the west of Scotland, Victorian football's links did not merely exist with the SFA, Queen's Park and Glasgow's other major clubs, but with the local civic and industrial elites, typically the primary local employer, who often acted as a patron or an honorary president, and in whose factories the players often worked.

During the late nineteenth century, individuals such as Alexander Wylie, the Orr-Ewings, the Dennys and the Bairds of Gartsherrie were great figures in their home communities, and were heavily paternalistic towards employees. Wylie, whose writings will be discussed in Chapter 5, was perhaps the most emblematic of this trend. Based at Renton, Dunbartonshire, this turkey red dye proprietor admired Robert Owen, the co-operative pioneer who attempted to create workers' utopias in New Lanark and Orbiston, Lanarkshire during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.⁵ Owenite paternalism, while well-intentioned in its attempts to create a more humane industrial society, was still a top-down regime created by the employer. Part of Owen's seductive (if not universal) appeal amongst Britain's politicians and industrialists was that his more humane treatment of workers was an antidote to revolution, radicalism and a more equitable re-ordering of the social hierarchy.⁶ Thus, it reasons that if men such as Alexander Wylie were supporters of early football clubs in the west of Scotland, then these men no doubt used sport as a vehicle for social control.

But was this actually the case? Labour historian William Knox is certainly suspicious of the motives of sport's early patrons in Scotland, believing that sport, in concert with religious education, temperance campaigns, and the bourgeois trappings of friendly

⁵ Alexander Wylie of Cordale, *Labour, leisure and luxury: a contribution to present practical political economy* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1884), p. 37.

⁶ Ian Donnachie, *Robert Owen: Owen of New Lanark and New Harmony* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), pp. 113-132; R.H. Campbell, *Scotland Since 1707: The Rise of an Industrial Society* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985), pp. 164-166.

associations, was a powerful symbol of paternalistic industrialists.⁷ Burnett similarly believes that many wealthy patrons of sport participated as a means of obtaining respect from the local community.⁸ Other scholars are wary of assigning social control as the sole reason for sport's popularity amongst the Scottish working class. Resistance to elite control theories of Scottish football has long been entrenched, beginning as early as 1981, when Hay was especially scathing of certain Marxist attempts to view football as a means of distracting the Scottish proletariat from worldly concerns.⁹ It is Tranter, however, who is most convincing in making the case against sport's popularity as merely 'a conspiracy of the elites'. While he believes that concern on the part of Victorian elites led to the development of sport amongst the working class in parts of Britain, he also believes that there is little direct evidence these elites – be they industrial, political, or educational – were in any way interested in the *management* of sport clubs.¹⁰ Indeed, there is little evidence to suggest that any west of Scotland industrialists were involved in the day-to-day running of football clubs. Tranter states that, while believers in the games cult of the schools and the military did exist in Scotland's Lowland communities, patrons of nineteenth-century sport clubs typically provided their support for three reasons: to improve the population's quality of life, to enhance the prestige of the patrons' communities, and to 'promote individual or community wealth.'¹¹ In other words, patronage was as much for the patrons as it was for the players.

This is not to state that these desires for social control were non-existent on the part of working-class leisure's elite proponents. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, Volunteerism's supporters certainly had aspirations of social control, and many Clydeside industrialists bought into the robust social and physical programme of citizen soldiering in the hope of inculcating unity and loyalty amongst employees. This hope amongst employers, however, may have been just that – and furthermore, one which bore little resemblance to the reality. Tranter similarly states that Victorian elite patrons, many of whom were far too cynical to believe that an out-of-control, working-class recreation could

⁷ W.W. Knox, *Industrial nation: work, culture and society in Scotland, 1800-present* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), pp. 94-103.

⁸ Burnett, 'Sport', p. 237.

⁹ Roy Hay, 'Soccer and social control in Scotland, 1873-1978', in *Sport: Money, Morality and the Media*, ed. by Richard Cashman and Michael McKernan (Kensington, New South Wales: New South Wales University Press, 1981), pp. 223-247.

¹⁰ Tranter, *Sport, economy and society*, pp. 32-51.

¹¹ Tranter, 'Patronage', pp. 237-246.

be used to create loyalty to their names or their companies, did believe in using sport as a means of assisting the working class in the adoption of bourgeois values. Tranter is unsure even then, believing that Almond-style muscular Christianity, as practised in the private schools, existed to meet ‘the character-building requirements of society’s leaders and [were] not for the training of those who were to be led’.¹² Tranter *does* believe, however, that many patrons of working-class clubs were interested in sport as a means of increasing physical productivity in their businesses, and that works’ clubs were set up for their positive psychological effects, especially in victory.¹³

Yet as will be discussed, west of Scotland Liberal employers (and, from a greater distance, Conservative ones as well) were keen believers in self-help and social mobility, and exemplify a particular strain of paternalism that melded moral and mental improvement with physical. Regardless of their beliefs, their version of sport was not to be realised, as professionalism ultimately undermined almost any ideas of control held by elites over football. While Tranter briefly mentions professionalism and its flouting of class conventions in the face of the private school games ethic, play-for-pay also shattered the illusion that even the most powerful paternalist employers were in charge of *every* aspect of their employees’ lives. Professional sport, while an exceedingly difficult industry to succeed in, allowed many tradesmen freedom of movement, as well as an alternative route to social mobility.¹⁴ This was especially the case in the Vale of Leven and Dumbarton, where professionalism not only undermined Dunbartonshire’s presence in the senior football circuit, but also forced local industrialists to back away from an activity – now a *product* – that they viewed as morally corrosive.

Further complicating any attempt at grafting a social control theory onto early Scottish football was the relationship between Clydeside workers and employees, one which was not always adversarial, especially amongst artisans, whose status differed heavily from unskilled, largely Irish Catholic workers. In the mid- to late-nineteenth century, the relationship between employers in west central Scotland and the various levels of labour beneath them was acknowledged, both by employee and employer, to be a hierarchical one; one in which the divisions of labour kept their distance while respecting each other’s status. Artisans were encouraged to participate in friendly societies, charity organisations and

¹² Tranter, *Sport, economy and society*, pp. 38-46.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 67-71, discusses the difficulties of succeeding in the world of British professional sport.

building societies. Employers largely did this as a means of maintaining good relations and avoiding work stoppages, as well gaining the skilled workers' backing in the disparate employers' attempts to halt perceived socialist and Catholic infiltration.¹⁵ At the same time, Glasgow's considerable body of working-class Conservatives, under the auspices of the Glasgow Working Men's Conservative Association (later the Glasgow Conservative Association), heavily supported the status quo, especially with regard to the Established Church of Scotland, and there was great support for the party amongst Orange Order members.¹⁶ A dilemma arose for the overwhelmingly pro-Empire Liberal employers, when Prime Minister William Ewart Gladstone suddenly supported Irish Home Rule in 1886. This loosely united Liberal Unionists and Conservatives, splitting the Liberal party, and forcing some of the more radical trade unionists, notably James Keir Hardie, to consider forming an independent Labour electoral bloc.¹⁷ To varying degrees, Maver, Finn, Joseph Melling and Iain Hutchison all believe that Irish Home Rule was *the* defining political issue of the 1880s in the west of Scotland.¹⁸

Where does football fit into this political and industrial universe? Tranter's research in central Scotland, and Billsborough's research in Glasgow, has shown, as will the forthcoming chapters, that the overwhelming majority of working-class sport clubs in Scotland were artisanal.¹⁹ Near Stirling in 1890, a football match between two ironworks was even noted by the local press as a novelty; although this was far less of a novelty in the west of Scotland.²⁰ The majority of organised sporting clubs in the region did not typically include unskilled workers. Finn makes the connection that 'unskilled', in the west of Scotland, meant overwhelmingly 'Irish Catholic', thus forcing most (but not all) Catholic footballers to form their own clubs. Many Protestant Irish, however, were unskilled themselves.²¹ There was not only a sectarian dimension to elite patronage, and it is

¹⁵ Joseph Melling, 'Scottish Industrialists and the Changing Character of Class Relations in the Clyde Region c. 1880-1918', in *Capital and Class in Scotland*, ed. by Tony Dickson (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982), pp. 69-104.

¹⁶ I.G.C. Hutchison, 'Glasgow Working Class Politics', in *The Working Class in Glasgow, 1750-1914*, ed. by R.A. Cage (London: Croom Helm, 1987) pp. 126-130.

¹⁷ Melling, 'Class Relations', p. 94; Maver, *Glasgow*, pp. 149-153.

¹⁸ Finn, 'Scottish Myopia', pp. 57-63.

¹⁹ Tranter, *Sport, economy and society in Britain*, pp. 40-41; Idem., 'Social and Occupational Structure', pp. 301-314; Billsborough, 'Sport in Glasgow', pp. 243-281.

²⁰ Tranter, *Sport, economy and society*, pp. 40-41.

²¹ Finn, 'Racism I', pp. 82-83; Graham Walker, 'The Protestant Irish in Scotland', in *Irish immigrants and Scottish society in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: proceedings of the Scottish historical studies*

necessary to remember that *Protestant* footballers faced their own challenges in the creation of successful footballing outfits. In central Scotland, finding a suitable football pitch was crucial to survival; and, in heavily industrialised locations such as Falkirk, the lack of available space, and ease with which grounds could be seized for development, doomed several fledgling clubs to extinction.²² Similarly, in East Northumberland's colliery communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the stability of clubs was directly linked to the availability of work. As a result, the game in the region was in a constant state of 'chronic instability,' with the overwhelming majority of colliers' clubs lasting less than a year due to insecure financing.²³ It is appropriate, then, that the most crucial element of industrialists' support for west of Scotland football clubs appears to have been the supplying of private grounds, in many cases complete with stands and clubhouses. Without access to private grounds, many overambitious clubs died a quick death; those whose patrons donated *free* grounds had a massive competitive advantage out the gate.

The involvement of paternalist industrialists in assisting of early football clubs once again arouses the question of social control. Yet it is too easy to postulate conspiracy theories with regard to their involvement in sport. Maver, who is also suspicious of the social control theory of Scottish sport, believes the region's mutual associations were often far from sinister, placing Victorian Scottish sport in a context heavily connected with workplace fraternalism. Friendly societies and fraternities, such as Freemasonry, initially came to exist in Scotland through an ancient and organic process, partly developed from a feudal burghal system that heavily incorporated trade and craft guilds into the social fabric of Scottish towns. This allowed organisations such as the Free Colliers, and even latecomers like the Orange Order, to act as support networks to the working class of the countryside long before trade unions strengthened and became better organised in the latter half of the nineteenth century.²⁴ In Protestant mining communities, there was a strong emphasis on the shared values of Protestant employer and Protestant worker, especially

seminar — University of Strathclyde 1989-90, ed. by T.M. Devine (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1991), pp. 58-59.

²² Tranter, 'Chronology II', pp. 370-371. Tranter, 'Patronage', p. 228, states that the withdrawal of private patronage could wholly lead to a club's demise if it was over-reliant on patronage.

²³ Metcalfe, 'Northumberland', pp. 270-281.

²⁴ Maver, 'Scottish workplace', pp. 513-516.

within the Orange Order.²⁵ Robert Duncan believes that such organisations were emblems of the ‘disunity’ which internally divided Protestant and Catholic miners and their communities.²⁶ Trade union historian Alan Campbell furthermore believes that the ‘class collaborationist values’ espoused by the Free Colliers, while not universal, were understood within the unique context of the Scottish social and political system, providing a reciprocal interaction for employers and their skilled employees.²⁷ Mutual respect often existed between the two; and, in the case of football, industrialists’ patronage of clubs was not forced, but typically requested by the clubs’ members themselves, most notably with Greenock Morton FC. The west of Scotland’s elite’s relationships with football clubs was not one of management; it was of *association*, with the association considered mutually beneficial to both.

It was exclusion from this circle that went on to define Scottish football thereafter, making Celtic and Rangers part of a wider programme involved in the complex Clydeside industrial hierarchy, one which must be examined by its *local* complications as well as its national ones. Scottish historians have typically viewed football from the top down, with T.M. Devine explaining the eventual massive popularity of Celtic and Rangers as a process of the two clubs becoming ‘the standard-bearers of their two communities’.²⁸ Therefore, while it is necessary occasionally to make general conclusions, the west of Scotland’s football fraternity, at its Victorian inception, was a far more complicated collection of groups rather than two mere headings of ‘Protestant’ and ‘Catholic’. The complexities of these local industrial communities, and the challenges faced by footballers within them, will now be examined, beginning with the county of Dunbartonshire, the region that dominated Scottish football during the 1870s and 1880s.

²⁵ Alan Campbell, *The Scottish Miners, 1874-1939 – Volume One: Industry, Work and Community* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 343-344.

²⁶ Robert Duncan, *The Mineworkers* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2003), p. 139.

²⁷ Campbell, *Scottish Miners*, pp. 256-269. Campbell also examines specific coal mining villages, such as Annbank and Larkhall, where coalmasters and their officials lived alongside their workers.

²⁸ T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2007* (London: Penguin Books, 2006), pp. 361-362.

5. FOOTBALL AND WORKPLACE PATERNALISM IN DUNBARTONSHIRE

Queen's Park may have had an exclusive membership, but the club was nevertheless anxious to make contact with potential recruits in the athletic world. Aside from connections with Kilmarnock and Hamilton Academies, links with working-class shinty players in the county of Dunbartonshire were ultimately to provide Queen's Park with its most durable foes in the annual pursuit of the Scottish Cup. Dunbartonshire had a major influence in the development of Scottish football, with Harvie describing the Vale of Leven, a region of calico-producing villages along the River Leven, as 'the cradle of Scots soccer'.¹ The region produced Renton and Vale of Leven, the first two Scottish clubs to break the domination of the genteel Queen's Park. Sport in the Vale was co-opted by the didactic regimes of Alexander Wylie and the Orr-Ewing family as a means of creating solidarity and respectability amongst its workforce. Wylie is especially important, the very personification of a British paternalist reformer, who attempted to propagate his own version of Utopia in the small village of Renton. Wylie and William Stirling & Sons' turkey red dye works in Renton, as well as the dye works of Archibald and John Orr-Ewing & Co. under the Orr-Ewings and their nephew William Ewing Gilmour, were fully involved with 'muscular Christian' pursuits. Whether their workers were as interested in muscular Christianity, however, is a matter for debate. Meanwhile, at the mouth of the River Leven lay the ancient burgh of Dumbarton, a major shipbuilding town whose football was heavily tied to the fortunes of the similarly-minded Denny shipbuilding dynasty.

Football supplanted shinty as the dominant participant and spectator sport in the region. Shinty's first recorded match in the area was played in February 1852 between the Orr-Ewings' two works.² At the outset of the 1870s, the game was still heavily encouraged by the factory owners; in March 1870, the two rival works played each other to a crowd of two thousand people in Alexandria.³ Roger Hutchinson states that both Vale of Leven and Renton initially 'divided their time equally' between football and shinty, 'with almost

¹ Christopher Harvie, 'Sport and the Scottish State', in *Scottish Sport in the Making of the Nation*, ed. by Jarvie and Walker, p. 53.

² John Neill, *Records and reminiscences of Bonhill Parish* (Hoddesdon, Herts.: Steven Apps, 1979), pp. 188-189.

³ A first-hand account of the game is given in Weir, *Boys*, p. 3.

equal measures of success between the two sports.⁴ Queen's Park's self-invitation into the region, nevertheless, swung the balance in favour of association football: the club provided an exhibition of the game against Alexandria's shinty players, resulting in the eventual formation of a 'rugby and athletic' club in August 1872.⁵ Meanwhile, Dumbarton FC began life as a group of shinty players, changing their sport in December 1872 after an invitation to play Queen's Park in Glasgow.⁶ Shinty never recovered from football's introduction: in 1912, John Neill acknowledged that: 'Shinty is now a dead game in the Vale of Leven.'⁷ Football, however, was alive and well. Vale of Leven were Scottish Cup champions in 1877, 1878 and 1879, making the final in four other years. Renton were winners of the cup in 1885 and 1888.⁸ Two crowning achievements in the region's football occurred in the 1880s: Renton and Vale of Leven meeting in the 1885 Scottish Cup final, and Renton's 4-1 victory over West Bromwich Albion in the dubiously-dubbed 1888 'world championship' match at a soaked Hampden.⁹ (See Figure 14.3.) Meanwhile, Dumbarton FC reached their apex during the same years. After winning the Scottish Cup in 1883, and finishing as runners-up four other years, the 'Sons of the Rock' were SFL champions for the 1890 inaugural campaign (which they shared with Rangers), as well as 1891.¹⁰

Alexander Wylie, turkey red and Renton Football Club

Journalist and historian George Eyre-Todd referred to Wylie as the driving force behind football in the region, stating that 'he did much to encourage in healthy lines the game of football of which the region [the Vale of Leven] was for many years the most famous centre'.¹¹ (See Figure 14.4.) Wylie himself, in a speech to the Scottish Clerks'

⁴ Hutchinson, *Camanachd!*, pp. 107-108. Weir, *Boys*, p. 98, quotes an 1878 *North British Daily Mail* article stating that in their first match against Queen's Park in 1872 Vale of Leven lined up in a shinty formation.

⁵ Weir, *Boys*, p. 3.

⁶ Jim McAllister, *The Sons of the Rock: The Official History of Dumbarton Football Club* (Dumbarton: Dumbarton Football Club, 2002), pp. 1-2. McAllister states that the players' first official match as 'Dumbarton Football Club' took place on 12 April 1873 in Dumbarton against Jamestown.

⁷ Neill, *Records*, pp. 188-189.

⁸ Keevins and McCarra, *100 Cups*, pp. 15-40, pp. 228-231.

⁹ Crampsey, "King Football", p. 191.

¹⁰ Keevins and McCarra, *100 Cups*, pp. 228-231; Crampsey, *First 100 Years*, p. 279.

¹¹ Eyre-Todd, *Who's Who* <<http://gdl.cdlr.strath.ac.uk/eyrwho/eyrwho1831.htm>> [accessed 24 June 2008]. See Figure 14.4 for an illustration of Wylie.

Association in 1890, noted that Renton FC were comprised mainly of men from his turkey red dye works, representing different positions, from manual labourers to clerks.¹² The club's members were able to secure the private Tontine Park 'chiefly through the liberality of Mr. A Wylie, who ha[d] been the club's hon. president since its formation', in this case, since the club's 1882 reorganisation.¹³ The *Scottish Athletic Journal* stated in June 1887 that 'almost the whole of the team were employed in the Messrs. Wylie's works', and that they typically competed in football 'after completing a day's work'.¹⁴ This was by no means an easy task, as the *Journal* commented when it visited Renton later in the year for a match against Queen's Park:

Most of the Vale [of Leven] players are in the works of Sir Archibald Orr Ewing, and the Renton team to a man, I understand, are employed by Messrs. William Stirling & Sons ... We would imagine that the stifling and almost poisonous atmosphere of calico work would kill all taste for athletic pursuits. But if we are to judge by the recent history of Renton and other places down that way, such is not the case.¹⁵

Watching many of these matches from his own spot in the permanent stand at Tontine Park was Wylie himself, with his associates.¹⁶ Wylie was always nearby the club in their victories, and after their Scottish Cup victory in 1885, Wylie invited the club to his grand Cordale estate, 'where they entertained right royally'.¹⁷ He was also a trustee of the Glasgow Charity Cup Committee.¹⁸

Wylie grew up in the Vale of Leven, an area surrounded by the calico and print works that heavily involved both sides of his family. Wylie's father John introduced turkey red dyeing to the region in 1843 through his employment at Archibald Orr-Ewing's works in Alexandria. It was in this particular process that Wylie built upon his family's fortunes, gaining employment in the works of William Stirling & Sons in Renton in 1874,

¹² Alexander Wylie of Cordale, *Physical Recreation: An address delivered under the auspices of the Scottish Clerks' Association* (Perth: Cowan & Co., 1890), pp. 3-4, pp. 10-11.

¹³ *SAJ*, 7 February 1888.

¹⁴ *SAJ*, 14 June 1887.

¹⁵ *SAJ*, 4 October 1887.

¹⁶ *SU*, 18 January 1887, gives an account of this during Renton's FA Cup match against Preston North End. This was despite the game's eventual postponement due to a frosty pitch.

¹⁷ *SU*, 3 April 1885.

¹⁸ Wray Vamplew, "'Remembering us year after year": The Glasgow Charity Cup 1876-1966', in *Revista de História de Esporte* 1 (2) (December 2008), pp. 13-14.

eventually acquiring the business and becoming a partner after four years.¹⁹ There was a complex labour and gender hierarchy in the region around this time, one heavily stratified according to skill level.²⁰ After reluctantly running as a Conservative in the 1889 election, Wylie was elected to Parliament as a Liberal Unionist for Dunbartonshire in 1895.²¹ Meanwhile, Wylie's and the Orr-Ewings' works yielded to market pressures by merging in 1897 into one company: the United Turkey Red Company.²² In the wake of this merger came redundancies: the number of employees was halved from 6,000 to 3,000 by World War I. Over the long term, the Vale of Leven was left rudderless by employers whose paternalism saw them heavily involved in the lives of their workers, often eschewing the need or ability for trade union organisation.²³ Wylie's various projects included a seat on the School Board and activism in the Volunteer movement, a literary society and a mechanics' institute in the village. The £600 building of the institute was paid for by the Stirling works.²⁴ Roddy Gallacher states that this paternalism led to a perception of the Vale's workforce as 'displaying docility'.²⁵

Few industrialists articulated this father-son relationship towards employees better than Wylie. His collection of essays and speeches, *Labour, leisure and luxury: a contribution to present practical political economy*, was essentially a treatise on social mobility, stating in its conclusion that 'the acquisition of property by the working classes' was the key towards solving the great questions of the day. Collective ownership and trade unionism penalised workers who lived frugally; the ultimate goal was in 'the working-man becoming his own capitalist.'²⁶ The crucial aspect of this belief, however, is hinted at in his preface:

¹⁹ Stuart Macintyre, *Little Moscows: Communism and Working-class Militancy in Inter-war Britain* (London: Croom Holm, 1980), p. 82; Eyre-Todd, *Who's Who* <<http://gdl.cdlr.strath.ac.uk/eyrwho/eyrwho1831.htm>> [accessed 25 June 2008].

²⁰ Melling, 'Class Relations', p. 71.

²¹ Eyre-Todd, *Who's Who* <<http://gdl.cdlr.strath.ac.uk/eyrwho/eyrwho1831.htm>> [accessed 25 June 2008]; Roddy Gallacher, 'The Vale of Leven 1914-1975: Changes in Working Class Organisation and Action', in *Capital and Class in Scotland*, ed. by Dickson, p. 187; I.G.C. Hutchison, *A Political History of Scotland, 1832-1924: Parties, Elections and Issues* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986), p. 210.

²² George Rawlinson and Anna Robinson, 'The United Turkey Red strike, December 1911', in *Roots of Red Clydeside 1910-1914? Labour Unrest and Industrial Relations in West Scotland*, ed. by William Kenefick and Arthur McIvor (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1996), p. 179.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 179-180; Gallacher, 'Vale of Leven', pp. 186-189.

²⁴ Macintyre, *Little Moscows*, pp. 82-83.

²⁵ Gallacher, 'Vale of Leven', p. 187.

²⁶ Wylie, *Labour*, pp. 182-183, p. 230. Macintyre discusses the collection in *Little Moscows*, p. 83, p. 188.

the workers, Wylie asserts, were ‘incapable of united action by themselves’, and needed ‘the strong guidance of the capitalist, or, to use the good old-fashioned word, “the master.”’²⁷ Even in the case of child labour, Wylie laid blame heavily at the feet of the waste and alcoholic ‘luxuriousness’ of the labourers, to whom he believed recent reforms had granted hitherto unprecedented wages and leisure time – an average of twenty-one hours per week in Britain, according to him.²⁸

Rational recreation was very much at the heart of Wylie’s reforming mission, as alcohol, which he blamed for retarding production in his factories, was only a small component of the working man’s misdirected leisure interests:

They are more thoroughly luxurious in the expenditure of their means than their superiors, and are joint supporters with [the wealthy] of many of the most objectionable luxuries – the sensational dramas, burlesques, and obscene dances of the stage, the excitement and gambling of the racecourse, and vicious amusements to which it is not necessary here to mention.²⁹

Wylie saw his workers’ play as a means of self-improvement. In his speech to the clerks, he offered his definition of recreation, and how he saw it as benefiting Man:

What is recreation? It is the pleasant, grateful rest of our tired but not over-fatigued bodies, with the active, delightful exercise of our fresh faculties, recreation of the proper sort, following moderate work, helps to make of a complete man inasmuch as it brings into play, and develops those faculties that would otherwise remain dormant...³⁰

Wylie believed that recreation was *not* the point in and of itself, with the mental end of the individual’s improvement being equally as critical as the physical.³¹ The guiding hand, he stated, must always be present to lead the way, for ‘the teachers can never be those who are poor – they must be those who are not obliged to work at all.’³² Games, in his mind, were not merely intended to be entertaining. Indeed, Wylie slammed ex-Renton footballers who became professionals, believing that ‘sport when pursued as an occupation, and not within the strict bounds of moderate recreation, has a generally deteriorating effect.’³³ Wylie

²⁷ Wylie, *Labour*, p. ix.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-50, pp. 53-55; p. 130. This calculation is also noted by Macintyre, *Little Moscows*, p. 83.

²⁹ Wylie, *Labour*, p. 113 (quote), p. 128.

³⁰ Wylie, *Physical Recreation*, pp. 3-4.

³¹ Wylie, *Labour*, p. 72.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

³³ Wylie, *Physical Recreation*, p. 4.

believed in amateur athletes cut from the cultured cloth of H.H. Almond and other Victorian schoolmasters, who emphasised sport's respectability 'for the encouragement of that manly, brave, thoroughly fair and gentlemanly demeanour in their games which has characterised the youth of many of our public schools'.³⁴ His passionate belief in muscular Christianity was confirmed by Donald Macleod, whose *Historic Families, Notable People, and Memorabilia, of the Lennox* featured generous dedication to Wylie for his social improvement efforts:

[Wylie] is a great advocate of muscular Christianity, and, believing strongly in a sound mind being furnished with a sound body through which to work out its behests, he takes a lively interest in athletics. The famous Renton football team, for two or three years champions of the world, came under Mr Wylie's fostering care when mere lads, and into these he infused a spirit of fair play that bore precious fruit.³⁵

The Orr-Ewings, Vale of Leven FC, shinty and the Volunteer movement

Wylie's words on sport and improvement have survived the ages, but the Orr-Ewing family of nearby Alexandria was as important to the paternalist working culture of Dunbartonshire. Archibald Orr-Ewing's approach towards employee relations was different to Wylie's. In Parliament, Orr-Ewing was a predecessor of Wylie, serving as a Conservative for Dunbartonshire from 1869 to 1892, being made a baron in 1886.³⁶ Orr-Ewing's continual re-election was largely assured through his considerable presence in the lives of his workers. As the builder and owner of his workers' Jamestown dwellings, Orr-Ewing essentially compelled his workers to vote Conservative, especially before 1872, when secret balloting was not yet established.³⁷ Even so, Orr-Ewing erected the Jamestown Institute, an educational and cultural centre for his workers.³⁸ The Orr-Ewings' principal partner, nephew William Ewing Gilmour, however, was cut from a similar cloth to Wylie, and was far more active in providing educational and recreational activities for the men and women of the works. Gilmour was made a partner in the family business in 1878 at age twenty-four. For £12,000, he erected the Ewing-Gilmour Institute for Men in

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 10-11.

³⁵ Donald Macleod, *Historic Families, Notable People, and Memorabilia, of the Lennox* (Dumbarton: A. Lawrance, 1891), p. 23.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 66.

³⁷ Richard J. Finlay, 'Urbanisation and Industrialisation: West Dunbartonshire since 1750', in *Changing Identities, Ancient Roots*, ed. by Brown, p. 77.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 77-78.

Alexandria, which opened in 1884, designed to give ‘a liberal and choice supply of literature and means of recreation’.³⁹ At the same time, the Institute for Women was being built at a cost of £20,000.⁴⁰ A Liberal Unionist, Gilmour was Chairman of Trustees for the Alexandria Parish Church, and in 1876 was elected Chairman of the Bonhill School Board, annually awarding a £25 bursary to a student in the region.⁴¹ Although Gilmour was not as tightly bound with Vale of Leven FC as Wylie was with Renton, he nevertheless was keenly interested in outdoor sport. Gilmour was a fencer, and was also a member of Loch Lomond Regatta Club and the West of Scotland Swimming Club.⁴² While chairing the annual Vale of Leven FC ‘festival’ in March 1890 (with the interior ‘tastefully draped with muslin and turkey red’), Gilmour took a definitive position against professionalism in football. He ‘contrasted the games of the ancient Greeks with those of the present day, and pointed out that the contestants in the former strove harder for the honour of being victors than the paid athletes of these days did.’⁴³

Wylie, like Gilmour, saw sport in an imperial context, and his favourite ‘social physical exercise’, as he put it, was ‘volunteering’.⁴⁴ Wylie believed that football provided a similar social service to the Volunteer force:

The most popular game throughout this country at present ... is Football, and when properly pursued it forms a splendid means of physical recreation. It is hardy games like this which give that warlike spirit and vigour to our army of voluntary soldiers which is the wonder of all the nations who have to recruit their regiments by means of enforced conscription.⁴⁵

Harvie theorises that football’s popularity in the Vale of Leven was due to the presence of a strong Volunteer movement, heavily encouraged by Wylie and the Orr-Ewings.⁴⁶ The Vale’s major calico works each raised a separate company in the 1st Dunbartonshire Rifle Volunteers, with the owners serving as commanding officers and company officials taking

³⁹ Macleod, *Historic Families*, pp. 117-124; *TB* 865, 15 May 1889.

⁴⁰ Macleod, *Historic Families*, p. 117.

⁴¹ *TB* 865, 15 May 1889.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *SS*, 18 March 1890.

⁴⁴ Wylie, *Labour*, p. 9.

⁴⁵ Wylie, *Physical Recreation*, p. 10.

⁴⁶ Harvie, ‘Scottish State’, p. 53.

commissions.⁴⁷ *The Old Vale and its Memories*, a book largely comprised of the reminiscences of former Vale of Leven teammates, prominently features a portrait of Archibald Orr-Ewing in his military uniform.⁴⁸ Vale of Leven FC's first secretary, John B. Wright, joined the Alexandria Company of the Volunteers in April 1871, becoming a prominent official, and remaining with the group for almost forty years.⁴⁹ Wright was also a parish councillor, a prominent Conservative, an elder in the United Free Church and a shipping agent employed by one of the local dye works.⁵⁰

Sport's background in the region was heavily influenced by the composition of incomers.⁵¹ Shinty's presence is partially explained by the large number of Highland migrants, who comprised 13.8% of Dunbartonshire's total population of just over 50,000 people in 1861.⁵² Meanwhile, Irish immigrants comprised 12% of the population at this time, with 7.1% Irish-born of around 100,000 people in 1901.⁵³ By Wylie's calculation in 1884, two-fifths of Renton's residents were Irish.⁵⁴ Wylie's anger, as opposed to mere concern, was directed at the Irish residents of Renton, many of whom worked in the Dumbarton shipyards.⁵⁵ The Irish, nevertheless, held a rhetorical place in his social improvement universe, for as he stated: 'The Irishman has many good points about him, and has been sent amongst us for his better training, and the School Board, and other agencies, are aiding us very much in advancing his cultivation.'⁵⁶ It is still unclear how much of Renton's squad was 'Irish', and how these Irish players perceived the ideas of their so-called 'master'. Nevertheless, an accurate picture can be extrapolated from the fact that

⁴⁷ Macintyre, *Little Moscows*, pp. 81-82.

⁴⁸ James Ferguson and James G. Temple, *The Old Vale and its Memories* (self-published, 1927), p. 217.

⁴⁹ Weir, *Boys*, p. 3.

⁵⁰ Macintyre, *Little Moscows*, p. 84.

⁵¹ For a thorough examination of the composition of Dumbarton's and the Vale of Leven's workforce during this time period, see Charles Docherty, 'Migration, Ethnicity, Occupation and Residence in Contrasting West of Scotland Settlements: The Case of the Vale of Leven and Dumbarton, 1861-1891' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow, 1988).

⁵² Margaret S. Dilke and A.A. Templeton, *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Dunbarton* (Glasgow: Collins, 1959), pp. 52-55. 'Highland,' in this instance, refers to migrants from Argyll, Stirlingshire, Perthshire and Inverness-shire.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-55.

⁵⁴ Wylie, *Labour*, p. x, p. 214.

⁵⁵ Macintyre, *Little Moscows*, p. 83.

⁵⁶ Wylie, *Labour*, p. 214.

Renton were deeply wounded by the formation of Celtic, who successfully poached James Kelly and Neil McCallum from their ranks in 1888.⁵⁷

The Dennys and Dumbarton football

Many newcomers in the region came to work in the shipyards of Dumbarton. By 1858, the opening of a direct rail link between Glasgow and Balloch, with Dumbarton and Clydebank in between, ensured greater integration with Glasgow's major industries, most notably shipbuilding. Dumbarton was further up the River Clyde from Glasgow, with a wider harbour and easier access to the Atlantic Ocean, and by the end of the 1860s the yards of both William Denny and Archibald MacMillan were among the first in the world to build ships with iron and steel hulls.⁵⁸ The Dennys became the most important capitalist enterprise in Dumbarton during the mid- to late-nineteenth century; their regime, like Wylie's and Gilmour's, was not merely an entrepreneurial force but a cultural one. The Dennys built housing schemes and parks in the towns, as well as the Denny Institute, a working men's club that remained open until 1962. A higher education bursary was also given annually to a Dumbarton Academy pupil by the Denny family.⁵⁹ Dumbarton FC (briefly amalgamated with Dumbarton CC in the 1880s) was patronised by William Denny & Co. In 1890, Peter Denny Jr., son of the company chairman, was the honorary patron of Dumbarton FC.⁶⁰ His 1917 obituary in the *Dumbarton Herald* stated that: 'His patronship of sports and pastimes was singularly happy... His death recalls the old days of football in the town, when Mr. Denny led the Dumbarton club'.⁶¹

Sport and physical activity were very much part of the Dennys' paternal mission. Another of Peter Denny's sons, Lt. Col. John McAusland Denny, who became commander of the 1st DRV in 1895, and later elected as a Liberal Unionist MP for Kilmarnock at the turn of the twentieth century, was a firm believer in the Volunteer movement, and a frequent guest at Dumbarton Football Club social functions. Eyre-Todd stated that '[h]e is strongly in favour of universal military service, and believes it would benefit the idle and

⁵⁷ Murray, *Old Firm*, pp. 14-15.

⁵⁸ Finlay, 'Urbanisation', pp. 72-73.

⁵⁹ I.M.M. MacPhail, *A Short History of Dumbartonshire* (Stevenage: SPA Books, 1984), p. 92.

⁶⁰ *SS*, 7 March 1890.

⁶¹ Anon., *Peter Denny, Engineer and Shipbuilder, Dumbarton. Born 1852; Died 1917* (Dumbarton: *Dumbarton Herald*, 1917), p. 9.

undisciplined of all classes.’⁶² In an article appearing in Kilmarnock periodical *St. Marnock* in 1899, John Denny contested that the sacrifice of thirty to forty drills per annum was well worth what the Volunteers received in return:

What do we offer in exchange? A training which physically, morally, and mentally is bound to be good for any young man. He is taught self-restraint, the habit of prompt obedience without question, respect for superiors, because they wear the uniform of a higher grade than himself. In addition, no one can deny that much enjoyment can be found in the intercourse in the Drill Halls and Reading Rooms, in the shooting at the Ranges and in Camp Life.⁶³

The intimate connection between Dumbarton FC, the Dennys and 1st DRV was displayed brilliantly at a grand civic banquet dedicated to the football club in September 1883. The patron, William Denny, chaired the proceedings, beginning the occasion with toasts to the Queen and the Prince and Princess of Wales. James Denny afterwards gave a toast to ‘the Army, Navy, and Reserve Forces,’ followed by Col. Currie, who went on to discuss the exalted position of the local Volunteers at length.⁶⁴ A young John Denny, meanwhile, saluted the club president from last year, Mr. [A] Lawrence – ‘he was better known to [John Denny] as Sergeant Lawrence.’⁶⁵ Later, when Lawrence became the first president of the SFL, he was among the most vociferous opponents of professionalism, an irony noted by Celtic president J.H. McLaughlin (professionalism’s greatest ally), as Lawrence was a famous rifleman rumoured to have accepted prize money.⁶⁶

Dumbarton FC’s connections with local leadership were tight, and the club gained further access to the SFA through their well-connected player/ secretary/ president Alexander Kennedy, born in 1860 in Dumbarton.⁶⁷ Kennedy began his career with Alclutha FC, later joining Dumbarton. He was president of the Dunbartonshire FA in 1885, and he would later become president of the SFA for the 1887-88 season. Kennedy’s participation in athletics, however, was part of a wider cultural design on his part: he was teetotal, and was also secretary of the Dumbarton Art Club.⁶⁸ It was Kennedy’s business life, however, that

⁶² Eyre-Todd, *Who’s Who* <<http://gdl.cdlr.strath.ac.uk/eyrwho/eyrwho0506.htm>> [accessed 30 July 2008].

⁶³ Col. John Denny MP, ‘Volunteering’, in *St. Marnock* I (5) (February 1899), pp. 125-126.

⁶⁴ *Dumbarton Herald*, 5 September 1883.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Crampsey, *First 100 Years*, p. 23.

⁶⁷ Sir Alexander Kennedy (*The Bailie* [GC 052 BAI]), *The Glasgow Story* <<http://www.theglasgowstory.com/image.php?inum=TGSA05166>> [accessed 31 July 2008].

⁶⁸ *SAJ*, 22 September 1885.

is most revealing. He was a naval architect, and quickly rose through the ranks of Archibald McMillan & Son shipbuilders in Dumbarton. By 1890, Kennedy was head draughtsman; and, befitting the newly-bestowed status of limited liability company, he was promoted to assistant manager of the company.⁶⁹ Long after his football career ended, Kennedy went on to become a tycoon in the shipbuilding industry, becoming managing director of the Northumberland Shipbuilding Company in 1916, precipitating his return to the Clyde in 1919 when Northumberland purchased Fairfield Shipbuilding and Engineering Company. He was knighted in 1921.⁷⁰ But Kennedy was certainly not the only Dumbarton footballer involved in the shipbuilding trade. Duncan Stewart, a former Dumbarton defender, in 1890 was given a purse of sovereigns by the club as a leaving present. Stewart, originally from Greenock, was heading to London to join the crew of the *SS Aramac*, ‘a Dumbarton-built ship trading between London and the Australian colonies’.⁷¹ James McAuley, one of Dumbarton’s most successful early players, was also employed by William Denny & Co. In February 1887, he was due to sail on the Denny-built *SS Irrawaddy* to Burma, where the Dennys held a considerable shipbuilding and operating interest in the Glasgow-based Irrawaddy Flotilla Company.⁷² This was due to occur on the eve of the Scottish Cup final against Hibernian, and the Dennys rearranged McAuley’s transfer so that he could participate in the match, allowing him to ‘wait for the next steamer’ after the game.⁷³

In May 1890, Dumbarton Union FC, desperate to raise funds for their ailing club, enacted a works’ tournament, one game of which saw Shipfitters defeat Clerks and Draughtsmen 4-0. Included in the Shipfitters’ team were Leitch, Keir, Hannah, Galbraith and McLeod, all of

⁶⁹ *SS*, 11 March 1890.

⁷⁰ ‘Sir Alexander Kennedy’ (*The Bailie* [GC 052 BAI]), *The Glasgow Story* <<http://www.theglasgowstory.com/image.php?inum=TGSA05166>> [accessed 31 July 2008]. Kennedy was also the author of a very brief early history of the club: DL, Sir Alexander Kennedy J.P., *Dumbarton Football Club: The Early Days*.

⁷¹ *SS*, 14 March 1890; ‘Duncan Stewart’, *Scottish Football Association Archive*, <http://www.scottishfa.co.uk/player_details.cfm?playerid=113051&CFID=465116&CFTOKEN=14544549> [accessed 31 July 2008]. The *Aramac* was built in 1889 by William Denny & Co. for trade between Scotland and Australia. Details in ‘*SS Aramac*’, *Clydebuilt Database* <<http://www.clydesite.co.uk/clydebuilt/viewship.asp?id=10649>> [accessed 8 August 2008].

⁷² *SU*, 8 February 1887; Anthony Slaven, ‘Dr. Peter Denny’, in *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography, 1860-1960: Volume 1, the staple industries*, ed. by Anthony Slaven and Sydney Checkland (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), pp. 215-216. Details in ‘*SS Irrawaddy*’, *Clydebuilt Database*, <<http://www.clydesite.co.uk/clydebuilt/viewship.asp?id=10448>> [accessed 8 August 2008]. McAllister, *Sons*, p. 19, mentions McAuley’s departure.

⁷³ *SU*, 8 February 1887.

whom were members of Dumbarton FC.⁷⁴ Football was an extension of the conviviality and fraternity of the shipbuilding community, as *Scottish Referee* noted in November 1888 that the Dumbarton club played poorly the morning after their raucous appearance at the engineers' ball the night before.⁷⁵ Overindulgence did not affect all Dumbarton's footballers, and there is one example of a teetotal ship-workers' football club in the burgh. During Hogmanay 1885, the short-lived Rock FC embarked on a trip to County Londonderry to meet Limavady FC.⁷⁶ After Rock won the match 6-4, both sets of players were entertained by Mr. Wilson, the mayor of Limavady and owner of the Alexandra Arms Hotel, who made an intriguing observation regarding the Rock club:

He said that he was now an old man, being above 60 years of age, and he saw before him a sight, the like of which he had never seen before – out of twelve hardy sons of toil from the iron shipyards of the Clyde – ‘not one,’ to use his own words, ‘touching that horrid stuff that played the devil with so many of us,’ and congratulated them on the noble example they had set to the Limavady team. He said that he never saw a set of young men, so strong and vigorous, who did not drink liquor.⁷⁷

Meanwhile, there were still other clubs closely related the Denny shipyards. One of Dumbarton FC's major derby opponents, Dumbarton Athletic, had as their president John Ward, managing partner of the Denny firm. The rivalry between the two clubs was always a friendly one, making their eventual 1889 amalgamation relatively peaceful.⁷⁸

There was, however, a significant minority of Dumbarton excluded from this social circle, including the footballers of Dumbarton Harp FC. While Norman Nicol states that the club was formed in 1894, the club's name had existed for years previously in the newspapers.⁷⁹ The name exists to this day in the form of a Celtic supporters' youth football and social club, which derives its existence from a similarly-named junior club formed in 1906.⁸⁰ Dumbarton Harp, in an April 1889 match against Celtic Crusaders, ‘received every encouragement from the clergymen present, who set a splendid example to others in the

⁷⁴ *SS*, 23 May 1890.

⁷⁵ *SR*, 26 November 1888.

⁷⁶ Rock FC was founded in Dumbarton in 1882: *SFA Annual, 1885-86*, p. 62.

⁷⁷ *DH*, 14 January 1885.

⁷⁸ Anon., *Peter Denny*, p. 9; McAllister, *Sons*, pp. 20-21.

⁷⁹ Norman Nicol ed., *The Scottish Football League: Past Members, Part Two* (Renfrew: Stuart Davidson, 1993), pp. 112-115.

⁸⁰ *Dumbarton Harp Social Club* <<http://www.dumbartonharp.com/>> [accessed 31 July 2008].

district'.⁸¹ It took until 1886 for Dumbarton FC to first enlist a Catholic player on its squad. Jim McAllister states that Dumbarton FC's first Catholic footballer was John Madden, who made his debut on 27 November 1886 to initial hostility from club members and supporters.⁸² If Dumbarton FC was linked with the Dennys, then such a policy would be logical: the Orange Order was a significant cultural force in the Denny yards, and the firm stopped employing Catholics after Protestant workers rioted in 1855.⁸³ Madden himself would later become one of Scottish football's best-known exports. After moving on to Celtic, Madden managed Czech titans Slavia Prague from 1905 to 1938.⁸⁴

Conclusion

Theories of social control in the Vale of Leven and Dumbarton, despite all the evidence to suggest these industrialists viewed football as a means of achieving it, nevertheless fall flat when considering the game's massive popularity and fevered following, leading ultimately to the game's professionalism. John Ward stated at a February 1889 Dumbarton Athletic gathering that employers and their workers shared a duty towards each other to encourage amateur football, blaming other industrialists for betraying their obligations to their employees when faced with the spectre of professionalism. Ward singled out Wylie and the Orr-Ewings – whose clubs were then reeling from players' departures – for failing to live up to their duties, for they 'were lacking in leaving their teams to do as they chose', and 'it was their duty to exercise influence over them, and to do so they must get in touch with them in order to restrain what was bad, and foster and encourage the good.'⁸⁵ How exactly Ward and his partners the Dennys kept their players from doing otherwise is unknown, and there appears to be little evidence that any of Dunbartonshire's entrepreneurs prevented them from doing so. On the contrary, Peter Denny Jr.'s obituary stated that once Dumbarton FC went professional, he severed his ties with the club.⁸⁶ There is similarly no evidence that Wylie or Gilmour, staunch amateurs, made any attempts to bail their former clubs out of financial dire straits after the coming of

⁸¹ *SR*, 15 April 1889.

⁸² McAllister, *Sons*, pp. 22-23.

⁸³ Finlay, 'Urbanisation', p. 79.

⁸⁴ Walvin, *People's Game*, p. 111.

⁸⁵ *SR*, 18 February 1889.

⁸⁶ Anon., *Peter Denny*, p. 9.

professionalism.⁸⁷ Wylie, if not fully, bears a resemblance to early British football's best-known Victorian paternalist industrialist, Arnold Hills, owner of the Thames Ironworks in West Ham, London, and founder of Thames Ironworks FC, later West Ham United. West Ham's ties with the ironworks were severed in 1900, two years after Renton FC were expelled from the SFL.⁸⁸ Dumbarton FC would never again see the heady heights of Scottish Cup victories and Scottish League championships, and would instead ply their trade in Scotland's lower leagues. Renton and Vale of Leven Football Clubs, meanwhile, went the way of their local industries: into extinction.

⁸⁷ I will describe the collapse of Renton FC in greater detail in Chapter 8.

⁸⁸ Charles P. Korr, 'West Ham United Football Club and the Beginnings of Professional Football in East London, 1895-1914', *Journal of Contemporary History* 13 (2 - Special Issue: Workers' Culture) (April 1978), pp. 211-232.

6. FOOTBALL IN COAL AND IRON COMMUNITIES

On 22 March 2008 a Scottish Junior Cup tie between Cumnock and Auchinleck Talbot, held at Beechwood Park in Auchinleck, East Ayrshire, required a strong police presence to prevent trouble between sets of supporters whose clubs sit a mile and a half distant. The *Sunday Herald*'s account of the game began:

It would take a social anthropologist with a serious budget and unlimited patience to work out the tribal animosity between Auchinleck and Cumnock, separated by one-and-a-half miles of tarmac and a chasm of understanding.¹

The region indeed represents fertile academic ground for historians who wish to understand a working culture that, despite its parent industry's collapse, has managed to cling to life. Football, historically, was one of the key cultural activities in the coalfields and the ironworks of the west of Scotland. The region's coal and iron communities have produced some of Britain's greatest footballers, many of whom have been adopted into the cultural vernacular of Britain as well as Scotland, including Bill Shankly, Matt Busby and Jock Stein, three of the most successful football managers of the twentieth century. All were born within fifteen years of each other, and all worked in the coal mines of Ayrshire and Lanarkshire.² It is therefore appropriate to explore the early years of miners' and ironworkers' participation in the game, and the circumstances in which these early clubs competed, to examine not only the more recent history of football in the region, but the cauldron of heavy industry, migration and conflict that forged the early association game in Scotland and Britain.

Football's origins in the region

In the nineteenth century, Ayrshire and Lanarkshire moved rapidly from a rural to an industrial economy. From 1800 to 1850, the combined population of the two counties doubled to around 400,000, largely due to unprecedented migration, primarily from Ireland. By 1851, 11% of Ayrshire's population was born in Ireland, reaching its peak in

¹ Ron McKay, 'Battle won but the war goes on', *Sunday Herald*, 23 March 2008.

² Tony Mason, 'Busby, Sir Matthew (1909-1994)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54785>> [accessed 29 June 2007]; Archie MacPherson, *Jock Stein: The Definitive Biography* (Newbury, Berks: Highdown, 2004); Philip Waller, 'Shankly, William [Bill]', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40246>> [accessed 6 June 2007]; Bill Shankly, *Shankly* (London: Arthur Baker, 1976).

Lanarkshire (including Glasgow) at 16.85%. Changes in industry precipitated those in demographics. As key as textiles were to the success of the local economy, the burgeoning mining industry brought about the greatest physical changes; by the beginning of the twentieth century, the region was producing around 25 million tons of coal annually. In Lanarkshire alone in 1851, 15,580 workers (almost 13% of the county's population) were employed by 139 collieries; by 1920, that number was 62,093 (8%) in 210 coal mines.³ Further migration from Ireland was fuelled by the explosion of the iron industry that hung on the coattails of coal extraction.

Metcalf states that in east Northumberland 'not until 1882 did the new organised, codified game reach the coalfield'.⁴ In the coalfields of South Wales, football arrived in the 1890s, a latecomer twenty years behind rugby.⁵ Yet in west central Scotland, football was a presence in mining communities by the early- to mid-1870s. The game was jumpstarted in Ayrshire by Kilmarnock FC. One of Kilmarnock's founders, John Wallace, was enthusiastic about spreading the game's popularity in his native county, and was the first secretary of the Ayrshire Football Association. Wallace was well-connected within the local business community; crucially, his own business was based in Cumnock, an Ayrshire mining centre.⁶ The *SFA Annual, 1877-78* states that Cumnock, along with the mining villages of Hurlford, Catrine and Tarbolton, contained clubs registered with the SFA.⁷ Journalist Ron Ferguson states that migrant labourers from the Cumnock area introduced football into the coalfields of Cowdenbeath, Fife in the 1870s.⁸ The story of football's spread into the pit villages of Lanarkshire is more difficult to ascertain, although football was being played in both Hamilton and Airdrie by 1870. The mining communities of Newmains, Shotts and Caldercruix all had teams registered with the SFA by 1878, and a team unambiguously referred to as Shotts Ironworks was founded in 1876.⁹ T. Courtney

³ Strawhorn and Boyd, *Ayrshire*, pp. 35-36; George Thomson in *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Lanark*, ed. by George Thomson (Glasgow: Collins, 1960), pp. 42-43, pp. 114-120, Campbell, *The Scottish Miners*, p. 22.

⁴ Metcalfe, 'Northumberland', p. 270.

⁵ Gareth Williams, 'Rugby Union', in *Sport in Britain*, ed. by Mason, p. 315.

⁶ Ross, *Killie*, pp. 12-17; John Strawhorn, *The New History of Cumnock* (Cumnock: Town Council of Cumnock, 1966), p. 129.

⁷ *SFA Annual, 1877-78*, quoted in *A Scottish football review of 1877/78*, ed. by Stuart Davidson (Paisley: Stuart Davidson, 2002), pp. 44-45.

⁸ Ron Ferguson, *Black Diamonds and the Blue Brazil: A Chronicle of Coal, Cowdenbeath and Football* (Ellon, Aberdeenshire: Northern Books, 1993), p. 22.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41; *SFA Annual, 1876-77*, p. 68.

McQuillan states that miners in the isolated Burnfoothill and Lethanhill in south Ayrshire were playing football by 1880.¹⁰

Of course, the origins of many colliery and foundry clubs have been lost to history, and Wallace and Kilmarnock FC's presence alone was not responsible for football's spread in Ayrshire. A clue behind the the game's popularity in the region lies with the February 1878 birth of the short-lived Muirkirk Vale of Ayr FC. The *Irvine and Fullarton Times* noted that football had only recently been introduced to the Ayrshire pit village. A meeting, chaired by Dr. Wilson, was held at the Black Bull Hall in Muirkirk, to discuss the establishment of a 'permanent' football club in the village. A football club, the paper stated, was needed not only to capitalise on the game's 'exceeding popularity', but to address the need for 'physical exercise' which 'suppl[ied] a felt want as a local manly amusement'.¹¹ Despite the more honorific connotations that were associated with the sport in the educational realm, early miners in west-central Scotland played the game because – simply put – it was cheap and fun. As Mike Huggins succinctly explains in relation to the game's spread in northeast England, football 'was easy to both play and follow'.¹² The working and middle classes had two very different approaches to the word 'manliness' with regard to sport.¹³ To H.H. Almond and Alexander Wylie, the word implied gentlemanly values, including amateurism; to Dr. Wilson and Muirkirk Vale of Ayr, the word meant 'physical', a reflection of the physicality of Muirkirk's work environment.

The Bairds of Gartsherrie: the cases of Kilwinning, Cumnock and Lugar

By the 1880s football had become the dominant participant and spectator sport within Ayrshire and Lanarkshire, surpassing cricket, curling and quoits in popularity. As with the Vale of Leven and Dumbarton, industrialists in the region attempted to use the sport to advance their moral agenda. Kilwinning Eglinton are perhaps the best example of this phenomenon: a football club closely tied to the Eglinton Iron Works and William Baird & Company. Jim Cochrane states in his club history of Kilwinning Rangers that Eglinton,

¹⁰ T. Courtney McQuillan, *The 'Hill — its people and its pits: A history of the village of Lethanhill/Burnfoothill* (Cumnock: Cumnock and Doon Valley District Council, 1988), p. 71.

¹¹ *Irvine and Fullarton Times*, 2 February 1878.

¹² M. Huggins, 'The Spread of Association Football in North-East England, 1876-90: The Pattern of Diffusion', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 6 (3) (1989), pp. 303-304.

¹³ Tranter, *Sport, economy and society*, p. 49.

formed in 1893, were nicknamed the ‘Furnacemen’ due to the proximity of Blacklands Park to the Eglinton Iron Works in Kilwinning.¹⁴ In 1899, the address of club secretary R. Craig was listed as being the Eglinton Iron Works.¹⁵ The *Scottish Referee* noted in 1895 that improvements at the club’s ground were subsidised by William Baird & Company, who improved the field, and increased the ground’s capacity to 10,000.¹⁶ In 1898, Eglinton were fast outpacing Monkcastle FC, itself formed by employees of Howie’s Iron Foundry, largely because Eglinton had ‘at their backs the generous men who carry on the Eglinton Works down there’.¹⁷

These ‘generous men’ at the Eglinton Works were William Baird & Company, whose coal and iron base was centred in Gartsherrie in the Monklands, Lanarkshire. By 1840, the Eglinton Iron Company, the front for the Bairds’ iron business, produced 25% of Scotland’s pig iron, making it the single largest producer in the world.¹⁸ The Bairds attracted Irish workers through advertisements placed in Belfast newspapers, with the promise of company housing and company schooling for workers’ children. The Irish Protestant population increased dramatically from 1876 to 1881, when 83% of Irish migrants to Scotland came from Ulster (58.7% of them from counties with clear Protestant majorities). Around this time, there was a sizeable membership increase for the Orange Order, with the mining communities of Coatbridge and Larkhall having a significant number of Lodge offices filled by Irish-born members.¹⁹ Brothers James and William Baird, their nephew and successor Alexander Whitelaw, and other associates recruited the Protestant Irish not only to obtain labour, but also to further their own political and religious aims. In 1873, James donated the ‘princely’ sum of £500,000 to the Established Church of Scotland ‘to promote evangelistic and church work in connection with the Church of Scotland’. Whitelaw was Grand Master of the Orange Lodge in the Coatbridge district in the 1870s. The Bairds were staunch Conservatives, with James representing Falkirk in Parliament from 1851 to 1857, and Whitelaw representing Glasgow from 1874

¹⁴ Jim Cochrane, *Amongst the ruffs and tuffs: the history of Kilwinning Rangers F.C., vol. 1* (self-published, 1999), pp. 1-5

¹⁵ *SFA Annual, 1899-00*, p. 68.

¹⁶ *SR*, 2 August 1895

¹⁷ *SR*, 17 January 1898; *SR*, 28 January 1898 (quote).

¹⁸ Strawhorn and Boyd, *Ayrshire*, pp. 30-31; Robert D. Corrins, ‘James Baird’, in *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography, Vol. 1*, ed. by Slaven and Checkland, p. 21.

¹⁹ Walker, ‘Protestant Irish’, pp. 52-54.

to his death in 1879.²⁰ James Baird's evangelicism was of a highly robust, 'muscular' order:

James Baird was a religious man, consistently religious ... he wished others to be religious as well, and he was very willing to assist in making them so. His religion was not of the namby-pamby sort, but practical, muscular, and, if I may use the word, patriotic. Mr Baird was a Scotsman ... He gave liberally – not ostentatiously; he was a warm politician, and it is no secret he gave handsomely in support of the Conservative cause in the burgh and counties connected with his works...²¹

To this end, the Bairds used the threat of eviction from company homes and starvation as a means ensuring employee loyalty.²² Education was essential in instilling the moral fabric of the employers into the minds of their workers' children. Even after the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, which provided comprehensive schooling for Scottish children, the Bairds continued to operate their own village schools according to their own religious specifications, largely due to the efforts of Whitelaw.²³ Whitelaw was a key member of the Glasgow Working Men's Conservative Association, which was successful in its campaign to add an amendment to the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act allowing religious education in state schools at the request of the community, and his successful 1874 campaign for Parliament in Glasgow was largely based on his support of this 'Use and Wont' clause to the Act.²⁴

The Bairds used recreation, along with education, to build a sense of solidarity amongst their workforce. The firm built workers' institutes at Eglinton (Kilwinning), Lugar, Muirkirk, Gartsherrie and Twechar. The Gartsherrie Institute had swimming pools and a reading room, while in Lugar there was a reading room, a library, a swimming pond and tables for billiards. The company also started its own musical bands and Total Abstinence Societies, and were involved in raising an 'artisan' Volunteer unit, the 43rd Lanarkshire

²⁰ James MacLehose, *Memoirs and portraits of 100 Glasgow men who have died during the last thirty years, and in their lives did much to make the city what it now is* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1886 <<http://gdl.cdrl.strath.ac.uk/mlemen/mlemen005.htm>, <http://gdl.cdrl.strath.ac.uk/mlemen/mlemen099.htm>> [accessed 24 June 2009], pp. 19-20, p. 340; Alan Campbell, *The Lanarkshire Miners: A Social History of Their Trade Unions* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979), p. 223; Corrins, 'James Baird', p. 22.

²¹ *Ayr Observer* ed., *Reminiscences of Auld Ayr* (Ayr: *Ayr Observer*, 1907), pp. 67-70.

²² Campbell, *Lanarkshire Miners*, pp. 205-227.

²³ Andrew MacGeorge, *The Bairds of Gartsherrie: some notice of their origin and history* (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1875), pp. 93-94.

²⁴ Finn, 'Scottish Myopia', pp. 60-62; Hutchinson, 'Working Class Politics', pp. 126-127.

Rifle Volunteers, at Gartsherrie in 1862.²⁵ Kilwinning Eglinton FC's non-managerial support from the company would seem to indicate that it, too, was part of the Bairds' moral mission. Kilwinning was certainly a logical location for the Bairds to link sport and religion, for as John Strawhorn and William Boyd noted in the 1950s: 'As befits Kilwinning's Masonic history there is an active Lodge. An Orange Lodge, and its counterpart the Catholic Chapel, recall the large number of Irish labourers who came over to the iron works last century.'²⁶ Kilwinning Rangers first appeared as a juvenile club in 1899, sharing the Baird-built Blacklands Park with Eglinton in Rangers' first year of existence.²⁷ Kilwinning's status as the birthplace of Scottish Freemasonry no doubt had a bearing on the name of this new club. It cannot be a coincidence that a club with Protestant and Conservative affiliations, from a town with similar inclinations, chose the name of Rangers, the club pledged to assist the Masonic cause by its Conservative patron, John Ure Primrose MP, and whose late foundry owner (Whitelaw) was a former Rangers president.²⁸

Cumnock, Lugar, Auchinleck, Cronberry and the surrounding countryside in east Ayrshire was similarly dominated by the Bairds' enterprise in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Strawhorn states that: 'Every mining village formed teams and by the early twentieth century the district had a formidable array of junior and juvenile teams'.²⁹ Dane Love states that at the outset of the twentieth century: 'In the miners' rows the following was such that both Cronberry and Common [another nearby village] could support junior football teams'.³⁰ In this vicinity were Lugar Boswell Thistle, formed in 1878, another club that, like Kilwinning Rangers, exists in junior football at the time of writing. In the late nineteenth century this club, repeatedly referred to as a team being comprised of miners, was also a force in senior circles. The *Scottish Athletic Journal* in 1882 offered a class-based incentive to those clubs wishing to play friendlies against the 'terriers of the moor', stating: 'City teams desirous of seeing a beautiful piece of country, and mining life

²⁵ R.D. Corrins, 'William Baird and Company, Coal and Iron Masters, 1830-1914' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1974), pp. 346-347; Captain James Orr, *History of the Seventh Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers, late 4th Ad. Battalion and 29th L.R.V., also, biography of officers past and present* (Glasgow: Robert Anderson, 1884), pp. 314-327; Campbell, *Lanarkshire Miners*, p. 224.

²⁶ Strawhorn and Boyd, *Ayrshire*, p. 307.

²⁷ Cochrane, *Ruffs and tuffs*, pp. 13-14.

²⁸ Strawhorn and Boyd, *Ayrshire*, p. 304; Finn, 'In the grip?', pp. 179-180.

²⁹ Strawhorn, *Cumnock*, p. 129.

³⁰ Dane Love, *The History of Auchinleck, Village and Parish* (Cumnock: Carn Publishing, 1991), p. 141.

in reality, would do well to visit Lugar, and they will be rewarded by having their curiosity satisfied'.³¹ The *Kilmarnock Standard* was particularly intrigued by how well-kept the village seemed, and were positively amazed by the new football field, Rosebank Park, attributing this to the lack of a public house within the village.³² Lugar's greatest footballing export, John Auld, was teetotal and a 'free Kirker'.³³ This, too, was a feature of the Bairds' villages: temperance as a way of life for the company's workers, with limited access to alcohol, especially in the more isolated locales outside towns.³⁴ It was not simply a lack of a public house, however, that made Rosebank Park beautiful. The park was built on the site of the old Rosebank Mine in 1882, with money provided by Robert Angus, partner of William Baird & Company, who funded the field's completion, and the building of a clubhouse and a fence around the ground.³⁵ However, the overwhelming majority of clubs in the immediate sphere of the Bairds were too small to think about adopting professionalism, let alone for their patrons to make dramatic statements regarding the moral stain of it on the human character.

Early football in Lanarkshire's towns

The towns of Lanarkshire were especially interdependent on the mining and iron industries. Football, accordingly, was popular in the Monklands, an area encompassing Coatbridge, Airdrie, and several other incorporated villages. Coatbridge, which Alan Campbell compares against the stable Larkhall, was a disaster of urban planning, largely due to the population explosion that followed the booming coal and iron industries in the 1830s. Moreover, Coatbridge was a centre of Irish immigration in Scotland; and, unlike other towns and villages in the area, settlement between Catholic and Protestant Irish, as well as native Scots, was highly disorganised, leading to a great deal of violent conflict.³⁶ The Monklands' football clubs often lacked the necessary capital to purchase land for a private ground, let alone the funds to organise a team. Indeed sport, especially cricket, was initially heavily endowed in the region by Col. Sir David Carrick-Buchanan, an associate and

³¹ *SAJ*, 29 September 1882; *SAJ*, 6 October 1882.

³² *Kilmarnock Standard*, 26 August 1882.

³³ *SR*, 26 August 1889.

³⁴ Campbell, *Lanarkshire Miners*, p. 224.

³⁵ Love, *Auchinleck*, p. 123; Robert D. Correns, 'Robert Angus', in *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography*, Vol. 1, ed. by Slaven and Checkland, pp. 17-18.

³⁶ Campbell, *Lanarkshire Miners*, pp. 117-121, pp. 178-201.

sometime adversary of the Baird brothers.³⁷ Cricket, for the most part, was an over-priced sport for the Monklands' residents.

Nevertheless, members of Lanarkshire's high society were not the only ones to participate in football. One of the first clubs formed during the early 1870s was Airdrie, an 'Irish' club nicknamed 'the Hammer Drivers'.³⁸ Its most successful successor, Airdrieonians, were formed in 1878 through the enterprise of Excelsior FC goalkeeper Thomas Forsyth, who doubled his sixty-year service to the club with his role as sheriff. Airdrie Cricket Club were amongst the first patrons of football in the town, with the funds from their dissolution used to fund the first local charity football tournament.³⁹ Albion Rovers, another local power in the region, were formed in 1882 from the ashes of two Coatbridge junior clubs, Rovers and Albion.⁴⁰ As Orangeism was a major cultural force in the region, and as the area housed a large Catholic minority, football in the Monklands experienced similar multiple Irish/Scottish identities: in 1895, *Scottish Referee* discussed the existence of a Coatdyke club known as Gaelic, an 'Irish combination'.⁴¹ In Airdrie, one of the oldest school cup competitions in Scotland was initiated for the town's schools in 1886.⁴² Football, therefore, was popular in Airdrie, and being taught at a young age from the mid-1880s on. While the major clubs themselves were not specifically aligned with mining interests, the talent pool drawn from was heavily populated by the labouring class. The *Hamilton Advertiser's* preview of the 1899 Lanarkshire Cup final, which lists the club members of both Albion Rovers and Motherwell, states that at least five players on the Rovers came from Lanarkshire localities where coal and metals were the dominant industries. This included J. Hunter (Caldercruix), J. Welsh, R. Hamilton (both Longriggend), R. Ferguson (Motherwell), and A. Sergeant, who was 'off a playing family who reside[d] at Glenboig'.⁴³

³⁷ Corrins, 'James Baird', p. 21; MacGeorge, *The Bairds of Gartsherrie*, p. 45, p. 51, p. 125.

³⁸ Peter Bennie, 'The Wayside club', in *The Book of Airdrie: being a composite picture of the life of a Scottish burgh*, ed. by James K. Scobbie, (Glasgow: Jackson, 1954), pp. 327-329; Robinson, *Queen's Park*, p. 36.

³⁹ Bennie, 'The Wayside club', pp. 327-329; James D. Loudon, 'Summer Ashes', in *The Book of Airdrie*, ed. by Scobbie, pp. 333-336.

⁴⁰ Marwick, *Albion*, pp. 13-14. I am grateful to Richard Moss, chairman of Albion Rovers FC, for giving me a tour of Cliftonhill Park, and for getting me started with my research on the club.

⁴¹ *SR*, 4 March 1895.

⁴² William A. Allan, 'Young footballers', in *The Book of Airdrie*, ed. by Scobbie, pp. 331-332.

⁴³ *Hamilton Advertiser*, 25 February 1899.

Football's industrial connections in Motherwell and Wishaw were more solidified. Like in the Monklands, both towns' populations exploded by the mid-nineteenth century. Motherwell was dominated by iron and steel, the trade of which was largely initiated in the area by the opening of the Dalzell Iron Works and the Lanarkshire Steel Company.⁴⁴ While cricket was played by middle-class English artisans involved in the various trades, football was a far more popular participant and spectator sport.⁴⁵ Alpha FC, formed in 1881, were employees of Alpha Steam Crane and Engine Works. In 1886, Alpha amalgamated with Glencairn, a club formed in close proximity to Lanarkshire Steel Works, to become Motherwell FC, Lanarkshire's most successful football outfit, and one which retains its nickname 'the Steelmen'.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, in neighbouring Wishaw, football's popularity was heavily interrelated with the coming of migrants into the region, and many clubs were based around the town's works, with names that alluded to ethnic origin or political loyalty.⁴⁷ A club named Wishaw exists at the time of writing in the junior leagues, the successor to Wishaw Thistle, formed in 1885.⁴⁸ Campbell and Walker similarly note the repeated use of the terms 'Victoria' and 'Celtic' in many of the region's club names as being indicative of the same sectarian divide as the Old Firm, with Walker noting the great modern-day support for Rangers in Ayrshire's and Lanarkshire's mining communities.⁴⁹ Wishaw itself was heavily controlled by interests belonging to the Houldsworths and the Coltness Iron Company.⁵⁰ Henry Houldsworth believed that shorter working hours which encouraged leisure were actually encouraging idleness.⁵¹ His son, James, had a different opinion of leisure, although to the same end as his father: when he gifted eight acres of a public park to the people of Wishaw in 1877, James stated the park should be used for

⁴⁴ Robert Duncan, *Steelopolis: The making of Motherwell, c. 1750-1939* (Motherwell: Motherwell District Council, 1991), pp. 19-36.

⁴⁵ Duncan, *Steelopolis*, pp. 135-136; Idem., *Wishaw: life and labour in a Lanarkshire industrial community, 1790-1914* (Motherwell: Motherwell District Council, 1986), pp. 145-146.

⁴⁶ John Swinburne, *Motherwell Football Club: a history of the Steelmen, 1886-1986* (Motherwell: Motherwell Football Club, 1985), pp. 41-43, p. 49.

⁴⁷ Duncan, *Wishaw*, p. 146.

⁴⁸ Personal communication with Robert Watson, Secretary, Wishaw FC, September 2006.

⁴⁹ Campbell, *Scottish Miners*, pp. 329-330; Graham Walker, "'Glasgow Rangers'", pp. 138-144.

⁵⁰ Duncan, *Wishaw*, pp. 26-28.

⁵¹ Maver, 'Leisure time', p. 175.

healthy recreation in fighting off alcohol abuse. The Houldsworths, like the Bairds, believed in temperance for all.⁵²

Larkhall

The small town of Larkhall in Lanarkshire was a major centre of Protestantism in west central Scotland. Only 3.4% of colliers married in Larkhall from 1855 and 1875 did so through the Catholic Church, while the local Catholic congregation met in a hotel until the building of a permanent church in 1905, although a Chapel school was built in 1872.⁵³ Like many mining communities at the time, football was extremely popular in the village; as the Rev. Kenneth J. Macpherson stated in the 1960 *Third Statistical Account*: ‘It has been said: “Call down a coalmine if you want a footballer.”’⁵⁴ Royal Albert FC, which exists at the time of writing as a junior club, was in the senior ranks for many years, and its place within Scottish football is revealing. Gerry Finn uses Royal Albert – founded in 1878 – as an example of a club from an ‘anti-Catholic and anti-Irish’ locale, stating that their nickname the ‘Royalists’ and their red, white and blue colours were proof of Scottish clubs’ overt sensibilities regarding their political identities.⁵⁵ The name refers to not just political loyalties, however, but to patronage; the club, an amalgamation of miners and players from Larkhall and Plotcock, took their name from a local cup donor’s yacht.⁵⁶

Where Finn’s assertion becomes further complicated is in his contention that Royal Albert were anti-Irish: indeed, *Scottish Sport* in December 1890 seemed to believe otherwise, and treated a Scottish Cup tie between Royal Albert and Celtic at Raploch Park as an internal Irish affair. After a long train ride which saw Celtic’s Irish supporters ‘full of Parnell and cheap whisky’, ‘Pertinax’ mocked Larkhall, as well as its population, which ‘consist[ed] almost exclusively of mining and other labouring classes – mostly Irish’. ‘It was therefore’, he said, ‘a great day for Ireland when the Celtic mingled their followers with those of the Albert’.⁵⁷ When the game was replayed the following week (the original match having

⁵² Duncan, *Wishaw*, pp. 76-77, pp. 140-146.

⁵³ Walker, ‘Protestant Irish’, p. 53; Jack McLellan, *Larkhall: Its Historical Development* (Larkhall: H. Matthew, 1979), p. 18.

⁵⁴ Rev. Kenneth J. Macpherson, ‘The parish of Dalsarf’, in *The county of Lanark*, ed. by Thomson, p. 399.

⁵⁵ Finn, ‘Racism I’, p. 82.

⁵⁶ McLellan, *Larkhall*, p. 80.

⁵⁷ *SS*, 2 December 1889.

been postponed due to a muddy pitch), Royal Albert's supporters stormed the pitch, stopping the action with twelve minutes left and Celtic leading 4-0. The break-in was heavily criticised by *Scottish Sport*; however, the *Hamilton Advertiser* gave a more convoluted view of right and wrong, as well as to who among the supporters was Irish. The paper depicted Celtic as charity mercenaries, stating that: 'The Celtic wanted the proceeds to go to charity; it was rather selfish. They might have said their share. The Albert do not draw large crowds regularly.' The paper also stated that during the game: 'Larkhall was besieged with Irishmen... and what would you have them when the Celts were there?'⁵⁸ The local papers, in this instance, made an ethnic distinction between Catholic and Protestant Irish that was not always immediately drawn by outsiders.

Royal Albert and its supporters, whether 'Irish' or not, definitely shared an enmity with Catholic opposition. A more appropriate example than the Celtic incident involves the long, drawn-out 1889-90 Lanarkshire Cup struggle with fellow miners Carfin Shamrock. The third attempt at settling the tie late in January 1890 at Byresknowe Park, Carfin, ended with Clelland of Shamrock being carried off the field, and the referee ordering yet another replay. The tense atmosphere at Meadow Park, Whifflet – site of the fourth attempt at solving the tie – erupted when two players from opposing sides attacked each other, precipitating a pitch invasion, with Shamrock apologising to the referee for bad language allegedly used by their players.⁵⁹ Other Larkhall clubs faced different challenges. Larkhall Hibs, a club which no doubt faced considerable hostility at home, found themselves embroiled in violence when outside their own district. At the Lanarkshire Junior Cup final of 1890, held between Larkhall Hibs and Carlisle Milton Rovers in Burnbank, a turnout of one thousand, 'the lowest... in years', nevertheless provided 'anything but the friendliest atmosphere'.⁶⁰ Both sides protested the tie, with Rovers bemoaning the rough play of Hibs, and the Hibs complaining about encroachment of the field on the part of Rovers' supporters.⁶¹

⁵⁸ *SS*, 9 December 1889; *HA*, 13 December 1889.

⁵⁹ *HA*, 25 January 1890; *HA*, 8 February 1890; *SS*, 4 February 1890.

⁶⁰ *HA*, 17 April 1890.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

Hurlford, Annbank and Glenbuck

Hurlford is a village a mile and a half outside of Kilmarnock, one where the Eglinton Iron Company found itself in heavy competition with John Howie and the Portland Iron Colliery Company. The village was also a regional centre of the Glasgow and South Western Railway Company.⁶² Hurlford FC, meanwhile, were champions of the 1886-87, 1888-89 and 1893-94 Ayrshire Cup.⁶³ The sport press repeatedly referred to them as miners. Their captain for the 1888-89 campaign, the nineteen-year-old David Black, was seen as emblematic of the hard-working yet virtuous citizens of the village, for he was ‘a staunch teetotaler’ who ‘pursue[d] his daily avocation in the bowels of the earth.’⁶⁴ Hurlford was a darling of the sport press, the club and its players getting a great deal of coverage in the weekly sport papers. The *Scottish Athletic Journal* in December 1882 praised A. Goudie, a Hurlford defender, as an example of a man who, despite his occupation, was able to get an hour of healthy sunlight each day by playing football.⁶⁵ Another Hurlford player in the 1882-83 campaign, Turnbull, was not only an ‘Ayrshire veteran’ of local football, but also ‘a right hardy son of the mine’, one who died in a Kilmarnock pit explosion in 1900.⁶⁶ Hurlford’s campaign during the 1882-83 season moved the *Kilmarnock Standard* to pen a song about ‘the miner team’.⁶⁷

Similar footballing successes were met by ‘black diamond diggers’ of Annbank on the River Ayr.⁶⁸ The club was formed in 1879, and were winners of the Ayrshire Cup in 1889-90, 1891-92 and 1892-93, of the Ayrshire Charity Cup in 1891-92 and 1892-93. and of the first Scottish Qualifying Cup in 1895-96.⁶⁹ The journey towards this success on the pitch was fraught with difficulty on the domestic front, beginning with match-day travel,

⁶² Campbell, *Scottish Miners*, pp. 163-164; Strawhorn and Boyd, *Ayrshire*, pp. 697-702.

⁶³ McIlvean, *Burns Country*, pp. 30-31.

⁶⁴ *SR*, 8 April 1889.

⁶⁵ *SAJ*, 15 December 1882.

⁶⁶ *SAJ*, 6 October 1882; *The Scotsman*, 18 August 1900, in ‘Nursery Pit Kilmarnock 17 August 1900’, *Scottish Mining Website*, <<http://www.scottishmining.co.uk/249.html>>, [accessed 24 June 2009].

⁶⁷ *KS*, 28 January 1882.

⁶⁸ Campbell, *Scottish Miners*, p. 161.

⁶⁹ McIlvean, *Burns Country*, pp. 32-33.

which often occurred after a night's shift in the mines, as was the case with their November 1895 Scottish Qualifying Cup semi-final against Arbroath:

At 5 a.m. to-morrow morning, Secretary Shaw will have the "Drummer" parading the one-street village of Annbank, and thus early the black diamond diggers will prepare to make tracks for Arbroath. Such may seem harsh, but I have known members of this hardy team working the entire night in the mine, and on reaching the surface only have time to wash and immediately thereafter set out on a long journey.⁷⁰

Indeed, Annbank's isolated location and lack of funds was seen as a hindrance to potential sustained success, as the *Scottish Umpire's* account of the journey to Dalry for an 1884-85 Ayrshire Cup tie proves:

Some clubs have their minds cast in pleasant places. It is not so with Annbank. During the season, they have many difficulties to encounter. In consequence of the situation of the village, railway communication is very limited, and the nearest posting establishment is five hours distant. On Saturday, they walked this distance before playing their cup tie, and again had to face the same journey through a drenching rain, reaching home about eleven p.m.⁷¹

Not only was the club characteristic of the village on the field, but it was similarly represented within the ivory towers of the SFA. During its meeting in Glasgow in January 1895, Annbank filed a protest against Clyde for fielding two ineligible players for a Scottish Cup tie. Their representative at the meeting was their secretary, George Wilson. 'Mr Wilson', stated the *Scottish Referee*, 'who might be taken for a miners' agent, offered contrast by sitting cheek by jowl with those who, he said, had been "reared in the lap of luxury."⁷²

Further into Ayrshire's interior, near Muirkirk, was a club that might have remained more anonymous, had it not been for its most famous player. Bill Shankly, the future Liverpool manager, was from the village of Glenbuck, where a football club formed in the early 1870s. After World War I, the fortunes of this village declined dramatically; by the writing of Ayrshire's *Third Statistical Account* in 1951, Strawhorn and Boyd noted that little was left of the village, and what remained was in decline along with available work.⁷³ By the time Shankly was born in 1913, the population had dwindled to 600; during his

⁷⁰ *SR*, 22 November 1895.

⁷¹ *SU*, 11 September 1884.

⁷² *SR*, 18 January 1895.

⁷³ Strawhorn and Boyd, *Ayrshire*, pp. 683-686.

second year in the pits at age sixteen, he was made redundant by closures.⁷⁴ Glenbuck Athletic, the village's junior outfit, won three Ayrshire Junior Cups at the turn of the century, around the same time that the club changed its name to 'Cherrypickers', the nickname of the English 11th Hussars unit. Athletic player Tom Menzies and his brother wore their caps in the style of the Hussars, whose exploits were familiar through service in the Boer War.⁷⁵ The Cherrypickers' main derby opponents after 1900, similarly, were known as Muirkirk Ex-Service Athletic.⁷⁶

Even in times of success, the Cherrypickers faced great difficulties, as Rev. H.M. Faulds and William Tweedie recalled:

The players provided their own gear and paid their own expenses. In addition, they contributed a shilling a week towards the upkeep of the ground. For away matches they travelled usually in a three-horse brake. On the cold dark nights of winter, the homeward journey was far from comfortable, and the players would often walk a good deal of the distance to ease their cramped limbs.⁷⁷

The fortunes of mining clubs were closely related to the availability of work. As Shankly was beginning his career, the Cherrypickers – a club that spawned the careers of six Scotland internationals, including Alec Brown, Scotland's captain during the 1902 Ibrox disaster – was forced to fold.⁷⁸ Like most tightly-knit village teams, the club contained more than one member of several families, with the *Scottish Referee* noting in 1898 that the club contained 'no less than five Knoxs'.⁷⁹ Faulds and Tweedie noted the advantages of communication, and the 'perfect understanding' which existed between the Knox brothers.⁸⁰ But the most famous football family from Glenbuck were the Shanklys. Bill's father John was a quarter-mile runner in his youth, while his older brothers had previously

⁷⁴ Rev. H.M. Faulds and William Tweedie Jr., *The Cherrypickers: Glenbuck, Nursery of Footballers* (Muirkirk, 1951; Cumnock: Cumnock and Doon Valley District Council, 1981), pp. 5-6; Shankly, *Shankly*, pp. 18-19.

⁷⁵ Faulds and Tweedie, *Cherrypickers*, p. 7; Christopher Chant, *The Handbook of British Regiments* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1988), pp. 38-41.

⁷⁶ Anon., 'Muirkirk Juniors – In Brief', in *Scottish Non League Football Histories: Volume 6*, ed. by Stuart Davidson (Paisley: Stuart Davidson, 2002), p. 21.

⁷⁷ Faulds and Tweedie, *Cherrypickers*, p. 6.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13, p. 17; Waller, 'Shankly, William' <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40246>> [accessed 6 June 2007]; Shankly, *Shankly*, p. 27. Shankly only had a trial with Glenbuck Cherrypickers. The club preferred seasoned players, and were anyway on the verge of 'extinction' during his brief trial.

⁷⁹ *SR*, 11 March 1898.

⁸⁰ Faulds and Tweedie, *Cherrypickers*, pp. 15-16.

signed for professional football teams. While Shankly played football for the nearby junior club Cronberry Eglinton, he was signed for Carlisle United by director Bill Blyth – his maternal uncle, a former professional footballer and publican originally from Glenbuck.⁸¹ Blyth, as will be discussed in Chapter 8, was part of a long line of Scottish footballers associated with the licensed trades in England.

Class conflict on and off the pitch

Coalminers' and ironworkers' football clubs, whether Protestant or Catholic, faced many challenges on and off the pitch, not least the right to play clubs of a perceived higher social standing. In 1898, the *Scottish Referee* slated a short-lived club in Helensburgh, Dunbartonshire for refusing to play against League Rangers, a coalminers' team from Coatbridge, apparently because their players were 'only working lads'.⁸² A reply to this charge from the secretary of Helensburgh Hermitage Thistle, a club of former pupils from Hermitage Academy, revealed the match with League Rangers had been replaced with a fixture against a 'decent' club from the more rarefied setting of Milngavie, Stirlingshire.⁸³ The print media, however, with its initial middle-class background, was not always sympathetic towards the west of Scotland's colliers and ironworkers. Their football clubs, by nature of their location and financial situation, were plagued by instability, and the press were often contemptuous of them and the difficulties they faced. The middle-class media, however, and their counterparts on the pitch, were especially frightened of the challenges posed by miners in cup and league matches. *Scottish Athletic Journal* in 1882 gave an excellent summation of the psychology behind their fear:

The 'Burnfoothill' Ramblers, the 'Common Rangers,' (very modest, isn't it?) the 'Rankinstone Mountaineers,' the 'Galston Blue Bells,' and many other at one time aspiring teams have ceased to exist in Ayrshire. In one sense, to the ordinary team of standing, the decease of this lot is not be regretted. Too often it turned out that in visiting the localities where these heroes destroyed leather a horrible field was presented to them, and if it happened to be a cup tie, they got more abuse generally than gate money. In fact, it is on record that many a good team of standing has been thrown out of a cup tie – through bad grounds and personal abuse – in these mining villages, and one very prominent team of this kind has been known to boast... of their heavy charging and bad field.⁸⁴

⁸¹ Faulds and Tweedie, *Cherry-pickers*, p. 9; Shankly, *Shankly*, pp. 9-33; Waller, 'Shankly, William' <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40246>> [accessed 6 June 2007].

⁸² *SR*, 7 February 1898.

⁸³ *SR*, 14 February 1898; Jim Chestnut, 'Helensburgh Football Club', in *Helensburgh Heritage Trust* <<http://www.helensburgh-heritage.co.uk/pdfs/HelensburghFC.pdf>> [accessed 5 June 2008].

⁸⁴ *SAJ*, 6 October 1882.

Metcalf states that similar, class-tinged language was used by the Newcastle-upon-Tyne press to describe the play and behaviour of collier-footballers in east Northumberland. Indeed, play in these villages, as well as the language used by the footballers, may have been rougher than genteel clubs were used to, but they reflected a dangerous, highly physical work environment to which the media and middle-class clubs may have been totally oblivious.⁸⁵

The cultural and socioeconomic chasms between different areas of the football world were derived from ones which existed in society at large. This is reflected in football and community historiographies as well. A brief history of football in Cronberry, written in an Irvine Meadow FC fanzine, devotes most of its emotive energies (and the majority of the page-long article) towards the deplorable living environment of Cronberry's inhabitants in the years before World War I.⁸⁶ A far different opinion was given by Edward J. Forbes in *The Book of Airdrie*, one more indifferent towards these dramatic conditions, betraying a certain naiveté when briefly discussing miners' clubs in Airdriehill, Glengowan, and Longriggend which declined after the 1890s, stating that they were successful largely because 'the scouts with the lure of gold had not yet overcome the local patriotism'.⁸⁷ A more likely reason than greed for their downfall was economic collapse: the forty pits in clear view of Longriggend's main street in 1890 became six by the 1920s, and none by the writing of Lanarkshire's *Third Statistical Account* in 1960.⁸⁸

Nevertheless, despite economic pressures, incredible support *did* exist in these communities for local clubs. The newspapers, whether disdainful or not, at least noted this support, including the volume of fans at away matches. Support in coal and iron communities, as in other areas, will be discussed in greater detail in Section III. However, it is necessary to give some examples here. One such instance was Hurlford's appearance (and eventual defeat) in the 1886 Ayrshire Cup final against Ayr, held in Kilmarnock:

⁸⁵ Metcalfe, 'Northumberland', p. 289.

⁸⁶ Anon., 'Cronberry and Cronberry Eglinton FC', in *Scottish non-league football histories: volume 2*, ed. by Stuart Davidson (Renfrew: SNLR, 1991), p. 25.

⁸⁷ Edward J. Forbes, 'The colliers of New Monklands – a retrospect', in *The Book of Airdrie*, ed. by Scobbie, pp. 263-271.

⁸⁸ George Thomson, 'Eastern Part of New Monkland Parish', in *The county of Lanark*, ed. by Thomson, p. 206.

Whole, hardy sons of the mine have thrown off care for a day, and taking to support the village heroes; a sprightly young collier – ay, and people in higher spheres sallied forth to see their favourites make one more bold stroke towards possession of that trophy they have so long battled for.⁸⁹

During the 1889 Lanarkshire Cup final replay at Whifflet between Royal Albert and Uddingston (the first match featuring a thousand Royal Albert supporters travelling with their club) in 1889, the opinion of one ‘collier-like individual’ was that ‘[t]he collier chaps can play as well as them shopkeepers any day’, marking a close relationship between spectator and participant.⁹⁰ In tightly-knit communities, supporters were viewing friends, workmates, and romantic interests on the pitch, raising the stakes dramatically when pitted against derby opponents, where local pride and identity was heavily at stake. Such was the extent of community support for miners’ clubs that the newspapers sometimes believed that enthusiastic encouragement alone would eke success out of clubs from isolated localities. In 1884 *Scottish Umpire* was reasonably sure that Glenboig Shamrock, a club from the ‘firebrick locality’ in the Monklands, would overcome their 6-1 defeat at the hands of Rangers’ ‘Ancients’ through their loud and enthusiastic backing, which included a number of ‘buxom damsels’.⁹¹ Little was heard about Shamrock after this match.

Conclusion

As with the 2008 example of Auchinleck Talbot and Cumnock’s cup tie, an entire subculture of regional junior football has developed within the west of Scotland’s former coal and iron villages. While more scholarly research needs to be performed into the unique cult of junior football, all studies of the present need a historical basis from which to begin. Industry and migration are inextricably linked to the history of football in Ayrshire and Lanarkshire, indicative not only of the occupational hazards of the Victorian workplace, but also of the rich cultural heritage that existed in these areas, despite considerable adversity. But, like the Vale of Leven and Dumbarton, the popularity of football was not merely confined to workers in these regions. Glasgow, one of the major footballing cities of the world, has yet to be discussed, as do other industrial localities where football became not only the dominant sport, but also the major cultural attraction.

⁸⁹ *SAJ*, 23 February 1886.

⁹⁰ *SR*, 11 February 1889; *SR*, 18 February 1889.

⁹¹ *SU*, 25 September 1884.

7. THE ASSOCIATION GAME AND THE WORKPLACE

As association football's popularity continued to spread, so too did the excitement throughout the west of Scotland's other workplaces. In 'Glasgow and district', aside from Glasgow Green, football developed two very different bases: one on the south shore of the Clyde, and another in the railway-building community of Springburn. As with the clubs mentioned in the previous two chapters, the game also developed in isolated localities with highly specialised trades that have long since vanished. While it has been demonstrated how football flourished in areas dominated by specific industries, the picture which appears when studying football's popularity as a whole is how the game was certainly not confined to any specific workplace; it was played amongst metalworkers and grocers, shoemakers and lace weavers, shipbuilders and pottery makers. While some clubs were sponsored by wealthy patrons and paternal employers, some had to go it alone, and ended up making mistakes along the way. This chapter, while not a complete record of *all* Victorian football that took place within an industrial context, will nevertheless endeavour to create an accurate picture of football in the context of the Scottish workplace.

Football amongst works and private firms

Greenock Morton FC's first meeting in 1874 was convened by a grocer, two joiners, a steel riveter and a water inspector. In his history of the club, Vincent P. Gillen explores their early connections with James Morton, industrialist, philanthropist and provost of Greenock whose fortune in the town was made as owner of the Greenock Iron Company.¹ Morton was the first patron of Greenock Morton FC. Like Wylie, Gilmour and the Dennys, he was preoccupied with the moral and physical well-being of working men and their families. He was the honorary president of the Greenock Working Boys' and Girls' Religious Society, the chairman of the Belville Street School and on the board of the Greenock Infirmary.² The Religious Society was an intriguing organisation in its own right. At a meeting of the club in February 1883, with Morton and his son (the society's secretary) both present, a reorganisation of the society was agreed upon, with specific divisions allocated for religion, education, social reform and the 'provident' department. The educational department included provisions for recreation, and the social reform department was concerned mostly

¹ Vincent P. Gillen, *Greenock Morton 1874-1999* (Greenock: McLean Museum & Art Gallery – Inverclyde Council, 1998), pp. 3-4.

² Gillen, *Greenock Morton*, p. 3.

with temperance.³ Morton advertised a football field for use near his estate of Balclutha in Greenock's West End.⁴ His patronage was specifically requested by the football club for his stand on alcohol, and the second clause of the club's constitution 'stated that the club was to be set up on temperance principles and that any entertaining of visiting teams was to be in accordance with such criterion.'⁵ This rule, nevertheless, was quickly abandoned.⁶ Meanwhile, away from Greenock, Morton was involved in supplying preserves to the colonies and military forces, and it was his Morton's Preserve Factory whose mostly Scottish workers first formed Millwall FC on the Isle of Dogs in 1885.⁷ Perhaps not coincidentally, the Isle of Dogs shared Greenock's close association with the shipbuilding industry.⁸

Morton was a working men's club with capitalist patronage; like the examples from Dunbartonshire, Ayrshire and Lanarkshire, it was a case of association, not control. But other clubs were an extension of the works and factories themselves. Works tournaments and football associations were set up by region, and sometimes by specific trade. Teams, their cups and associations began to receive coverage in the newspapers by the mid-1880s. In April 1889, the *Scottish Referee* listed the cup ties drawn at a meeting of the Glasgow Warehouse Football Cup.⁹ The groups of industries were diverse: the Glasgow Drapery Warehouse FA drew ties for a cup in April 1895.¹⁰ Many works clubs, in a development foreshadowing other future career avenues for footballers, were interested in becoming 'permanent' and purchasing permanent football grounds.¹¹ Such desires were often a double-edged sword. The longevity of these works tournaments was occasionally undermined by the over-arching ambitions of their operators. Several months after the

³ *GT*, 21 February 1883.

⁴ Gillen, *Greenock Morton*, p. 3. One particular advert that Gillen shows is from 1876.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

⁶ Personal communication with Tony Cowden, office administrator, Greenock Morton FC, July 2006.

⁷ Walvin, *People's Game*, pp. 63-64; Gerry Robson, *'No One Likes Us, We Don't Care': The Myth and Reality of Millwall Fandom* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), p. 26.

⁸ 'The Isle of Dogs: Introduction', *Survey of London: volumes 43 and 44: Poplar, Blackwall and Isle of Dogs* (1994), pp. 375-387 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=46507>> [accessed 23 July 2008].

⁹ *SR*, 1 April 1889.

¹⁰ *SR*, 5 April 1895.

¹¹ *SS*, 27 June 1890, gives the example of textile manufacturers Arthur & Co. as a warehouse club considering purchasing a football ground.

Glasgow Public Works Association's well-patronised cup final, held at Clyde's Barrowfield Park between Dubs & Co. and Crownpoint Carnegie Works, the association found itself in considerable debt due to the expenditure incurred by purchasing winners' badges for Dubs' team.¹² A less costly endeavour was simply creating and endorsing local cup competitions, as the Glasgow Clothing Company did for a popular Kilmarnock junior competition during the 1887-88 season.¹³

Works occasionally organised matches between different divisions of their firms. The furniture company Wylie & Lochhead, steeped in the Volunteer movement, encouraged recreation, and held a match between its Blockcutters and Engravers in Whiteinch in March 1890.¹⁴ Typically, however, such matches took place against rival firms. When works were pitted against one another at close quarters, the result was competitive derbies that existed at a level equal to 'senior' circles, as experienced players often took part in their own works' teams. The best example of this competitive spirit existed in Clydebank, Dunbartonshire, where the major local derby was held not between senior sides, but between the employees of J. & G. Thomson Shipbuilders and the Singer Manufacturing Co., pitting shipbuilders against sewing machine manufacturers in the athletic arena of competition as well as the economic.¹⁵ In April 1889, the *Scottish Referee* reported that the upcoming match between these two teams was exciting 'considerable interest' in Clydebank.¹⁶ The game was part of a fund-raising drive by Clydebank FC, and interest in the game was sufficient enough to warrant 'a late workmen's train after the match' to transport supporters.¹⁷ Clydebank FC itself had close ties with the Unionist establishment, both with Rangers (who invited the oppositely-inclined Hibernian as a gate attraction for Clydebank's inaugural game in 1888) and its patron, Lord Randolph Churchill, who was devoutly opposed to Irish Home Rule.¹⁸ This considerable support for the two works clubs

¹² *SR*, 14 June 1895; *SR*, 18 November 1895.

¹³ *KH*, 27 January 1888; *SAJ*, 31 January 1888.

¹⁴ *SS*, 11 March 1890.

¹⁵ More information on J. & G. Thomson is in Anthony Slaven and Michael S. Moss, 'The Shipbuilders', in *The History of Clydebank*, ed. by John Hood (Carnforth, Lancs.: Parthenon Publishing, 1988), pp. 3-13. A history of the Singer factory in Clydebank is located in Iain Russell and Michael McDermott, 'The Sewing Machine – The Singer Factory', in *The History of Clydebank*, ed. by Hood, pp. 15-22.

¹⁶ *SR*, 1 April 1889.

¹⁷ *SR*, 15 April 1889.

¹⁸ Finn, 'Racism I', p. 88. The history of early organised sport in Clydebank (including the first Clydebank FC) is included in Pat Malcolm, 'Leisure and Recreation', *The History of Clydebank*, ed. by Hood, pp. 51-58.

was not merely heightened for charity. In next year's trades tournament sponsored by the Clydebank club, *Scottish Sport* noted that a 'great rivalry' existed between Thomson's and Singer's.¹⁹ In an article on a match two months later, *Scottish Sport* noted the supporters' terrace chants 'Good old Singer's' and 'Thomson's for ever.'²⁰ The quality of play was high indeed, as Thomson's team featured senior footballers, in this case four from Yoker Athletic, two from 2nd Renton and two from Clyde, who were quite probably employees of Thomson's yard.²¹

Football did not merely occur on an industrial scale, however. Games also took place between local small businesses. In 1890, McFarlane & Lay's Bakers, a Crossmyloof outfit, were searching in vain for opponents, for they had 'defeated all the rest of the bakers' in Glasgow's South Side.²² China merchants Sneddon & Sons' 1-7 hammering at the hands of the Campbellfield Pottery Company in May 1890 at Hyde Park, Springburn, did not dampen their enthusiasm for football, for they were still seeking 'to play warehouse teams or second-class juniors.'²³ In March 1889, *Glasgow Sportsman* discussed a match at Shawfield, near Rutherglen Bridge, between Broomhill and Allerton. Broomhill, a club of clerks and employees of a local meat market, were victorious with a score of 5-1 over Allerton, 'the Fleshers', who were 'engaged in a slaughterhouse.' The paper stated that: 'Mr. J. M'Kie, father of the market, had an oversight on the teams, and was deeply interested in the match', continuing that 'a match is soon to come off between teams representing fish and meat markets.'²⁴ Outwith Glasgow in Cambuslang, Lanarkshire, the Cambuslang Dyeworks took on their 'floury opponents' the Cambuslang Bakers in a March 1886 match on Morrision Farm, beating the bakers 3-2. The dyeworks' goalkeeper, John Martin, was a good enough footballer to be requested for service in Queen's Park.²⁵ Thirteen years, Larkhall Shopkeepers took on members of the Lanarkshire Constabulary at

¹⁹ *SS*, 31 January 1890.

²⁰ *SS*, 21 March 1890.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *SS*, 16 May 1890.

²³ *SS*, 27 May 1890.

²⁴ *Glasgow Sportsman*, 30 March 1889.

²⁵ *AA*, 6 March 1886.

Fir Park, Motherwell. Motherwell FC's committee made special arrangements for the game to accommodate the large crowd that was expected; the Shopkeepers won 4-2.²⁶

The railways and the shipyards

In England, railway workers are known for organising some of the nation's most beloved clubs. Manchester United, which started life in 1880 as Newton Heath FC, was a club formed by hospitality employees of the Lancashire & Yorkshire Railway in Manchester.²⁷ Similarly, Stoke City (1863) and Crewe Alexandra (1877) were formed respectively by clerks of the Staffordshire Railway Company and London & North Western Railway Company.²⁸ It is therefore appropriate that railway employees were amongst the first and most enthusiastic proponents of the association game in Scotland too. This included areas outwith Glasgow; for example, Kilmarnock, which hosted an 1879 match between the fitting shop journeymen and the apprentices of the local Glasgow & South Western Railway.²⁹ The longer-lasting west of Scotland railway clubs, however, were confined to one Glasgow neighbourhood; itself, like Crewe, an area where railway works were the primary industry. Northeast Glasgow was irrevocably transformed by the coming of Walter Macfarlane's Saracen Foundry to Possilpark in 1869, and by the development of the Glasgow-Edinburgh rail link from 1842, making Springburn and Cowlands the centre of an unparalleled series of locomotive works. The North British Locomotive Company, the result of these works' mergers in 1903, was the world's largest non-American railway manufacturer.³⁰

In the 1870s, football was easily the most popular game in Glasgow's northeast. John Weir states that 'at one time no fewer than seven' football pitches lay 'within a half-a-mile of the Hyde Park Works' alone.³¹ The Hyde Park works had its own club by 1876, and the first club in the region, West End, formed in 1872, had their own pitch near Cowlands train

²⁶ *Motherwell Times*, 7 April 1899; *MT*, 14 April 1899.

²⁷ Mason, *Association Football*, p. 30.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 30, Walvin, *People's Game*, p. 63.

²⁹ *KS*, 10 May 1879.

³⁰ Maver, *Glasgow*, pp. 121-122.

³¹ Weir, *Cowlands*, p. 4.

station.³² The most successful clubs in the area were Cowlairs and Northern, who enjoyed a brief, if very competitive, relationship between the players and supporters alike. Weir states that Cowlairs was a team made up of employees from the various locomotive works, quoting a *Scottish Sport* article from 1893 which stated that the club was ‘mostly tradesmen’.³³ By 1893, the *St. Rollox and Springburn Express* routinely listed the clubs which took part in games on local public pitches, often including a number of works’ teams.³⁴ The matches were often spontaneous, highly disorganised and with very little at stake: the *Express* reported on one game in 1893 between the night and day shifts of the Cowlairs Running Shed (the night shift won 3-1).³⁵ But not all matches were unimportant. The City Union Railway Company Servants and their Railwaymen’s Football Association regularly met at Bellgrove Station, Glasgow.³⁶ The conviviality of this group was noted at their ‘smoking’ concert and badge presentation in July 1896, where the president of the association, George Tully of Sighthill, commented on ‘the good effect this [tournament had] in bringing together the employees of various railways in the district.’ But in the same speech, Tully was dismayed at the railway managers’ lack of cooperation with the tournaments:

He regretted that the managers and others in high position in the railway companies did not give the association the support it deserved... He did not understand why the railwaymen were refused leave to play a match during the close season, when so many other clubs got leave.³⁷

The 1896 demise of Cowlairs FC, brought about in part by earlier surreptitious professionalism, as well as the dramatic loss of a court case against the Glasgow FA, deeply affected the higher level of football in the region.³⁸ In September 1896, the *St. Rollox and Springburn Express* expressed glum prospects for the forthcoming season, stating that while there were roughly a ‘half dozen’ juvenile teams, the lack of a ‘senior’

³² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³³ Quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 38.

³⁴ *St. Rollox and Springburn Express*, 23 February 1893, gave the examples of Buchanan Brothers’ employees and Stewart & Young employees participating in games in Keppochhill (now Cowlairs) Park.

³⁵ *SRSE*, 27 April 1893.

³⁶ *SR*, 29 March 1895.

³⁷ *SRSE*, 16 July 1896. Maver, ‘Scottish Workplace’, p. 516, similarly states that Perth dyeing firm Pullars refused their workers time off to travel to away games, despite providing a great deal of recreational space for them.

³⁸ Weir, *Cowlairs*, pp. 28-37.

club made football ‘a lost art in Springburn’.³⁹ Even after Cowlairs’s death, however, *junior* football remained popular in the area, with Ashfield FC formed in 1886, and existing at the time of writing. The club played in close proximity to the Saracen Foundry, taking its name from its first pitch, which was once used to cool castings.⁴⁰ Its founders were originally members of the Rockvilla Foundry Lads’ Club.⁴¹ Meanwhile, Petershill FC was formed from the ashes of Townhead’s St. Mungo’s FC. At the dissolution meeting of St. Mungo’s, advertisements were distributed touting a new junior football club. Petershill’s first meeting was in Thompson’s Coffee Shop on 4 June 1897, and taking up the Arrol Park ground briefly shared with Cowlairs by St. Mungo’s during the 1895-96 season.⁴²

The railway clubs were not as numerous as those involved in the shipbuilding trade. Glasgow’s South Side was home to many clubs who were linked, both directly and peripherally, to shipbuilding. No single operation, in shipbuilding or in football, better exemplified the manifestation of this local patriotism than the Fairfield Shipbuilding & Engineering Company. John Elder and his wife Isabella laid the groundwork for many of Govan’s revolutionary changes during the late nineteenth century. Elder purchased the Fairfield estate in Govan in 1864, the same year Govan was made into a police burgh. By the time of Elder’s death in 1869, at the young age of forty-five, the estate contained a booming shipyard.⁴³ In 1885, Elder’s widow opened a portion of the Fairfield estate as a public park, appropriately known as Elder Park.⁴⁴ Not surprisingly, there was a context for Mrs. Elder’s generosity. The Elders were preoccupied with the physical and mental health of their workers and their families, and used education to cultivate enlightenment amongst their working-class employees. Isabella was particularly concerned with women’s education; aside from endowing the Elder Chair of Naval Architecture at the University of Glasgow in 1883, she was active in the creation of Queen Margaret College, as well as its

³⁹ *SRSE*, 10 September 1896.

⁴⁰ Charlie McCulloch, *Ashfield Football and Athletic Club, est. 1886* (self-published, 1986).

⁴¹ Charlie McCulloch, *The History of Ashfield FC, 1886/87-2006/07* (self-published, 2007), p. 4.

⁴² Albert Moffat, *Petershill Football & Athletic Club, 1897-1997: A Hundred Years of the Peasy* (self-published, 1997), p. 5; Weir, *Cowlairs*, p. 37. I am also grateful to Moffat, the president of Petershill FC, for my personal communication with him in September 2006.

⁴³ Maver, *Glasgow*, p. 116.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

early running and maintenance.⁴⁵ John, on the other hand, used education to address concerns regarding his workforce.⁴⁶ As Michael Moss states, ‘Elder was a deeply committed Christian and keenly interested in schemes to foster the social, intellectual, and religious welfare of his workforce’.⁴⁷ Fairfield’s progress, meanwhile, continued under the Kent-born Sir William Pearce, the sole partner of the firm from 1877 until his death in 1887, the company given limited liability status in 1886. Pearce was elected as the Conservative MP for Govan in 1885, and was also the Grand Master of the Provincial Masonic Grand Lodge of Glasgow.⁴⁸ He, like John Elder, gifted educational and recreational facilities to the region, most notably in the form of Govan’s Pearce Institute.⁴⁹

Sport blended perfectly with the Elders’ and Pearce’s social and educational mission, and the Fairfield works were a hotbed of football. The *SFA Annual, 1877-78* lists John Elder FC, formed in 1876, as playing in a private ground at Fairfield, Govan.⁵⁰ Such participation continued well into the 1890s. Clubs named Fairfield and Fairfield Athletic continually made appearances in the local and national newspapers of the 1880s and 1890s. In 1894, the *Govan Press* noted with chagrin the draw for the upcoming trade tournament of Linthouse FC. In the first round of the competition, Fairfield Riveters No. 1 were to face Fairfield Riveters No. 2, and the *Press* complained that both clubs had thus been robbed of the opportunity to go deep into the tournament.⁵¹ The new Elder Park also served as a proving ground for up-and-coming footballers. One well-covered junior club, Elder Park Rangers, nevertheless faced its death in 1894, largely due to the financial purgatory which faced many clubs who started life on public pitches. As the *Govan Press* stated: ‘It is clearly evident that the junior following in Govan, though large in its support

⁴⁵ C. Joan McAlpine, *The Lady of Claremont House: Isabella Elder, Pioneer and Philanthropist* (Glendaruel, Argyll: Argyll Publishing, 1997); W.H. Fraser, ‘Isabella Elder’, in *The Glasgow Story* <<http://www.theglasgowstory.com/story.php?id=TGSDH13>> [accessed 9 August 2008].

⁴⁶ MacLehose, *100 Glasgow men* <<http://gdl.cdli.strath.ac.uk/mlemen/mlemen031.htm>> [accessed 25 June 2009], p. 121.

⁴⁷ Michael S. Moss, ‘Randolph, Charles (1809–1878)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, September 2004; online edition, May 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23115>> [accessed 25 June 2009].

⁴⁸ Anthony Slaven, ‘Pearce, Sir William, first baronet (1833–1888)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21692>> [accessed 5 June 2009].

⁴⁹ Biography of Sir William Pearce 1st Baronet, *The University of Glasgow Story* <<http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH0159&type=P>> [accessed 5 June 2009].

⁵⁰ *SFA Annual, 1877-78*, p. 37.

⁵¹ *GP*, 14 April 1894.

of clubs with public grounds, do not come to spend threepence to support a club who tries to establish itself a little higher than usual.’⁵² Without elite or bourgeois patronage, middling clubs were forced to make do with the financial support of its paying customers, limiting their ambitions.

Nevertheless, there were success stories along the Clyde. Despite Rangers’ initial desire to replace Queen’s Park as the respectable, bourgeois club of record on Glasgow’s South Side, the club’s recruitment policy steadily changed throughout the 1880s, when they began cementing connections with Clydeside employers, in particular Fairfield’s. Rangers’ secretary Walter Crichton was able to offer employment opportunities at Fairfield’s in order to entice potential recruits to the club.⁵³ Rangers were directly linked to an institution that was overwhelmingly Conservative and pro-Union, with Pearce able to call upon a vast network of Masonic and Orange Lodge connections in Govan to support his industry and politics in the face of Gladstone’s Irish Home Rule proposals.⁵⁴ A brief, somewhat humorous excerpt from *Scottish Sport* in September 1890 hints at the club’s history of exclusion. Rangers’ J. Wylie was accused of throwing a match against Celtic, and the paper rubbished suggestions that Wylie was an active Catholic. While initially making the error that Wylie was a member of the UP Church Choir in his native Maybole, an investigation in the village proved that he had actually been a member of the local Established Church choir for the past three years.⁵⁵

The more intriguing example of a club with Clydeside connections, however, is Partick Thistle FC, who began life in Overnewton Park, Yorkhill, overlooking the shipyard of Alexander Stephen & Co. on the north bank of the Clyde, in 1876.⁵⁶ The club had two stays in Whiteinch: at Jordanvale Park from 1880 to 1883, and at Inchview Park from 1885 to 1897.⁵⁷ It was probably during these stretches at Whiteinch that the club became associated with Andrew MacLean, future provost of Partick and partner in Barclay Curle &

⁵² *GP*, 27 January 1894.

⁵³ Murray, *Old Firm*, p. 67.

⁵⁴ Melling, ‘Class Relations’, p. 94.

⁵⁵ *SS*, 19 September 1890.

⁵⁶ Robert Reid et al, *Partick Thistle Football Club: The Official History 1876-2002* (Harefield, Middx: Yore Publications, 2002, 2003), p. 4; Maver, *Glasgow*, p. 122.

⁵⁷ Reid et al, *Partick Thistle Football Club*, p. 7, pp. 11-12; Niall Kennedy, ‘The Grounds’, *Partick Thistle: The Early Years, 1875-1900 – A work in progress* <<http://www.pearlyyears.net/grounds.html>> [accessed 29 July 2009].

Co. Shipyards located in Whiteinch.⁵⁸ MacLean was a patron of the club, along Alexander Craig Sellar, a major figure in local and national civic life.⁵⁹ Sellar, the son of Patrick Sellar, landowner and principal figure in the Sutherland clearances, had forged a successful career as a lawyer and politician, representing Partick in Westminster from 1885 until his death in 1890. Previous to his Parliamentary career, he was assistant commissioner to the education (Scotland) commission at the time of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act's passing.⁶⁰ Olive and Sydney Checkland refer to Sellar as being much like his father, an 'Anglicizing influence... sympathetic to English ideas', and Sellar, although a passionate Liberal, broke with Gladstone over Irish Home Rule.⁶¹ The club hierarchy's political trajectory was largely cemented as an ostensibly Liberal Unionist one. After his death, Sellar was replaced as patron by another Liberal Unionist MP, James Parker Smith, who consequently won Sellar's Partick seat after his death.⁶² Both MacLean and Sellar, meanwhile, were key figures in the St. John's Masonic Lodge of Partick and Whiteinch.⁶³ When members of Partick Thistle took part in two productions of *Rob Roy* in April 1889, they did so under the auspices of the same lodge.⁶⁴ Hutchison states that by 1881 the Partick shipyards were 'staunchly Orange', and Walker furthermore believes that Partick and Whiteinch were a natural recruiting ground for new Rangers supporters after Thistle's subsequent decline and move to Maryhill in the early twentieth century.⁶⁵

Shipbuilding concerns did not govern football only in greater Glasgow and Dumbarton, however. The *SFA Annual, 1876-77*, lists Ardrossan FC's secretary as Robert McCubbin,

⁵⁸ Anthony Slaven, 'James Gilchrist', in *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography, Vol. 1*, ed. by Slaven and Checkland, pp. 218-219; 'Barclay & Curle's Shipyard' (Clyde Navigational Trust), *The Glasgow Story* <<http://www.theglasgowstory.com/image.php?inum=TGSA02537>> [accessed 10 August 2008].

⁵⁹ Niall Kennedy, '1887-1888 The First Internationalist', *Partick Thistle: The Early Years, 1875-1900 – A work in progress* <<http://www.ptearlyyears.net/87-88.html>> [accessed 11 August 2008].

⁶⁰ Eric Richards, 'Sellar, Patrick (1780–1851)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25055>> [accessed 25 June 2009].

⁶¹ Ibid.; Olive and Sydney Checkland, *Industry and Ethos: Scotland, 1832-1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989 [2nd edition]), p. 113.

⁶² Niall Kennedy, '1889-90 Grievance with the SFA', *Partick Thistle: The Early Years, 1875-1900 – A work in progress* <<http://www.ptearlyyears.net/89-90.html>> [accessed 11 August 2008]; Eyre-Todd, *Who's Who* <<http://www.ptearlyyears.net/89-90.html>> [accessed 11 August 2008].

⁶³ 'Lodge St. John Whiteinch 683 History', *Lodge St. John Whiteinch 683* <<http://www.stjohnwhiteinch.co.uk/1187/index.html>> [accessed 10 August 2008].

⁶⁴ *SR*, 25 March 1889.

⁶⁵ Hutchison, 'Working-Class Politics', p. 129; Walker, "'Glasgow Rangers'", p. 140.

whose address was ‘c/o Barclay & Sons Shipyards, Ardrossan’.⁶⁶ Across the Clyde from Dumbarton in Greenock and Port Glasgow, there were similar references to the proximity the shipbuilding industry. In April 1883, in the early days of the club’s existence, the *Greenock Telegraph* stated that: ‘The Morton’s “sea-going” men are at home again, and I believe they intend going in for training.’⁶⁷ Port Glasgow Athletic FC’s Musical Association was conducted at a concert by Archibald Purdon, a draughtsman at D.J. Dunlop & Co.⁶⁸ An 1888 charity football match in Port Glasgow was organised by Mr. McKay, foreman riveter at the yard of Messrs. Russell & Company, and Mr. Stewart, foreman at the yard of Messrs. Duncan & Companies, to benefit the Greenock Eye Infirmary. Clubs organised by the foremen ‘placed two teams of riveters on the field at Clune Park’, home of Port Glasgow Athletic.⁶⁹ Seven years later, engineers of Blackwood & Gordon and D.J. Dunlop & Co. faced off against one another in Clune Park, with the *Port Glasgow Express and Observer* predicting that ‘more competition of this nature may be looked for.’⁷⁰

Gillen and Morton FC administrator Tony Cowden are also convinced that the long-standing rivalry between Greenock Morton and St. Mirren revolves around industry, with Greenock’s shipbuilding community perceived to be taking on the textile workers of Paisley.⁷¹ Despite shipbuilding being the predominant industry, however, it certainly was not the only one. The *Greenock Telegraph* referred to another Greenock club, Southern FC, as ‘the Berryyards boys’, probably a reference to the Berryyards Sugar Refinery, then owned by Alex Scott & Sons.⁷² But despite the earlier mention of Port Glasgow Athletic being a well-connected club, with a Kirk minister’s patronage, its support was overwhelmingly working-class and Irish Catholic.⁷³ Renfrewshire had a higher proportion of incomers between 1841 and 1881 than the rest of Scotland. In 1881, 43% of the 97,441

⁶⁶ *SFA Annual, 1876-77*, p. 74.

⁶⁷ *GT*, 12 April 1883.

⁶⁸ *GT*, 18 April 1883.

⁶⁹ *SAJ*, 1 May 1888.

⁷⁰ *PGEO*, 26 April 1895.

⁷¹ Gillen, *Greenock Morton*, p. 17; personal communication with Cowden.

⁷² *GT*, 18 February 1886; Brian Mawer, ‘Brewers Sugar Company Ltd.’, *Sugar Refiners and Sugarbakers Database* <<http://home.clara.net/mawer/brewers.html>> [accessed 5 June 2009].

⁷³ N.L. Tranter, ‘The Cappelow Riot and the Composition and Behaviour of Soccer Crowds in Late Victorian Scotland’, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 12 (3) (December 1995), pp. 132-133.

population were born outside the county; 9% of them were from the ‘crofting’ counties of Scotland, while 31% were born in Ireland.⁷⁴ Tranter is convinced that much of the earlier enmity between Port Glasgow Athletic and Greenock Morton was a Catholic-Protestant antagonism. Indeed, of the 30,000 Irish living in Renfrewshire in 1881, over 20,000 lived in Paisley, Greenock and Port Glasgow, with Port Glasgow taking the lion’s share.⁷⁵ None of this, however, accounts for the Irish section of Morton’s support, exemplified by the name of Cappielow Park’s west stand: the Wee Dublin End, named for the Irish immigrants residing in the tenements behind the stand during the park’s opening in 1879.⁷⁶

What’s in a name? Football and industries in the countryside

The industry which most transformed the land to the east and south of Glasgow in the late nineteenth century was undoubtedly mining. Football’s connections to other industries in the region were also quite firm; and, as was the case with Renton and Alexandria, other villages contained trades and industries that were highly specialised. For example, the fishing village of Girvan on Ayrshire’s west coast had a football team which was referred to in 1898 as ‘the fishermen’.⁷⁷ The village’s growth began at the turn of the nineteenth century, with fishermen attracted to the burgeoning herring population.⁷⁸ The reference to fishermen may be a truthful one, or it may have been used to emphasise Girvan FC’s distinctiveness. A similar reference is made regarding a club from further north on the coast: Saltcoats Victoria.⁷⁹ In its recap of the March 1894 Ayrshire Cup final, held at Holm Quarry between Hurlford and Saltcoats Vics, the *Irvine Herald* referred to Vics’ supporters as ‘ruddy seaside lads’.⁸⁰ In a less esoteric connection to sport, Parkhouse FC of Ayr, founded in 1886, were named after the adjoining Parkhouse Farm. The centre-forward of the club was William Frew, whose father owned the farm.⁸¹ The club were

⁷⁴ H.A. Moislely, ‘Population’, in *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Renfrew and the County of Bute*, ed. by H.A. Moislely et al (Glasgow: Collins, 1962), pp. 111-112. ‘Crofting’ counties refers specifically to Argyll, Caithness, Inverness, Orkney and ‘Zetland’, Ross and Cromarty and Sutherland.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁷⁶ Gillen, *Greenock Morton*, p. 10; personal communication with Cowden.

⁷⁷ *SR*, 9 September 1898.

⁷⁸ Strawhorn and Boyd, *Ayrshire*, pp. 817-818.

⁷⁹ The club are referred to as ‘the fishermen’ in *Dalry and Kilbirnie Herald*, 26 April 1895.

⁸⁰ *Irvine Herald*, 2 March 1894.

⁸¹ Carmichael, *Ayr United*, p. 24.

referred to by *Scottish Sport* in 1890 as ‘the cattle market heroes’.⁸² The first club to exist in proximity to an agricultural establishment in Ayr was Ayr Academicals, a considerably more elite club that loaned ground from Mr. Climie, a cattle dealer.⁸³ Ayr was the centre of the county’s agricultural industry, with farmers’ markets and cattle shows a crucial part of the economy.⁸⁴

Workplace paternalism and patronage continually held sway in many of these villages as well. One village just outside Glasgow, not dissimilar to Renton and Alexandria, was a local football power in the 1880s and early 1890s. Thornliebank FC made it to the final of the 1880 Scottish Cup against Queen’s Park, but lost the game 3-0.⁸⁵ The ‘model villagers’, as the sporting press consistently referred to them, were residents of a village whose chief industry, like Renton, was calico printing. The *SFA Annual, 1876-77* listed Thornliebank’s match secretary Robert Smith as having an address at the print works in Thornliebank, while the neighbouring Busby FC had as their club secretary an employee in *that* village’s calico works.⁸⁶ Thornliebank FC’s nickname was accurate, for the village was heavily indebted to the Crum dynasty, in particular Alexander Crum, who oversaw the modernisation of the village in the late nineteenth century. Crum was particularly interested in education, and oversaw the building of Thornliebank Public School in 1875.⁸⁷ He was also the honorary president of the Renfrewshire FA in the early 1880s.⁸⁸ Crum’s philanthropy, however, was hardly free, and was part of a larger social programme. Thornliebank had a significant Irish and Irish-descendant community, which migrated during the 1830s, when the Crums recruited the Irish to replace striking workers whom the family evicted from their company homes.⁸⁹ Crum was an MP from 1880 to 1885

⁸² SS, 3 January 1890.

⁸³ Carmichael, *Ayr United*, p. 5.

⁸⁴ Strawhorn and Boyd, *Ayrshire*, pp. 543-544; John Foster, *Ayrshire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910) pp. 151-152.

⁸⁵ Eastwood District Libraries, *Crum’s Land: A History of Thornliebank* (Giffnock: Eastwood District Libraries, 1988), p. 24.

⁸⁶ *SFA Annual, 1876-77*, pp. 78-79.

⁸⁷ Nicholas J. Morgan, ‘Alexander Crum’, in *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography, Vol. 1*, ed. by Slaven and Checkland, pp. 347-349.

⁸⁸ *SFA Annual, 1882-83*, p. 110.

⁸⁹ Eastwood District Libraries, *Crum’s Land*, pp. 13-14.

representing Renfrewshire, and left the Liberal party over Irish Home Rule.⁹⁰ Alexander Crum, too, was preoccupied with temperance, and provided a village club ‘to promote sobriety’, as well as establishing the village’s United Presbyterian Church.⁹¹

Another village with a highly specialised trade was Beith, in Ayrshire. A history of Beith FC written in 1928 was keen to emphasise football’s connection to its industrial roots.⁹² The club, formed in 1875, was known by the moniker ‘cabinet makers’; it was continually referred to as such by the press, with the local *Irvine and Fullarton Times* referring to Beith FC in 1898 as ‘the Cabes’.⁹³ But once again, this was no mere nickname; it is logical to assume that the majority of Beith’s players prior to professionalism (the now-junior club had a short stint in the senior cups and leagues) were involved in the furniture trade. In 1898, the *Scottish Referee* stated that Dallas, an ex-Beith player who was playing with St. Mirren in 1898, was employed at the time as a cabinetmaker in Dunoon.⁹⁴ The village was yet another example of the rapid change endured by many west of Scotland communities in the mid-nineteenth century, as the furniture trade, hitherto made up solely of skilled craftsmen, saw an influx of newcomers into isolated interior areas such as Beith.⁹⁵ Meanwhile, further south, football had ‘a rather chequered history’ in Mauchline, the village of Burns.⁹⁶ Sport had a long pedigree in the village, with Mauchline a world-renowned centre of curling stone manufacturing. Mauchline FC, formed in 1873 and champions of the 1878 Ayrshire Cup, were not only referred to as being from the ‘box-making’ village by the *Scottish Athletic Journal* in 1882, but were later that year were referred to as ‘box-makers’ themselves.⁹⁷ ‘Box-making’ as such was not something done on an industrial scale, but rather it was a speciality craft unique to the village. Mauchline’s reputation involved the making of wooden snuff-boxes, but this industry, consisting of

⁹⁰ Morgan, ‘Alexander Crum’, p. 349.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 349.

⁹² Anon., “‘The Doings of Half a Century’”: The History of Beith Football Club, 1875-1928’, in Tommy Brandon, *The History of Beith Juniors FC* (self-published, 1998).

⁹³ *IFT*, 4 March 1898.

⁹⁴ *SR*, 1 July 1898.

⁹⁵ Anthony Slaven, ‘Timber & Furniture’, in *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography, Vol. 2*, ed. by Slaven and Checkland, pp. 110-111. Strawhorn and Boyd, *Ayrshire*, pp. 401-402, allude to a certain ‘clannish’-ness in Beith, even in the 1950s.

⁹⁶ Strawhorn and Boyd, *Ayrshire*, p. 705.

⁹⁷ *SAJ*, 27 September 1882; *SAJ*, 20 October 1882. A brief history of Mauchline FC is included in McIlvean, *Burns Country*, pp. 7-23.

three workshops within the village, fell by the wayside in the years after World War I.⁹⁸ The *Scottish Athletic Journal*, which no doubt would have been more familiar with the curling exploits of the village, nevertheless nicknamed the village club according to a very specific local industry.

Aside from more specialised crafts, heavy industry played its part in football in the countryside. A brief history of football in Stevenston, written by James Clements in 1974, refers to Ardeer Recreation FC, formed in 1928 by workers of the Ardeer, Stevenston, factory of Imperial Chemical Industries (ICI), which produced dynamite.⁹⁹ However, while Clements discusses pre-Great War football in Stevenston at length, he rarely mentions any of the village clubs' early connections to the local industry. Stevenston's prosperity was heavily tied to the British Dynamite Company's factory, built in 1871 under the influence of Swedish chemist and explosives pioneer Alfred Nobel.¹⁰⁰ The Scottish football press in the latter half of the nineteenth century were convinced of the Stevenston clubs' connections to the local explosives industry. A club called Stevenston Dynamite were referred to by *Scottish Umpire* as 'that explosive team,' while Stevenston Thistle were referred to as 'Dynamitards' by the *Kilmarnock Herald*, and 'those dynamite lads' by the *Scottish Referee*.¹⁰¹ Even in the 1950s, Strawhorn and Boyd noted in the *Third Statistical Account* that those who had close connections to the ICI factory led a more active social life than those Stevenston residents who did not, calling the ICI a 'charmed circle'.¹⁰²

As textiles economically rivalled mining and agriculture in Ayrshire, footballers involved with textile works were heavily involved in sustaining and even exporting the popularity of the game parallel to developments in the industry. One example involves Stewarton Cunninghame, referred to by the *Scottish Referee* in 1889 as 'bonnet knitters of the bannet toon', and were continually referred to as 'bonnetmakers'. A further example involves

⁹⁸ Strawhorn and Boyd, *Ayrshire*, pp. 697-702; James Edward Shaw, *Ayrshire 1745-1950: A Social and Industrial History of the County* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1953), pp. 55-56. According to Strawhorn and Boyd, regret was expressed in the village over the loss of the expert craftsmanship that went with this specialised industry.

⁹⁹ James Clements, *Football in Stevenston, Threetowners* <<http://www.threetowners.com/Stevenston/football.htm>> [accessed 1 August 2008].

¹⁰⁰ W.J. Reader, 'Alfred Bernhard Nobel,' in *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography, Vol. 1*, ed. by Slaven and Checkland, pp. 279-282; Strawhorn and Boyd, *Ayrshire*, pp. 343-345.

¹⁰¹ *SU*, 2 October 1884; *KH*, 13 January 1888; *SR*, 14 January 1895.

¹⁰² Strawhorn and Boyd, *Ayrshire*, p. 347.

footballers from Newmilns, whose influence on the game of football was incalculable. A club named Newmilns was listed in the *Scottish Athletic Journal* as being members of the 2nd ARV.¹⁰³ In 1889, the date of the club's formation, *Scottish Referee* referred to Newmilns as 'the old volunteer club'.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, the club were consistently referred as 'the lacemakers' by the press; and perhaps not coincidentally, the decline in the local lace industry after the American Civil War and the power loom's introduction led many local men into either Volunteerism or the police.¹⁰⁵ This also precipitated the emigration of lace workers.¹⁰⁶ In 1891, textile workers from Newmilns moved to Gothenburg, Sweden with the intention of setting up a lace making firm. Many employees became members of the nearby Örgryte Sports Club, organising the first known association football match in Sweden on 22 May 1892.¹⁰⁷ Torbjörn Andersson states that the early dominance of Örgryte IS in the Swedish game 'was largely due to their Scottish players.'¹⁰⁸ Similarly, Newmilns employees of Johnstone, Shields & Co. travelled to Barcelona to set up a lace factory near the turn of the century. The workers were part of a football club known as Colonia Escocesa, and were among FC Barcelona's first opponents. One of Colonia Escocesa's members was future Newmilns provost George Girvan, who played for Barcelona before returning to Newmilns in 1903.¹⁰⁹ The village's football club struggled along with the village in the mid-1890s, with the *Dalry and Kilbirnie Herald* stating in April 1895 that the club was in dire straits, 'the auctioneer dispos[ing] of the club's effects'.¹¹⁰

Depression similarly truncated the run of another club, one in Maybole in south Ayrshire. The club were continually referred to as 'shoemakers' by the national press, for Maybole

¹⁰³ *SAJ*, 17 January 1888.

¹⁰⁴ *SR*, 26 August 1889; 'J.P.M.', 'Newmilns Football Club,' in *Historical Aspects of Newmilns*, ed. by Newmilns and Greenholm Community Council (Newmilns, Ayrshire: Newmilns and Greenholm Community Council, 1990), p. 106.

¹⁰⁵ *SR*, 16 September 1889; Alex Muir, 'The lace industry', in *Historical Aspects of Newmilns*, ed. by Newmilns and Greenholm Community Council, p. 98.

¹⁰⁶ Muir, 'The lace industry', p. 98.

¹⁰⁷ 'J.P.M.', 'Newmilns Football Club' p. 105.

¹⁰⁸ Torbjörn Andersson, 'Immigrant Teams in Sweden and the case of Assyriska FF', *Soccer & Society* 10 (3-4) (May-July 2009), p. 399.

¹⁰⁹ 'J.P.M.', 'Newmilns Football Club', p. 105. FC Barcelona were founded in 1899. The influence of the Scottish and English on early Spanish football, particularly in Barcelona's formation, is discussed in Jimmy Burns, *Barça: A People's Passion* (London: Bloomsbury, 1998), pp. 71-87.

¹¹⁰ *DKH*, 19 April 1895.

was a village intimately connected with boot-making. John Lees, the partner of John Lees & Co. shoe manufacturers, was heavily responsible for jumpstarting the shoe industry in the village after the collapse of the weaving trade in the 1870s.¹¹¹ The firm was responsible not only for supplying boots to a booming agricultural industry, but for winning a contract to supply the Royal Navy rubberised sea boots from 1891. By that year there were ten separate shoe factories in town. In 1901, out of a population of 5,470, 30% of Maybole's residents were employed by the boot and leather industry.¹¹² The fortunes of football in Maybole, to a macabre degree, were dependent upon the shoe industry. At the end of the 1890s, the club's football pitch sat adjacent to the 'Bog' Shoe Factory.¹¹³ Before then, the *Kilmarnock Herald* referred to Maybole FC's Gardenrose Park as the 'Tanneries.'¹¹⁴ In 1907, trade in the town collapsed when the Ladywell Shoe Factory, owned by John Gray & Co., shut its doors. The local press referred to the closure as 'a major tragedy,' one responsible for forcing over two thousand shoemakers and their families to emigrate to Canada to find work.¹¹⁵ Duncan Carmichael links this episode to football: a 1907 Scottish Combination match between Maybole and Queen's Park Strollers was moved from the village to Hampden Park, 'owing to a large number of Maybole people being in Glasgow to take farewell of a good number of emigrants to Canada.'¹¹⁶

Conclusion

Not every club, locality, works or business cited in this chapter can be viewed as emblematic of football's connections with Scottish industry. While each of the examples provided can be used as case studies in their own right, attempting to find universality between them is a difficult task. Football was *not* popular in the west of Scotland merely due to the efforts of paternalist industrialists who viewed sport as a means to an end, but it nevertheless greatly assisted ambitious clubs greatly to have a friendly patron or club official who was either well-connected, financially secure or both. 'Ambition' is a subjective term with regard to football clubs' progress during this time. Some of these

¹¹¹ Brenda M. White, 'John Lees', in *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography, Vol. 1*, ed. by Slaven and Checkland, pp. 454-455.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 454-455; James T. Gray, *Maybole – Carrick's Capital* (Ayr: Alloway, 1972), pp. 77-78.

¹¹³ Gray, *Maybole*, p. 178.

¹¹⁴ *KH*, 26 October 1888. Club information from *SFA Annual, 1888-89*, p. 77.

¹¹⁵ Gray, *Maybole*, pp. 77-78.

¹¹⁶ Quoted in Carmichael, *Ayr United*, p. 72.

clubs and their associations clearly felt the need to compete and win silverware, either for themselves or for their particular industrial concern. With other teams, however, victory was irrelevant, and football was used merely as a vehicle for conviviality and amusement. Whatever the reason, in the players' eyes, and in the eyes of the press, football clubs were very much representative of their particular locales, with many clubs viewing themselves as the emblems of their communities' industrial and ethnic pride.

8. THE CHANGING LANDSCAPE (OF SPORT)

Scottish football, by the early 1880s, was at an uneasy crossroads. The game was stuck between two paradoxical versions of what it should be: an amateur game that represented local working-class pride, or a populist gate-money attraction that, while giving working-class men an escape route to greater social mobility, eroded local ties and left village clubs unable to compete. The unenviable circumstances in which some Scottish footballers found themselves made the lure of professionalism irresistible for many. Footballers were long proud of their associations with charity, both as a means of presenting themselves in a favourable light, and as a means of giving back to their communities. Nevertheless, as professionalism was reluctantly becoming more accepted, charity was no longer enough, and football was beginning to resemble other industries in Scotland, with political activism and socialism beginning to work their way into the consciousness of the game.

Professionalism: push or pull?

Although the mushrooming popularity of football with the turn of the twentieth century would seem to argue against it, emigration from Scotland was thought by the press of the time to have a detrimental, possibly catastrophic effect on the game of football; and while the newspapers always wished departing players luck, there was still a growing sense of insecurity over football's relationship to local industries and trades. Players emigrating to take up work in other parts of the world were commonly noted by the sporting press. One of many examples, the aforementioned John Wallace of Kilmarnock of the Ayrshire FA, was noted in 1885 for his position as flour commission merchant in Australia.¹ About other departing footballers, however, the newspapers spoke in more ominous terms. When 'Sanny' Dick left Kilmarnock Athletic in 1885 to move to Liverpool on business, *Scottish Umpire* was hedging its bets that the economic downturn was only temporary. 'Let us hope', it stated 'that trade may revive, when some of the emigrants will probably return to their native club and pilot them onto success again.'² But none were more concerned than *Scottish Athletic Journal* junior football correspondent Juvenis on the detrimental effects of emigration on the game. In 1887, Juvenis stated:

¹ *SAJ*, 22 November 1887.

² *SU*, 20 May 1885.

South-Side juniors will no doubt be surprised to learn that Mr. James Dick of the Parkside left for America... on Thursday last. He goes out to an uncle's farm in Pennsylvania, where he hopes to make a bit of money. On this same steamer, Mr. J. M'Donald, who is connected with the 2nd Govanhill. He is also bound for Pennsylvania, but some hundreds of miles away from Mr. Dick... This week, I believe, Mr. David Watson of the Govanhill sails for America. If this sort of thing goes on, all the good men will soon be gone.³

Juvenis, who frequently betrayed his cultured roots, discussed ex-clubmates he played with in a January 1888 festive column. The aforementioned James Dick was noted as being 'in the Wild West of America'. Another was Charley Pollard, an ex-player with the South-Side Wellpark FC who was then in 'Philadelphia or Boston'.⁴ Kilpatrick, a former goalkeeper of Govanhill and Third Lanark, was said to be 'a joiner in northern Australia'. But no other ex-club of Juvenis's was as well-traveled as Mossvale: 'Four of the leading members – John Eddie, William Twaddle, Peter Barrie, and William Taylor – are now in America. The first three are farmers – or trying to be. The fourth is employing his spare time as a draper's assistant.'⁵ If those involved in the game were concerned about Scots emigrating, they were also concerned about the underlying economic issues, for football was clearly affected by them. This was especially true with clubs attached to shipbuilding communities along the Clyde, heavily associated with a high-stakes industry that Maver states was 'prone to serious reversals' during economic downturns.⁶ For example, in 1886 Dumbarton FC were forced to postpone its summer athletic sports due to tenuous economic circumstances.⁷ Similarly the following year, football in Renfrew was considered weak due to the 'dullness of trade.'⁸

Discussions of 'trade' as such, however, were further complicated by the acknowledgement that professional sport was becoming a business in its own right. Of all the departures of Scottish footballers between 1875 and 1893, it was those who moved to northern England who faced the most scrutiny from both the SFA and the press. Scottish football's own move towards professionalism was spurred by developments in Lancashire between 1878 and 1885. Robert Lewis refers to Lancashire during this time as 'the centre

³ *SAJ*, 9 August 1887.

⁴ *SAJ*, 3 January 1888.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Maver, *Glasgow*, pp. 116-117.

⁷ *SAJ*, 20 April 1886.

⁸ *SAJ*, 30 August 1887.

of innovation' in British football's move towards professionalism. The attention of the FA towards surreptitious professionalism in this region was aroused largely by the disproportionate amount of Scots in the ranks of clubs such as Bolton Wanderers, Preston North End, Darwen and Blackburn Rovers.⁹ One newspaper writer angrily stated in an 1884 match between Burnley and Rawtenstall that: 'it wasn't Burnley, it was Scotland'.¹⁰ FA officials, on a number of occasions, proved that Lancashire club officials were either remunerating players with gate money, or paying them through labouring jobs connected with the clubs. Matters came to a head in June 1884, when the FA introduced draconian rules meant to stem the tide of professionalism, most notably a rule which prevented non-Englishmen from playing for English clubs in the FA Cup.¹¹ Nineteen clubs, most of them from Lancashire, forced the FA to back down, threatening to form a rival association known as the 'British Football Association'. The FA, thus, officially adopted professionalism in July 1885.¹² Lewis believes the events in Lancashire during this time were key to establishing association football as a sport controlled by the working class and the lower middle class, frustrating the 'gentleman amateurs' who were responsible for the game's initial management.¹³ Professionalism was legalised only two years after the watershed victory of Blackburn Olympic over Old Etonians in the 1883 FA Cup final, the first time a working-class club had won the FA Cup.¹⁴ A split between north and south *did* occur over professionalism in rugby, when the clubs of the Northern Union broke away from the Rugby Football Union in 1895 over the issue of compensation for lost wages.¹⁵ British football was therefore able to avoid the acrimonious, class-based civil war that occurred in rugby, and consolidated itself as the professional and commercial game of the working man.

There was no legal professionalism in Scotland until 1893, however; and long before professionalism was legalised in England, the enticements made to top Scottish players were considerable. Lewis takes examples from the 'Popular Players' series from the

⁹ Robert W. Lewis, 'The Genesis of Professional Football: Bolton-Blackburn-Darwen, the Centre of Innovation 1878-85', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 14 (1) (April 1997), pp. 21-54.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-26.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26, pp. 37-41.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁴ Vamplew, *Pay up*, p. 62.

¹⁵ Williams, 'Rugby Union', pp. 312-314.

newspaper *Football Field* of many Scottish footballers who were well-known in the region during the 1884-85 season. These included Bolton Wanderers' W. Struthers, a native of Partick, who responded to an advert in a Glasgow newspaper in 1880, and was given a job as a bookkeeper with the Park Mill Spinning Company.¹⁶ The overwhelming majority of Scottish footballers were involved in the alcohol and hospitality trades. Another Partick man, Fergie Suter, who first appeared with Lancashire's Turton FC in 1878, and later played for a variety of other clubs (including Blackburn Rovers), ran a public house in Blackburn.¹⁷ Former Northern and Rangers man Hugh McIntyre also ended up with Blackburn Rovers, originally employed as an upholsterer, but eventually becoming landlord of a Blackburn pub in 1884.¹⁸ Meanwhile, Kilmarnock's Johnnie Goodall came to Bolton in 1883 and began work at the Robin Hood Inn, which coincidentally was the meeting place and headquarters of Great Lever FC, who Goodall played for.¹⁹ No club, however, managed to create a professional Scottish squad quite like Preston North End; and its chairman, Major William Sudell, was fairly transparent about his attempts to bring Scottish footballers to Preston, and to supply them with a series of fictitious jobs while paying under the table.²⁰ Players who came to clubs in northern England were overwhelmingly from industrial backgrounds. *Football Field's* 1884 list of Scottish players barred from the SFA for professionalism in England, aside from several former members of Hearts and St. Bernard's, is overwhelmingly comprised of footballers who departed Ayrshire clubs, and to a lesser extent clubs in Glasgow, Renfrewshire and Dunbartonshire.²¹ *Glasgow Observer* noted in 1895 that: 'Ayrshire can lay claim, along with Dunbartonshire, to be the great nursery of Scottish and (it might almost be said) of English football'.²²

With the notable exception of *Scottish Umpire* (Sudell's only cheerleader in the Scottish press), the Scottish print media were venomous towards English professionalism, and to those who went in search of its perceived riches. Hurlford's A. Goudie was targeted when

¹⁶ Lewis, 'Genesis', p. 28, p. 33.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27; John Weir, 'Drink Up and Play the Game', in *Drink, Religion and Scottish Football*, ed. by Weir.

¹⁸ Lewis, 'Genesis', p. 29, p. 33.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

²² *GO*, 2 November 1895.

he relocated to England with the intention of gaining employment as a footballer. ‘This is the last man’, stated the *Scottish Athletic Journal* in September 1887, ‘we thought would have gone over to the ranks of the weak and stupid.’ To add injury to insult, this story preceded one of the more loyal Alexander ‘the Great’ Higgins of Kilmarnock, also a miner by trade, turning down a thirty-shillings-a-week offer from two English agents.²³ Higgins, however, was also caught in this conundrum by the *Journal*, which believed ‘it is to be regretted that an athlete with capabilities that place him in the front rank of Scottish football cannot find a more pleasant occupation’.²⁴ Higgins eventually found greener pastures, turning professional and moving to Derby County in August 1888.²⁵ The average wages of Scottish miners during this period have been estimated at four shillings per day; Higgins had between at least six to fifteen shillings per week to gain from the move to England, *not* including any further income from a trade.²⁶ Strictly on economics, the choices offered to Higgins and Goudie no doubt seemed clear.

The presence of advertisements from English clubs in Scottish newspapers also calls into question the press’s commitment against professionalism. While English agents were responsible for luring many young Scottish players across the Border, there were many more who journeyed south in the quest for higher wages. Advertisements were plentiful in the Scottish sporting press. The *Scottish Referee*’s summer 1890 issues abounded with offers of openings in the north of England for the upcoming season, promising not only play-for-pay, but also day labour for both the skilled and unskilled. In May 1890, Darlington Town was seeking ‘good men’ for their club, whereby ‘Employment can be found for steady men at following trades – Fitters, Iron-turners, Moulders, Pattern-Makers, Bridge Builders, or Labourers’. A request was added to ‘State Position, Age, Trade, and Remuneration expected’ to the club secretary.²⁷ Later that month, Newcastle West End included an advert in the *Referee* simply asking to ‘Apply in confidence, stating trade,

²³ *SAJ*, 6 September 1887.

²⁴ *SAJ*, 1 April 1885, quoted in Weir, ‘Morals, status and the Scottish football player’, in *Drink, Religion and Scottish Football*, ed. by Weir.

²⁵ ‘Alexander Higgins’, *Scottish Football Association Archive* <http://www.scottishfa.co.uk/player_details.cfm?playerid=113103&CFID=4426715&CFTOKEN=75353412> [accessed 1 June 2008].

²⁶ Robin Page Arnott, *A history of Scottish miners from the earliest times* (1955), quoted in ‘Wages’, *Scottish Mining Website* <<http://www.scottishmining.co.uk/383.html>> [accessed 25 June 2009].

²⁷ *SR*, 6 May 1890.

position, etc'.²⁸ Meanwhile, the west of Scotland's footballers were being encouraged to further their sport's links with the drinks industry, as an unnamed Burton-on-Trent club advertised:

First-class Centre or Inside Forward required to undertake management of large Hotel and Spirit Vaults, and play with local team in Midlands. Good Salary. Satisfactory References and Security.²⁹

The SFA's Subcommittee on Professionalism, which held an inquiry into professionalism among Scottish players in 1888, cited the cases of James Murray and James Cassiday, two miners who played for Motherwell, and whom T. Johnstone stated were 'among the first to leave Lanarkshire' for England.³⁰ In response to an advert placed for Everton FC, they were contracted as joiners to erect the club's grandstand, only to be cut loose.³¹ Bolton Wanderers lodged a protest in a cup match against Everton alleging that Murray, Cassiday and five other Scots in the Everton lineup were being paid for their services.³² Upon their return to Scotland the two were unable rejoin the SFA as a result of their 'professionalism'.³³

Other footballers migrating to England were more successful due to a network of established professionals and ex-players who obtained businesses south of the Border. John Auld may have been from Lugar, but he was *not* a miner; a May 1890 issue of *Scottish Sport* states that he was a shoemaker. Once Auld was brought to Sunderland FC from Third Lanark in 1890, the club were so keen to secure his talents that it assisted him with starting a shoe business in town, one which became very successful.³⁴ By the turn of the century, Sunderland were a club whose positions were filled entirely by Scottish players. Their presence for a match at the opening of Clyde's new ground at Shawfield in

²⁸ *SR*, 27 May 1890.

²⁹ *SR*, 24 June 1890.

³⁰ T. Johnstone, *Motherwell Memories* (Hamilton: *Hamilton Advertiser*, 1938), p. 154.

³¹ *SAJ*, 28 February 1888.

³² Johnstone, *Motherwell Memories*, p. 154.

³³ *SAJ*, 28 February 1888.

³⁴ *SS*, 30 May 1890; 'John Auld', *Scottish Football Association Archive* <http://www.scottishfa.co.uk/player_details.cfm?playerid=112888&CFID=4426715&CFTOKEN=75353412> [accessed 30 May 2008]; John Hutchinson, *The football industry: the early years of the professional game* (Glasgow: Richard Drew, 1982), p. 42.

April 1898 warranted an excitable advertisement in the *Scottish Referee*: ‘Come in your thousands and welcome the Anglo-Scots’.³⁵

Renton: professionalism gone awry?

League and professional clubs from small localities were overwhelmingly unable to adapt to the new regime, and Renton FC provides an excellent example. The village’s own local trade failed to sustain the football club through the years of professionalism after the founding of the SFL. The club’s management was caught twice subverting the professional ban, the final time in an attempt to force the issue of professionalism on the table. This happened in 1890: first in May when Celtic met the thinly-veiled ‘Old Renton’ at Celtic Park to play a benefit match for James McCall, an ex-Renton player who had become an English professional; and again in September, when Renton agreed to meet ‘Edinburgh Saints’ (itself a thinly-veiled reference to the professionally-barred St. Bernard’s) in a friendly, which resulted in Renton’s initial expulsion from the SFL’s inaugural campaign.³⁶ For a locale in short supply of money and population, Renton’s attitude towards professionalism had long been bizarre. Like Lancashire’s early professional clubs, Renton carried two sets of books: one for the SFA’s inspection, and one for the general running of the club, though the club’s officials were always aware of the impending visits of the Association.³⁷ One of the club’s enduring myths is derived from a financial irregularity spotted in its books. During a visit from the SFA, it was noted that a large amount of money was being spent on the purchase of chickens. The club protested that this was used for chicken bree (broth) – a recipe for victory that the players consumed – made with chicken, port wine and fresh eggs.³⁸

Renton won the battle for professionalism, but ended up losing the war, for it and several other clubs, most notably Vale of Leven, had badly miscalculated the economics of the professional game.³⁹ The village, with a small, largely working-class population, did not have the requisite capital for a professional football club, stoking speculation about a move

³⁵ *SR*, 29 April 1898.

³⁶ Crampsey, *First 100 Years*, pp. 15-18.

³⁷ Crampsey, “‘King Football’”, p. 191.

³⁸ Weir, *Boys*, p. 51; Crampsey, ‘“King Football”’, p. 191.

³⁹ Weir, *Boys*, pp. 76-80, describes the lead-up to the 1895 collapse and insolvency (with debts of £500) of Vale of Leven FC.

to Glasgow. After the club's well-patronised draw against Dundee in the first attempt at the Scottish Cup semi-final at Celtic Park in March 1895, during a year in which Renton were excluded from the SFL, the newspapers discussed the rationale of a permanent move to the city.⁴⁰ Renton FC did not survive long enough to move to Glasgow, and by 1898 the club was permanently expelled from the SFL.⁴¹ The collapse of Renton exemplified the fate that awaited over-ambitious neighbourhood and village clubs who attempted to bankroll their clubs with money from industries terminally in decline. The anti-professional, anti-SFL Queen's Park long suggested that professionalism would destroy Scottish league football in the villages; but, as Crampsey states regarding the death of the club, it was 'naïve' to have believed that tradesmen in the region would have been given extra time from their jobs to play the game.⁴² It was almost impossible to combine professional football and a day job: Celtic's Allan Martin fainted in an 1895 Glasgow Cup tie against Linthouse after a full day's work as a furnaceman.⁴³

Football and charity

Football in the late nineteenth century was still level with its roots. With the sport a part of its immediate surroundings, charity matches began to make their appearance in the late 1870s. As the elite footballing organisation in the west of Scotland, charity played a key role in maintaining Queen's Park's bourgeois image. Robinson stated that Queen's Park's various good causes – which included ex-players, struggling football and sport clubs, and its 'special favourite' charitable body, the Langside Dorcas Society – were 'too numerous to mention, and all reflect the greatest credit on the club, its good management, its kind-heartedness, and its magnanimity.'⁴⁴ Prior to the organisation of the first Glasgow Charity Cup competition in 1876, charity football matches in the west of Scotland typically took place in response to specific events.⁴⁵ In the wake of a tragedy, matches could be arranged at short notice; Vamplew gives the example of a major fire in Bridgeton in 1876.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ *SR*, 11 March 1895; *GO*, 16 March 1895.

⁴¹ Crampsey, *First 100 Years*, pp. 297-298.

⁴² Crampsey, "King Football", p. 189.

⁴³ Crampsey, *First 100 Years*, p. 26.

⁴⁴ Robinson, *Queen's Park*, p. 437.

⁴⁵ Vamplew, 'Glasgow Charity Cup', pp. 2-3.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

Football moved even more swiftly, in the aftermath of the 1877 Blantyre Colliery disaster, in which 240 men were killed when an explosion occurred within the mine: Rangers and Third Lanark played a charity match to provide £15 of funds to the families of victims.⁴⁷ Miners' clubs were particularly responsive to disasters in their communities. The victims of the Blantyre disaster were also looked after by Hurlford and Mauchline, who played a charity match in November 1877, the proceeds of which were given to the Blantyre Explosion Fund.⁴⁸ Years later, Hibernian visited Whifflet in June 1889 for a charity match with Albion Rovers for the benefit of the family of William Findlay, a 35-year-old drawer who fell down an open shaft at James Nimmo & Co.'s Gartsherrie mine on 17 May 1889.⁴⁹ Dumbarton and Rangers similarly responded to a disaster within their own trade ranks, meeting each other to aid in the *Daphne* Disaster Fund. The *Daphne* was a 500-ton steamer that turned on its side just after its 3 July 1883 launch from Linthouse, killing 146 of the 200 workers trapped inside the ship's hull.⁵⁰

Charity football was becoming a well-organised affair, with the Glasgow Charity Cup leading the way. The competition was formed through the merger of an 1876 end-of-season charity match for the benefit of the Glasgow Western Infirmary, and a charity football contest organised by a group of Glasgow merchants. The Merchants' Cup, as the competition was sometimes referred to, lasted until 1966, with its most famous match being the centrepiece at the International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art in 1901.⁵¹ As football's popularity increased, so too did the regularity and visibility of the tournament, which typically featured Celtic, Rangers, Queen's Park, Third Lanark and other invitees playing a series of post-season matches.⁵² A plethora of charities received funds from the tournament, including hospitals, health treatment facilities, orphanages, youth organisations, and – once Celtic entered the competition in 1888 – Catholic poor aid organisations. 24 charities were in receipt of the Cup's funds in 1883, becoming 54 by

⁴⁷ *SFA Annual 1878-79*, pp. 5-6; Stewart Wright, *Annals of Blantyre* (Glasgow: Wilson & McCormick, 1885) pp. 122-127.

⁴⁸ McIlvean, *Burns Country*, p. 15.

⁴⁹ *SR*, 3 June 1889; '1889 Report of the Inspector of Mines', *Scottish Mining Villages*, <<http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~miningvillages/1889deaths.html>> [accessed 6 June 2008].

⁵⁰ McAllister, *Sons*, p. 16.

⁵¹ Vamplew, 'Glasgow Charity Cup', pp. 2-4.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

1890 and 67 by 1900.⁵³ By the end of the 1880s, there were at least nineteen other Scottish charity competitions in existence, with London, Sheffield and Birmingham basing charity cup competitions on Glasgow's.⁵⁴ Most of these competitions gave their monies to similar charities, and attempted to avoid controversy or moral impropriety when doing so.⁵⁵

Beyond Glasgow, many other charity matches initially took place outside of the auspices of a specific cup competition. One particular game took place in Stewarton in April 1879 between Stewarton and Overton on Kirkland Farm, lent by its owner for the occasion. £3 and two shillings was 'distributed amongst the deserving poor of the district after the match.'⁵⁶ The following month, both Queen's Park and Hibernian were invited to Kilmarnock to take part in two different benefits. Queen's Park was hired to face a select team of Kilmarnock footballers for the benefit of a local soup kitchen.⁵⁷ Hibs, meanwhile, were invited to Rugby Park for the benefit of the local Fever Hospital.⁵⁸ Ten years later, Preston North End came to Rugby Park to play a benefit match for the Kilmarnock Infirmary.⁵⁹ Early in its charitable history, Celtic were invited to a gathering in Coatbridge. After several Coatbridge men had contracted yellow fever while in Brazil in early 1889, Albion Rovers advertised to local football clubs who wished to take part in a benefit match for the men and their families; Celtic answered the call.⁶⁰ Other means of charity were more novel. The *Scottish Referee* was more amused than impressed when St. Mirren attempted to raise charitable funds through an ill-advised pony trotting competition in July 1889. 'St. Mirren, we are inclined to think', stated the paper, 'will not repeat the pony trotting business. There were some good ponies entered, but the trotting was not of a high-class character.'⁶¹ The following month, two select clubs of Glasgow and Ayrshire

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-14. The article contains a far more specific account of the charities given money.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 9-13; *SR*, 15 July 1889, lists the charities given to after the *Evening News* Junior Charity Cup final, and many of them overlap with those given to by the Glasgow Charity Cup Committee. One example outwith Glasgow shows a similar pattern. The greatest recipients of the proceeds of the 1882 Ayrshire Charity Cup was the Kilmarnock Infirmary and Hospital, who received £35, an amount which entitled 35 patients to be sent there: *SAJ*, 22 September 1882.

⁵⁶ *KS*, 26 April 1879.

⁵⁷ *KS*, 10 May 1879.

⁵⁸ *KS*, 24 May 1879.

⁵⁹ *SR*, 25 February 1889.

⁶⁰ *SR*, 6 May 1889; *SR*, 3 June 1889.

⁶¹ *SR*, 29 July 1889.

footballers met each other in Cathkin Park to raise money for the Ayr Burns Statue Fund.⁶² Formal footballing groups were not the only ones to exploit the game's popularity for charitable ends. Vanmen met grocers on the football pitch in Glasgow's South Side in April 1889 for a one-off benefit for the Victoria Infirmary.⁶³ In April 1901, police and local merchants in Bellshill, Lanarkshire played a match to raise money for the local Nursing Association.⁶⁴

Specific charity cups were tied to local institutions, much like the area's football clubs themselves. The Maryhill Charity Cup, founded in 1888, was donated and chaired by Maryhill councillor and local printer J.W. Dick.⁶⁵ Dick's interest and participation in the Maryhill Charity Cup revolved around the East Park Home for Infirm Children; Dick was 'one of the most active workers in the cause of the East Park Home'.⁶⁶ The Maryhill institution began in 1874 as the 'Association for Visiting and Aiding the Permanently Infirm and Imbecile Children brought under notice by the School Board Educational Inquiry', with Alexander Whitelaw MP its president and driving force behind its building. William Mitchell was its secretary and treasurer.⁶⁷ The East Park Home still exists at the time of writing. Meanwhile, the first Greenock Charity Cup was instituted in 1885 by the Oddfellows Lodge in Greenock and Port Glasgow, who donated a £40 trophy.⁶⁸ The competition was managed by the representatives of each of the local lodges, and for many this was too much of a role for the local Oddfellows chapter.⁶⁹ The committee met in September 1886 to discuss possible revisions to the body's constitution. Changes were speculated by the *Greenock Telegraph* to be the inclusion of representatives from the

⁶² *SR*, 19 August 1889.

⁶³ *SR*, 22 April 1889.

⁶⁴ *Bellshill Speaker*, 20 April 1901.

⁶⁵ *GP*, 14 January 1888.

⁶⁶ *PMP*, 17 August 1895.

⁶⁷ 'East Park Home For Infirm Children' (Heatherbank Museum of Social Work, print 948), *The Glasgow Story*, <<http://www.theglasgowstory.com/image.php?inum=TGSG00006>> [accessed 11 June 2009]; *East Park Online* <<http://www.eastpark.org.uk>> [accessed 11 June 2009].

⁶⁸ *SU*, 4 March 1885; *SFA Annual, 1887-88*, pp. 84-85.

⁶⁹ *SFA Annual, 1887-88*, pp. 84-85.

general public, as well as a reduction in the number of delegates from the Oddfellows on the committee.⁷⁰

Aside from more organised cup tournaments, this period of time also saw the birth of ‘testimonials’ for players, officials and supporters who had fallen on hard times. Greenock Morton faced a team of Greenock juniors at Cappielow Park in May 1895 for a benefit match dedicated to James Ferguson, Morton’s trainer.⁷¹ At a Scottish Junior Cup semi-final at Gasworks Park, Larkhall in March 1888, James Anderson of Carlisle Milton Rovers collided with Baxter of Wishaw Thistle, breaking his leg, and ending the game 27 minutes from the end.⁷² A month later, Milton Rovers played a benefit match in Carlisle against ‘Carthusians’, a team of select Glasgow juniors, for Anderson’s benefit.⁷³ Football also assisted in the case of death. A combined Vale of Leven and Renton squad faced off against ‘Zingari’, a team including Queen’s Park’s Charles Campbell, in May 1888 to raise money for the widow of H. McCulloch, a Jamestown FC player who drowned in the River Leven.⁷⁴ In March 1890 in Paisley, 34-year-old dyer and football enthusiast Samuel Murray from Johnstone succumbed to a heart attack at a derby match between Abercorn and St. Mirren at Underwood Park.⁷⁵ Several weeks later, both clubs arranged a benefit match, and raised £20 for Murray’s widow.⁷⁶

Football charity’s more political dimension reared its head at the outbreak of the Second South African War, or Boer War. At a Second Scottish League match between Motherwell and Hamilton Academical at Fir Park, Motherwell in January 1900, a War Fund Collection was prominently displayed at the game.⁷⁷ Parkhouse were even more pro-active in their attempts to help local war efforts. In the same month, the Ayr club were invited to Stranraer, Wigtownshire, to take part in a holiday match in the coastal town. The match’s purpose was to raise money for the local War Relief Fund. However, this provided an

⁷⁰ *GT*, 16 September 1886.

⁷¹ *SR*, 31 May 1895.

⁷² *SAJ*, 27 March 1888.

⁷³ *HA*, 5 May 1888.

⁷⁴ *SAJ*, 15 May 1888.

⁷⁵ *Paisley Daily Express*, 31 March 1890.

⁷⁶ *SS*, 10 June 1890.

⁷⁷ *MT*, 26 January 1900.

opportunity for fraternity as much as charity and patriotism, and after the match, both clubs were entertained at the Downshire Hotel. Not only were several patriotic songs sung on both sides, but a humorous discussion was had over the differences between Ayr and Stranraer women.⁷⁸

Early football and early socialism

Not all footballers were interested in merely maintaining the status quo. Much of west central Scotland was shut down on 6 September 1884, the day of the Liberal Party's Franchise demonstration.⁷⁹ 64,000 marched on Glasgow Green in an attempt to push the House of Lords to pass the Franchise Bill.⁸⁰ Shops were closed, and trade was shut down for the day, with many workers participating in the demonstration, and with individual trades designing elaborate props and floats pertaining to the tools and products of their craft.⁸¹ Football also largely shut shop on the day of the Glasgow demonstration, with local games halted almost entirely.⁸² Footballers were active in Franchise protests held at the same time in Kilmarnock, with Kilmarnock FC's committee sending John Wallace and Mr. Walker to a demonstration on 13 September 1884, in the presence of MPs Harry Chaplin and James Lowther.⁸³ An earlier Franchise demonstration held in the town significantly reduced the gate of a derby match between Kilmarnock and Hurlford.⁸⁴

As football, during this time, reflected a cross-section of Scottish society, activism slowly permeated its clubs and associations. The move towards professionalism heralded the age of yet another new industry, one that socialism and trade unionism would consequently help to address. Changing times were recalibrating the focus and politics of the sport, and the man that best exemplified the quiet football revolution was James Kelly. Kelly was a

⁷⁸ *Cumnock Express*, 5 January 1900.

⁷⁹ 'Franchise Demonstration Poster' (Glasgow City Archives, Town Clerk's Department), *The Glasgow Story* <<http://www.theglasgowstory.com/image.php?inum=TGSA02063>> [accessed 7 June 2009].

⁸⁰ Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1991), p. 418.

⁸¹ Elspeth King, 'Popular Culture in Glasgow', in *The Working Class in Glasgow*, ed. by Cage, pp. 146-147.

⁸² *SU*, 11 September 1884.

⁸³ *SU*, 4 September 1884.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

native of Renton, born in 1865.⁸⁵ Of Irish parentage, he was a devout Catholic who started working life as an apprentice joiner.⁸⁶ However, an interest in charity – and the lure of an off-the-books salary – led Kelly to Celtic in 1888, where he eventually became director and chairman of the club. Kelly had been lured away from Renton with wages of £1 and ten shillings per week, and eventually purchased a public house.⁸⁷ Not only was Kelly seen at Irish nationalist functions in Glasgow, but he was also active in Labour politics.⁸⁸ In 1898, the *Scottish Referee* noted that he was helping to organise members of the Lanarkshire Miners' Union.⁸⁹ In 1895, the *Glasgow Observer* had also made a veiled reference to Kelly's 'influence in the council chambers.'⁹⁰ He later became a Justice of the Peace and School Board member in Blantyre during the 1910s.⁹¹ Kelly viewed labour relations on a more equal footing than Alexander Wylie, the dominant figure in his home village, and adopted a different approach to social mobility than the calico baron would have permitted – in politics, in business *and* in sport.

Kelly, however, was not the only football socialist coming of age during the 1890s and early 1900s. If the presence of Celtic, Hibernian and other 'Irish' clubs signalled a minority group attempting to participate in Scottish society on its own terms, so too did the brief presence of Clarion Football Club. 'The year 1896', stated the *Govan Press* at the outset of 1897, 'brought with it the birth of a Socialist football club, now known by the name of the Clarion.'⁹² Little is known about the South Side's Clarion FC, and the *Press*'s mention of it is a rare acknowledgement that it ever existed; but, with the name 'Clarion', the club was no doubt an offshoot Robert Blatchford's Clarion movement. Blatchford, a Manchester socialist closely linked to the Independent Labour Party (ILP), was the editor of *The Clarion* newspaper, founded in 1891. He propagated a particular brand of socialism

⁸⁵ 'James Kelly', *Scottish Football Association Archives*
<http://www.scottishfa.co.uk/player_details.cfm?playerid=112833&CFID=465116&CFTOKEN=14544549>
[accessed 19 July 2008].

⁸⁶ Tom Campbell and Pat Woods, *The Glory and the Dream: The History of Celtic FC, 1887-1986* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1986), pp. 345-346.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp 346-347.

⁸⁸ Murray, *Old Firm*, pp. 56-57.

⁸⁹ *SR*, 20 June 1898.

⁹⁰ *GO*, 6 April 1895.

⁹¹ Harvie, 'Scottish State', p. 54.

⁹² *GP*, 9 January 1897.

based around healthy recreation, one which sought to add colour to the ‘drabness’ of people’s urban lives, and one that contrasted heavily with the alleged ‘dour puritanism of Keir Hardie’.⁹³ Clarion Cycling Clubs were the most popular outgrowth of the movement, but it also spawned other social and physical activities such as rambling, camping, choral unions, camera clubs, and the Clarion Scouts, a young activist movement founded in 1894.⁹⁴ Blatchford, however, was an idiosyncratic character. While he despised the effects of capitalism, his writings contained a heavy dose of militaristic and nationalist rhetoric indicative of his years in the British Army, and his Scouts were even given military ranks.⁹⁵

Strikes in various industries drastically affected attendance, as with Motherwell in 1893-94 and Rangers in 1895.⁹⁶ In one instance, Rutherglen Glencairn and Cambuslang Hibs joined forces in a January 1898 charity match to raise money for the benefit of striking engineers.⁹⁷ Those within the game itself, however, were not averse to industrial action, even before the official advent of professionalism. In 1890, Celtic’s players went on strike for the right to earn £3 a week, a wage equivalent to that of English clubs which were enticing Celtic’s players across the Border.⁹⁸ In 1895, six Morton players refused to play a League match against Renton after not receiving payments for victory. The previous week, the club played a League game against Leith Athletic. With the victorious goal being disallowed and the game drawn, the committee withheld the incentive-based payment associated with gaining two points in the match, triggering a strike by the ‘malcontent’ players.⁹⁹ No reason, meanwhile, was given for five Royal Albert players striking in April 1898.¹⁰⁰ That same year, a match arranged between representatives of the Scottish and Irish Leagues was clouded due to a controversy over bonuses for the Scottish team. Blessington (Celtic), J. Gillespie (Third Lanark), Morgan, Patrick (St. Mirren), and R.C.

⁹³ Denis Pye, *Fellowship is Life: The National Clarion Cycling Club, 1895-1995* (Bolton: Clarion Publishing, 1995); David Prynne, ‘The Clarion Clubs, Rambling and the Holiday Associations in Britain since the 1890s’, *Journal of Contemporary History* 11 (2/3) (July 1976) pp. 66-68.

⁹⁴ Prynne, ‘The Clarion Clubs’, pp. 66-69.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-68.

⁹⁶ Swinburne, *Motherwell Football Club*, pp. 41-43; *SR*, 25 November 1895, p. 1.

⁹⁷ *SR*, 7 January 1898.

⁹⁸ Vamplew, *Pay up*, p. 243.

⁹⁹ *SR*, 30 September 1895.

¹⁰⁰ *SR*, 25 April 1898.

Hamilton (Rangers) refused to play the match at Carolina Port, Dundee, unless bonuses were promised by the SFL in advance.¹⁰¹ It would be a considerable time, however, before Scottish footballers formed their own union. The Scottish Association Football Players' Union was formed in 1909, but was dissolved after only two years in existence.¹⁰²

Socialism and football: a legacy?

Football's links with heavy industry and trade unionism are now considered sacrosanct, and Scottish footballers have been at the vanguard of culturally wedding British football to its working-class surroundings. Barney Ronay's article in *The Guardian* on 25 April 2007 examining the decline of socialism in modern British football used Glenbuck's Bill Shankly, along with St. Mirren, Aberdeen and Manchester United manager Sir Alex Ferguson, as examples of avowed socialist footballers who had 'childhood[s] spent in areas dominated by heavy industry and trade union influence'.¹⁰³ Scottish football's socialism, however, mirrored the politics of the nation at large. William Kenefick states that Scottish socialism, far less dogmatic than its English cousin, derived from the egalitarian influences of figures such as Robert Burns and Henry George, as well as a Christian, Evangelical identification with morality far more than Marxist theory.¹⁰⁴ British Labour's first national leader, the Cumnock-based Keir Hardie, was born of this culture. The full-time secretary of the Ayrshire Miners' Union was initially teetotal, and a former member of the Evangelical Union.¹⁰⁵ It is this strand of socialism that later Scottish footballers maintained from the late nineteenth century, even if not all socialists appreciated the sport; many in the ILP, in contrast to Blatchford, were suspicious of football, despite Hardie's son at one point being on the books of Sunderland.¹⁰⁶ One of Celtic's early patrons, and the first socialist patron of a Scottish football club, was Michael Davitt, founder of the Irish

¹⁰¹ *SR*, 7 February 1898.

¹⁰² Vamplew, *Pay up*, p. 247.

¹⁰³ Barney Ronay, 'Anyone want to play on the left?', *The Guardian*, 25 April 2007.

¹⁰⁴ William Kenefick, *Red Scotland! The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left, c. 1872 to 1932* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 23-25.

¹⁰⁵ Kenneth O. Morgan, 'Hardie, (James) Keir (1856-1915)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, September 2004; online edition, May 2007
<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33696>> [accessed 12 June 2009].

¹⁰⁶ Stephen G. Jones, *Sport, politics and the working class: Organised sport in interwar Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 28.

Land League, and a powerful ally of – and influence on – west of Scotland trade unionists and radical Highland crofters.¹⁰⁷

Politicians, however, were not the only figures to connect football and ethical socialism. Shankly, in his 1976 autobiography, went as far as to portray football *as* moral socialism:

People are entitled to their own religious beliefs and their own politics. I'm a socialist, though I do not have any great faith in any of the political parties. The socialism I believe in is not really politics. It is a way of living. It is humanity. I believe the only way to live and to be truly successful is by collective effort, with everyone working for each other, everyone helping each other, and everyone having a share of the rewards at the end of the day. That might be asking a lot, but it's the way I see football and the way I see life.¹⁰⁸

This same belief in the working man's morality, rather than politics, also appealed to footballer, future Celtic and Scotland manager and former Burnbank, Lanarkshire miner Jock Stein. Archie MacPherson states that Stein, a public supporter of the miners' strike of 1984-85, was 'nearer in spirit to Keir Hardie than [Prime Minister] Tony Blair'.¹⁰⁹ For all the talk of footballing socialists, however, recent developments have indeed proven how far the sport has become separated from its local underpinnings. Closer to the New Labour mindset than Stein was a younger trade unionist footballer, the proud Govanite and Remington Rand toolmaker apprentice, Ferguson. His term as Manchester United manager from the 1980s paralleled the creation of United as a global brand, and Ferguson's politics subtly shifted rightward, to the point where he was a close ally with fellow 'pragmatic socialist' Blair.¹¹⁰

Conclusion

Within the space of twenty-five years in the late nineteenth century, football went from being perceived as a gentlemen's amusement to becoming a booming entertainment trade that inspired the working class to take up its practice. By 1900, however, there was an uneasy tension as to what happened next for the association game. Would the game's popularity fade away, and would sport clubs no longer function as vehicles for civic pride?

¹⁰⁷ Davitt was elected patron in 1892: Finn, 'Racism I', pp. 90-92.

¹⁰⁸ Shankly, *Shankly*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁹ MacPherson, *Jock Stein*, pp. 24-25.

¹¹⁰ Michael Crick, *The Boss: The Many Sides of Alex Ferguson* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2002), pp. 36-45, pp. 456-459.

Or would the labouring class continue to take control of sport, overthrowing the earlier, more cautious generation of footballers and administrators? At the turn of the twentieth century, west of Scotland footballers were only beginning to answer these questions for themselves, and where the game of football would fit in with the social and cultural milieu of the region.

III: FOOTBALL AND SOCIETY

9. THE SOCIAL GATHERINGS OF EARLY SCOTTISH FOOTBALLERS

The social arena is now recognised as a primary component of British sport's early development. Huggins states that this was especially the case for the more elite British sporting outfits, which initially formed clubs not only for sporting participation, but also for social networking.¹ Telfer similarly believes the social gatherings of Scotland's Victorian harriers clubs, many of whom had close relationships to football clubs, were crucial functions in solidifying the bonds of clubbability in cross-country's early organisations.² The off-field activities of Queen's Park, Third Lanark, Rangers and other 'elite' football clubs were crucial in creating and maintaining social networks with the region's political and industrial establishment, and their parties and social gatherings emphasised the respectability which these clubs engendered. Nevertheless, these same ties were utilised by working-class clubs as well, whose own version of local, national and imperial patriotism on the pitch was similarly matched in the social and cultural theatre. Footballers, their patrons and officials, as well as their various hangers-on, especially in the media, did not separate physical performance from cultural performance, and were keen to emphasise their prowess in both. But such participation trod a very fine line between socialisation and self-indulgence. Alcohol, gambling and sex had long been intrinsically linked with British folk sports; despite early patrons' attempts at withholding players' access to more carnal pleasures, those pleasures too became a part of football's social landscape.³ Paradoxically, football's social scene became both everything and nothing its elders wanted it to be.

The 'respectable' entertainment of Glasgow's elite

By the 1880s, football's conviviality was as relevant the game itself, so much so that the *Scottish Referee*, from their 1888 inception, periodically included a column known as 'The Social Circle' to discuss the various concerts, suppers and conversaciones of sport clubs.⁴

¹ Huggins, *Victorians*, p. 100.

² Telfer, 'Cross Country', pp. 270-296; Idem., 'Ludism, laughter and liquor: homosocial behaviour in late-Victorian Scottish harriers clubs', in *Disreputable Pleasures: Less Virtuous Victorians at Play*, ed. by Mike Huggins and J.A. Mangan (London: Frank Cass, 2004), pp. 185-203.

³ Tony Collins and Wray Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers: A Cultural History of Sport and Alcohol* (Oxford: Berg, 2002), pp. 5-10, discusses the close relationship of alcohol to sport prior to 1850.

⁴ The first instance of this is in *SR*, 10 December 1888.

Amateur musical and choral groups, as well as amateur dramatics, were also discussed in depth by the *Scottish Referee* and *Scottish Sport* by the turn of the 1890s. There was nothing new here, as the private school and military sporting ethics derived from ideas of camaraderie and brotherhood. They also viewed sport as a manifestation of their aims to mould men capable of providing not only the physical, but the mental defence of nation and Empire. As early as July 1869, Queen's Park's H.N. Smith, who *Third Lanark Chronicle* stated was 'the first football poet', wrote a poem that was duly accepted and reproduced by the Queen's Park committee. The last verse read:

Loud the acclaim that ends the game,
The Queen's Park men have won;
So well they wrought, so well 'twas fought,
And not too cheaply victory bought,
Right well, in sooth, 'twas done.
The laurel they may proudly wear
Which from that field of fight they bear.⁵

According to the *Chronicle*, the poem was distributed by Queen's Park for the July 1869 match at the ground of Hamilton Gymnasium, allegedly to excite Gymnasium into a competitive match (Queen's Park won 4-1). The legend of the poem, and its origins, serves as a useful reminder that Queen's Park's cultured aura was every bit as important as its success on the football pitch. The *Kilmarnock Standard* concurred that the miners of Lugar Boswell Thistle, during an after-match gathering in Lugar with Queen's Park in 1882, were 'lucky at having such eloquence at their backs'.⁶ Queen's Park were the *first*, in every sense of the word. But it was not only poetry and eloquence that interested Queen's Park; in 1869, the club initiated a committee for the purpose of putting together an amateur concert, complete with singers from the public. Nothing concrete emerged until the following year, when on 9 December 1870 Queen's Park's first 'conversazione' was held, and deemed a great success.⁷

Queen's Park's close relationship with the 3rd LRV ensured a great deal of intermingling between the two groups, as well as a sense of shared cultural aims. Well into the 1890s the regiment's periodical, which had since stopped publishing details of the then-unrelated Third Lanark AC, still published the details of the regiment's reading room and dramatic

⁵ *TLC* 1 (December 1888), p. 26; Robinson, *Queen's Park*, pp. 32-34.

⁶ *KS*, 26 August 1882.

⁷ Robinson, *Queen's Park*, pp. 440-441.

club. Some of the productions the Volunteer dramatists considered staging in January 1895 included *Our Boys*, *Caste*, *The Area Belle*, and *Cut off with a shilling*.⁸ Third Lanark's citizen soldiers, however, did not merely stage plays, but also wrote their own. Six years earlier, the *Scottish Referee* reported that "All's well that ends well", or "Love's labour not lost", is the title of a new comedy which will shortly be published by a prominent 3rd [football] man'.⁹ Queen's Park's and Third Lanark's cultural escapades followed similar patterns, as Queen's Park too established a Musical and Dramatic Society whose concerts were regularly announced by the media. One concert was held on the night of 6 May 1885 at the Good Templars' Hall on Glasgow's South Side.¹⁰ Queen's Park often performed with Third Lanark, too; a Queen's Park Society concert took place at the prize distribution ceremony of the 3rd LRV at their Drill Hall on 19 January 1887.¹¹ (See Figure 14.5 for an illustration of a 3rd LRV regimental social.) The Society, formed in 1883, was not connected to the club itself, but overwhelmingly consisted of members of the football organisation, most notably Charles Campbell. One of their favourite comedies was *A Trip to Dublin*.¹² After their 1885 Good Templars' Hall concert, *Scottish Umpire* believed that: 'The Queen's Park Musical and Dramatic Association is rapidly becoming, if not a household word, at least a clubhouse word.'¹³

The club most concerned with replacing Queen's Park and their exalted position, Rangers, were not slow to notice their rival's cultural achievements. In 1885, three of Rangers' members formed a subcommittee to enact a 'Literary and Musical Association'.¹⁴ The Association became a regular participant on the local football, cultural and religious circuit. Performers were present at Partick Thistle's ball in March 1891, with their rendition of 'Proudly as the Eagle'.¹⁵ In October the same year, Rangers performed at the Plantation Parish Church. Rev. James Wallace, chairman of the Plantation Church of Scotland Young Men's Guild, stated that he did not believe that their pieces were connected to football, and

⁸ *TLC* 8 (11) (January 1895), p. 66.

⁹ *SR*, 11 February 1889.

¹⁰ *SU*, 6 May 1885.

¹¹ *SU*, 11 January 1889.

¹² Robinson, *Queen's Park*, pp. 439-440.

¹³ *SU*, 13 May 1885.

¹⁴ *SU*, 14 January 1885.

¹⁵ *GP*, 14 March 1891.

indeed they were not.¹⁶ One piece included ‘Row, boatmen row’, and another was a reading of Rev. Norman Macleod’s *The Old Lieutenant and his Son* by elocutionist Douglas Mitchell.¹⁷ Macleod (1812-72) was a well-known crusading Established Church minister in Glasgow, born in Campbeltown, Mull of Kintyre; *The Old Lieutenant and his Son* was a religiously-tinged story of the sea.¹⁸ Thus, in one concert, Rangers’ players had acknowledged their links to their native land, their origins as a rowing club, their particular neighbourhood’s prominent industry, as well as their religious convictions.

There were still many other concerts where the Rangers Musical Association overtly identified their allegiance to the club, especially during the club’s own gatherings. At the 1894 annual social of Rangers, in front of patron John Ure Primrose, J.B. Preston performed a song called ‘The Rangers’. ‘It possesses a catching chorus’, stated the *Govan Press*, ‘and before he was finished the hall was ringing with it as Ibrox Park will likely be some Saturday afternoon.’¹⁹ The club did not merely rely on its designated musical section for entertainment; any footballer seemed to have the potential to spontaneously break into song, and had many opportunities to do so. On 25 January 1887, an advert was placed in *Scottish Umpire* for Rangers’ ‘usual fortnightly smoking concert’, to be held at Ancell’s Restaurant at 8pm.²⁰ Next week’s paper stated that the concert was ‘interesting as usual’, although added forlornly that there was ‘[l]ots of talent, but no piano’.²¹ This talent was even apparent in the junior ranks of Rangers. In April 1895, after defeating Jamestown Athletic 5-4 during a Spring Holiday trip to Balloch, the *Partick and Maryhill Press* printed an account of the Ibrox XI’s trip home. ‘On the return journey’, the paper stated, ‘the party had a through carriage to Glasgow. The time on the “iron way” was spent by the members of the company indulging in singing.’²²

¹⁶ *GP*, 3 October 1891.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ MacLehose, *100 Glasgow men*, pp. 207-212 <<http://gdl.cdrl.strath.ac.uk/mlemen/mlemen061.htm>> [accessed 25 June 2009]; Norman Macleod, *The Old Lieutenant and his Son* (London: Charles Burnet & Co., 1891).

¹⁹ *GP*, 17 March 1894.

²⁰ *SU*, 25 January 1887.

²¹ *SU*, 1 February 1887.

²² *PMP*, 20 April 1895.

Port Glasgow Athletic, similarly, considered music to be an important exercise in providing healthy recreation. Chairing a concert of theirs in April 1883, one Dr. Carmichael stated his joy at being allowed to do so, and went on to discuss the benefits of combining physical and cultural recreation:

I am very glad to be able to say that so far as can be found out, we are the only club in the West of Scotland that provide healthy recreation for their members on the Saturdays, and try so far as we can to raise their minds above the ordinary things of life to the inculcation of music during the week – thereby not only raising our mental condition, but also between the members, cementing the bonds of friendship from week to week, and forming ties which, I am certain, the lapse of years will never break.²³

Port Glasgow Athletic were far from the only club offering a diversity of recreation off the pitch. Adam Crooks of the resurrected Kilmarnock Athletic was noted in 1895 to be introducing a ‘quartette’ of the Kilmarnock Athletic Male-Voice Choir to a local crowd.²⁴ In their account of the 1882 Queen’s Park-Lugar Boswell Thistle match, the *Kilmarnock Standard* duly noted at the after-party at Lugar Schoolhouse that ‘[t]he musical ambition of the football players can’t be disputed; they can all sing... it is really astonishing to notice the amount of talent that turns up at these meetings.’²⁵ Two Third Lanark officials were known as good singers: Lt. Col. James Merry was capable of ‘sing[ing] a first-rate song,’ in Scots, English or Gaelic, while H.J. McDowall was an ‘accomplished musician and trained vocalist’.²⁶ Tannahill of Wishaw Thistle was noted as being ‘a splendid tenor singer’; and after the club’s February 1890 defeat to Motherwell, he was sarcastically asked to sing ‘The Heart Bowed Down’ during the after-match entertainment.²⁷ Even the associations themselves were keen to emphasise the musical talent in their ranks. After the 1894 Glasgow Junior Cup final at Partick between Ashfield and Glasgow Perthshire, the *Govan Press* crossed their fingers, hoping to rouse a performance from the Association president:

Can President Liddell sing, was the question asked by not a few gentlemen present at the [Glasgow Junior FA] meeting on Saturday evening. Yes, I have heard him in a poetic mood, when he recited to a spellbound [audience] one of

²³ *GT*, 18 April 1883.

²⁴ *SR*, 11 November 1895.

²⁵ *KS*, 26 August 1882.

²⁶ *TB* 346, 4 June 1879; *TB* 972, 3 June 1891.

²⁷ *MT*, 8 February 1890.

his popular lays. However, he did not perform this interesting part of the night's entertainment on Saturday evening.²⁸

Similarly, the *Partick and Maryhill Press* attempted to stir enthusiasm for the Association's artistic endeavours. 'Have you heard the latest?' asked the *Press* of an imaginary reader. 'No – what? The Glasgow Junior Association are about to start a Male Voice Choir.'²⁹

One junior club in particular took their artistic endeavours and off-field camaraderie to extremes. Govan's Park Thistle, whose motto 'Comrades ever since we were boys' invokes a rather clubby feeling, were involved in more than one social pursuit. The football club owned a room in Fleming Street, 'where the members spend many happy evenings together'. Aside from participating in a fortnightly quadrille assembly at the local Masonic Hall, their true love was their Male Voice Choir conducted by Mr. Brough, the leader of the Govan Select Choir.³⁰ One of their favourite tunes was 'Nancy She's my Fancy', performed at a March 1894 concert.³¹ The club's dedication to vocal virtuosity often clashed with their footballing ambitions, as the *Govan Press* discussed at the outset of the 1894-95 season:

[Park Thistle] open their season rather later than usual, not owing to lack of enthusiasm on the part of the members but owing to the Male Vocal Choir having engagements for the last two Saturdays in August... consequently they are obliged to postpone their opening game until 1st September, when they oppose their old opponents the Elder Park.³²

If it seems comical for a football club to forsake its sporting obligations for musical performance, Park Thistle were certainly not the only ones. Members of the Queen's Park Musical and Dramatic Society similarly absconded from football when required to meet their engagements, as many of them once did for a concert in Dundee. Since the football organisation was controlled separately, there was little that could be done to stop the players from doing so.³³

²⁸ *GP*, 14 April 1894.

²⁹ *PMP*, 16 February 1894.

³⁰ *GP*, 6 January 1894.

³¹ *GP*, 31 March 1894.

³² *GP*, 11 August 1894.

³³ Robinson, *Queen's Park*, pp. 439-440.

Queens's Park and Third Lanark were not the only clubs attempting to achieve legitimacy on the dramatic stage. In April 1889, members of Partick Thistle 'intend[ed] to air their histrionic talent' in a production of *Rob Roy* produced by the St. John's Lodge of Freemasons.³⁴ Airdrieonians took part in another version of the Walter Scott tale to a more pragmatic end, as *Scottish Referee* reported in 1895:

Airdrieonians, although not busy with football, are making a bold attempt to clear off their debt. On Saturday 23rd and Monday 25th inst., they have a grand production of 'Rob Roy' in the Town Hall in Airdrie. The entertainment will be produced by the Airdrie Dramatic Club, who number in their ranks many capable artists. Mr. James Connor, the Airdrieonians' president, takes a warm interest in the Dramatic Club – in fact, is himself one of the cast, and it is largely his influence that the national drama is being produced for their expenses. The colossal (good word) character of the production, however, necessitates an expenditure of £35 for two nights, which means that the friends of the Airdrieonians will be required to rally around them to make their venture pay.³⁵

Other productions were different. In keeping with themes of ethnic humour, in 1888 Motherwell FC put together a production of *The Shaughraun*, a melodramatic, largely non-political play (quite probably in pantomime) regarding a fugitive Fenian, written by Dion Boucicault, a popular Irish playwright of the previous two decades.³⁶ In September 1887, the Vale of Leven Dramatic Society performed the play *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room* to a crowd of seven hundred people in Alexandria.³⁷ This particular choice of work is intriguing, as the play was originally a novel written by the Baltimore-based Timothy Shay Arthur, a well-known writer of temperance literature in the southern United States.³⁸ The book, far removed from the world of *Rob Roy* and *The Shaughraun*, is a harrowing tale of a judge's drink-fuelled descent into poverty, murder and ultimately redemption.³⁹ There is no indication, however, that Vale of Leven FC were active as a temperance club, like

³⁴ *SR*, 25 March 1889.

³⁵ *SR*, 15 February 1895.

³⁶ *SAJ*, 20 March 1888, p. 28; Peter Thomson ed., *Plays by Dion Boucicault* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 171-219.

³⁷ *SAJ*, 27 September 1887.

³⁸ Douglas W. Carlson, "'Drinks He to His Own Undoing': Temperance Ideology in the Deep South", *Journal of the Early Republic* 18 (4) (Winter 1998), p. 681.

³⁹ Timothy Shay Arthur, *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room, And What I Saw There*, ed. by Donald A. Koch (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964).

Greenock Morton. Indeed, in a less surprising choice, they too performed the obligatory *Rob Roy* the following week.⁴⁰

A music hall football culture?

Football's overall culture was not a top-down elite plot, as much as those in the establishment may have wished. The popularity and borderline necessity of cultural performance amongst the west of Scotland's footballers can also be attributed to the prominent position of music hall in Scottish society. Links between football and music hall existed in northern England, and similarly appear to have been in place in Scotland as well. Early football in England existed in proximity with the music hall circuit, far more so than legitimate theatre. The social programmes of English football clubs (especially at 'smoking' concerts), beginning regularly from the mid-1880s, often contained music hall performers, music hall routines performed by club members, or both.⁴¹ Meanwhile in Scotland, like sport, music hall similarly struggled with the concept of rational recreation. Scottish music halls, and even legitimate theatre and dancing, faced incredible pressure and disapproval from the Established Church of Scotland.⁴² By the 1880s, however, Scottish music hall culture was influenced by more bourgeois forces, ones seeking middle-class respectability for the traditionally working-class genre. This included churches, temperance forces, Volunteers and even local councils who by the late nineteenth century were offering a populist alternative to the alleged debauchery of the music hall.⁴³ Much like sport, Scottish music hall underlined a unique Scottish identity.⁴⁴ Along with music hall repertoire, printers and newspapers by the mid-nineteenth century were producing cheap novels, poetry and ballads, fuelled by a booming industry of street performances and ballad vendors.⁴⁵ Some of these, too, found their way into footballers' programmes. Moreover, as an attraction to working-class audiences, retired players commonly took part in lucrative music hall performances, with the specific example of Billy Hall, 'St. Mirren's

⁴⁰ *SAJ*, 27 September 1887.

⁴¹ Keith Gregson and Mike Huggins, 'Sport, music-hall culture and popular song in nineteenth-century England', *Sport in Society* 2 (2) (Summer 1999), pp. 83-84.

⁴² Paul Maloney, *Scotland and the music hall, 1850-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), pp. 3-6.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 191-193.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 158-182.

⁴⁵ King, 'Popular Culture', pp. 148-150.

famous singing goalkeeper'.⁴⁶ There is no evidence to suggest that any west of Scotland clubs went to the extreme of Dundee FC, who along with a city official gave patronage to Dundee's Empire Theatre of Varieties at its opening in 1900. Nevertheless, football served up a rich vein of topical humour for many performers of the day.⁴⁷

Football's social gatherings similarly attempted to straddle the worlds of establishment respectability, popular entertainment and club fraternity, and the sporting world was certainly not immune to the whims of popular culture. Music hall performances in England, aside from being given at club functions, would be used to raise money for still-amateur football clubs of limited financial means.⁴⁸ Associations like the Glasgow Junior Association's Male Voice Choir similarly used entertainment to raise funds for their bodies. The music hall connection is made explicit by the *Irvine Herald*, who in January 1894 noted that the North of Ayrshire Junior Cup competition was organising an amateur dramatic entertainment to be held in the seaside resort of Largs to fund the purchase of badges for the competition. The paper stated that: 'The entertainment is to be given in Largs about the end of next month and as theatricals were, not so long ago, wont to 'draw' well in the popular old health resort, it is expected the affair will be a success.'⁴⁹

Such gatherings began as the face of respectable popular culture in the west of Scotland. As these gatherings were often a manifestation of local patriotism, the events were structured to represent such locally-placed pride. Local newspapers were especially interested in the attendance and performance aspects of their local clubs, on both the junior and senior level. Their social gatherings were treated very much as entertainment events with a respectable, civic sheen, with their programmes dissected act by act. One such example was the *Partick and Maryhill Press's* coverage of the short-lived Ailsa FC's grand concert in the holiday season of 1892. The *Press's* detailed coverage gives an extremely detailed view of the concert. The event, held at Hillhead Burgh Hall, was chaired by Councillor Pirie, 'in the unavoidable absence of E.P. Tennant [Liberal politician], who sent an apology.'⁵⁰ Other honoured guests were Mr. Jas. Saunders, Lt. Smith and Mr. Sommerville, with a 'good' attendance:

⁴⁶ Maloney, *Music hall*, pp. 191-193.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 201.

⁴⁸ Gregson and Huggins, 'Music-hall culture', p. 83.

⁴⁹ *Irvine Herald*, 19 January 1894.

⁵⁰ *PMP*, 17 December 1892.

Among the vocalists Misses M'Ewan and Nimmo, contralto and soprano, the former singing 'the Auld House' and the latter 'Ever of Thee' in the first part of the programme, besides other pieces in the second part, were highly appreciated. Mr Gray recited 'The lost Football,' and as an encore 'A trip in a Hansom Cab,' the audience being convulsed with laughter during both recitals. Miss Anderson sang 'Can ye be Athole,' Lieut. Smith sang 'The song that reached my Heart,' Mr Robertson played solos on the cornet; Mr Munro played banjo selections and songs were sung by Miss Lamorcka. The concert was a very successful one, and was followed by an assembly, attended by a large company of ladies and gentlemen, who kept up the enjoyment till an advanced hour.⁵¹

Ailsa were not the only modest club, however, to enjoy such seemingly lavish ceremonies. Ibrox Thistle, a junior club that existed in close proximity to Rangers, held a similar concert in 1895 after their victory in the Kirkwood Shield.⁵² The concert, attended by ex-Govan Provost Ferguson, began with Helen Taylor's rendition of 'The Star o' Rabbie Burns', and then proceeded with some comic humour from two Irish comedians, Charley and Cowan, 'the happy honest men'. There was also a ventriloquist entertainment from Capt. Howden and his 'wooden-hearted family'. The last portion of the night, however, featured an entertainment of considerably more patriotic gravitas: a reading by elocutionist W.S. Ross through slide show displays of the club in their various other athletic pursuits; their two 'elevens'; a recitation of 'The Loss of the *Victoria*' (given by a pupil of Ross); and concluding with an account and pictures of the recent America's Cup race between the Clyde-built *Britannia* and the *Vigilant*.⁵³ An 1895 gathering of Glencairn AC's football section, held at the Mikado Tea Rooms in Glasgow, was also a presentation to Mr. Jones, the club's trainer, who received a gold badge, an umbrella and a case of spoons for his wife.⁵⁴ Afterwards, the entertainment began, and two talents were secured for the occasion: black-faced minstrel A. McLay 'of Dandy-coloured Coon fame', and R.H. Warden, the author of a piece entitled 'Ma Wee Dug's Deid'.⁵⁵

Beyond Glasgow, these occasions were also very popular. Royal Albert held their 1885 concert at the Evangelical Union church in Larkhall. John McDowall, SFA secretary,

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² *PMP*, 13 April 1895.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ *SR*, 10 May 1895.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

chaired the event. Performers included Mr. McAllister and Mr. Johnston of Kilmarnock Athletic, while G. Armstrong of Queen's Park sang solos and duets with Miss Turner of Wishaw.⁵⁶ The accompanist was noted to be Mr. Tait, 'a blind pianist from Hamilton'. After the more formal proceedings, thirty couples 'carried on until an early hour.'⁵⁷ Two years later, Annbank's annual social meeting was attended by a hundred ladies and gentlemen, and contained a musical programme 'ably sustained by members of the club'. There was dancing 'until an early hour' at the social, with 'Mr. Vance's quadrille band supplying excellent music'.⁵⁸ At the December 1888 'smoker' of the 1st RRV FC, prominent in the list of special guests were military officers. Lt. Paton chaired the meeting, assisted by Major Williamson, Dr. Philip, and Lt. Adams.⁵⁹ At the Christmas 1900 dance of junior Irvine Meadow XI, over one hundred couples attended a gathering that lasted until 4:30am. The music was supplied by the Gillespie family of Airdrie, and tea was provided by Samuel Smith of High Street, Irvine.⁶⁰

While members of Catholic clubs were often excluded from the social spheres of Protestant clubs, they too used their own unique heritage as a vehicle for patriotism, morality and humour. Celtic included Catholic priests in their after-match tea with Clyde at Pinkerton's in Bridgeton in November 1888, despite being defeated.⁶¹ At the holiday concert of St. Mungo's FC in December 1892, Father Cornelius, who presided over the concert with Father McManus, gave a sermon decrying 'teetotal intolerance' towards publicans and consumers.⁶² Glasgow's junior St. Cuthbert's FC held their March 1899 annual 'smoker' at the Irish National League Hall on South Wellington Street in Glasgow. Their party featured members of Hibs and Queen's Park, as well the club's forty-strong membership of 'lads'.⁶³ The third annual concert of Airdrie St. Margaret's FC, held in March 1900 in St. Margaret's Hall, had not only the local priest in attendance, but a collection of local performers. These included singers Mr. McClymont ('several Irish

⁵⁶ *SU*, 4 March 1885.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *SU*, 11 January 1887.

⁵⁹ *SR*, 10 December 1888.

⁶⁰ *DKH*, 28 December 1900.

⁶¹ *SR*, 26 November 1888.

⁶² *SRSE*, 5 January 1893.

⁶³ *GO*, 4 March 1899.

selections'), Miss O'Donnell ('Come back to Erin') and tenor Mr. Mellon ('Ould Plaid Shawl', 'Ora Pro Nobis') but also musicians the Brothers Hogg and – 'by special request' – Mr. Myers, 'an elocutionist with remarkable dramatic power', who read a piece entitled 'Kissing Cup's Race'.⁶⁴ Local and ethno-religious patriotism, however, was also intertwined with a new, sporting patriotism which was largely self-aware. The greatest example of this was at the January 1885 joint social between Battlefield FC and Langside Bicycle Club. The Crosshill Burgh Halls featured eighty couples dancing until 2:00am. The party was catered for by Queen's Restaurant Co., and members of Queen's Park, Partick, Southern and Blairlodge Football Clubs were present. Quite appropriately, the hall's lights were encased by bicycle lamps.⁶⁵

As these various gatherings pointedly reflected the aspirations and cultural preoccupations of the clubs, players and officials involved, they sometimes revealed more uncomfortable truths about the period, particularly with the presence of 'ethnic' humour. Blackface minstrelsy was frequently used as a comic device. Elspeth King states that during the 1890s in Glasgow 'there was scarcely a popular concert held without such a performance', giving the example of the 1898-99 concert season of the Good Templars Harmonic Association, which only featured two out of thirty-two concerts without the presence of negro minstrels.⁶⁶ The 1891 Partick Thistle Ball featured the presence of Mr. J.A. Wilson, who performed 'a negro song and dance', 'a comic song with banjo', and a 'high pedestal clog dance'. When discussing his ex-clubmates, *Scottish Athletic Journal's* Juvenis referred to his ex-Kelburn club-mate James Gillies as 'a budding engineer... with a strong fancy to be a nigger minstrel.'⁶⁷ 'Negro' entertainments were even used during half-time at games, as was the case at a relatively minor match between juniors 2nd Kenmure Thistle and Garthland at the Oak Foundry, Townhead in February 1893.⁶⁸ The popularity and mainstream acceptability of blackface is attested to by Glencairn's choice of performer: the Dandy-coloured coon was a well-known act based on a song of the same name, popularised in Britain and Ireland by American music hall performer Eugene Stratton, and

⁶⁴ AA, 17 March 1900.

⁶⁵ SU, 21 January 1885.

⁶⁶ King, 'Popular Culture', p. 170.

⁶⁷ SAJ, 3 January 1888.

⁶⁸ SRSE, 2 March 1893.

written by Richard Morton and George Le Brunn and introduced in 1893.⁶⁹ This particular song, and many others of its ilk, were a substantial feature of the ragtime musical genre, and were closely linked to the ‘coon’ variety of minstrel shows popularised by Stratton.⁷⁰ Michael Pickering believes that this particular art-form’s popularity existed in an imperial context, stating not only that the art-form’s prevalence coincided with the high water mark of the British Empire, but that the negro’s otherness was largely constructed as anathema to the white, Protestant work ethic.⁷¹ Paul Maloney, however, has a different take, calling the whole of Scottish music hall culture ‘a cheerful diatribe of racial and social incorrectness [which]... represented nothing so much as the cusp of respectability’.⁷²

A more ambiguous type of ethnic humour used examples typically closer to home. Ethnic humour by, and occasionally directed at, Irish and Highlanders also existed in this period. In one intriguing example, Glasgow’s celebrity footballers held a fundraiser for the indebted junior club Minerva at Inchview Park in May 1890; their opponents were the Irving Dramatic Club team:

Both elevens will be arrayed in all the splendour and grotesqueness of character uniform, representing those mythical, historical and typical personages with which we are all more or less familiar – John Highlandman, Sambo, the tyrant king, the sweet unprotected female, Paddy from Cork, Ally Sloper, and a host of others.

Perhaps surprisingly, the crew of footballers came over quite a large cultural divide. They included the organiser James Robinson (5th Kirkcudbrightshire Rifle Volunteers), T. Robinson (Queen’s Park), Andrew Thomson (Third Lanark), William Paul (Partick Thistle), and most intriguingly Willie Maley, Willie Groves and John Madden, all of Celtic.⁷³ In this particular context, the humour appeared rather light-hearted, more ironic than the racially-tinged ‘whiteface’ that was common in the United States during this

⁶⁹ Michael Pickering, ‘Eugene Stratton and Early Ragtime in Britain’, *Black Music Research Journal* 20 (2 – European Perspective on Black Music) (Autumn 2000), pp. 163-164.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 160-161.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 155-156; Michael Pickering, ‘White Skin, Black Masks: “Nigger” Minstrelsy in Victorian England’, in *Music Hall: Style and Performance*, ed. by J.S. Bratton (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1986), p. 88 (quote).

⁷² Maloney, *Music hall*, p. 2.

⁷³ *SS*, 1 May 1890.

period.⁷⁴ But, as King states, such humorous portraits, even when intended as light-hearted, were not harmless: the aforementioned *Rob Roy* ‘was frequently played as a pantomime’, and Sir Walter Scott-style ‘tartanalia’ formed the backbone of the ‘Scotch comic stereotype’.⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the idea of Scotland and ‘Britain’, along with the idea of Ireland, was based on the half- and non-truths of the literature and popular culture far more than actual history, and footballers were keen to record their place in this fictive cultural universe as a means of including football and its performance culture in a past that never existed.

Out of control sociability

Victorian football, with its extracurricular trappings, was seen very much as an exercise in sociability, with events on the pitch considered only a small part of the action. Judging from the intentions of some matches, one can assume the quality of play was largely unimportant. Mauchline FC took part in an annual match of single vs. married men, ‘Bachelors’ and ‘Benedicts’.⁷⁶ A similar annual married vs. single holiday match took place between the inhabitants of Tollcross, Glasgow where after their New Year’s 1890 game at Germiston Park, songs and ‘recitations’ were given at the Bruce Arms Hotel.⁷⁷ Meanwhile, when Ayrshire’s Troon FC took on ‘Old Portland’ (Troon Ancients) at a holiday match during Hogmanay 1893, according to the *Kilmarnock Standard*: ‘The chief part of business took place in the Commercial Hotel, where both teams sat down to a good repast served out in Mrs. Ligg’s excellent style.’⁷⁸ Matches such as these were holdovers from the pre-codified era of sport.⁷⁹ But these were relatively small gatherings; the danger of more opulent social gatherings was that they were fast becoming the point themselves. The social standing of clubs – earned or unearned – was maintained heavily by their presence in the social scene. Other footballers, however, were simply interested in having a good time, and did not waste energy in maintaining respectability with regard to their

⁷⁴ James P. Byrne, ‘The Genesis of Whiteface in Nineteenth-Century American Popular Culture’, *MELUS* 29 (3/ 4 – Pedagogy, Canon, Context: Toward a Redefinition of Ethnic American Literary Studies) (Autumn - Winter 2004), pp. 133-149.

⁷⁵ King, ‘Popular Culture’, pp. 169-170.

⁷⁶ *IH*, 23 April 1881.

⁷⁷ *SS*, 7 January 1890.

⁷⁸ *KS*, 7 January 1893.

⁷⁹ An example of a married vs. single folk football match which still exists in Lowland Scotland is the Duns, Berwickshire game held during Reivers’ Week in July: Hornby, *Uppies*, pp. 132-137.

recreational habits. Once one strips away the ‘rational recreation’ façade, a very different, more human picture emerges of late nineteenth-century Scottish football.

From the outset, Queen’s Park tempered their cultured pursuits with more carnal ones. In connection with the return trip of Hamilton Gymnasium to Glasgow in July 1869, the club formed a committee ‘to look after the providing of provisions, tent, etc.’. While initially paying for this themselves, Queen’s Park would later demand the equal sharing of funds for refreshment.⁸⁰ For a club obsessed with maintaining an image of respectability, it is telling that a paragraph of Robinson’s history was devoted to the amount of money spent on filling the Scottish Cup with alcohol, from which the players and officials would drink after the club’s early victories in the tournament. The president during the 1875-76 season, W.C. Mitchell, one time arranged a ‘private symposium’ with the cup and certain SFA officials before the cup’s presentation to the victorious Queen’s Park.⁸¹ The club were charged with supplying the royal treatment to the Glasgow Charity Cup Committee, and the officials received from Queen’s Park hospitality ‘dispensed on a lavish scale, and in the best hotels’.⁸²

However, over-indulgence and respectability were not mutually exclusive. By 1889, the *Scottish Referee* stated that sociability was equal and sometimes paramount to performance on the field. ‘Now is the season for concerts’, it stated, and ‘[any] club that has not had its “smoker” or its conversazione is voted out fashion’. The following month, *Referee* quoted Carrington FC’s motto ‘Nothing succeeds like success’ when discussing the club’s intentions for a grand concert venture. According to the paper, Carrington were planning an expensive social to celebrate their first year in the senior ranks. The paper heartily endorsed the idea, stating the importance of success on *and* off the pitch.⁸³ Kilbirnie similarly spent money to make money; their successful concert at the Kilbirnie Good Templars Hall in April 1895 created ‘considerable proceeds’, and eased the burden of debt on the club.⁸⁴ This attitude towards social expenditure, however, was fraught with pitfalls. What, for example, happened when a venture was a complete failure? Grove Athletic, in

⁸⁰ Robinson, *Queen’s Park*, p. 402.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 403.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 402.

⁸³ *SR*, 30 December 1889.

⁸⁴ *SR*, 19 April 1895.

1895, arranged a benefit match with Coatbridge's League Rangers at Celtic Park, for a failed concert venture had placed the club in considerable debt.⁸⁵

For an excellent example of what happened to clubs who staked too much on the outcome of their social functions, one only need look to Motherwell's junior Dalziel Rovers and their 8 February 1895 concert. For a month in advance, the *Motherwell Times* continually advertised the event, billed to be an incredible one. One advert was particularly vainglorious:

At last! At last! What?
Dalziel Rovers' concert
on Friday February 8th, 1895
The finest of high-paid artistes will appear.
Look out for bill shortly.⁸⁶

Three weeks later, the *Times* told its readers to get tickets for the concert at several shops in town, or from the club's members themselves.⁸⁷ Alas, the result was disappointing for all parties involved:

The entertainment was not patronised as it deserved to be. The juniors ought to have had a better reward for their pluck and energy in bringing such a splendid array of talent before their patrons, and it is just an open question yet whether the committee will be able to make ends meet. Never mind, Rovers, better luck next time.⁸⁸

It was not merely debt and failure that lurked around the edges of these gatherings, however, for they were becoming rowdier and more boisterous affairs, aided by the inebriating effects of alcohol. For example, a court action was taken in Glasgow's Northern Police Court against Andrew Walkinshaw of Maryhill, the secretary and treasurer of the junior Craigvilla FC. It was alleged that Walkinshaw had used a public hall on Great Western Road for the purposes of a club dance. The problem was, however, that he organised the party despite having his licence application rejected.⁸⁹ One shilling was paid for admission to the party, while fifteen shillings were given to the property's owner. A 'complaint had been made by the residents at the noise made by the dancing', exposing Walkinshaw's and Craigvilla's party to legal scrutiny. Apparently, such noise was nothing

⁸⁵ *SR*, 19 April 1895.

⁸⁶ *MT*, 5 January 1895.

⁸⁷ *MT*, 26 January 1895.

⁸⁸ *MT*, 16 February 1895.

⁸⁹ *GP*, 6 January 1894.

new, as one local resident provoked laughter in the courtroom by stating that ‘the place was more like the Brig’gate on a Saturday night’.⁹⁰ Football parties were becoming wilder affairs, and the public consciousness was beginning becoming aware of their rowdy tendencies.

While in football’s infancy, the game’s administrators may have been suspicious of the dubious value of over-socialisation, by the 1880s and 1890s they were amongst its foremost proponents. The press were quick to notice the over-indulgence on the part of club and association officials. In March 1890, *Scottish Sport* commented on the Dunbartonshire FA’s opulent social gatherings, and the amount of cash that went into financing them. Such was not only reserved for stand-alone parties, however, but also for after-match socials and cup presentations:

Rumours are current that the Committee of the Dunbartonshire Football Association will have a warm time of it when the annual meeting comes round. Most of their doings seem only to be giving satisfaction to themselves, but the officials of clubs, and even the players themselves, they are at loggerheads. One of the greatest causes of discontent is the unwarrantable expenditure indulged in. The advent of a county final, or even an inter-county match affords them an opportunity to indulge in a miniature Lord Mayor’s banquet, always heralded in a style that would put some ceremonies of almost a national character to the blush. The principle on which the invitation lists are compiled for such festive occasions has always been an impenetrable mystery to the uninitiated – and indeed, to all except one or two members of the association committee. Most of this year’s leading lights are old stagers on the committee, who have evidently got imbued with their ‘don’t care a farthing’ style in days when the county earned for itself the title of ‘champion county of Scotland.’ Unlike the clubs themselves, who have had to adopt themselves to circumstances, the association still pursues a suicidal policy of expenditure, with the result that things are not as they ought to be, or as the association’s best friends would like to see them.’⁹¹

With feelings running high after games, ‘tea’ could become a tense affair. After a match won by Northern in September 1882, the *Scottish Athletic Journal* was more entertained by the singing than by the embarrassing, pained speech given by Northern’s captain, one apparently of the ‘Sorry you were beaten; glad we won’ variety.⁹² A nastier affair occurred between arch-enemies Renton and Vale of Leven at Ancell’s Restaurant after the former’s Scottish Cup replay victory in March 1885, where a physical game preceded insults

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ *SS*, 25 March 1890.

⁹² *SAJ*, 29 September 1882.

shouted from the Vale players towards match officials.⁹³ But perhaps the best example of a social gathering gone wrong was at the Renfrewshire FA's March 1889 celebration of Abercorn's victory in the Renfrewshire Cup. The invitation list was apparently extended too far, with the omnipresent x-factor, alcohol, creating a riotous atmosphere:

The after-social of the Renfrewshire final was one of the rowdiest gatherings we have seen in the whole range of our football experience. The day certainly was not one calculated to put people on their best behaviour, but this can hardly be given as an excuse for the gross violation of rules of quietness, decorum and even decency which prevailed during the presentation of the cup and badges. The committee made an egregious blunder in extending their hospitality so far... [not] confined to the teams and officials concerned... The... rowdy element from the adjoining lobbies, setting order and defiance, invaded and took possession of the hall when the presentation of the cup and badges was to be made. The scene that followed defies description. Men mounted the tables, which gave way beneath them, and the meeting resolved itself into a perfect pandemonium. The cup was presented in fair order, but when badges were to be handed over, it was in a sorry show of partisan revelry. The able president of the Association occupied the chair, did his best to maintain order, and had the energetic assistance of the secretary, but even their combined efforts failed to quell the disturbance, which was increased by some injudicious speechifying. Ultimately, the meeting dispersed and ended proceedings which, we trust, for the honour of the Association and the good name of football will never be repeated.⁹⁴

Clubs themselves, however, were initially the instigators in creating such lavish after-match affairs. The *Scottish Athletic Journal* noted with dismay in 1883 that: 'it is right and proper that the team and those who officiated at the match should receive refreshment after the game was over, yet it is a scandal that where tea should be provided for thirty at the very outside, forty or fifty, and even seventy sit down.'⁹⁵

Newspapers did not always make excuses for players who showed up hungover to Saturday's games from a party the previous night; in some cases they were even critical, but either way they always took note. At their 1891 concert, the Linthouse ironically noted their historic 8-2 victory over Partick Thistle as a one-off:

Last Saturday the Linthouse beat the Partick Thistle 8 goals to 2. The Linthouse did not take very much credit for that victory, because they remembered that the Partick had on the night previous held their annual festival, and they knew that people after dancing till four or five in the morning, were hardly in a condition to play football a few hours later.⁹⁶

⁹³ *SU*, 4 March 1885; Weir, *Boys*, p. 35.

⁹⁴ *SR*, 25 March 1889.

⁹⁵ *SAJ*, 27 April 1883.

⁹⁶ *GP*, 21 March 1891.

The Linthouse party was quite an affair itself; one that made football injuries miraculously heal. The *Govan Press* noted that Charles McEwan, '[a]lthough suffering from the effects of a strained ankle ... danced the Highland Fling so well that it was evident he had forgotten the fact that his foot was disabled.'⁹⁷ In November 1888, an engineers' ball in Dumbarton one Friday night drastically affected the performance of Dumbarton FC the next day. 'They had been up overnight at the engineers' ball', stated the *Scottish Referee*, 'and found that the tripping of the fantastic toe, however congenial, was not conducive to great football playing.'⁹⁸ Dumbarton did not learn their lesson from this incident, however. On a holiday voyage to Forfar during New Year's Day 1890, they were thrashed by the local team. 'Sympathisers blamed the 7 to 0 defeat from Forfar on the long, wearisome journey', stated *Scottish Sport*, 'but the players themselves did not think the journey a bit long or a bit wearisome – indeed the fun was so good that they did not find time to go to bed that night – the night of their arrival.'⁹⁹ At the occasion of a 5-1 defeat of Dalry by Stevenston Thistle at Warner Park, Stevenston, the *Dalry and Kilbirnie Herald* noted that Dalry's Strachan 'was in a rather frolicsome mood, having evidently not recovered from the effects of the previous night's enjoyment'.¹⁰⁰ The *Scottish Referee* had harsher words for Hurlford after their loss to Clyde in March 1889 following the night of their social, stating that: 'These Friday evening sprees must be knocked in the head.'¹⁰¹ Such sociability did claim casualties. In May 1895, the *Dalry and Kilbirnie Herald* gave a 'retrospect' to 'the Late' Irvine Rangers FC, which had by the 1894-95 season been filled with members who 'went for the sole purpose of playing at cards'. Intriguingly, the paper believed that the club's enthusiasm for football was punctured at their annual social meeting the previous year, where an altercation broke out between several members.¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ *SR*, 26 November 1888.

⁹⁹ *SS*, 7 January 1890.

¹⁰⁰ *DKH*, 15 April 1895.

¹⁰¹ *SR*, 11 March 1889.

¹⁰² *DKH*, 10 May 1895.

Scottish football and the public house

The Scottish public house of the late nineteenth century had become an exclusively male preserve, one with closer ties to the work environment, rather than the domestic sphere, of the male Scot.¹⁰³ Weir thus believes that it was ‘inevitable’ that football clubs of the 1870s ‘would encounter the public house.’¹⁰⁴ His research into the relationship between early Scottish football and alcohol shows two vibrant cultures that, while not always resting easily with one another, managed to coexist and even thrive in each other’s company. Tony Collins and Vamplew believe that sport was ‘an integral part of the day-to-day culture’ of the British pub.¹⁰⁵ It was similarly inevitable that the worlds of performance culture and alcohol would meet, both underlying football’s essential fraternity and conviviality. The pub not only served as an agent of socialisation, but as a focal point around which community sport clubs were often situated. This was especially the case with clubs in the countryside, particularly Ayrshire, where pubs were often used as changing rooms by the teams.¹⁰⁶ The press acknowledged pubs as a major centre of Ayrshire’s football culture. In 1883 Kilmarnock moved their changing rooms from the Market Inn to the Crown Hotel, a somewhat regrettable move, for the players would miss the ‘smiling and obliging damsels’ who tended bar at the Market Inn.¹⁰⁷ The *Scottish Referee* noted again in 1889 that another Kilmarnock pub, the Wheat Sheaf Hotel, was the ‘howff’ of the local footballers. ‘It has one great advantage’, stated *Referee*: ‘the girls can talk football to you as well as any man you ever met.’¹⁰⁸ Kilmarnock Dean FC, in the early 1880s, used the Wheat Sheaf as their changing room.¹⁰⁹ In 1895, a party was organised by footballers as a token for the host of the Clarendon Bar in Ayr.¹¹⁰ In more isolated localities such as Springside near Irvine, the pub was the football club’s fulcrum. In September 1885, the *Scottish Athletic Journal* sent a correspondent to Springside to cover a match, who reported back: ‘I can’t recommend [the] field, but I can recommend the house

¹⁰³ Fraser, ‘Developments’, pp. 240-243.

¹⁰⁴ Weir, ‘Drink Up’.

¹⁰⁵ Collins and Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁶ Weir, ‘Drink Up’.

¹⁰⁷ *SAJ*, 7 December 1883, quoted in Weir, ‘Drink Up’.

¹⁰⁸ *SR*, 6 May 1889. Weir, ‘Drink Up’, also notes the Wheat Sheaf Hotel as a footballers’ hub.

¹⁰⁹ *SFA Annual, 1880-81*, pp. 46-49.

¹¹⁰ *SR*, 11 November 1895.

they strip in; excellent Bass at 3d. a bottle’, then added cheekily: ‘Recommend me to a licensed house to strip in.’¹¹¹ Journalists were certainly not ones to turn down invitations to drink, even if they occasionally railed against the practice. Other senior Ayrshire clubs which used licensed premises as locker rooms around 1880 were Mauchline, Auchinleck Boswell, Catrine, Beith, Coylton Coila, Irvine, Kilbirnie and Maybole.¹¹²

Clubs’ connections to the alcohol trade enabled many players to have careers after football, especially since professional wages allowed for a purchasing power hitherto unseen. Celtic, in particular, were closely related to the drinks trade, many of its original shareholders being publicans and its early players being set up with public houses and whisky shops.¹¹³ As previously mentioned, many early west of Scotland footballers were involved in the licensed trades south of the Border. Willie Groves, an Edinburgh native who came to Celtic by way of England, was one of Scottish football’s first major alcohol-related casualties, dying at the age of 38 in 1908. Groves, throughout his time in England, was heavily involved in the brewing trade, and upon joining Celtic was promptly rejected for a permit by the licensing court.¹¹⁴ J.N. Boag, the president of Partick Thistle in the late 1880s, owned alcohol ‘premises’ on 421 Dumbarton Road.¹¹⁵ Many footballers, especially in the Catholic community, viewed the alcohol trade as a means of social mobility, and the purchase of public houses was common at the time amongst tradesmen willing to save for the opportunity.¹¹⁶ Public houses, therefore, provided clubs with a valuable service, and in turn opened networking opportunities for a club’s officials and players.

As football clubs’ gatherings were often advertised for public consumption, so too were the places where these social gatherings took place. The Atholl Arms Hotel, the ‘favourite howff’ of Queen’s Park, needed little introduction. The pub was run by Alexander Gow, like the clubs’ players a Perthshire native, who hosted many ‘high festivals’ within the

¹¹¹ *SAJ*, 15 September 1885.

¹¹² *SFA Annual, 1880-81*, pp. 46-49; Love, *Auchinleck*, p. 122.

¹¹³ Murray, *Old Firm*, pp. 83-84, pp. 87-91, explores the topic of Celtic’s links with the drinks trade thoroughly, as well as the early prejudices against the club’s links with the licensed trades.

¹¹⁴ Weir, ‘Drink Up’; *SS*, 31 October 1890.

¹¹⁵ *GP*, 15 May 1888.

¹¹⁶ Rudolph Kenna and Anthony Mooney, *People’s palaces: Victorian and Edwardian pubs of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1983), p. 7.

establishment's walls.¹¹⁷ When Gow died in 1884, the *Scottish Athletic Journal* mourned at the passing of his hotel, which was taken over and destroyed for the construction of the Glasgow Subway.¹¹⁸ In the mid to late 1880s, *Scottish Umpire* included adverts for Ancell's Trades Hall Restaurant and Grill Room, at 83 Glassford Street and Virginia Place, Glasgow. 'Soirees, Marriages Parties', and other events were 'purveyed for', while there was 'Special Accommodation for Football Clubs'.¹¹⁹ Similarly, the Mikado Tea Rooms on Jamaica Street was advertised heavily in the sport papers. A teetotal establishment, the Tea Rooms stated that they were 'The Favourite resort of Football Clubs', and that the facilities were 'eminently suited for CONVERSAZIONES, SMOKING CONCERTS, PRESENTATIONS, SUPPER PARTIES, and like GATHERINGS.'¹²⁰ The Mikado Tea Rooms were owned by William Lee. Tea rooms in Glasgow, whose popularity exploded after the 1888 Empire Exhibition, were beginning to target to niche audiences to ensure a loyal customer base.¹²¹

In both the junior and senior ranks, and for different levels of football competition, it was considered incumbent on the host club on match day to provide after-match refreshments and entertainment, usually in a local public house.¹²² Weir states that professionalism created a more 'mercenary' element to clubs, therefore inhibiting their social expenditure. He gives the specific example of Third Lanark, who in 1897 were forced to end their practice of providing hospitality to visiting clubs (also brought about by a raid on the club's canteen).¹²³ In the senior ranks prior to professionalism, however, and in the junior ranks consistently, entertainment at away matches was considered a key part of the footballing experience. At the September 1928 reunion of the old members of Vale of Leven, Rangers legend Tom Vallance provoked laughter when 'remember[ing] in the old days after a [Vale of Leven and Rangers] match they used to meet in Jamie Kinloch's public-house, and the pies had a taste that no other pies in the world had.'¹²⁴ (James

¹¹⁷ Robinson, *Queen's Park*, pp. 426-427.

¹¹⁸ Weir, 'Drink up'.

¹¹⁹ This specific example is in *SU*, 1 February 1887.

¹²⁰ Perilla Kinchin, *Tea and Taste: The Glasgow Tea Rooms 1875-1975* (Wendlesbury, Oxon.: White Cockade, 1991), p. 57.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-57.

¹²² Weir, 'Drink Up'.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Ferguson and Temple, *The Old Vale*, p. 181.

Kinloch was a foreman at the Dalmonach Print Works.¹²⁵) When London Casuals visited Ayr to play Parkhouse on their winter tour in January 1895, they were given ‘[t]he best entertainment of the tour!’, and Mr. Seton of London Casuals referred to the Parkhouse dinner as ‘the pick of the basket’.¹²⁶

The size and stature of the club, however, certainly did not affect the engagement or otherwise in ‘tea’. In November 1892, the junior Partick club Virginia travelled to the seaside town of Gourock, Renfrewshire for a match. ‘The Virginia’, stated the *Partick and Maryhill Press*, ‘think there is no place like Gourock, where they got a splendid entertainment from the locals Saturday last.’¹²⁷ Ibrox XI, Rangers’ reserves, were ‘treated to a handsome tea, music and “tales of travellers”’ when they visited Broxburn Athletic in March 1895.¹²⁸ A 5-0 defeat at the hands of Springburn’s junior Reid Thistle did not dissuade Lanarkshire’s Gartcosh Griffin from ‘entertaining their guests to a splendid tea and concert. The Springburn boys were thoroughly pleased with their visit to Gartcosh.’¹²⁹ The quality of the after-match festivities often superseded the need for a good game. The *Scottish Referee* did not seem concerned with football when it mentioned in 1889 that ‘clubs who wanted a good reception’ should attend matches in the affluent Milngavie.¹³⁰ As with the example of the Mikado Tea Rooms, teetotal entertainment was typically mentioned on its own terms, leaving the reader to assume that, unless otherwise stated, such ‘tea parties’ were alcoholic in nature.

Alcohol was also present at the games themselves, and not merely for the spectators. James Cowan, Scotland’s captain at the 1898 international with England, put in an awful performance, largely due to his intoxicated state from the previous night.¹³¹ (See Figure 14.6 for a preview of the match, featuring a sketch of James Cowan.) But Cowan was far from the only example, and the practice of drinking during a match was very much *en vogue* during the Victorian era, for both players and referees. A second-round tie of the

¹²⁵ Neill, *Records*, p. 268.

¹²⁶ *DKH*, 11 January 1895.

¹²⁷ *PMP*, 19 November 1892.

¹²⁸ *PMP*, 30 March 1895.

¹²⁹ *SRSE*, 7 December 1893.

¹³⁰ *SR*, 7 January 1889.

¹³¹ Weir, ‘Drink Up’.

1886-87 Scottish Cup between Lugar Boswell Thistle and Dalry was voided by the SFA after Dalry protested that the referee was intoxicated. After having called at several public houses before the match, the referee had evidently forgotten the match score, and could not recall the incident when called as a witness by the SFA the following week.¹³² The referee at a Masonic match in 1888, according to the *Scottish Athletic Journal*, ‘kept his spirits up by pouring spirits down.’¹³³ Drinking, however, was a common occurrence among the players as well, and quite often for ‘health’ reasons.¹³⁴ (See Figure 14.7.) During the 1887 Scottish Cup quarter-final, between Dumbarton and Hurlford at Boghead Park, *Scottish Umpire* noted the presence of Hurlford’s trainer, who, ‘in his long coat and clerical hat, was a conspicuous figure’. The supporters watched him intently, and ‘[m]any a longing eye was cast on the trainer’s black bottle at half-time, as each of the Hurlford men were refreshed with a “sook.”’¹³⁵ Visitors from outwith Scotland similarly took part in such traditions: the following week, the *Umpire* noted that Lincoln City, whilst visiting Rangers to complete an FA Cup tie, ‘sucked whisky and milk from a black bottle’ at half-time.¹³⁶ Training and sports medicine were fledgling fields at the time, and what sometimes took place during Victorian football matches would be frowned upon at the time of writing. The *Scottish Referee* noted in 1889 that Robertson, the goalkeeper of the 10th Boys’ Brigade, often smoked while keeping goal.¹³⁷

Holiday excursions

Travels within Scotland and England were very popular amongst the west of Scotland’s Victorian football clubs during the festive season and Easter, as too was the return visit from other clubs.¹³⁸ Albion Rovers, during the holiday season of 1889-90, visited Bishop Auckland, Darlington and Stockton-on-Tees.¹³⁹ Four years later during the holidays of

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Quoted in Ibid.

¹³⁴ Wray Vamplew, ‘Alcohol and the Sportsman: An Anomalous Alliance’, *Sport in History* 25 (3) (December 2005), pp. 390-396.

¹³⁵ *SU*, 25 January 1887.

¹³⁶ *SU*, 1 February 1887.

¹³⁷ *SR*, 28 January 1889.

¹³⁸ Weir, ‘Drink Up’, is particularly interested in journeys to England.

¹³⁹ *SR*, 30 December 1889.

1893-94, junior Ashfield also visited the same locales in northern England.¹⁴⁰ Why these excursions were so popular was a subject of debate amongst commentators of the time, both within the football apparatus and within the press. The more optimistic commentators believed that not only were such trips designed to raise funds for clubs, but also to provide healthy recreation through strengthening bonds of friendship and competition between opponents of different backgrounds. The *Partick and Maryhill Press* believed that the pursuit of money was largely behind these holidays, stating in 1892 that Partick junior clubs were interested in travelling to lands ‘flowing with milk and honey’.¹⁴¹ Two years later, the same paper was fascinated by the idea of holidays in the countryside cleansing the spirits of the area’s local clubs:

Several of our local clubs had a change of air during the winter vacation, and by the appearance of those who had visited the spots where clean air predominates, it was evident that the breath of ‘fresh, exhilarating,’ which they had received had painted them with rosy cheeks, quite unknown in this dusky locality.¹⁴²

The *Press*, in this instance, was firmly on the side of recreative invigoration being provided by such trips.

Another motive for travelling was the desire for conviviality. The purpose of Greenock Morton’s trip to Newcastle-upon-Tyne in January 1889 was to meet up with their friends ‘with whom they passed a brief and happy time’.¹⁴³ *The Bailie*, in 1877, weighed the arguments of SFA secretary William Dick for trips to England. ‘Nothing is dearer to him’, stated the paper, ‘than an opportunity of showing attention to some English team while in town, his belief being that matches with them help to unite us more closely to our ancient foes.’ This suggestion was humourously rubbished, the paper believing that ‘commodities known as Bass and Allsopp are more potent influences in this direction’.¹⁴⁴ Such New Year’s celebrations were often riddled with excess, and it was typically the publicans and hospitality workers of the north of England who were at the receiving end of it. In 1883, the *Scottish Athletic Journal* noted that:

¹⁴⁰ *SRSE*, 28 December 1893.

¹⁴¹ *PMP*, 10 December 1892.

¹⁴² *PMP*, 12 January 1895.

¹⁴³ *SR*, 7 January 1889.

¹⁴⁴ *TB* 220, 3 January 1877.

Generally, when any of our Association teams go to England they run riot with everything and everybody they come across. They stick at nothing, not even dressing themselves in policemen's clothes and running pantomime-like through the streets with roasts of beef not their own. This was what the frolics of one of our leading teams consisted of when in Manchester last Christmas.¹⁴⁵

A far less madcap, more menacing account was given of Kilmarnock's holiday exploits in England by *Scottish Umpire*, who stated of the club's 1886-87 holiday trip that: 'The Lancashire hotel-keepers have a wholesale dread of the Kilmarnock F.C., and it has been suggested that a suite of iron rooms, with furniture to match, be prepared for their next visit.'¹⁴⁶ Even Queen's Park's trips south of the Border could get out of hand. After a match in Nottingham in 1878 two Queen's Park members were fined twenty shillings each for 'disorderly conduct'.¹⁴⁷ It is unclear whether such rowdiness was due to Hogmanay celebrations, although the *Hamilton Advertiser* suggested this may have been the case. During Hamilton Academical's visit to Carlisle and Workington, Cumbria over New Year's 1890, 'Accies' lost their New Year's Day match against Workington 3-2, nevertheless precipitating 'a right "jollification"' afterwards.¹⁴⁸

Many clubs did not just head south of the Border for their holidays, but often visited other locations throughout Scotland. The many elements of footballers' cultural lives – cultural performance, recreative rejuvenation, bonding and friendship, as well as hedonism – were on display for Partick Thistle's May 1888 pair of friendlies with Lockerbie's Mid Annandale FC. The first half was played in Lockerbie, with the *Govan Press's* coverage detailing every dimension of the trip, most of it not devoted to the game itself. The first passage describes the train trip to Lockerbie, and Partick Thistle's being perplexed at their celebrity status in the Border town:

The trip was arranged by Mr. Dobbie, one of the patrons of the Mid Annandale, and a most enthusiastic supporter of that club, and who received the Partick men at Central Station in Glasgow, and conducted them to the saloon carriage he has engaged for their use. Here they found the arrangements made for their comfort complete in every respect, and the wherewithal to refresh the nine men was conspicuous by its presence. At Motherwell, and again at Carstairs, refreshments were served round, and the tedium of the journey was beguiled by the vocal efforts of the musically-inclined members of the party. Lockerbie was reached at 1:20, and several members of the Mid Annandale were in

¹⁴⁵ *SAJ*, 13 April 1883, quoted in Weir, 'Drink Up'.

¹⁴⁶ *SU*, 11 January 1887.

¹⁴⁷ Vamplew, 'Alcohol', p. 399.

¹⁴⁸ *HA*, 4 January 1890.

waiting to conduct their visitors to the King's Arms where an excellent luncheon was spread, and was done ample justice by the Partickonians. Taking a walk through town to see the 'lions,' the team were somewhat disconcerted to find themselves being lionised, and were greatly relieved when they regained the shelter of the hotel...¹⁴⁹

After a brief account of the game, the *Press* further describes the after-match tea, and Thistle's departure:

After the match the Thistle team, were entertained to dinner in the 'King's Arms,' the chair being taken by Mr. Dobbie... The company joined in singing 'Auld Lang Syne,' and then the Partick team started for the station, where they were accompanied by a large crowd. Getting aboard their saloon amid the cheers of the crowd, the Thistle treated their admirers to a sample of their vocal accomplishments, and as the train moved off to the strains of 'Will ye no come back again' followed them on their homeward journey.¹⁵⁰

The arrangements for the return trip by Mid Annandale to Partick two weeks later were seen to by President Boag, who loaned out his public house for the after-match festivities.¹⁵¹ A mixture of business and pleasure was also evident with Reid Thistle, who spent their New Year's holidays of 1893 touring through Perthshire, and were the guests of honour at the 2 January 1893 smoking concert of Crieff Juniors. Reid Thistle solidified the bonds of camaraderie with footballers in Crieff and Comrie by not only drinking with them, but by playing football:

After spending a very enjoyable evening they retired to the Victoria Hotel for the night. Getting up the next morning fresh as daisies, they left Crieff by special brake for Comrie, distant seven miles where they were engaged to play the Comrie lads. As some of the local men could not get away from work, the Reid Thistle had to ask some of the Glasgow Minerva, who played them the day previous, to assist the local team. Lost 9-2. Entertained at McNeil's Commercial Hotel. Came again to Crieff next day. Won 2-0 in front of 500 spectators.¹⁵²

The games themselves being *ad hoc* affairs, with Minerva's players showing support for Comrie's absent players, trips like Reid Thistle's were crucial in underlining the respectability of ostensibly working-class clubs. What was being created was a trans-class culture of friendship and solidarity between fellow footballers throughout Scotland; and this socialisation, even in excess, cemented Scottish football's convivial bonds. However,

¹⁴⁹ *GP*, 5 May 1888.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁵¹ *GP*, 12 May 1888.

¹⁵² *SRSE*, 12 January 1893.

like the married vs. single meets, there was still a pre-industrial celebratory element that remained with New Year's sport. Hugh Dan MacLennan stresses the importance of shinty in celebrating Hogmanay in the Highlands, a region where many west of Scotland footballers found themselves come the holidays.¹⁵³

Sex and gambling

The iconography and rhetoric of Victorian football in Scotland left little doubt that the sport was a man's world. But this man's world was not devoid of expressions of sexuality; eroticism and even homoeroticism were noticeable undertones within Scottish football during its infancy. This sexuality originally derived from British sport's obsession with inheriting the military fitness mantle of the great civilisations and empires of the past, especially the Greeks and the Romans, transmitted initially through the British private schooling syndicate. Guttman states that: 'Although British games masters... praised sports as a healthy alternative to fornication and "self-abuse", the combination of Hellenism and athleticism actually contributed to the sexual activity that was rife in schools like Eton and Groton.'¹⁵⁴ The comments of one particular *Scottish Empire* reporter, appropriately named 'Olympian', reflect an intriguing subtext beneath the surface of football and its social gatherings. Olympian, a frequent visitor to Scottish football's parties, reflected on the wonderful time he had at Pilgrims' February 1885 dance that he '[did] not recollect ever having seen such an array of the youth and beauty of football in Glasgow collected together at one time.' 'The Apollos', he said, 'were of a true sculptor type.'¹⁵⁵ In this case, Olympian was interested in the image of the chiselled male far more than the football itself. Similar subtexts were understood by those assembled to celebrate a November 1888 victory for Renfrew in the Renfrewshire Cup. 'The Renfrew team', the *Scottish Referee* stated, 'looked well in their Oriental toga with gold tassel.'¹⁵⁶

Much of this homoerotic vision was constructed in the absence of women. It diffused itself into the male working-class sporting clubs with surprising ease; but, like the different slants on the word 'manly', there was a noticeable variance with how this 'manliness' was

¹⁵³ Hugh Dan MacLennan, 'Shinty and the Celtic Celebration of New Year', *Sport in the Making of Celtic Cultures*, ed. by Grant Jarvie (London: Leicester University Press, 1999), pp. 83-99.

¹⁵⁴ Allen Guttman, *The Erotic in Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 68-69.

¹⁵⁵ *SU*, 4 February 1885.

¹⁵⁶ *SR*, 12 November 1888.

construed between different classes of sportsmen. Guttmann believes that the Victorian era, building on the changes of the industrial revolutions of Europe and the Americas, heavily recontextualised relationships between working-class men and women, ensuring that men's and women's realms, work and home respectively, were largely alien to one another.¹⁵⁷ In this all-male culture, strength was a prized asset in heavy industrial work; and as such, a great deal of suspicion existed towards female footballers and supporters. Telfer has referred to the Victorian Scottish sport scene as 'homosocial', but women were present at many club functions and, in a way, reinforced this gender divide.¹⁵⁸ Players, officials and the press lobbied heavily for the presence of women at club socials and conversaciones, both as a means of reinforcing the gender barrier, and as a means of displaying this divide in a *male* civic setting. When Partick Thistle attempted to substitute a club dinner for the usual conversazione in December 1888, the *Scottish Referee* chastised the club president, stating: 'That's rough on the fair sex, Mr. Smith.'¹⁵⁹ In the same month, when Dumbarton's Methlan Park issued too many invitations to their annual dance, *Referee* noted that: 'The Invitation Committee have already received so many acceptances that it is the prevailing opinion that "wall-flowers" will be abundant.'¹⁶⁰ When women attended these functions, they were often treated with reverential praise, as befitted their 'purity'. Olympian, while not quite placing men and women at parity, nevertheless hinted at an order between the sexes in these proceedings which complimented each other when he attended Queen's Park's February 1885 dance:

I will not attempt to describe the galaxy of youth and beauty that everywhere met the eye as it wandered round the hall, that must be left to our porcelain sisters, who, I am convinced, are better observers than we their potter's clay brothers are. I myself thought the ladies as near divine as... nature and the dressmaker could make them. I have no doubt though the gentlemen are their very beaux ideal.¹⁶¹

But this was not always the case, and indeed women were also viewed by early Scottish footballers as sex objects. Women's proximity to footballers in the public houses was consistently noted by commentators of the time, and they were doubly noted when clubs travelled away from home. Hampden XI, a junior reserve team of Queen's Park, had a

¹⁵⁷ Guttmann, *Erotic*, pp. 58-59.

¹⁵⁸ Telfer, 'Ludism', pp. 185-186.

¹⁵⁹ *SR*, 10 December 1888.

¹⁶⁰ *SR*, 26 November 1888.

¹⁶¹ *SU*, 18 February 1885.

wild time of their New Year's 1886 visit to Oban, ostensibly a visit to play Oban FC. The *Scottish Athletic Journal*, however, noted that after the game (in which Hampden XI were victorious 2-1), 'the gay youths might have been seen in bevvy's hovering about the bars of certain hotels doing a quiet mash with the unsuspecting Highland barmaids'.¹⁶² Similarly, during a New Year's trip to Carlisle in 1889, a Glasgow club known simply as 'the College' had a raucous evening at the Caledonian Hotel, one which included a pillow fight, and potentially more. 'Who was the member of the College team', asked the *Scottish Referee*, 'that got mashed on the pretty barmaid?'¹⁶³ The *Scottish Athletic Journal*'s *Juvenis* in 1886, discussed a 'maiden fair... whom all South-Side footballers [were] raving about', more than likely a 'devotee' of Glasgow's footballers.¹⁶⁴ Weir discusses a similarly explicit affair, whereby in 1895 Glasgow Sheriff Erskine Murray investigated complaints of South-Side football clubs using their club premises as 'brothels', allowing women access to the grounds through keys given to them by the clubs. Insufficient evidence was found, and the matter was quickly dropped.¹⁶⁵ Reynolds, a Celtic and Aston Villa defender, was used by the press as an example of the negative effects of gambling, luridly combining his gambling transgressions with his sexual ones. In the summer of 1898, Reynolds was forced to pay £20 damages to Sarah Bing for the 'seduction' of her daughter, used to assist in paying off Reynolds's considerable debts on horse betting which he took part in with two other Celtic players.¹⁶⁶ A similar case, possibly related, was made against another Celtic man, John Campbell in 1899, as Campbell was forced to pay £200 damages for breach of the promise of marriage and the 'seduction' of Lizzie Riley of Cowcaddens.¹⁶⁷

Gambling lurked beneath the surface of Scottish football. It had long been associated with horse racing, but found in football's explosion yet another outlet.¹⁶⁸ While specifics were very rarely entertained by the press, columns were still written at length on the subject. Despite gambling being banned in British public houses by the Betting Houses Act of 1853,

¹⁶² *SAJ*, 5 January 1886.

¹⁶³ *SR*, 7 January 1889.

¹⁶⁴ *SAJ*, 24 August 1886.

¹⁶⁵ Weir, 'Morals'.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁷ *SRSE*, 9 March 1899.

¹⁶⁸ Vamplew, *Pay up*, pp. 69-72.

the practice nevertheless continued illegally well into the twentieth century. Illicit gambling was ‘one of the appeals of pub life’, and ‘virtually every pub’ had a bookmaker’s agent among its customers.¹⁶⁹ Technology’s impact on gambling within pubs therefore cannot be underestimated. For example, the Vale of Leven Spirit Vaults opposite Queen Street Station, Glasgow, was privy to the results of football matches across the country, ‘instantly communicated to both Establishments by Telephone’.¹⁷⁰ As instant communications allowed punters and publicans to more productively speculate on the outcomes of games, it is logical to assume that gambling took place within these establishments, and that players themselves were sometimes deeply involved.

But gambling did not always occur at the public house, and occasionally turned up in surprising places. In a humorous story on players’ attempts at leisure time, the *Scottish Athletic Journal* in January 1886 deferred their usual moral stand against traditional recreations to Queen’s Park, who during the 1885-86 season were engaging in and betting on animal bloodsport. A rat baiting tournament was being held by the Queen’s Park committee, featuring cats and dogs owned by club members. The final prize was not only a cup, but one shilling and nine pence donated by the committee. The semi-final featured Dick Browne’s American poodle, ‘Andrew Jackson’, against Jack Harvey’s ‘biter’, Scout. After nearly two hours, both had killed five rats, and the tie was awarded by decision to Andrew Jackson. Arrangements were being made, said the *Journal*, to organise the final so as not to clash with any football matches. Odds were speculated upon by the *Journal*, which placed Andrew Jackson at a 2/1 disadvantage against ‘Half-Sherry’, the cat of club president, Arthur Geake. No further mention was made by the *Journal* in the following week’s edition.¹⁷¹ What makes this particular item intriguing is its treatment by the *Journal* as harmless fun on the part of Scotland’s cultured club. In fact, rat baiting, along with cock-fighting, dog-fighting and other animal bloodsports, were first banned by Parliament under *middle-class* pressure to clean up working-class recreations.¹⁷² It was, from the judgment of commentators of the time, a humorous occasion on the part of Queen’s Park’s middle-class membership; but surely, the treatment would have been different had such recreations been practiced by Renton, Hurlford, or other clubs of a more

¹⁶⁹ Collins and Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat and Beers*, p. 10, p. 30.

¹⁷⁰ Hutchinson, *Football Industry*, p. 27.

¹⁷¹ *SAJ*, 19 January 1886.

¹⁷² Vamplew, *Pay up*, pp. 40-41.

common stature. Despite what football's elders may have thought, the west of Scotland's landed gentry was prone to the same recreational temptations as everyone else.

Conclusion

The *Kilmarnock Standard* was one of several papers that ruefully witnessed the passing of the after-match social in football's senior spheres. 'There seems to be a desire', stated the *Standard* in 1893:

on the part of many to do away with after-meetings. I don't agree with this. There is barely a football match played but some disagreeable incident happens. The players at such a meeting have an opportunity of mending matters and with songs and sentiment forgetting the field squabbles.¹⁷³

But, despite the purging of the more exorbitant aspects of club functions, such a culture of conviviality remains to this day. Broadcaster Stuart Cosgrove believes that: 'Drink, drugs, sex and scandal are part of the fabric of Scottish football'.¹⁷⁴ Eyebrows may have been raised in 2009 at an all-night drinking session involving Rangers' Barry Ferguson and Allan McGregor whilst on international duty with Scotland, but such attitudes regarding football's fraternal and convivial benefits are hard-wired into the Scottish game's DNA.¹⁷⁵ Gradually, clubs' more cultured pursuits fell by the wayside, but what existed in their place, a burgeoning 'lads'' culture, was sown in the same spirit as the early musical and dramatic societies which surrounded football clubs. Even as the turn of the century saw Scottish clubs finally tackling their bloated hospitality bills, the roots of this culture still exist, and continue to complicate Scotland's attempts to be taken seriously in the world of professional sport. The bonds of clubbish Victorian fraternity echo uncomfortably in the global professional football industry of today.

¹⁷³ KS, 7 January 1893.

¹⁷⁴ Stuart Cosgrove, *Hampden Babylon: Sex and Scandal in Scottish Football* (Canongate, 2001), p. 10.

¹⁷⁵ *The Herald*, 3 April 2009.

10. SUPPORTER CULTURE AND THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE TERRACES

The journey from spectator to star footballer, from the late 1860s through to the 1890s, was a considerably shorter one than is typically the case nowadays. One wonders at the celebrity level achieved by Glasgow's junior footballers in the Spring of 1890; who 'could have been seen promenading with their best girls at the "Madeira of Scotland"' (a.k.a. Rothesay).¹ That ordinary working-class men, quite often of their clubs' local neighbourhoods, were grist to the mill for the gossip columns of the local media indicates not only the popularity of the sport, but also the demand for material on the lives of popular heroes. Already by the 1890s, this demand was becoming a consumer phenomenon divorced from both the recreational and fraternal concerns of the west of Scotland's first footballers. The sport's consumerism was honed by a culture of supporters and aficionados who cared very little for football's alleged fitness, but who nevertheless felt intimately connected to the events and players on the pitch. This chapter will place football in the context of this ever-changing supporters' scene, one that had evolved well beyond merely a desire for victory at the beginning of the Edwardian era.

The spontaneity of early football

Bilsborough argues that by the 1880s Glasgow had seen 'the emergence of the "football fan"', one obsessed with not only endlessly extolling the virtues of his favourite football club, but also debating the procedural and statistical minutiae of the game itself, often *ad nauseum*.² As *The Bailie* stated in 1877, such conspicuous over-analysis of the mechanics of football existed due to a feeling of close proximity between the player and the supporter (one which did not exist for rugby and cricket), particularly between young, male working-class participants and spectators:

No outdoor sport 'possesses' not only its votaries but all those also who take an interest in it, so much as football; some players even are all but semi-professionals. It is a theme of conversation everywhere, with the hobbledhoys of the city – criticisms of the last and anticipations of the next big match (as often as not of a very partisan tone), interspersed with dreadfully tiresome iterations of the wonderful feats performed by 'Jimmy,' 'Joe,' 'Billy,' or 'Harry' or some other well-known player, whose Christian name is generally

¹ *PMP*, 20 April 1895.

² Bilsborough, 'Sport in Glasgow', p. 98.

used with a familiarity that would betoken the greatest intimacy with them – being heard all over the shop when ‘Young Glasgow’ gets together.³

In the same article, *The Bailie* also noticed that consequently the association game was becoming far more popular, stating that: ‘On a Saturday afternoon, when a big match or a cup tie is “on” at say Hampden Park... thousands of people wend their way thither, and the burgesses of Crosshill are deprived of the use of the public-houses for some hours after the event is passed.’⁴ This tightness between those on the pitch and those in the stands existed into the first stages of professionalism and the league system. In October 1895, Port Glasgow Athletic was hailed by the *Scottish Referee* as a great football success story. Not only did the club have £90 credit to their name, but also a ‘wonderfully loyal following’, one which assisted in sustaining its ‘large’ membership.⁵ It was only three years later, however, that the *Referee* noted there were only 127 ‘senior’ clubs registered with the SFA, ‘a total by no means encouraging.’⁶ Twenty years earlier, SFA secretary William Dick was delighted with the Association’s total of 116 senior clubs, with a membership of 6,264.⁷

The availability of public parks was integral to sustaining football’s popularity. (See Figure 14.9.) Parks gave youth access to open spaces in which to ply their trade, and the majority of Glasgow’s major clubs began their lives in the city’s public parks. Glasgow Green’s history as the birthplace of Rangers, Clyde and Celtic is well-established, and the park was open for football largely through its status not only as the city’s common land, but also the location of the annual mid-summer Glasgow Fair, when much of the city’s labouring population was on holiday. Despite the Fair being moved elsewhere in 1871 by city councillors nervous of its moral impact, the park maintained its more proletarian associations with Glasgow’s East End, especially after the planning and creation of West End (later Kelvingrove) Park from 1852, a more genteel ‘spiritual and aesthetic’ ground that did not initially allow *walking* on its grass, let alone sport.⁸ Billsborough states that

³ *TB* 220, 3 January 1877.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *SR*, 11 October 1895.

⁶ *SR*, 29 April 1898.

⁷ William Dick, ‘Scottish Football Association Annual Report 1878’, in *A Scottish Football Review of 1877/78*, p. 4.

⁸ Irene Maver, ‘Glasgow’s public parks and the community, 1850-1914: a case study in Scottish civic interventionism’, *Urban History* 25 (3) (1998), pp. 324-332.

middle-class Glasgow sportsmen had capital to purchase their own grounds, and thus working-class participants ‘turned to the [Glasgow] Corporation to find suitable facilities.’⁹ The push for facilities was constant, including from established SFA officials like Col. Merry, who at the 1889 presentation of the Glasgow Charity Cup ‘politely’ reminded the Lord Provost of the need for more recreational space.¹⁰ Aside from Queen’s Park and Glasgow Green, this included Dennistoun’s Alexandra Park, where Alexandra Athletic FC were requesting their own patch of land by 1873.¹¹ The game was still going strong in Alexandra Park in 1901, when James Hamilton Muir identified it as the mecca of Glasgow’s juvenile clubs, ‘the place in which juvenile football clubs meet to settle matches which are only less important than internationals.’¹²

Established clubs relied on a steady stream from both the parks and streets. The *Scottish Athletic Journal* noted in August 1887 that: ‘The Cowlairs live in a fruitful district, and will therefore be able to fill the places of the seeders from the team with clever young players... from some of the junior clubs.’ The excitement towards football in the locomotive-producing neighbourhood continued even as Cowlairs were collapsing: in the 1890s the *St. Rollox and Springburn Express* listed many games which took place on the public pitches and main roads of Springburn, Keppochhill, Dennistoun and other districts in northeast Glasgow. Football moved easily from the parklands onto the streets, and often vice versa, no matter how much the authorities attempted to discourage it. In February 1888, four boys were charged in Kinning Park Police Court with playing football in the street. The boys were sentenced to twenty-four hours’ detention, or a one shilling fine.¹³ A decade later, as football’s commercial popularity exploded, the *Partick and Maryhill Press* noted that Sunday football matches in the street were enough of a concern to warrant a special police operation, attempting to deter what was sometimes considered, as mentioned before, a rival Sunday worship to Christianity:

Street football is a very profitable game, especially if practised, as it generally is, on Sunday. The police have been making raids on these band of larrikins who profane the sanctity of the Sabbath and create a nuisance in the locality by indulging in a game of football when they should be better employed. At the

⁹ Bilsborough, ‘Sport in Glasgow’, pp. 158-180 (quote on p. 165).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

¹² James Hamilton Muir, *Glasgow in 1901* (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company, 1901), p. 254.

¹³ *GP*, 25 February 1888.

Court on Monday, Bailie Miller sentenced a batch of seven youths to receive each six stripes with the birch-rod for this offence. Two other and bigger lads were fined five shillings each. The sentences certainly do not err on the side of leniency, but if they have a deterrent effect on the growing evil we shall not complain.¹⁴

Outside Glasgow and district, street football was common in the west of Scotland's other industrial communities. In November 1894, two labourers were charged with playing football in the streets of Port Glasgow, breaking a window in the process. They were both fined five shillings, and sentenced to twenty-four hours in jail.¹⁵ But not all street football was deemed threatening to law and order, the most appropriate example being Anderston junior club Minerva, who began life as the 1880s schoolmates 'Minerva Street Youths', and who continued to hone their game at Overnewton Park, Partick Thistle's birthplace.¹⁶ *Scottish Umpire* noted that Overnewton Park was well-utilised by many football clubs in 1884.¹⁷

Aside from Glasgow Green, no single public space was noted for its young footballers as much as Barbadoes Green, Kilmarnock, the public park which gave birth to Kilmarnock FC, and incubated many early football careers in the Ayrshire town. The park was, in fact, was primarily used as a football pitch until Baroness Howard de Walden granted an additional eighteen acres to the park in 1894; the park was afterwards known as Howard Park.¹⁸ On 17 April 1879, H.T. Reyburn wrote a letter to the *Kilmarnock Standard* recommending that a drinking fountain be placed in Barbadoes Green. This was to provide 'the countless youths who strive so energetically to get rid of surplus vigour in games of football, cricket, &c' with 'a mouthful of refreshing water' which hitherto did not exist.¹⁹ This desire for a drinking fountain was not an isolated one; the very next week, a match was played between 2nd Arthurlie and 2nd Portland, the proceeds of which were handed over to the town to be spent on a drinking fountain in the park.²⁰ During this time, matches on Barbadoes Green were sometimes well-patronised. The *Standard* described one

¹⁴ *PMP*, 4 February 1898.

¹⁵ *PGEO*, 9 November 1894.

¹⁶ McGlone and McLure, *Juniors*, pp. 65-66.

¹⁷ *SU*, 2 October 1884.

¹⁸ Mackay, *Kilmarnock*, p. 163.

¹⁹ *KS*, 19 April 1879.

²⁰ *KS*, 26 April 1879.

particular instance at a match in May 1879 between Portland Juniors and Eldorado, ‘these rising public park clubs’. ‘A large number of spectators witnessed the game’, said the *Standard*, ‘most of whom, including women and children, stood inside the touch line.’²¹ The game was so popular at one point that in 1883 a banning order was enacted in the park, much to the chagrin of the national papers, who also noted the game’s popularity on Barbadoes Green.²² Barbadoes Green had taken on a legendary quality in Ayrshire football circles, and park clubs were keen to emphasise their claims to history on ‘the old rugged, but much respected and romantic pitch in the Public Park’.²³ One such ‘bragging rights’ match took place in October 1885 between Kilmarnock Burns, claiming to be the ‘lions of Barbadoes Green’, and Riccarton Victoria (Burns won 1-0).²⁴ While Kilmarnock’s first footballers may have originally doubled as cricketers, cricket’s mass popularity was elusive by 1890, where even during summer, the winter game took precedence for the youths of Kilmarnock, as well as for various club officials, desperately scouting the public park clubs for talent. As *Scottish Sport* noted:

The shutters have now been put upon Rugby Park, and football in Kilmarnock district has received its quietus for a short season. The youngsters, however, are still busy on Barbadoes Green, and nightly this football resort is well patronised by the...officials of the various senior, and antiquated junior clubs of the town.²⁵

By 1898, Howard Park was still struggling to cope with the volume of junior clubs playing on its pitches. *St. Marnock* asked the town council to remove an iron railing that was ‘encroaching’ on one of the playing pitches, stating that: ‘As this is a great drawback to our junior footballers, the error should be rectified at once. It seems absurd.’²⁶

Getting there and away

Public transport was a major contributor to association football’s supporter culture. The advent of the Glasgow District Subway in 1896 was crucial to the enduring success of Rangers, and from their arrival at Ibrox in August 1887, the club were flattered with offers

²¹ *KS*, 31 May 1879.

²² *SAJ*, 12 January 1883, criticises the town officials.

²³ *SAJ*, 27 October 1885.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *SS*, 1 July 1890.

²⁶ *StM I* (1) (October 1898), p. 29.

from the transport authorities to institute routes across the Clyde into Ibrox.²⁷ Trains, trams and ‘clutha’ ferries thus played their role in establishing Ibrox Park as an easy-to-reach destination. The only major rail station close to Celtic Park, on the other hand, was on Dalmarnock Road, a ten-minute walk from the park. Celtic complained about Rangers’ unfair advantage, in terms of routes and cheaper fares, and their supporters briefly boycotted the services in 1906.²⁸ Other means of transport assumed the burden to Parkhead, most notably trams. The *St. Rollox and Springburn Express* noted at the onset of the 1896-97 season that: ‘When there is a football match about to start at Parkhead the cars going that way are loaded before they get to the Trongate. Mr. Young has condescended to fit up folding boards above the entrance to the cars with the word “Full” printed on it.’²⁹ One of Partick Thistle’s grounds made for easy transport, and not always for a Thistle match. At the Glasgow Junior Cup final between Ashfield and Glasgow Perthshire at Inchview Park in April 1894, the *Govan Press* noted that ‘[t]he Whiteinch cars did a roaring trade and it is the ardent desire of the Glasgow Tramway Company that there should be a few more junior finals contested at Inchview.’³⁰ Transport services, therefore, were cognisant not only of the ‘senior’ matches, but the junior ones as well.

The Glasgow clubs were not the only ones to utilise and manipulate public transport to their advantage, and transit companies were keen to exploit football’s popularity in other locales, often for long-distance travel. This was the case for major away matches, such as the 1889 international against England, whereby the railways ran special twenty-five-shilling trains to London.³¹ For the February 1888 Scottish Cup final at Hampden between Renton and Cambuslang, the Glasgow Tramway Company provided forty-five additional cars on Govanhill Street, along with nineteen four-in-hand buses.³² For a December 1896 tie of the Scottish Junior Cup, so many supporters joined Lanarkshire’s Chryston Athletic for their match against Stirlingshire’s Bannockburn that a saloon car was arranged for the occasion.³³ Organisation of supporters for away match travel was well-developed in

²⁷ Murray, *Old Firm*, pp. 34-36; John Wright and Ian MacLean, *Circles Under the Clyde: A History of the Glasgow Underground* (Harrow Weald: Capital Transport Publishing, 1997), pp. 23-25.

²⁸ Murray, *Old Firm*, pp. 34-36.

²⁹ *SRSE*, 27 August 1896. John Young was the manager of the Glasgow Corporation Tramways.

³⁰ *GP*, 21 April 1894.

³¹ *SR*, 8 April 1889.

³² *GP*, 11 February 1888.

³³ *SRSE*, 10 December 1896.

Ayrshire. A dozen brakes carrying supporters accompanied Parkhouse to their Ayrshire Cup tie at nearby Annbank in October 1895.³⁴ Earlier that year, for a January 1895 Ayrshire Cup tie at Ayr against Parkhouse, Kilmarnock's secretary Mr. Guthrie arranged a one shilling return fare with the train companies, he 'made good time to get tickets early for the sure rush at the booking office.'³⁵ Kilmarnock were particularly savvy about using the railways to their supporters' advantage. *St. Marnock* instructed Kilmarnock supporters wishing to travel to Aberdeen for a Scottish Cup tie in January 1899 to submit their names to club officials. An exact number of supporters would have allowed the club to decide whether or not to book a special fare to the Granite City – in this case, five shillings.³⁶

The numbers of spectators travelling with their clubs was estimated by the local and national newspapers. The January 1889 Scottish Cup semi-final between Celtic and Dumbarton at Boghead Park was noted as much for those who did not get into Dumbarton's ground. Four thousand Celtic supporters came to Dumbarton to see the match, but around a thousand of them were locked out due to the park's reaching capacity, and several thousands more were left behind at Queen Street Station.³⁷ For the March 1895 Lanarkshire Cup final at Motherwell between Airdrieonians and Wishaw Thistle, at least five hundred Airdrieonians supporters took a special train to Motherwell.³⁸ At the opening of the 1891 season, a mere two hundred Linthouse supporters travelled with their team across Glasgow to watch their favourites play against Northern.³⁹ Of the five thousand present at the February 1883 third replay of a Renfrewshire Cup tie between Thornliebank and Greenock Morton at Cartbank, Johnstone, only 460 were travelling Morton supporters.⁴⁰ At other times, however, such seemingly small numbers of supporters created commotion in the west of Scotland's smaller locales. When Third Lanark visited Kilbirnie for a pre-Christmas Scottish Cup tie in 1889, around a hundred Third Lanark supporters, who arrived via a specially-commissioned train to Glengarnock station, helped create a carnival atmosphere in the Ayrshire village. 'When two o'clock

³⁴ *SR*, 7 October 1895.

³⁵ *SR*, 21 January 1895.

³⁶ *StM* I (4) (January 1899), p. 121.

³⁷ *SR*, 14 January 1889; Murray, *Old Firm*, p. 32.

³⁸ *SR*, 22 March 1895.

³⁹ *GP*, 15 August 1891.

⁴⁰ *GT*, 13 February 1883; Byrne, *Renfrewshire*.

struck', the *Scottish Referee* stated, 'the place was as busy as a fair.'⁴¹ Thirds' supporters could be heard the train approaching from the station, shouting 'their famous battle cry... Hi! Hi! Hi!' as they entered the village on foot. These mere one hundred supporters jammed Kilbirnie's streets, and as the occasion was a special one, businesses were closed for the day.⁴² A junior derby match in March 1894 produced something similar; when Renfrew Victoria visited Paisley for a Renfrewshire Junior Cup tie against Kelburn, the town was in a state of tumult, as '[t]hree brakes, heavily laden, conveyed the followers of the "Vics" to the scene of battle... [T]he "hubbub" caused by the "Ancient Boroughers" caused no little commotion out Kelburn way.'⁴³

At the game

Regardless of whether football supporters travelled great distances to reach their destinations, the atmosphere at Scottish football parks and stadia was electric. Such excitement was generated not only by what occurred on the pitch, but by the emotions of the crowd themselves. More progressive commentators believed spectating at football matches to be a release amongst working-class members of the crowd.⁴⁴ The *St. Rollox and Springburn Express* noted approvingly the large crowd present at the September 1893 Springburn derby between Cowlairs and Northern at Hyde Park. In their mind, football (in a positive way) spread like a virus around the neighbourhood's locomotive works:

It is wonderful how a match like this draws out those who know nothing about football. Hearing a great deal spoken about the match by their chums in the works may have to see what causes all of the discussion. Of course they go back again, and before a month is over they are football mad like the rest.⁴⁵

'Football mad' was certainly an apt description of the average partisan during this time period. In a keenly-realised sketch, the *Greenock Telegraph* provided their version of a football fanatic in January 1886, one who was far more pro-active in creating an atmosphere than fans of other sports:

⁴¹ *SR*, 23 December 1889.

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *GP*, 24 March 1894.

⁴⁴ Bilsborough, 'Sport in Glasgow', p. 101, also believes that a large spectatorship increase amongst working and lower middle-class Glaswegians also spurred participation 'at a grass roots level'.

⁴⁵ *SRSE*, 7 September 1893.

On the football field, there are many things to amuse one besides the game. Unlike many other recreations, in football spectators are not merely passive onlookers. On the contrary, some of them undergo more varied contortions of the body than those actually engaged in the game. While there can be no question of their excitement regarding the progress of the game being at least as intense, if not often more so, than that of the players, one has to be careful in taking up a position on a field. The funniest thing to be witnessed at a match can be seen at the moment when a goal is in danger, or when a player is about to take a kick that is likely to prove successful. All around the enclosure, thousands of feet are seen squirming and shaking and scraping and kicking adjacent calves. Bodies are squeezing and swaying, all the vocal powers of the multitude are pent up for the inevitable groan or cheer which follows the result.⁴⁶

Devoted spectatorship was not the only means of creating an atmosphere at football games. Music was typically employed by clubs to create a sense of carnival. Before a pitch invasion marred an April 1879 Kilmarnock derby between Kilmarnock Athletic and Kilmarnock Portland, the Kilmarnock Brass Band played several selections for the crowd.⁴⁷ In October of that year, at a match between Shotts and Drumpellier on a Shotts farm, the Shotts Instrumental Band played selections during the intervals.⁴⁸ Twenty years later, the tradition of playing music was still alive in Rutherglen, where at a match between Rutherglen Glencairn and Vale of Clyde, 'to amuse the throng of spectators who lined the ropes long before the hour of kick-off, the Rutherglen Pipe Band discoursed a series of selections'.⁴⁹ At the opening of Vale of Leven's Millburn Park on 18 August 1888, the festivities were 'enlivened' throughout by the band and pipers of the 1st DRV, who no doubt were very familiar to members of the football club.⁵⁰ When Sunderland visited Ayr in January 1888, the Ayr Burgh Band were busy throughout the game 'dispensing some excellent music'.⁵¹ For their season's closing match on 6 June 1885 at Roman Road, Motherwell, Alpha FC hired the prize-winning Cambusnethan Templar Band for the occasion.⁵²

⁴⁶ *GT*, 14 January 1886.

⁴⁷ *KS*, 19 April 1879.

⁴⁸ *Wishaw Press*, 4 October 1879.

⁴⁹ *SRSE*, 7 September 1899.

⁵⁰ *SAJ*, 21 August 1888. The pomp and circumstance of Millburn Park's opening day is further covered in Weir, *Boys*, p. 62.

⁵¹ *KH*, 20 January 1888.

⁵² *MT*, 23 May 1885.

More important in creating an atmosphere, however, was the game itself. Association football was a young sport, and at this point not long removed from its folk origins, resembling an amalgam of modern football and a faster, rougher version of rugby. (See Figure 14.10.) This was especially the case in the countryside outwith Glasgow, where members of the city press were convinced that ‘country’ clubs played harder and rougher than their city cousins. *Scottish Umpire* charged that constant fighting on the field between Drumpellier and Airdrieonians at a September 1884 match in Coatbridge was symptomatic of ‘an evil which is becoming too prevalent among country clubs’.⁵³ Renfrewshire’s Neilston FC were similarly criticised – albeit patronisingly – by the *Scottish Athletic Journal* in September 1885. ‘Like most country clubs’, stated the *Journal*, ‘they use more force than is necessary, but they mean well.’⁵⁴ Despite their reliance on country correspondents, national sport papers based in Glasgow reflected the pro-city bias that provincial newspapers believed existed in the SFA. The *Dalry and Kilbirnie Herald* angrily noted that during the January 1895 Scottish Cup ties, Celtic had won a protest with the SFA, while Annbank were denied one against St. Mirren. ‘The reason for sustaining one and rejecting the other’, stated the *Herald*, ‘are not quite patent to the ordinary observer, and words strong and uncouth are being uttered – as such has happened before.’ The paper quoted an anonymous source within the SFA, who at one point sarcastically interjected: ‘The idea... of an Ayrshire club protesting against the Queen’s Park!’⁵⁵ Queen’s Park, amateur advocates of the ‘scientific’ form of football, were believed to be above the folksy brutality of the sport, but they too found themselves ensnared within it. The *Scottish Referee* disapproved of Anderson, Queen’s Park’s goalkeeper, who found himself in a fight with several Renton players in a September 1895 match. ‘Of all people engaged in the game’, the paper stated, ‘we expect our amateurs to be examples to the flock, and to be able by their education and breeding to restrain and curb their passions and temper, both so apt to rise in the excitement of the game.’⁵⁶

Teams that were rough in their play were reprimanded by the press, including 10th Boys’ Brigade, who were castigated by the *Scottish Referee* in April 1889 for behaving differently than they were taught in their Boys’ Brigade unit.⁵⁷ Similarly, ‘an exceedingly

⁵³ *SU*, 25 September 1884.

⁵⁴ *SAJ*, 22 September 1885.

⁵⁵ *DKH*, 4 January 1895.

⁵⁶ *SR*, 9 September 1895.

⁵⁷ *SR*, 1 April 1889.

fast and exciting' between Renfrew Victoria and Glasgow Perthshire in August 1895 allowed the spectators a view of one of the Perthshire player's 'pugilistic abilities'.⁵⁸ Such roughness was intrinsic to the game, and would occasionally result in football injuries uncommon to today's players. *Scottish Umpire* in 1884 noted that Lucas of Kilmarnock was 'said to be in search of an india-rubber nose', as he had, for two straight Saturdays, 'pitted his "smeller" against an opponent's skull.'⁵⁹ In June 1893, a young boy named Robert McDonald, who resided in Springburn, broke his arm while playing football in Atlas Park.⁶⁰ Some injuries were of a far more serious nature. William McKinlay of Tollcross was kicked while playing football at a match in Carmyle in October 1884. After playing for another hour, he went for a drink at his local public house, returning home shortly afterwards. He did not survive the night. A local doctor stated that McKinlay unknowingly had his bowels ruptured by the kick in the football match.⁶¹ Similarly, George Wright of Partick was killed in January 1888 when he was kicked in the abdomen during a game.⁶² Other incidences of deaths at football matches are more indeterminate. Duncan Cameron, a 28-year-old from Kilbarchan, Renfrewshire and an engineer at Fullerton, Hodgart & Barclay's works, died at a football match in the village between engineers and warehousemen, cause not stated. He was survived by his wife and daughter.⁶³

The closeness of the spectators to the events on the pitch dictated their partisan responses. Consequently, the response of supporters to events on the field could at times be fickle, and were widely subject to change. *Scottish Referee's* junior correspondent excellently encapsulated this love/hate relationship when stating that supporters at junior games were 'at one moment shouting out instructions to their favourites, the next pouring forth language of the vilest kind towards some official'.⁶⁴ Swearing was commonly heard in the stands at football matches. *Referee* noted a 'No swearing allowed' sign was placed on the entrance to Boghead Park, Dumbarton in December 1888 after one of Dumbarton's

⁵⁸ *PMP*, 17 August 1895.

⁵⁹ *SU*, 25 September 1884.

⁶⁰ *SRSE*, 8 June 1893.

⁶¹ *SU*, 22 October 1884.

⁶² *GP*, 14 January 1888.

⁶³ *Johnstone Advertiser*, 3 June 1892.

⁶⁴ *SR*, 4 February 1889.

spectators ended up in court for use of profanity.⁶⁵ Six months later, *Referee* also noted that the language used at the Graham Charity Cup final at Barrowfield Park between Clyde and Thistle was ‘disgusting’.⁶⁶ In the mid-1880s, visiting teams were apparently frightened to come to Paisley, fearing the ‘hootings, yelling and language of the crowd’.⁶⁷ At other times, however, such loud noise was good-natured banter. *Scottish Athletic Journal* noted at a Kilmarnock derby in September 1882 some of the dialectic comments between supporters of Hurlford and Kilmarnock Portland. Hurlford supporters were overheard as saying that Portland had ‘extinguished themselves baith in fetchin’ an’ playing’, and that they would ‘daur tae say a word in defence o’ the cheating Partland.’⁶⁸ The *Partick and Maryhill Press* noticed at a November 1895 match involving juniors Jordanhill at Springburn’s St. Mungo that: ‘A large following journeyed with the Hillmen to Arrol Park, and the exultant shouts of ‘Come away Hill’ might have been heard at Cowlairs, above the din of the passing trains.’⁶⁹ In one instance, supporters actually teamed up to mock the afflicted. When Paisley’s Dykebar visited Ayr at Somerset Park in March 1889, unexpectedly defeating them 5-1, Dykebar supporters taunted Ayr’s players with derisive laughter, and were eventually joined by Ayr’s supporters, angry at their own club’s shortcomings.⁷⁰

Football supporters were not only moved to great emotion by the game itself, but were obsessed by the pernickety details of the game’s rules and structure. In an August 1895 tie of the Larkhall Charity Cup, Royal Albert initially included four ‘ineligible’ players in their starting line-up. When the opposition, Motherwell, protested to the referee, Royal Albert quickly pulled the four players, and sent four others out to start the game. ‘This piece of smart work’, noted the *Scottish Referee*, ‘was warmly applauded by the crowd of spectators’.⁷¹ Other examples of gamesmanship were not so welcome. In a November 1888 Lanarkshire Cup tie between Albion Rovers and Royal Albert, Rovers protested to the Lanarkshire FA regarding the use of nickel studs in the Royalists’ boots. The boots

⁶⁵ *SR*, 10 December 1888.

⁶⁶ *SR*, 10 June 1889.

⁶⁷ *SAJ*, 3 November 1885.

⁶⁸ *SAJ*, 22 September 1882.

⁶⁹ *PMP*, 9 November 1895.

⁷⁰ *SR*, 4 March 1889.

⁷¹ *SR*, 2 September 1895.

were examined for evidence of tampering, but none was seen; witnesses, however, believed Rovers to be ‘most assiduous in embracing mother earth’.⁷² ‘Diving’ was also on the agenda at a January 1882 match between Arthurlie and Kilmarnock Athletic at Holm Quarry. ‘The play of the Arthurlie forwards was strong’, noted the *Kilmarnock Standard*, ‘but at times they descended to the lowest of all football tactics practised – that of lying down in front of goal.’⁷³ Attendance at matches could also be affected by this sort of skulduggery: when in May 1895 the *Scottish Referee* noticed that Glasgow Perthshire were saving their best players for key matches, the paper saw the potential for retaliation amongst clubs visiting Kelburn Park, thus drastically affecting the gate, and taking away players considered to be bankable draws.⁷⁴

Not only were football supporters savvy about the manipulation of the game, but they were also keen to defend themselves against perceived injustices both to themselves and to their clubs. It was believed that Glasgow Perthshire were being boycotted from the 1895 initiation of the Glasgow Junior League because of the ‘reputation’ of their supporters.⁷⁵ To register their discontent, an August benefit match for the club’s trainer and recently-deceased match secretary became a sea of protest. An ‘immense’ crowd attended the match against Hopewell Westburn, and an advert was placed in Kelburn Park calling for a demonstration against the Glasgow Junior League.⁷⁶ A more intriguing example of club-supporter protest comes in April the same year, when the Ayrshire Cup was decided between Annbank and Kilmarnock at Rugby Park, much to the disappointment of the Ayrshire FA. According to the *Kilmarnock Herald* an ‘anti-association fever’ typically hit regional football supporters towards the end of the cup season.⁷⁷ This appears to have been the case in 1895. The Ayrshire FA wanted the final tie to be played in Stevenston, a less central location in the north of the county, leaving Kilmarnock and Annbank supporters with a longer trek to the final. The Association’s best wishes, however, did not keep the final from taking place at Rugby Park, where a large turnout and a good-natured but raucous atmosphere greeted both sides. ‘The rebellious spirit of the two clubs’, noted the

⁷² *SR*, 12 November 1888.

⁷³ *KS*, 21 January 1882.

⁷⁴ *SR*, 17 May 1895.

⁷⁵ *SR*, 12 July 1895; *SR*, 15 July 1895.

⁷⁶ *SR*, 9 August 1895.

⁷⁷ *KH*, 9 March 1888.

Scottish Referee, ‘seemed to get hold of their supporters, and there was repeated murmuring against the Ayrshire body of legislators.’ As if to exclaim perceived justice for the two clubs, *Referee* announced that: ‘The game had all the enthusiasm of an Ayrshire final!’⁷⁸

‘The Great Unwashed and their pets’

Lest there be any misinterpretation, however, the environment of the football terrace was overwhelmingly reactionary and illiberal. The audience was comprised almost exclusively of males, middle-aged at their eldest.⁷⁹ Many of these spectators, much to the anger of those in the SFA as well as the press, did not watch the game merely for the game’s sake. Many supporters saw their clubs not as football organisations, but as the embodiment of any number of class, ethnic, religious and industrial connotations. Coupled with the closeness of seeing friends from the neighbourhood or the works on the pitch, the levels of devotion to football clubs were incredible. Hyper-masculinity on the pitch was reflected by an equal manliness in the stands, making the presence of middle-class women a rarity. In Glasgow, respectable women were noted by the sport media for their infrequent attendance. The *Scottish Referee* noticed at a May 1889 Glasgow Charity Cup tie between Queen’s Park and Third Lanark that: ‘The grand stands were filled with a fashionable crowd, and the ladies exhibited the latest fashions in summer attire, which gave the scene a picturesque affair.’⁸⁰

However, women in Ayrshire were commonly seen at football matches in the 1870s through to the 1890s, and the press treated their vocal presence with surprise. The Ayrshire Cup ties of 1882-83 provide a window onto the female support for pit village clubs; and as the *Scottish Athletic Journal* noted at a match between Annbank and Kilmarnock Athletic, held at Pebble Park, Annbank, the female support was of a partisan kind far different than what they had encountered in Glasgow:

Not more than 500 people were on the field and a slovenly-looking, pennycoated, and extremely vulgar looking section of the crowd answered to

⁷⁸ *SR*, 12 April 1895.

⁷⁹ Tranter’s evidence from the 1899 Cappielow riot, as well as his research in central Scotland, points to a high frequency of younger males in Victorian football crowds in Scotland. Not all, in Tranter’s research, however, were juveniles: for example, four out of five arrested at the 1899 Cappielow riot were adults: Tranter, ‘Soccer Crowds’, pp. 125-140.

⁸⁰ *SR*, 13 May 1889.

the courteous invitation – ‘Ladies Free.’ The language which came from the lips of these ladies was sickening to listen to.⁸¹

Women viewed these matches in great numbers, and the *Journal* duly related female spectators to the players themselves:

Mothers, daughters, and sweethearts have turned out in the Ayrshire mining districts to assist their husbands, fathers, and lovers. Mother Hubbard wriggles and giggles at the peculiar costume. The young wife stands out in defence of the home team in a threatening fashion. And the artless maiden lends her assistance by capturing the attentions of the stranger goalkeeper. ‘Luk at his wee knickerbockers,’ said a hoary old lady with a sarcastic smile...⁸²

Thirteen years later, Annbank were still going strong, and so too was their devoted female support. The *Dalry and Kilbirnie Herald*, on a visit to Pebble Park in May 1895 for a match against Kilmarnock, was surprised by the beauty of the location and the villagers’ good-hearted character, ‘nor did I shut my eyes at the sight of Annbank’s dark-haired daughters, even though their interference with the game smacked of the masculine.’⁸³ A loyal female support group in Ayrshire’s pit villages is an indication of what Rosemary Power believes was the desire of women in British mining communities to work hard for a strong community, in solidarity with men, despite the paucity of opportunities for women in such localities.⁸⁴

In other localities – Greenock, for instance – women were believed to have been repelled by the conduct of men at the town’s football grounds, at least in the opinion of the local pressmen:

In most of the other football towns I have visited I have been pleased to see a number of ladies present at matches, but here they make themselves conspicuous by their absence. I believe this could be remedied if the gentlemen were to keep the fair sex in remembrance a little more than they do when a match is to take place.⁸⁵

As will be discussed in the next chapter, however, Greenock itself was not without its female partisans. Men, for the most part, guarded their personal space on the terraces

⁸¹ *SAJ*, 13 October 1882. This incident is also mentioned by Rafferty, *One Hundred Years*, p. 6.

⁸² *SAJ*, 6 October 1882.

⁸³ *DKH*, 3 May 1895.

⁸⁴ Rosemary Power, “‘After the Black Gold’: A View of Mining Heritage from Coalfield Areas in Britain,” *Folklore* 119 (2) (2008), p. 163.

⁸⁵ *GT*, 25 January 1883.

stringently, and typically noticed when someone unusual made their presence known in the stands. Supporters were furious at a November 1887 Glasgow Cup tie between Rangers and Cowliars at Gourlay Park, when *Scottish Athletic Journal* reporter ‘Free Critic’ attempted to push his way through to the reporters’ table, and was shouted at by supporters whose view he was blocking.⁸⁶ The *Partick and Maryhill Press* similarly noted a sense of empty paranoia at a November 1895 match of Park Thistle’s, one created by ‘[t]he man with the whiskers’ in the stands. ‘Some’, stated the *Press*, ‘regarded this as a sign of centenarianism, and in consequence showered up on him all the foolish talk characteristic of an angry football mob.’⁸⁷ The aged, then, were among those considered suspicious by football’s young support base.

The middle class was in little doubt as to which class of men was the culprit for such a nasty atmosphere. A letter supporting this position was written by the curiously-named ‘Artisan’ to the *Greenock Telegraph* in January 1886. Artisan, in particular, was fixated on the working-class character of the game itself as much as the spectators, believing its violence to arouse negative energy in the crowds who attended its matches:

The rowdy conduct that has taken place at these football matches is not to be wondered at, as most of the rough and boisterous class of the community are its chief supporters. They admire it for its rough and tumble character, for at times it happens when a performer gets killed, and occasionally others get their legs or arms broken or dislocated, or their teeth knocked out. Such accidents as these have been common enough of late, and are likely to happen again if the game continues to be played on such limited ground as it is played on at present, and the scientific practice of butting and charging, which has become very common, is still [continued]...⁸⁸

After decrying the game’s populist codification as ‘ridiculous,’ Artisan ‘humbly submit[s] that the game played at this time is demoralising both to [the players] and to the patrons, the sides engrossing their whole spare time to the neglect of the improvement of the mind in any rational way.’⁸⁹ As if to remind the readers of the game’s cultured origins, the *Greenock Telegraph* stated the week after this letter the majority of supporters were ‘respectable’, the ‘rough element’ was scaring them away, and that football clubs should

⁸⁶ *SAJ*, 22 November 1887.

⁸⁷ *PMP*, 2 November 1895.

⁸⁸ *GT*, 7 January 1886.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

adhere to the gentlemanly example of clubs like Corinthians.⁹⁰ Some clubs, after all, were more respectable in their membership and support than others. A follower of juvenile South-Side club Copeland Athletic, calling himself 'The Chief', wrote to the *Partick and Maryhill Press* in December 1895, criticising Portland Thistle for a pitch invasion during a match with his favoured club at Portland's ground. The Chief labelled Thistle supporters, along with their club, 'the Great Unwashed and their pets'.⁹¹

It was, however, in Johnstone, Renfrewshire where a vociferous debate arose on the subject of a local club's ties to its working-class, Catholic citizens. A November 1884 letter from 'Indignation' to *Scottish Umpire* described the yob element present at one particular match of involving Johnstone FC:

Such was the mob who on Saturday distinguished themselves as supporters of the Johnstone club, working men, no doubt, they call themselves; unscrupulous brutes, I should call them, throwing mud, stones and whatever comes ready as to hand at a referee, is indeed a grave charge, and one that has increased when known to be indisputable. When pickpockets and thieves, moreover, are known to be among the crowd, we may well get alarmed at the integrity of our game.⁹²

But it was in the normally-sedate *Johnstone Advertiser* where a rancorous debate over the supposed bestial nature of football took place over the course of June 1892. The paper reported on John Baird Stirling, a local solicitor pursuing an action in Sheriff Court against George L. Houston, the owner of the land on which Johnstone FC had their Mossbank Park.⁹³ According to the paper, Stirling's wall was 'being used as a urinal, the effluvia permeating the premise, while in certain conditions of the atmosphere his residence is impregnated with the odour of tobacco smoke.'⁹⁴ The ball was repeatedly kicked into his yard, and the noise from the cheering (with a great deal of swearing heard in between) kept his family awake until 9:30pm. And then there were the club's members themselves, who allowed Mr. Stirling and company too much of a view: 'Players dress, undress, and get rubbed down in the sight of pursuer's upper floor windows'.⁹⁵ The previous week, a letter appeared from 'Football', castigating the football club for bringing Dumbarton FC to

⁹⁰ *GT*, 14 January 1886.

⁹¹ *PMP*, 14 December 1895.

⁹² *SU*, 5 November 1884.

⁹³ Title of park in *SFA Annual, 1891-92*, p. 93.

⁹⁴ *JA*, 10 June 1892.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

Bailie Fyfe's public house for after-match entertainment. 'Football' believed that the popular opposition to football would die away if social gatherings were held in 'public halls, not public houses'.⁹⁶ Both these issues coalesced into a heated debate in the following weeks. Several supported Stirling and 'Football', with one letter-writer calling football a 'vile nuisance'.⁹⁷ Another letter, from 'Anti-Grumbler', fought back, believing that trade in the town, particularly in the licensed trades, was buoyed tremendously by the game, and included the war cry 'Football and Ireland for ever' in his letter.⁹⁸ But it was 'Johnstonian' and his 1 July 1892 letter to the *Advertiser* that best encapsulated the *real* point of contention when he stated that: 'It seems hard that some people in Johnstone, of all other towns in Scotland, cannot allow the working classes to have any recreation whatever, without doing their best to discourage it.'⁹⁹ This was, indeed, not just a discussion about football, but about class and ethnicity, and the means by which artisans and labourers found entertainment in Johnstone.

Tensions in the stands

1902 was a watershed year for Scottish football, largely due to the events at Ibrox Park on 5 April that year. The 27th annual Scotland-England international was taking place, the first to be played between two complete teams of professionals.¹⁰⁰ Somewhere between 68,000 and 75,000 spectators were cramming into Rangers' recently-designed, state-of-the-art ground.¹⁰¹ Shortly before 4pm, not long after kick-off, the new wooden terracing on the western end of the ground gave way, and the timber flooring at the highest point of the stand collapsed, plunging dozens of spectators into a newly-created hole, many to their deaths. Those who did not fall created a stampede for the pitch, with several people being crushed in the rush for safety. In total, 25 spectators died, with over 500 wounded, the majority of those killed being workers in the local shipbuilding industry.¹⁰² Incredibly, the

⁹⁶ *JA*, 3 June 1892.

⁹⁷ *JA*, 17 June 1892.

⁹⁸ *JA*, 24 June 1892.

⁹⁹ *JA*, 1 July 1892.

¹⁰⁰ Robert S. Shiels, 'The Fatalities at the Ibrox Disaster of 1902', *Sports Historian* 18 (2) (November 1998), p. 148.

¹⁰¹ Shiels, 'Ibrox Disaster', p. 148, gives the total as 68,000. Murray, *Old Firm*, p. 29, believes the total to be 75,000. The occupations of those hurt and killed in the 1902 Ibrox disaster are given by Mason, *Association Football*, p. 156.

¹⁰² Murray, *Old Firm*, p. 29; Shiels, 'Ibrox Disaster', pp. 148-149.

SFA and FA authorities believed that postponing the game outright would invite further crowd trouble, and forced the players to complete the match. The players, after watching the dead and wounded carried into their pavilion, went through motions to create a 1-1 draw, but not before many other spectators retrieved places on the collapsed pavilion in order to watch the match.¹⁰³ Murray believes that the disaster was the confirmation that football's powerbrokers had lost control of the game, and that even by the 1890s administrators were already sensing that the game's popularity was expanding faster than rationally possible to police and organise.¹⁰⁴ The SFA, the SFL and Scottish football's major clubs had every reason to believe that the 1902 disaster was inevitable.

A partial stand collapse occurred at the first attempt at the 1878 Scottish Cup final, held between Vale of Leven and Rangers at First Hampden; as befitted the chaotic early days of Scottish football, Rangers protested the match, and did not show up for the replay.¹⁰⁵ So, by 1890 one would think that the football authorities were very aware of the dangers not only of football-related violence, but also of 'crushing' in unsuitable terracing, even at famous football grounds. The 1890 'Auld Enemy' international, held at Hampden Park, attracted a mere 30,000 spectators to the stadium, and even this proved too much for the SFA. The barricades and the fences were quickly overwhelmed by expectant fans. Supporters were packed tightly into the park's north stand before the game, and once the game commenced the stand continued to be filled well beyond capacity:

The pressure on the north stand was so great that considerable alarm was created on several occasions by its swaying to and fro with the movement of the mass of people upon it. The front of it bulged out dangerously and many of the people who noticed ... stood carefully out of peril, awaiting what they expected would terminate in a fearful catastrophe.¹⁰⁶

The total cost of the destruction at Hampden reached £1,397, with the ground's athletic track and barricades destroyed. The potential for disaster was also present at the 1896 international held at Celtic Park. 50,000 fans packed into the stadium before the officials closed the gates; once inside, supporters were crushed in an effort to get a better view of the match, promptly receiving a rain of bottles from other parts of the stands whose view was now blocked. Police and soldiers eventually forced the spectators from Celtic Park's

¹⁰³ Murray, *Old Firm*, pp. 29-30.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-31.

¹⁰⁵ Weir, *Boys*, pp. 13-16.

¹⁰⁶ *SS*, 8 April 1890.

cycling track, which had been occupied for a better view, into the terracing.¹⁰⁷ Non-international matches also saw spectators overwhelming the gates. An 1895 match between Celtic and Queen's Park at Ibrox produced a large crowd, with over 37,000 present. Only 25,897 of those fans, however, paid to get in, with the other 11,000 storming the barricades.¹⁰⁸ At the Glasgow Cup final, held between the same two clubs and the same venue (Celtic winning 6-3), 24,000 spectators were present. A good number of them had broken in and as they did, other spectators rushed to the touchline for a better view, and were promptly showered with missiles. Peace was barely kept by a number of mounted policemen present.¹⁰⁹

Even matches with smaller numbers of spectators could be underestimated by the authorities. Renton's victory over Dundee in the February 1895 replay of the Scottish Cup semi-final at Hampden was witnessed by around 18,000, only around a hundred of which were Dundee supporters. Hampden's officials, expecting a figure of around five or six thousand spectators to match Renton's population, were nevertheless surprised at the audacity of the spectators who led an organised effort to force entry into Hampden. The crowd worked together to wedge themselves through the entry gates in order to overturn them, employing what the *Scottish Referee* described as a 'heave ho and away you go' motion. Other groups of supporters tore down the palings around the park, providing an 'open-sesame' to the enclosure. The SFA made £421 on the fixture, but lost around £100 due to the damage.¹¹⁰ The tie was eventually rescinded. Local junior matches of importance saw their gates stormed as well. At the May 1895 Lanarkshire Junior Cup semi-final at Hamilton, around a thousand paid to see Cambuslang play Dalziel Rovers, with many others scaling the fence.¹¹¹ Similarly, the May 1898 Glasgow Junior Cup final at Barrowfield Park between Vale of Clyde and Parkhead, with a disappointing gate of only £35, saw over a thousand supporters overwhelm the entrances.¹¹² Gasworks Park, Larkhall, the site of the first attempt at the 1888 Scottish Junior Cup final between

¹⁰⁷ Murray, *Old Firm*, p. 29.

¹⁰⁸ *SR*, 25 January 1895.

¹⁰⁹ *SR*, 18 November 1895.

¹¹⁰ *SR*, 25 February 1895.

¹¹¹ *SR*, 3 May 1895.

¹¹² *SR*, 23 May 1898.

Maryhill and Wishaw Thistle, was the sight of a crush, the gates being broken down and stands packed tightly, creating a crush forcing 'many people... to cry out with pain'.¹¹³

Conclusion

It is in this context that Scottish football's supporter culture was born, with little material and emotional separation between players and their supporters. The enthusiasm shown by youngsters on the west of Scotland's public pitches was easily matched by their partisans, some of whom were footballers themselves, perpetuating a cycle of audience participation in the product being viewed on the pitch. Through the game itself, and through the presence of vocal supporters, football pitches were transformed into heated cauldrons of passion. Within these grounds, however, the potential lay for disaster, ultimately culminating in the 1902 Ibrox disaster. These subtexts underlined the assumed existence of a violent element in early Scottish football. As will be discussed in the next chapter, however, the underlying roots of supporter violence were far more complicated than the mere presence of a mob mentality.

¹¹³ *SAJ*, 17 April 1888.

11. VIOLENCE IN EARLY SCOTTISH FOOTBALL

This chapter explores the causes and consequences of the violence which took place on the west of Scotland's football grounds. However, it should immediately be cautioned that discussing crime rates in Victorian Scotland cannot be performed with any amount of surety. This was especially the case in Glasgow, where Fraser and Maver believe the city's crime statistics were a highly unreliable gauge of exactly *how* violent the city was.¹ Murder, statistically, was uncommon, even though 'offences against the person' and properties heavily increased between 1865-69 and 1900-04.² There can be no doubt that the threat of rhetorical and physical intimidation was used to influence the course of events in football. It is also important to note, as does Tranter, that the overwhelming majority of football games in Scotland passed without serious spectator disturbance. However, the potential for violence and spectator misconduct in its various forms was nevertheless consistently acknowledged by almost all involved in association football at the time, far more so than at rugby or cricket matches.³ As Rangers and Celtic were not quite the dominant clubs they are today, they certainly did not have a monopoly on the violent activity which took place on *and* off Scottish football pitches before 1902. While spectator violence occurred largely in the raucous context discussed in the last chapter, the phenomenon is far more complex than merely working-class males driven to their breaking point, especially when considering the evidence of result-driven premeditation that existed on some occasions.

Theory and parameters of early football violence

With such a tightly-wound atmosphere on the terraces, along with the visceral nature of the nascent game, the threat of violence was constant. Vamplew notes five categories of crowd violence inherent in British sporting gatherings during the late Victorian era. The first is 'frustration disorder': when club and association officials were perceived to alter

¹ W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver, 'The Social Problems of the City', in *Glasgow – Volume II: 1830 to 1912*, ed. by W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 382-387.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 384-386.

³ According to Tranter, only isolated incidents of violence took place at 'senior' football matches in central Scotland from 1880 to 1900 (at least according to local newspapers) (Tranter, 'Soccer Crowds', pp. 129-130). My own research shows that while spectator violence in the west of Scotland had a greater frequency than in central, this too did not represent the overwhelming majority of games.

the conditions of the competition, antagonising the paying supporters. The second is 'outlawry disorder', when sporting crowds contained within them a significant anti-social, criminal element. 'Remonstrance' occurred when crowds used the sporting arena as a field for political protest. 'Confrontation disorder' occurred between two different sets of supporters with different socioeconomic or ethno-religious backgrounds, typically in local derbies and sudden-death cup ties. Finally, an 'expressive' riot typically occurred through an emotional 'arousal' brought about by an unexpected result or set of circumstances.⁴ Tranter's research into the riot at Cappielow Park, Greenock during the April 1899 Renfrewshire Cup semi-final between Morton and Port Glasgow Athletic, however, reveals these incidents were occasionally created in the presence of a more organised hooligan element, one dedicated mainly to ending games when a result was turning against a certain club.⁵ Vamplew also believes that such extreme partisanship was compatible with the male working-class Briton's worldview when participating in the spectator experience. 'He was more than just a spectator', Vamplew states, 'more than merely a consumer of the sports product. Deprived of power and esteem at work, he found a surrogate identity as a member of a large group'.⁶ The haphazard nature of football grounds from the 1870s onward, along with the rough nature of what was being viewed on the pitch, fused together to create a highly-charged atmosphere.

The escalation from swearing to acts of violence in the crowd could come in several different stages. In the days before crowd segregation at football matches, fighting was frequent in the stands themselves. Encroachment upon the field of play, more common in smaller parks, could become a flood onto the pitch if free fights broke out in the stands between sets of supporters. At a hotly-contested Scottish Cup tie in Cumnock between Mauchline and Cumnock in September 1884, fighting at the ground was frequent, and Mauchline protested encroachment of the supporters.⁷ Next month in the same competition, with Kilmarnock Athletic at Ayr, Athletic protested their loss due to fighting being seen in the stands.⁸ The 9-1 defeat of junior Port Glasgow Aldergrove by Jordanhill at Inchview in March 1895 was spoiled by spectators crowding onto the field of play

⁴ Wray Vamplew, 'Sports Crowd Disorder in Britain, 1870-1914: Causes and controls', *Journal of Sports History* 7 (1) (Spring 1980), pp. 9-11; Vamplew, *Pay up*, pp. 267-270.

⁵ Tranter, 'Soccer Crowds', pp. 132-133.

⁶ Vamplew, *Pay up*, p. 267.

⁷ *SU*, 11 September 1884.

⁸ *SU*, 29 October 1884.

during a fight.⁹ At the June 1889 Archer Cup final between Linthouse and Fairfield in Govan, a testy atmosphere was sensed in the ground, where ‘the proceedings were enlivened by some choice language, and a few free fights outside the ropes’.¹⁰

Missiles were commonly used by members of the crowd, not only to attract the attention of opposition players, but also to cause their injury. By the 1870s, visiting teams in Ayrshire mining villages were typically showered with stones, even in the company of local policemen.¹¹ At a noxious Burns Cup semi-final match between Ayr and Mauchline at Kilmarnock in May 1879, ‘several of the players’ were ‘repeatedly struck with stones, one of them being twice wounded on the head’.¹² At an early-season derby match between Thornliebank and Cartvale in August 1898, mud and stones were thrown at both sets of players by members of the crowd, mostly boys.¹³ Almost ten years prior to that incident, the *Scottish Referee* even noted a protocol for the throwing of missiles: after Possilpark’s match in Hamilton left their umpire and left-back ‘covered with glory’ from ‘a warm time of it from the spectators’, the paper took a stand against stone throwing, directing its readers that: ‘Mud is a harmless missile, but a stone is not.’¹⁴ One Kilmarnock youth almost made the mistake of throwing a brick of unspecified size at the head of a Hurlford player in November 1882, only to find himself being threatened by Hurlford’s goalkeeper, and soon joined by his teammates (this despite the crowd’s eagerness to see the brick thrown).¹⁵ Another youth at Boghead Park, Dumbarton, in September 1887, *did* manage to sufficiently rile Andrew Whitelaw, a Vale of Leven back, by throwing a clump of grass at him. The defender went after the boy, much to the anger of the crowd, who ‘vowed vengeance’, and got it when attacking Whitelaw upon his entrance to the pavilion. John Forbes, Whitelaw’s partner at the back, came to his teammate’s aid, and was duly beaten unconscious until reawakened by ‘restoratives’ in the clubhouse.¹⁶ The main attacker,

⁹ *SR*, 18 March 1895.

¹⁰ *SR*, 10 June 1889.

¹¹ Faulds and Tweedie, *Cherry-pickers*, p. 6.

¹² *KS*, 24 May 1879.

¹³ *SR*, 22 August 1898.

¹⁴ *SR*, 28 January 1889.

¹⁵ *SAJ*, 10 November 1882.

¹⁶ *SAJ*, 27 September 1887. Weir, *Boys*, pp. 63-66, discusses Forbes and Whitelaw in greater detail.

Dumbarton blacksmith George Burgess, was sentenced to forty days' hard labour.¹⁷ On pitches in close proximity to the Clyde shipyards, rivets were commonly used as missiles.¹⁸

The give-and-take between footballers and spectators not only encouraged the delivery of missiles, but often precipitated pitch invasions; which, as seen with the aforementioned incident at Dumbarton, was potentially disastrous if not properly policed. Dunbartonshire was a special case whereby the major and minor clubs existed within a five-mile radius of each other, making policing complicated. At the same game as the above incident at Boghead, a man named William Tennant was arrested for a separate disturbance at the pitch.¹⁹ But that same week, Jamestown official Daniel Turner, who had recently acted as umpire for the club in their Dunbartonshire Cup tie against Vale of Leven Hibs, was allegedly beaten by three men: Edward Rodden of Alexandria, and Michael Kilcoyne and John Coyne, both labourers 'belonging to Dumbarton, but residing in the Vale of Leven'. All three pled guilty while emphasising self-defence, which the court took as a plea of not guilty. The men, if they could not meet bail of two guineas each, would be remanded into custody until trial.²⁰ Both incidents were indicative of the pitfalls of policing the sport in an area where settlement and club support weaved a complicated web.

Classifying spectator violence

Back at the parks, police were slow to learn not only about overfilling terraces, but also about the potential mayhem that occurred between two sets of football supporters, and the situation was especially complicated in 'confrontation' disorders. One such 'confrontation' took place at Hyde Park, Springburn, in the third round of the Scottish Cup in October 1889 between Northern and Carfin Shamrock. Shamrock's Naughton accused one of Northern's defenders of kicking him, and a fight broke out between the two. The crowd then 'broke through the ropes, surrounded the players and stopped the game', bringing the entire company of players, spectators and officials into a free fight. The players were protected on their way to the clubhouse, and many were injured, including Naughton, who was carried off the pitch. While the players were being attacked, other

¹⁷ *SAJ*, 4 October 1887.

¹⁸ Smout, *Century*, p. 154.

¹⁹ *SR*, 27 September 1887.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

supporters stormed the gates, demanding their money be returned, with Northern's officials fearing an attack on their turnstiles. Only four policemen were present.²¹ When more policemen arrived at the scene the crowd finally dispersed, with 'traces of the conflict in the shape of black eyes, bloody noses and cut and bruised faces.'²² Two months later, authorities were far better prepared for the Glasgow Cup final at Cathkin Park between Queen's Park and Celtic. QP defeated Celtic 2-0; Celtic protested both goals to be offside, and the crowd attempted a pitch invasion, but was prevented by a solid police force.²³ Of course, that was the *Scottish Referee's* version of the story, which depicted Queen's Park's gentlemanly demeanour, while castigating the fiery temper of Celtic. The paper also included a letter from John O'Hara, Celtic's honorary secretary, stating that the dispute was touched off by a Queen's Park player rather than Celtic's allegedly unruly supporters.²⁴

The largest of these 'confrontational' riots, at least during this time period, occurred at the New Year's Day game between Celtic and Rangers in 1898 at Celtic Park. With the score 1-1, and with Rangers pressing for a game winner, the 50,000 allowed in by Celtic easily overwhelmed the mere forty non-mounted policemen, in this, the first 'Old Firm' disturbance.²⁵ In an intriguing subplot to this, Celtic were sued for £300 for injuries sustained during this break-in, a development that other clubs watched with 'great interest', no doubt for its legal complications.²⁶ Other confrontational incidents included one Renfrewshire Cup tie in January 1895 between 1st RRV and Port Glasgow Celtic at Ladyburn Park, Greenock. The *Scottish Referee* reported that from the outset 'the crowd encroached on the touchline, and that "'Jump on him!" and such like expressions' were heard at the ground. The game was stopped several times in the first half due to fighting throughout the park. Five minutes from the end of the second half, when Port Glasgow Celtic led 4-2, the crowd invaded the pitch.²⁷ As will be discussed later, however, there

²¹ *SR*, 21 October 1889.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *SR*, 16 December 1889.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Murray, *Old Firm*, pp. 135-136.

²⁶ *SR*, 27 July 1898.

²⁷ *SR*, 21 January 1895.

was more than an element of confrontation in football matches in this region of Renfrewshire.

No single person on a football pitch was physically or mentally abused as much as the referee, and each of these cases can be described as a ‘frustration’ disorder. The referee, however, was absent from many other controversial decisions that spurred football crowds on the attack against officialdom. One such example was the New Year’s Day friendly between Queen’s Park and Aston Villa at Hampden in 1887, a game which took place under heavy rain and snow. As the second half was supposed to begin, and as the rain subsided somewhat, both sets of players remained in the pavilion. Angry supporters of both clubs surrounded the pavilion, and demanded that the players return to the field, else the gate money be returned. The easily-overmatched twelve policemen protected the doors of the pavilion, and initially were able to engage the supporters in good humour, with rival cheers sent out by both sets of supporters. No Queen’s Park officials, however, attempted to explain that the game had actually been cancelled, arousing the crowd, ‘the majority of whom were mere striplings’, to destroy sections of the park. This began rather systematically, with the press area first being destroyed, many of its chairs and benches thrown in the direction of the police. Afterwards, the goalposts were taken down, and the barricades and pay boxes came in for ‘considerable damage’. Only one player was assaulted – a Queen’s Park man who attempted to salvage the club’s flag – but both sets of supporters jeered the team loudly as they left the pavilion.²⁸ To save face, Queen’s Park’s president Geake donated the club’s share of the profits to the Charity Organisation Society. ‘The club’, Robinson stated:

was ever sensitive to retain the good opinion of the public, and maintain its own reputation for probity and honourable dealing. It was a club for gentlemen, led by gentlemen, and no blot or stain must dim its honour.²⁹

Such incidents, no doubt, made the officials of the self-consciously bourgeois Queen’s Park secretly cringe.

Meanwhile, in the May 1899 Glasgow Junior Cup final at Shawfield Park, it was not the weather, but rather the price of admission, that provoked an angry reaction from both sets of supporters. Spectators who arrived ‘refused to pay more than 3d for admission... and if

²⁸ *SU*, 5 January 1887.

²⁹ Robinson, *Queen’s Park*, p. 235.

the request had not been complied with, there is no saying what might have happened.³⁰ The *Scottish Referee* prophetically warned in February 1895, after a match between Maryhill and Jordanhill was guaranteed extra time if the two clubs drew, that ‘it is always a sad thing to break faith, or appear to break faith, with the public.’³¹ Thus, the most famous of these disturbances occurred on 17 April 1909 at Hampden Park at the replay of the Scottish Cup final between Rangers and Celtic, when around six thousand supporters from both ends created two and a half hours’ worth of destruction and violence after the promised extra time did not materialise. Somehow, despite fifty-eight policemen and sixty others receiving hospital treatment, this disturbance ended with no fatalities.³² This incident is Vamplew’s textbook case of supporter ‘frustration’; at a time when football’s popularity base was coalescing into two largely sectarian tribes, Rangers and Celtic supporters were once united in their anger towards match officials.

Other instances of violence

The referee was a much-reviled character in the eyes of supporters, and it was his ‘incompetence’ that often landed him in a world of trouble with players and supporters alike. At a March 1899 match between Ashfield and Parkhead at Saracen Park, Possilpark, a rough game prompted the *St. Rollox and Springburn Express* to state that ‘the referee’s post was no sinecure’, and indeed it typically was not.³³ It was the sole responsibility of the referee not only to smooth over the rough edges of a violent sport, but also to mollify two sets of partisans at once. The job was impossible, and referees were often assaulted if their decisions did not live up to the standards of either players or supporters. This occurred early on in football’s history, as Faulds and Tweedie noted that referees officiating games in Glenbuck in the 1870s had a difficult time, ‘especially if a pond was conveniently near’.³⁴ A January 1893 Hamilton derby between Hamilton Academical and Hamilton Harp was remarkable for being ‘almost free from the roughness which generally characterises the meetings of these two local rivals.’ Nevertheless, for precautionary reasons, it was still considered a wise idea to spirit the referee away, with protection, after

³⁰ *SRSE*, 11 May 1899.

³¹ *SR*, 25 February 1895.

³² Vamplew, ‘Sports Crowd Disorder’, p. 6, pp. 9-10.

³³ *SRSE*, 2 March 1899.

³⁴ Faulds and Tweedie, *Cherrypickers*, p. 6.

the game.³⁵ An escort, police or otherwise, could not come soon enough for other referees, whose controversial decisions drastically affected the outcome of a game. In a September 1895 game between Airdrieonians and Partick Thistle in Airdrie, a questionable Airdrieonians goal was allowed by the referee. Infuriated, Partick Thistle's Smith attempted to assault the referee, but was prevented by his teammates. Once the game was over, however, Smith got his chance, and punched the referee in the head; afterwards, the wounded official was escorted off the field by Airdrieonians' officials and the police.³⁶ That same year, in a junior match between the South Side's Dundas Swifts and Cathkin Rovers (a reserve squad for Third Lanark), the referee not only allowed a protested third goal for Swifts, making the score 3-2, but then called the game on account of bad weather. Rovers' supporters duly stormed the field, and chased the referee into the pavilion.³⁷ The previous year, seven hundred supporters travelled with Renfrew Victoria to play their Scottish Junior Cup final with Ashfield. After Vics lost the game on an offside decision, the crowd charged the field of play, and '[t]he excitement of the spectators had reached such a pitch that it was deemed advisable that Mr M'Phee [the referee] should remain indoors.'³⁸

Such violence was common outwith the organised arena of cup and league competitions on private pitches. For example, Cowcaddens man James Marshall was sentenced to thirty days in jail by a Glasgow sheriff for assaulting George Vaughan on 3 January 1898 in Springburn Public Park. Marshall was a spectator at a park football match that Vaughan refereed. In the process, he also assaulted a fellow spectator, James Wilson, whom he kicked in the jaw, and placed in hospital for five weeks.³⁹ Referees were left in little doubt as to their fate if they failed to live up to spectators' expectations, and the threat of violence would occasionally play a part in a referee's decision-making process. A Scottish Junior Cup tie between Vale of Clyde and Rutherglen Glencairn at Germiston Park, Tollcross featured a classic case of referee intimidation. Glencairn led 5-1 at half-time, and once the game resumed, another goal was scored by the Rutherglen club, apparently the third questionable one allowed by Mr. McPherson, a Possilpark referee. With tensions

³⁵ *HA*, 21 January 1893.

³⁶ *SR*, 16 September 1895.

³⁷ *SR*, 1 February 1895.

³⁸ *GP*, 21 May 1894.

³⁹ *SR*, 18 February 1898.

in the stands running high, two players began fighting, and the crowd invaded the pitch. Mr. McPherson sprinted towards the pavilion; and, despite the wishes of the players to continue the match, ended the game twenty minutes from time as he, 'not desirous of being killed outright, refused to go any further'.⁴⁰ At a February 1898 Scottish Junior Cup tie between Parkhead and Dunfermline at Helenslea Park, Parkhead, the referee initially allowed a second Dunfermline goal, even though the scorer knocked the ball in the net with his hands. At this point, 'spectators from all parts of the field rushed in, and the referee was subjected to a considerable amount of jostling.' Understandably, the referee had a change of heart, and then allowed Parkhead to kick into the open goal. Dunfermline's supporters were enraged, and the referee was protected by Parkhead's officials upon leaving the field.⁴¹ At a senior game eleven years earlier, played between St. Mirren and Arthurlie in Barrhead, Saints' supporters complained to the *Scottish Athletic Journal* that the referee was 'afraid of the Barrhead crowd', and made his decisions against 'the Buddies' accordingly.⁴² Fear of retribution, then, indeed influenced officials in their quest to not only follow the laws of the game, but to satisfy the game's paying customers and their desires.

Lest one think that anti-referee violence was mere newspaper sensationalism, it was also of great *official* concern. At the 27 January 1896 meeting of the Lanarkshire Junior FA, Burnbank Athletic's Hailstones was identified by referee Sinclair as being the man who assaulted him at a recent cup tie in Burnbank between Athletic and Cambusnethan.⁴³ A whole series of cup ties in September 1899 provided the association with headaches regarding referee assaults. One match featured Rooney of Orbiston Thistle, and McLintock and Cannon of Lanark Victoria, verbally abusing the referee, with each player banned for two weeks.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, Kirkwood of Baillieston was suspended for the rest of the year for physically assaulting a referee. The referee at this particular tie, between Baillieston and Hamilton's Cadzow Oak, at the former's home, believed that he was insufficiently protected from assault by the Baillieston committee.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, Malcolm

⁴⁰ *SRSE*, 2 March 1899.

⁴¹ *SR*, 28 February 1898.

⁴² *SAJ*, 27 September 1887.

⁴³ *SFM, Lanarkshire Junior Football Association, 1895-1906 Minute Book*, 27 January 1896.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 26 September 1899.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

Welsh of Airdrie St. Margaret's was similarly suspended for a year for abusive language, and for threatening to assault a referee at a match. The club's representative at the 26 September 1899 meeting of the Lanarkshire Junior FA gave the committee 'insolence' about the charge being 'not proven'; when he refused to apologise, he was forced out of the meeting.⁴⁶ Inside the associations, then, similar concerns existed about the treatment of referees.

'Remonstrance' occurred rarely in Scotland before 1902, although Bradley argues that later contests involving the Old Firm 'are often viewed as opportunities for para-political expression'. However, remonstrative behaviour occurred in at least one set of instances, according to James Lee.⁴⁷ During the 1896 Scottish tour of London's British Ladies Football Club, the club played against local junior (male) teams, as well as the London and District Women's Club. BLFC received constant attention from the Scottish media during their tour, most of it negative; and Lee believes that the club's presence, and considerable popularity, constituted not only a subversion of the Victorian feminine identity, but also 'a threat, an invasion of male prerogative'.⁴⁸ While an initial exhibition in 1895 garnered a certain amount of lukewarm praise, and a large gathering of female spectators at Paisley, by the 1896 tour the mood changed drastically. While the club were welcomed with a brass band in St. Andrews, in Glasgow and Irvine stones and missiles greeted them. In Irvine not only was a rough display given by the male football club, and not only did the club have to 'kick their way' through to the clubhouse, but a mob saw on them onto their Largs-bound trains at Irvine station. The mood was even worse in Glasgow, where a match at Germiston Park against London and District ended with BLFC being chased from the field, and objects being thrown at their carriages when leaving Tollcross. Germiston Park was left in tatters, with a nearby farmer's property also significantly damaged.⁴⁹

There were many early football-related disturbances that fell under the 'expressive' heading. In December 1885, for example, Third Lanark's Kirkwood was assaulted after a game in Port Glasgow by Port Glasgow Athletic supporters. He was knocked unconscious, and needed a special car to be taken back to Glasgow, where he lay severely bruised,

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Bradley, *Ethnic*, p. 183.

⁴⁸ James F. Lee, *The Lady Footballers: Struggling to Play in Victorian Britain* (Abingdon, Oxon.: Routledge, 2008), p. 89.

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 75-95.

‘almost unable to speak’.⁵⁰ Hampden’s first major riot, the example given by Harvie and Jones as spurring Scottish sporting nationalism, took place on 30 October 1886 against Preston North End. A tackle by North End’s Ross (a Scot) rendered Queen’s Park’s Barrower unconscious, and Ross needed to be escorted from the park through a back window to avoid the supporters who invaded the pitch.⁵¹ At the first game at new Ibrox Park in September 1887, with a crowd of 18,000 present, a pitch invasion marred the end of Rangers’ match against Preston North End. North End’s Johnnie Goodall (another Scot) was mistaken for Ross, who had been guilty of misconduct, and was assaulted by Rangers’ supporters. After the game, North End were harried at Central Station, where ‘[t]he team on leaving... were hooted’ by Rangers’ partisans.⁵² The *Scottish Athletic Journal* was convinced that the answer lay in the club’s old Kinning Park supporters, who like ‘human barnacles’ attached themselves to Rangers when they moved house.⁵³ Still many other smaller matches provoked reactive violence: when the junior Gartmore played Columba in Possilpark in March 1893, a crowd invasion occurred after a third Gartmore player was injured through Columba’s ‘foul play’.⁵⁴ Another game in northeast Glasgow – a charity one no less – between Parkhead and Petershill at Arrol Park, during the first round of the Junior Charity Cup in May 1899, prompted some premeditation after the game. Petershill’s supporters were incensed at Raeside, the Parkhead goalkeeper, and his rough tactics, and ‘five hundred’ of them waited outside the park to attack him, but the ground officials assisted him in getting away.⁵⁵

Organised hooliganism? The ‘Inverclyde’ derby

Premeditation is an intriguing subtext to crowd violence, and there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that an organised hooligan element existed in west of Scotland football in the late nineteenth century. Such displays were typically performed in the hopes of thwarting a losing result. One example that Tranter gives regarding a west of Scotland club is that of the December 1896 Scottish Cup semi-final between Motherwell and Falkirk,

⁵⁰ *SAJ*, 22 December 1885.

⁵¹ Robinson, *Queen’s Park*, p. 325.

⁵² *SAJ*, 9 September 1887.

⁵³ *SAJ*, 13 September 1887.

⁵⁴ *SRSE*, 9 March 1893.

⁵⁵ *SRSE*, 11 May 1899.

at the park of the latter. Rumours had swirled the previous week that Falkirk supporters were planning a pitch invasion should their team be losing, and true to form they did so when Motherwell led the game 4-2 with only a few minutes to play.⁵⁶ In another instance the previous year, one junior club's officials instigated a riot in Glasgow's South Side. At a local community shield tie in November 1895 between Caledonian and Ibrox Thistle, '[t]he game was stopped three times on account of the spectators rushing upon the field, and threatening to "go for" the players.'⁵⁷ The main figure among the Caledonian supporters was the club's linesman himself, who encouraged the break-in, and who 'acted as ringleader'.⁵⁸ Did some associations even use break-ins as cash grabs? The April 1885 Lanarkshire Cup final at South Haugh, Hamilton, between Airdrieonians and Cambuslang, was badly policed. Four thousand attended, a 'vast concourse of spectators', according to the *Airdrie Advertiser*; and the few police present were unable to cope with the large numbers, with 'hundreds jumping the river or scaling the hedges, finally breaking into the field of play' eight minutes from time, with Airdrieonians winning 3-1.⁵⁹ The *Advertiser's* 'Athlete', however, was nevertheless suspicious that the game would be replayed for want of more gate money.

The 'Inverclyde' derby was one of the most hotly-contested match-ups in the west of Scotland, not only by the players of Greenock Morton and Port Glasgow Athletic, but by their rival sets of supporters. Tranter specifically examines the riot at Cappielow Park during the 8 April 1899 Renfrewshire Cup semi-final, with evidence from the Chief Constable's report on the matter. Tranter believes that this incident, with the exception of the April 1909 Old Firm riot at Hampden, 'was probably the most serious to occur at a soccer match in Scotland before the First World War.'⁶⁰ A stampede occurred at Cappielow Park during the game. The charge towards the field, which was separated from the stands by only a wooden fence, was caused by two simultaneous events: the second re-entry into the stands of a sole spectator invading the pitch, and Morton's scoring of a second goal. Constable Jervis Robertson, a mounted policeman, was injured while engaging in a fight on the pitch with around two hundred spectators, forcing the crowd

⁵⁶ Tranter, 'Soccer Crowds', pp. 132-133.

⁵⁷ *PMP*, 16 November 1895.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *AA*, 10 April 1885.

⁶⁰ Tranter, 'Soccer Crowds', p. 125.

back into the stands through the use of his whip and baton. Eventually, Robertson retreated to the sidelines to receive medical treatment, and called for reinforcements to ensure that the game finished. An inspector, two sergeants and twenty-one constables were initially present. When the Superintendent and ten additional policemen had arrived, two further pitch invasions had taken place, with the police eventually being driven into the centre of the pitch by the supporters, who pelted them with 'stones, bricks and bottles', and beat them with 'uprooted fence posts'. The game was eventually brought to a close after nearby Sinclair Street was cordoned off, but not before thirty-two policemen and both police horses were injured.⁶¹ Fearing an immediate backlash against mass arrests, the Greenock police waited until the next day to enter Port Glasgow. By the fourth day of the investigation, thirty-three men had been arrested. The police, however, had no cooperation from the Port Glasgow's politicians, notably Bailie James McLaughlin, who along with a large group of men intimidated the two investigating detectives on the second day of the inquiry.⁶²

Tranter notes that this occurrence was nothing new on the Port Glasgow side. The club was involved in two previous contentious Renfrewshire Cup ties at Cappielow: one against St. Mirren in 1897, and one against Morton the previous year, with the matches being abandoned in both cases.⁶³ It is especially with Morton, however, that Port Glasgow Athletic found a mutual enemy, and by the 1890s violence occurred regularly at matches between the two clubs. The derby fixture had become popular from the 1880s. In May 1883, Morton played at Port Glasgow Athletic's Devol Farm ground, with three thousand spectators in attendance and many others watching the game from surrounding fields. These included Morton supporters who had travelled with their club on the 3pm train to Port Glasgow.⁶⁴ This was more than a friendly rivalry, however. In March 1886, the *Greenock Telegraph* noted that Port Glasgow Athletic had withdrawn entirely from the Greenock and District Charity Cup ties, noting a 'dryness' that existed between Port Glasgow Athletic and Morton.⁶⁵ A month earlier, the paper had slammed Port Glasgow

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 125-126.

⁶² Ibid., p. 126.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 125.

⁶⁴ *GT*, 7 May 1883.

⁶⁵ *GT*, 4 March 1886.

Athletic for not participating in the Cup, as the cup benefited the Greenock Infirmary, which served both towns.⁶⁶

This rivalry reached fever pitch by the next decade. The *Port Glasgow Express and Observer* noted in 1895 that: ‘The “Port and the Morton” are terms which every schoolboy in the Lower Wards are [sic] familiar with.’⁶⁷ The hostility between the two clubs often led to violence, which included an element of predictability, and even choreography with regard to its organisation and the official reaction. The February 1898 Renfrewshire tie exemplified the organised nature of these conflicts. The game itself was a replay of a violence-marred first game, and feelings in this match similarly ran high. Morton were dominating the match, and a third goal was scored. Almost immediately after, the pitch was invaded from both ends. The nets were cut, and two of Morton’s players were stoned by the spectators. But this was no free-for-all: according to the *Scottish Referee*, the mob had ‘ringleaders’ who approached the referee, Mr. McLeod, and discussed the break-in with him during the riot, kindly letting him know that the supporters had ‘no objections to the refereeing’.⁶⁸

The disruptions continued. The junior divisions of the two clubs met each other at Cappielow in May of the same year, in a Port Glasgow and District Cup tie. The game drew an excellent crowd, but near the end of the second half a fight broke out on the field between two players, McPherson and Hodge, and then, in the words of the *Scottish Referee*, ‘well – the old story, a break in, put an end to the proceedings a minute from finish.’⁶⁹ Prior to the February incident, *Referee* noted that ‘Greenock Morton’s ground is acquiring an unenviable notoriety in the public mind owing to the frequency with which what are mildly called “break-ins” occur in this quarter of the football world.’⁷⁰ In the Chief Constable of Renfrewshire’s report on the 1899 incident, it was noted that break-ins between Morton and Port Glasgow occurred often while ‘the game appeared to be going against the team they had backed... on a given signal [they] swept the constables aside and

⁶⁶ *GT*, 8 February 1886.

⁶⁷ *PGEO*, 12 April 1895.

⁶⁸ *SR*, 21 February 1898.

⁶⁹ *SR*, 9 May 1898.

⁷⁰ *SR*, 21 February 1898.

stopped the match.’⁷¹ The police, in the case of the May 1898 match between the clubs’ junior sides, even displayed ‘nonchalance’ at preventing the pitch being invaded.⁷² There was, therefore, not only an inevitability to Greenock’s riots, but also an unstated protocol between the clubs, the spectators and the authorities that allowed planned, organised violence to become a part of the local footballing discourse.

Football violence outside the arena

Football-related violence was not merely confined to the pitches and parks themselves, and footballers found themselves taking the animosity of the pitch out onto the streets after dark. After a match in Hurlford, Kilmarnock had the temerity to turn down after-match tea with the local club. ‘However’, stated *Scottish Umpire*:

Hurlford seems to have been made aware of this arrangement, and had a peculiar treat in store for them. A large ‘deign’ of stones, served up with mud, was the first course; but the Kilmarnock had no relish for such a dish, as they had experienced its evil effects before. The waiters, ... afraid the dish might spoil in their hands, pitched the contents into the vehicle, to the injury of its occupants.⁷³

One of the injured included the match’s referee; the *Umpire* consequently gave an example of another referee who ‘[knew] what Hurlford mud [was].’ Of course, there may have been a reason other than sport for this particular incident, as one witness believed the incident to be initiated by ‘a crowd composed chiefly of Birmingham roughs’ who were seen in Hurlford that night.⁷⁴ No such possibility of mistaken identity, however, for members of Cowlairs caught raising hell at Lenzie railway station in June 1893. The ‘contingent of Cowlairs footballers’ had gone to Kirkintilloch, Stirlingshire to watch Kirkintilloch Rob Roy’s summer sports programme, but ended leaving the train station by the skin of their teeth, as they ‘narrowly escaped arrest for disorderly conduct at the station’, though ‘[o]n arriving at Cowlairs some difficulty was experienced in ejecting the roughs from the station.’⁷⁵

⁷¹ Tranter, ‘Soccer Crowds’, p. 132.

⁷² *SR*, 9 May 1898.

⁷³ *SU*, 2 October 1884.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *SRSE*, 29 June 1893.

Mostly, however, it was supporters who developed conspicuously intense levels of devotion to their club, both inside and outside the sport arena. The *Scottish Referee* believed that the agitators at the February 1898 pitch invasion at Cappielow included the so-called ‘football girls’, but the reference is not explained any further.⁷⁶ The *Port Glasgow Express and Observer*, however, gave a more in-depth account of the ‘mill girls’ of Greenock and Port Glasgow, their partisanship boldly described by the paper as being much worse than the male population’s. The mill girls took their quarrel far outside of Cappielow:

They appeared last night in swarms on Princes Street. Shouts of “Good old Port; dirty Morton,” and “Dirty Port; Good old Morton,” were heard all over the place. The Morton contingent proceeded down the Greenock Road, and a conflict ensued about Williams Street. There was a general scuffle among the girls and stones were thrown. One girl was so badly hit on the eye that she had to be taken into the surgery of a doctor at hand.⁷⁷

During the same campaign, the third try at the tie between Athletic and Morton took place at Love Street, Paisley as a neutral venue.⁷⁸ The public houses of Paisley were filled with Morton and Athletic supporters after Athletic’s 4-1 victory, and alcohol helped contribute to a wild atmosphere in the town. ‘Paisley Jail’, stated the *Port Glasgow Express and Observer*, ‘never had so many lodgers.’⁷⁹ One death occurred, although it was not through violence: William Grant, a Port Glasgow labourer, took his train home inebriated. He alighted at the wrong station, and walked unknowingly into the River Clyde.⁸⁰

There are other, less club-specific examples of such passion towards the game; Baird Murdoch was charged in December 1888 in Glasgow’s Sheriff Court with assault by stabbing during an argument over football.⁸¹ The *St. Rollox and Springburn Express* gives a harrowing account of one particular incident at a Cowcaddens pub in February 1893, which had far more serious consequences than a jail sentence:

On Saturday night, not long after darkness had set in, a tragic affair occurred in Maitland Street, Cowcaddens. Three young men, named James Monaghan, John Coyle, and Simpson M’Intosh, it is said visited the public-house of James

⁷⁶ *SR*, 21 February 1898.

⁷⁷ *PGEO*, 18 February 1898.

⁷⁸ Byrne, *Renfrewshire*.

⁷⁹ *PGEO*, 4 March 1898.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *SR*, 24 December 1888.

Maitland at 103 Maitland Street, on the look-out for a friend, when some argument arose over football. Words became fierce and high between the disputants, and it is alleged that Monaghan and Coyle both drew out knives, and said they would fight a duel with them. The noise of the quarrel reached the ears of the landlord, and he put the disorderly... out of the room. It is further testified that on their way out of the shop the duellists attacked each other at the bar, and afterwards outside the premises on the street Monaghan fell senseless. Monaghan had died either in the street or on the way to the Office.⁸²

James Monaghan, twenty-one, was an iron dresser. John Coyle was nineteen, and was a labourer, while Simpson McIntosh's age and occupation are not listed. All three resided in Cowcaddens. The piece does not describe how football dramatically changed the tenor of the conversation, but the occupations of the aggressors help establish that artisans and labourers were amongst the most eager supporters of the game and their favourite clubs.

At other times, there was still an element of calculation to certain aspects of street violence related to the sport. One small group of men faced a very special danger from football partisans: English agents who had come to Scotland to scout and sign players for English clubs. Violence was an assumed risk for agents who ventured north, and their presence was watched suspiciously by the Scottish football press. The staunchly anti-professional *Scottish Sport*, who referred to English agents as 'sneaking parasites', was convinced that they had many friends in the Scottish football establishment, which was flirting openly with professionalism.⁸³ Later that month, the paper incredulously marvelled at the good treatment of English agents from certain clubs, vaguely threatening those who made the trip to Scotland:

Scotland, and more particular Glasgow, is at present "hotching" with English poachers. You meet them everywhere you turn, but more especially at evening matches, where the football fraternity knows to congregate. Their open audacity is only surpassed by the surprising tolerance shown by certain club officials. In some pavilions one would actually think that these spoilers of the flock were welcomed rather than feared, so chummily they are treated. Instead of being kicked out, they are taken in, shaken by the hand, and actually "made of." They are invited into the inner sanctum, and treated with the cordiality of distinguished strangers. Considering the peculiar nature of their office, we should be inclined to mete out a very different kind of treatment... If they follow their questionable avocation, they should be compelled to do so entirely by stealth, and not, as at present, under the sheltering patronage of protecting pavilions.⁸⁴

⁸² *SRSE*, 23 February 1893.

⁸³ *SS*, 9 May 1890.

⁸⁴ *SS*, 27 May 1890.

The *Partick and Maryhill Press* five years later noted that ‘a gentleman from Bury’ arrived in northeast Glasgow that week, ‘not in search of peace like the Mussulman, but in search of junior football players.’ The paper also wondered that: ‘It would be interesting to know who was his guide and adviser.’⁸⁵ Such (not incorrect) paranoia among the game’s amateur proponents, and a desire by local supporters to keep their favourite players, led to occasional violence. One English agent was attacked in July 1889 in the vicinity of Ibrox.⁸⁶ It was another attack on a Bolton agent in Kilmarnock in January 1890, as well as a gleeful account of it from *Scottish Sport*, that truly demonstrated the lengths some anti-professional (and anti-English) football supporters went to keep agents out:

On Monday afternoon, one of the English vultures, hailing from Bolton, paid a flying visit to Kilmarnock to carry off a left wing and a half-back from the young Athletic club. Of course, it was an open secret that the agent would visit the garden to pluck the fruit which has proved so profitable in the English market. Consequently, the local dealers were on the alert, and quietly watched the arrival of a suspicious visitor. They were not long in spotting their man with an ex-pro. (who, by the way, it was rumoured has opened an agency in the district) was seen escorting the stranger to his desired [haven]. Having found his supposed victim, he soon gave him a liberal supply of the favourite ointment, in the shape of drinks and cigars... [and] fish suppers... When train time arrived, he innocently accompanied his captives to the station... on his arrival on the platform, he was astonished to see such a large crowd, but he soon was made aware of the plot by the well-arranged army. In an instant, he was seized by about a dozen excited partisans who gave him such a friendly hugging that he won’t forget in a hurry. Soot bags and mud of all descriptions and perfume were hurled at the unfortunate Saxon, and his poor *felt* assumed a most comical shape. When the express arrived, he rushed into an empty compartment, where he hoped to escape the rough usage of his assailants, but matters got worse as the crowd increased, and it was certainly a pitiful and poor sight to see the poor fellow, black as a nigger, scrapping the muddy ingredients from his eyes. All the time his two friends were standing on the platform, enjoying the discomfiture of the gold Saxon, whom they had carefully trapped. If he had arrived in Bolton in the same state as he left Kilmarnock, his friends would fail to recognise him; but there is one thing they will be able to recognise, that English poachers in the future would do well to steer clear of Kilmarnock.⁸⁷

It is possible that parts of this story were exaggerated for dramatic effect, but the outright encouragement of such conduct from the establishment press, with the exception of

⁸⁵ *PMP*, 2 November 1895.

⁸⁶ *SR*, 5 August 1889.

⁸⁷ *SR*, 24 January 1890.

Scottish Umpire, no doubt imparted that such conduct was permissible. Proof that *Scottish Sport* thirsted for attacks against English agents comes in April 1890, when the paper noted an agent from Newcastle visiting Dumbarton. This person was not an agent, however; he was actually an employee of a publishing company. ‘The discovery’, stated *Sport*, ‘was a disappointment to the Vigilance Committee.’⁸⁸ The *Dumbarton Herald* encouraged this shadowy group to do its bidding as well. The Dumbarton Vigilance Committee, the paper stated, ‘are now famous for their promptness of action.’⁸⁹ It was not uncommon for English agents scouting in Dunbartonshire to be harassed and intimidated.⁹⁰

Conclusion

As will be discussed in the next two chapters, the possibility that the press were exaggerating such encounters to stoke the passions of their readership must be taken into account. But the fact that they even appear in the first place is an indication as to the extent not only of the football-related violence that existed, but also the ways in which violence was used to achieve a desired result – for partisans, players, clubs *and* members of the press. In many cases, the action on the pitch aroused great emotions from supporters. In other instances, supporters were more methodical as to how they participated in the game. In no way should any of this be surprising: football, as has been discussed, was still a young game very much in touch with its surroundings. In the case of Greenock Morton and Port Glasgow Athletic, football was set in the context of both civil and ethno-religious competition, creating an atmosphere where crowd activity was as much a part of the game as the game itself. In an era when policing crowds had not yet been perfected, such scenes played themselves out throughout many localities in the west of Scotland.

⁸⁸ *SS*, 1 April 1890.

⁸⁹ *DH*, 13 October 1888.

⁹⁰ Weir, *Boys*, pp. 52-53.

12. THE PRESS AND EARLY SCOTTISH FOOTBALL

The local press treated sport during the 1870s as a niche interest, usually with only a few perfunctory paragraphs on the results of the day, and possibly a few anecdotes on the occurrences within a certain match. But, like any specialty interest, media coverage of codified sport did not come without a certain amount of media savvy on the part of early participants. This interest saw its logical conclusion in the establishment of sporting-only newspapers and magazines. The early practitioners of football in Scotland left very little doubt as to the place of sport within Scottish society, and indeed within the British Empire. With the diffusion of the game into the general population, however, a recalibration was necessary for the game's moral and social focus. Into this void came newspapers, ones which catered to a literate class with disposable income, and which discussed solely the world of recreation. The early sports papers of Scotland, and the local press's belated notice of the growing phenomenon, were the tacit acknowledgement that sport, if not a business itself, was at least popular enough to have surrounded itself with the machinery of a consumer culture.

The particulars

Huggins believes that early British sport newspapers were the initial managers of opinion in the rapidly changing world of early codified sport, 'interpreting and directing the meaning of issues such as professionalism or women's sporting participation in ways which catered to middle-class sensibilities.'¹ Matthew McIntire similarly believes that: 'Newspapers were cultural productions which constructed and articulated the meanings of sport.'² The crucial developments that spurred early sport journalism – aside from the popularity of sport itself – were the 1853 abolition of the advertisement tax, and the 1855 repeal of the stamp duty. This fuelled the birth of so-called 'New Journalism', which McIntire states was 'a fusion of moral conviction and sensationalism', with newspapers broadening their appeal by reporting less on politics and more on gossip and sport, giving rise to sport-only newspapers.³ With the repeal of the duties, papers priced around a penny

¹ Huggins, *Victorians*, p. 142.

² Matthew J. McIntire, "'The news that sells': Sport and the Press in British Society, 1855-1914' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, City University of New York, 2003), pp. iv-v.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 23-27.

or halfpenny were now well within the range of labourers with disposable income.⁴ In Scotland, coinciding with these developments in journalism was the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, which by 1900, ensured that the majority of Scotland's population was literate.⁵ At the same time, while the expansion of railways left local newspapers in England and Wales unprotected from national titles, the distance from London to Scotland's major cities made the major papers' distribution north of the Border impractical, thereby ensuring the survival of a Scottish media tradition.⁶ As was the case with the 'New Journalism', to lure the public, newspapers often embellished the truth. *Scottish Umpire* stated as much in their first issue, referring to two Association football matches taking place in Melbourne, Australia: while assuring that the number is indeed truthful, the figure '10,000' given to the attendance at both matches is held against 'the usual exaggeration of newspaper reporters'.⁷ The *Umpire* subsequently commented that the thousands who attended the late summer 'franchise demonstration' in Glasgow were great in number, even if the numbers were exaggerated in the manner that was often used to describe attendances at football matches.⁸

The *Scottish Athletic Journal* arrived on Friday, 1 September 1882, selling for two pence.⁹ Two years later, the paper had its first competitor in the *Scottish Umpire and Cycling Mercury*, which sold at an even lower price of one pence; the *Journal* would follow suit with its prices in the same year.¹⁰ The *Scottish Referee's* arrival on the sporting scene on Monday, 5 November 1888, raised the stakes of Scottish sports journalism considerably. The *Referee's* price was a halfpenny, and its arrival was preceded a month and a half earlier by the amalgamation of the *Athletic Journal* and the *Umpire* into one publication, *Scottish Sport*, which was twice the size of the *Referee*. The *Referee* opened with a bold mission statement of 'full and impartial publicity', promising:

⁴ McIntire, "The news that sells", p. 29.

⁵ Maver, 'Leisure Time', p. 182.

⁶ David Hutchison, 'The History of the Press', in *The Media in Scotland*, ed. by Neil Blain and David Hutchison (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p. 60-61.

⁷ *SU*, 21 August 1884.

⁸ *SU*, 11 September 1884.

⁹ *SAJ*, 1 September 1882.

¹⁰ *SU*, 21 August 1884; Murray, *Old Firm*, p. 36.

not only to provide a free and unbiased channel for recording the chief wants of the world of recreation... but unprejudiced comment, honest criticism, and the direct countenance of all unfair tactics and rough play...¹¹

The *Referee*'s leader also discussed what it was *really* against: 'unbridled partisanship, unfriendliness, quasi-professionalism, roughness, and in many instances ferocity and mere brute force.' 'Until now', the paper stated:

there is a very grave danger of the manly exercises on which the future physical superiority of the nation depends being banned because of the evils of which they have become associated.¹²

This self-righteous, patriotic vision of amateur sport was a common theme running throughout the local and national publications of the time: that through the purity and values of amateur sport and athletics, Scotland's cultural and physical well-being would stay in mint condition. McIntire states that despite the widespread working-class popularity of sport, by the 1880s British sport newspapers 'remained wedded to the amateur ideal', one notable exception being the *Umpire*.¹³ The *Referee*, initially, decided to 'prosecute' those who failed to live up to these high standards of conduct with a column known as 'the Black List', stating that:

We propose to chronicle from week to week, under the above heading, the names of all players who are guilty of rough or unfair play; and in order to stamp out the tendency to either, we invite the co-operation of referees and others in authority.¹⁴

The column lasted only a number of weeks. Richard Haynes and Raymond Boyle, meanwhile, use the 'critical, almost self-righteous tone' of *Scottish Sport* as an example that through the ages 'the Scottish media have rarely shirked their role as arbiters of how sport in Scotland is meant to be organised and managed.'¹⁵ Despite (or perhaps because of) this empty bluster, however, the paper's readership remained in healthy numbers; from the outset, *Scottish Sport* claimed a readership of 43,000.¹⁶

¹¹ *SR*, 5 November 1888.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ McIntire, "The news that sells", p. v.

¹⁴ *SR*, 5 November 1888.

¹⁵ Richard Haynes and Raymond Boyle, 'Media Sport', in *The Media and Scotland*, ed. by Blain and Hutchison, p. 253.

¹⁶ Huggins, *Victorians*, p. 148; Murray, *Old Firm*, p. 36.

Prior to the advent of sporting newspapers, sport coverage in national broadsheets and the local newspapers of the villages and counties surrounding Glasgow was a scattershot affair. Football, if mentioned at all, was of secondary interest in the 1860s and 1870s. Efforts were not always made to distinguish the different codes of football; and around 1870, a column titled ‘football’ was often one about rugby. There was also disproportionate coverage of other sports in the county newspapers: the major concerns in the sport column involved more traditional recreations such as curling, often under the heading ‘curliana’. When the major weekly sport papers came around, they were centred in Glasgow, and relied on ‘country’ correspondents to provide them with news from outwith the city. *Scottish Umpire*’s, and later *Scottish Sport*’s offices were at 25 Jamaica Street – the offices of Hay, Nisbet & Co. printers – while the *Scottish Referee* had theirs at nearby 67 Hope Street.¹⁷ But as the popularity of football grew, so too did the lengths of the sport columns within the local newspapers. And, as Glasgow’s daily newspapers began to realise the potential in carrying sports news, they would eventually overtake the more specialised weekly and bi-weekly journals that had previously dominated coverage of the scene.¹⁸ The daily *Glasgow Evening News* led the way, having their first late edition containing the evening’s football matches on 27 September 1884. Only 500 of the first issue were sold, but by the end of the season, daily sales had increased to 5,000. By 1920, 400,000 copies were being sold.¹⁹ Local papers in the surrounding areas, mostly weeklies, eventually caught on as well, offering their own unique take on the newly-popular association game.

Within less than a generation, the participant and aficionado of Scottish sport had seen not only the sharp rise in popularity of their activities, but also the growth of a media industry that had developed well beyond a few small columns in the newspaper. If the 1880s were the first decade of considerable growth for football’s print media, by the end of the 1890s the sky was the limit. Technology assisted greatly in helping print journalism react to football’s explosive popularity. In his 1895 memoir, Alexander Sinclair, the managing partner of the *Glasgow Herald*, stated that the initial conveyance of key matches’ results from the football pitch to the newspaper offices took place through the use of carrier pigeons, who flew up-to-the-minute accounts of matches to local telegraph offices, who in

¹⁷ Andrew Aird, *Reminiscences of Editors, Reporters, and Printers During the last Sixty Years* (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, 1890), p. 88; *SFA Annual, 1886-87*.

¹⁸ Murray, *Old Firm*, p. 37.

¹⁹ Robinson, *Queen’s Park*, pp. 434-435.

turn sent the information to the newspapers.²⁰ Several shops in Glasgow paid to have private telegrams sent to their stores in order to post the various results on Monday morning, typically two days after the matches took place.²¹ These cumbersome methods of communication, however, were scuttled entirely with the advent of the telephone, and sport journalism consequently moved from strength to strength. Already by 1889, the *Scottish Referee* was complaining about the lack of a stand for its reporters at the ground of Battlefield, a senior club with immediate competition from the much larger Queen's Park and Third Lanark practically next door.²² Similarly, the *Paisley Daily Express*, in December 1890, sounded more relieved than thrilled that Abercorn FC constructed a house at Underwood Park for the accommodation of journalists. The shed, designed by architect James Donald, was built to hold twenty people – eight at the window, with the remainder sitting behind, as well as a stove. The *Express* believed that the accommodation 'is sure to be heartily appreciated'.²³ By the end of the next decade, however, the need to ask for a press area was no longer applicable. By 1895 Scotland's major clubs had telephones next to their press boxes.²⁴ The *Scottish Referee*'s April 1898 report of the Scotland-England international at Celtic Park included a self-congratulatory account of the 'press operation' in the stand, which included twenty-five telegraph operators using three Wheatstone machines, 120,000 words being telegraphed (or fifty 'ordinary newspaper columns'), telephone wires with 'special loud-speaking instruments' for the Glasgow newspapers, and three racing cyclists provided by the designer of the Eglinton cycle – this despite a 'considerably short of expectations' crowd of 35,000, unheard of in the previous decade.²⁵

The provenance of early sport journalism

Football columnists sought to bolster their opinions of sport by inserting themselves into the action. Columnists, correspondents and writers of letters to the editor very rarely used their real names, instead employing creative aliases in order to disguise their identities. Creating alter egos was a means of inserting one's self into the action anonymously. Each

²⁰ Alexander Sinclair, *Fifty Years of Newspaper Life, 1845-1895: being chiefly a Reminiscences of that Time* (Glasgow: *Glasgow Herald*, 1895), p. 190.

²¹ Robinson, *Queen's Park*, p. 434.

²² *SR*, 30 September 1889.

²³ *PDE*, 12 December 1890.

²⁴ Sinclair, *Newspaper Life*, p. 190.

²⁵ *SR*, 4 April 1898.

of these incognito journalists wrote with an instantly recognisable voice, and would recall circumstances in their columns familiar to their readers from previous weeks. This occurred not only in the national sport journals, but also in the local papers, often creating vivid accounts of the fields, travels, parties, and sometimes home and work lives of the participants whom they covered. Not only were there named correspondents – many of whom had considerable literary pretensions – but there was also an entire network of unnamed contributors who were given deadlines to submit by their respective newspapers. There was typically one unifying voice when dealing with the happenings of the senior clubs. For the *Scottish Referee*, this was an individual known as the ‘Special Commissioner’, an active character who reported from outside the confines of the newspaper offices. Fulfilling a similar function for *Scottish Athletic Journal* were ‘Half-Back’ and ‘Free Critic’. Again, junior football columns were held together by a singular character. For the *Scottish Athletic Journal*, this function was fulfilled by the long-winded and sociable Juvenis. ‘The Mite’ played a similar role in his ‘Our Boys’ column in the *Scottish Referee*, as did the ironically-named ‘Referee’ for *Scottish Sport*, and ‘Sam Weller’ in the *Scottish Umpire*. Country correspondents were sometimes reporters for the local newspapers. An excellent example is the *Scottish Referee*’s Ayrshire reporter ‘Horatio’, who was identified by the *Referee* upon his death in 1898 as Dan W. Gallacher, the editor of the *Kilmarnock Standard*.²⁶ The 1899 *Ayrshire Football Annual and Sports Compendium* was advertised in *St. Marnock* to have a portrait of Gallacher facing its title page.²⁷

Once the west of Scotland’s local papers became more streamlined in their approach, they too had similar characters who edited and moulded the text of the sport columns. Within the affiliated *Partick and Maryhill Press* and *Govan Press*, both ‘Rambler’ and ‘Linesman’ were common characters. Another columnist in the *Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald* was similarly named ‘Rambler’. One of the *Kilmarnock Herald*’s first sportswriters went by the simple name of ‘Jot’. For the ‘Football Chatter’ column of the *Motherwell Times*, which appeared in the 1880s, the author used the name ‘Chatterer’. Others were more imaginative. The *Cumnock Chronicle*, first printed in 1901, had on its books a sports columnist who went by a local place name: ‘Glaisnock’. In the 1880s, the *Paisley Daily Express* similarly had the locally-named ‘St. James’, and a later correspondent of the *Motherwell Times* was named ‘Dalziel’ after the local noble family. The author of

²⁶ *SR*, 9 September 1898.

²⁷ *StM* II (6) (September 1899), p. 107.

‘Football Notes’ in the *Dumbarton Herald*, ‘Saint Crispin’, even had his own catchphrase: ‘There’s nothing like leather.’ The *Greenock Telegraph*’s ‘Dribbler’, author of ‘Football Gossip’, even enjoyed a dialogue with his audience under his assumed name.

Who were these so-called journalists? The tenor, if not always the veracity, of the claims of these correspondents is open for debate, as many had interests beyond telling the truth. An excellent example given by Murray involves ‘Man in the Know’, a series of three contributors who wrote in the *Glasgow Observer* over the course of several decades, all of whom had suspiciously intimate access to the thoughts of Celtic FC.²⁸ But ‘Man in the Know’ is by no means the only representative in this group of journalists. In the *Scottish Referee*’s very first issue, the paper aired the grumblings of several of Cowlairstown’s players, who were angry at their teammate McCartney, who ‘is now convinced that he made a mistake entering into a newspaper correspondence’.²⁹ Early British sport journalists typically were athletes, retired athletes and/or club and association officials, a significant number of whom, at least in England, were educated at private schools.³⁰ Match reports were often written by club secretaries themselves, ones seemingly convinced of their own impartiality.³¹ While this was common in the sport weeklies (especially the *Scottish Athletic Journal*), the practice was especially well-developed with Ayrshire’s local papers, where club secretaries were given considerable latitude to place their spin on events in local football. Examples included ‘Lanemark Reflections’ and ‘Beith Gossip’ in the *Irvine and Fullarton Times* in 1898, and ‘Maybole Notes’ and ‘Dynamite Blasts’ (for Stevenston Thistle) in the 1899 *Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald* (the two papers were affiliated). Sometimes, however, spin was impossible, as it was on the occasion of the 1898 Ayrshire Cup final held at Holm Quarry between Kilmarnock and Galston, with the latter being crushed 9-3. This left the writer of ‘Riverside Ripples’, a member of the Galston club writing in the *Irvine and Fullarton Times*, at a loss for words:

After the result of our efforts in the cup tie against Kilmarnock for the Ayrshire Cup, there is little to do but keep quiet – and very quiet... The best thing we could say... would be to say nothing. And yet we must put it on record in this corner devoted to ‘Riverside Ripples’.³²

²⁸ Murray, *Old Firm*, pp. 50-51, p. 58, p. 70.

²⁹ *SR*, 5 November 1888.

³⁰ Huggins, *Victorians*, pp. 151-152; McIntire, “‘The news that sells’”, pp. 9-10.

³¹ Huggins, *Victorians*, p. 152.

³² *IFT*, 4 March 1898.

The use of aliases no doubt obscured the identities of other player/ journalists, but few others admitted to it, at least during this era. Former players, however, often had active post-retirement careers that were tangentially related to sport. A front page of *Scottish Sport*, used by Murray, shows advertisements for the businesses of ex-Celt Willie Maley and ex-Ranger Tom Vallance.³³ Considerable ink was expended advertising the sporting apparel business of Rangers' founding McNeil brothers, both as advertisements and as pieces of football news, at least once within the same issue.³⁴ A rare example of a journalist discussing his former playing career is Juvenis, who wrote a festive season column regarding his playing career in the junior ranks, as well as the continuing travails of his many acquaintances during his playing career. During the course of this intriguing column, Juvenis stated that during his playing career, he wrote under the name of 'Lilliputian' for a local newspaper while captain of junior club Kelburn, located on Glasgow's South Side.³⁵ With their insider knowledge of what was still a fledgling game, as well as their being privy to inside gossip, players would have been an invaluable source to any newspaper or journal seeking to place a foot inside the sporting arena, and the social circle that surrounded it. Juvenis is an excellent example of the Glasgow sport journalist's desire to connect the worlds of the audience to that of the players, mainly through his appearance in the terraces and at club socials. While Juvenis was certainly interested in football, he was, as stated above, interested in pursuits beyond the game. On one occasion, he was roused by Pollokshields Athletic's female support, making a special point of visiting them during a game against Third Lanark:

The sisters, cousins, &c., of the 'Shields players – than whom it would be more difficult to find among St. Mungo's fair daughters maidens more fair than they – are sure to be present in large numbers to cheer on their friends. I intend to be there. Men: The last sentence has no connection with the foregoing one.³⁶

The press and class

Not all coverage of football and its surrounding scene was celebratory, however. The weekly newspapers' initial middle-class composition made them far more sympathetic to

³³ Murray, *Old Firm*, p. 33.

³⁴ This occurs in *SAJ*, 13 September 1887, with the McNeils' business being both advertised *and* treated as legitimate news.

³⁵ *SAJ*, 3 January 1888.

³⁶ *SAJ*, 2 February 1883.

the plight of Queen's Park, the upholders of the amateur, middle-class order in a game that had become swamped by working-class participation. Appropriately enough, Robinson, the author of Queen's Park's 1920 history, was a newspaper man himself, one of the first athletic editors of the *Evening News*.³⁷ Queen's Park's special position in the minds of the media has been discussed earlier, but the club were certainly not the only ones to benefit from the sympathy of middle-class journalists. To guard against the overthrow of the establishment in one instance, *Scottish Umpire* led a campaign against the miners of Annbank, despite an earlier article in the *Umpire* that was extremely sympathetic to the financial and logistical issues that plagued the Annbank club.³⁸ In October 1884, the 'sons of the mine' had beaten Kilmarnock 4-1 on their home ground, Pebble Park in an Ayrshire Cup tie, but this was apparently not through a 'scientific' display of the game, but 'an exhibition of strength and endurance' on account of the roughness of Annbank's players, not to mention the poor condition of their ground.³⁹ A few weeks afterwards, the *Umpire* included the comments of Ayr supporters that both Kilmarnock and Annbank players were rough, stating definitively that 'Ayr men ... play football'.⁴⁰ This brief preamble was the teaser to the spicy Ayrshire Cup tie between Ayr and Annbank, one which gave the *Umpire* a chance to take a stand against Annbank, with Annbank's Daniel Fitzsimmons kicking Ayr's McDowall repeatedly, breaking two of his ribs in the process.⁴¹ This began a free-for-all at Pebble Park whereby, with Ayr leading 6-1, the Annbank players attacked the referee in the hopes of disrupting the tie. After the referee was surrounded and pushed, the Annbank supporters rushed onto field, attacking Ayr's players and officials, and forcing the beleaguered referee to end the game.⁴² Fitzsimmons was charged in court with assaulting McDowall, an accusation he admitted in a sworn declaration.⁴³ Following all of these incidents, with this one being the most severe, the *Umpire* decided that enough was enough, and circulated news of a petition amongst Ayr supporters to have Pebble Park's owner evict Annbank on account of their rough play.⁴⁴ The class-tinged language of the

³⁷ Robinson, *Queen's Park*, pp. 434-435.

³⁸ *SU*, 11 September 1884.

³⁹ *SU*, 9 October 1884.

⁴⁰ *SU*, 12 November 1884.

⁴¹ *SU*, 26 November 1884.

⁴² *SU*, 12 November 1884.

⁴³ *SU*, 19 November 1884. Weir discusses this incident in 'Morals'. His research mentions the *Scottish Athletic Journal's* take on the incident, which is somewhat more sympathetic to Fitzsimmons.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Umpire was therefore used to paint the Annbank incident as something more sinister than a club breaking the rules.

If newspapers needed to publish opinions that were too controversial, even to put in an anonymous column, an excellent means of doing so was through the correspondence section. After previously criticising the violent treatment given to an English agent spotted near Ibrox, the *Referee* suspiciously saw fit to print a letter from ‘A Spark’ criticising the paper, stating that English agents scouting in Scotland deserved whatever violence came to them, and that it was the duty of the *Referee* and other papers to see that these agents were forewarned about the punishments that awaited them.⁴⁵ Letters were also used to discredit other newspapers. *Scottish Umpire*, before it merged with the *Scottish Athletic Journal*, was a bitter enemy. Sam Weller centrally placed a letter into his column from ‘Black Justice’, slamming Juvenis’s comments on Greenock in an inter-city junior match, while in the next month printing a letter sympathetic to Rangers from ‘Samuel Ricketts’, who criticised the *Scottish Athletic Journal* (written as ‘S_____ A_____ J_____’) for its ‘misleading’ coverage of Rangers.⁴⁶

The accounts of the matches themselves were indicative of the class divide between the average journalist and the audiences whose games they were covering. An example of this divide was the *Scottish Athletic Journal*’s ‘Free Critic’, a man who shared his pseudonym with John James Bentley, a Bolton Wanderers footballer and future president of the Football League credited with revolutionising sport journalism in his columns for the *Athletic News* and other newspapers.⁴⁷ Very few journalists were able to set the scene of the terraces better than Free Critic; yet, in his weekly visitations upon Glasgow’s football matches during the 1887-88 season, there is more than a hint of contempt for those with whom he shared the stands. His description of Thistle supporters on Queen’s Park’s visit to Beechwood Park betrays his disgust for the ‘rabid Bridgetonians’ who had ‘a marvellous command over words which are not to be found in Walker’s dictionary, and chewed filthy tobacco’.⁴⁸ Free Critic engaged in class tourism when attempting to describe the

⁴⁵ *SR*, 5 August 1889, *SR*, 12 August 1889.

⁴⁶ *SU*, 12 November 1884; *SU*, 12 December 1884.

⁴⁷ McIntire, “‘The news that sells’”, pp, 170-174.

⁴⁸ *SAJ*, 8 November 1887.

motivations of the Thistle supporters, and what role the newspapers had in helping them to see the error of their ways:

[Beechwood Park's] patrons are of a rough-and-tumble description. They have all the independence – some writers call it impudence – of the British working man, and they have also an ugly way of conveying their opinions. To revolutionise the behaviour of the average football crowd is one of the aims, I believe, of your excellent paper, but I fancy you will never attain to any appreciable extent the object you have in view... The majority of people... belong to the Bridgeton district; and, as you know, sir, Bridgeton is Radical, and Radical is Bridgeton... The capacity of the Radical spirit to make itself obnoxious was particularly noticeable on Saturday.⁴⁹

Free Critic believes that only he and other members of the Fourth Estate were able to diagnose and correct the issues regarding those at the margins of the crowd.⁵⁰ In the following weeks, the same correspondent made far more insightful observations regarding the psychology of a crushed crowd at Gourlay Park while watching Cowllairs take on Rangers. Yet he still described one of the Cowllairs supporters as having a 'foghorn' voice, linking Cowllairs's players and supporters directly to their neighbourhood's class-occupational status.⁵¹

This was not the case merely in the more heavily-patronised world of senior football. Junior football too saw its supporters dissected contemptuously on the basis of class and occupation. As with Free Critic's example, such critiques of working-class crowds usually came side-by-side with the appearance of supporter unrest, coupled with the shocking conditions that were observed of the more ramshackle parks of the west of Scotland. Such was the case with the Scottish Junior Cup final, originally held at Larkhall, and played between Maryhill and Wishaw Thistle in April 1888. Juvenis, who once discussed playing for 'toney' West End club Cambridge, proceeded to describe the scene at Gasworks Park during a crush and a breakdown of the gates that would eventually see the tie having to be replayed:

The place was filled with people from all parts of the shire, and what a motley crew they were to be sure. Most of them were colliers who chewed filthy tobacco, and expectorated in a beastly fashion. One fellow nearly gave me a shower bath... The people were mostly unruly, and their wild shouts did much to excite the [players], and as a consequence the play was very poor.⁵²

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ *SAJ*, 22 November 1887.

⁵² *SAJ*, 3 January 1888; *SAJ*, 17 April 1888.

Juvenis thus placed responsibility for the tie with the animal-like spectators far more than the police and football authorities who allowed the crush to take place, pointing to the people of Lanarkshire, who patronised the ground more thoroughly than the north Glaswegian supporters of Maryhill.⁵³ When the first replay took place several weeks later, Juvenis made no attempt to attend.⁵⁴

The media's ire did not rest solely with the masses, and could in fact be directed even at a specific locale. Such was the case with Barrhead, whose 'unruly' citizens had raised temperatures at the *Scottish Athletic Journal*, enough that the paper took part in a campaign to demonise its residents. The culmination of this campaign led to residents of Barrhead being implicated in an unthinkable act of animal cruelty. Prior to the incident, Arthurlie had been slated for the hostile reception given to the gentlemanly Kilmarnock Athletic, whose players were apparently being tackled roughly at the insistence of the home crowd.⁵⁵ Arthurlie, however, had very little to do with the deviated flight path of a carrier pigeon, sent from Alexandria to Kilmarnock with the declaration that Kilmarnock Athletic had drawn 1-1 with Vale of Leven in the Scottish Cup. Unfortunately, the pigeon made an error in judgment when touching down accidentally in Barrhead, certainly a hostile territory for news regarding the hated Kilmarnock Athletic, whose supporters awaited the bird's return to Kilmarnock. The paper gave an account of the Barrhead incident which played to the emotions of the audience:

I have heard that the stray pigeon arrived in Barrhead, just about the time the Arthurlie returned from Port Glasgow, with the wonderful intimation: Vale of Leven, 1 goal; Kilmarnock Athletic, 1 goal. Result – strangled on the spot, with imprecations too polite for publication.⁵⁶

While such a story is not necessarily unbelievable, it does seem highly unlikely, given that an impartial correspondent would need to have either been travelling with Arthurlie from Port Glasgow, or stationed in Barrhead when the incident occurred. It certainly does not rule out the prospect that Barrhead's citizens are simply being used for humorous purposes. In either respect, the quote sheds light on how reporters of the period lost credibility when exaggerating a little too much for dramatic effect.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ *SAJ*, 8 May 1888.

⁵⁵ *SAJ*, 5 January 1883.

⁵⁶ *SAJ*, 2 March 1883.

One cannot, however, tar all the print media with the same brush, and differing opinions would occasionally appear within the same publications. Though the paper itself was involved in the smear campaign against Annbank, at the very least the *Scottish Umpire* could claim to have had a pragmatic attitude towards professionalism, being the sole supporters of play-for-pay in the Scottish media of the 1880s. The paper praised William Sudell and Preston North End, for whom a great deal of hostility existed in Glasgow for poaching Scottish talent. The *Umpire* disagreed with this animosity, believing that ‘professionalism of the North End type’ was to be desired, and that the ‘shamateurism’ present in Scottish football was an affront to ‘common honesty’.⁵⁷ On one of North End’s holiday visits in January 1887, the *Umpire* critically eyed the media scrum which surrounded Sudell when in Glasgow, stating that: ‘Mr. Sudell has evidently become an object of warm interest to the anti-professional ink-slingers, but they could hardly be flattered with their three-seconds interviews. It was the unkindest *cut* of all.’⁵⁸

The other sport weeklies’ puritan stands against professionalism did not mean that they were above condescending to allow advertisements within the confines of their pages, the ultimate acknowledgement of the sport-as-business model. As Murray suggests, advertising kept the prices of these newspapers within the reach of labourers.⁵⁹ The *Scottish Referee* listed advertising rates, with different charges per inch according to position in the newspaper. This ranged from three shillings per inch as the standard going rate for the back pages, rising to six shillings per inch when in closer proximity to the leader. Clubs’ matches were advertised at far lower prices.⁶⁰ Sport equipment and apparel businesses featured front and centre on the pages of the major sport newspapers; and most paradoxically of all, advertisements were included from English clubs seeking good footballers involved in the Scottish game. Advertisements for drugs and supplements which allegedly enhanced performance also appeared, most intriguingly a rubbing cream known as Anti-Stiff, ‘muscular food’ made by D. Wilson, Chemist, Chislehurst, whose front page advertisements in *Scottish Sport* featured celebrity endorsements from cyclists,

⁵⁷ *SU*, 25 January 1887.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Murray, *Old Firm*, p. 39.

⁶⁰ *SR*, 29 November 1895. Clubs also had to pay for advertising open dates on their calendar; senior clubs paid six shillings for the service, while junior clubs paid three shillings.

cricketers, swimmers, and other athletes.⁶¹ In fact, the *Scottish Referee* noted in 1898 with regret how advertisements for products on the pages of sporting papers were eclipsing the chief product, whose adverts (in this case, one for a match between Annbank and Kilwinning Eglinton) tended to be more dull:

The glowing bill, with that horribly monotonous line “Grand Football Match”, has now a sort of lost look about it, and plays a second fiddle to the trifling intonations of ‘Soft Soap’ and ‘Pink Pills’ which are quite the rage here.⁶²

The questionable moral standards that advertising wrought, however, were not to be practised by players and clubs. And, while being unsympathetic to professionalism, the *Scottish Athletic Journal* had time for the South Side’s United Abstainers, who attempted to fund their state-of-the-art new park through advertising revenue:

The United Abstainers’ FC, who have their headquarters in Victoria Road, Glasgow, were hauled into Court recently by the proprietors of their ground for letting the paling round their ground for advertising purposes. The club lost the case, and the advertisements had to come down.

The abstainers, however, are not satisfied at the judgment given, and are taking the matter into a higher Court. Considering that the handsome barricade and everything belonging to the field are the club’s property, and erected by them at their own expense, it does seem hard that they should be denied the right to sub-let whole or part of their holding.⁶³

This particular case acknowledged the newspapers’ sympathies for the clubs to raise capital, while not seeing the hypocrisy in players being allowed the same right. In this case as with others, with advertising raising the stakes considerably, it is appropriate that one of the few identifiable vendettas waged against a club by the early sporting press may have arisen from a dispute over advertising. Throughout the mid-1880s, the *Scottish Athletic Journal* initiated a protracted editorial struggle against Rangers for rough play, ‘covert’ professionalism, and the embezzlement of charity funds in connection with the *Daphne* disaster charity match.⁶⁴ Murray suggests that the real reason lay in Rangers not buying advertising space within the *Journal*.⁶⁵

⁶¹ An excellent example of one of Anti-Stiff’s gaudy front-page adverts is in *SS*, 5 August 1890.

⁶² *SR*, 11 April 1898.

⁶³ *SAJ*, 17 January 1888.

⁶⁴ *SAJ*, 6 October 1885.

⁶⁵ Murray, *Old Firm*, p. 39.

The preoccupations of the sporting press

The footballing press tended to be covetous of their own immortality, and emphasised the ‘traditions’ of the sport in an attempt to justify their concerns regarding its physical and moral upkeep. Football, as they saw it, was the emblem of not only athletic, but patriotic prowess. Being mindful of the skills needed to craft a compelling article, journalists were not above creating a fictive history of the sport’s imperial qualities, as the *Scottish Umpire* attempted to do by quoting a ‘credible’ article from the *Glasgow News*:

In very ancient times, long before the Christian era, [football] was played by the Greeks who used as a ball an inflated bladder or skin. When they ceased to play it, they lost their place in the scale of nations, and fell on easy prey to Roman arms. The Romans, in turn, adopted the game, and while they played their armies overran the world, and the whisper of their name held the nations in awe. They ceased to play it, and from the deep forests of Germany the golden-haired Huns and Goths, to whom they had taught it, swept in relentless pride of untrained strength over the Apennines, scattered the enervated legions of weak and luxurious Italy, and thundered at the very gates of Rome. With the decay of football came the decline of the sometime Mistress of the world. Meanwhile, the Britons had learned the Imperial game, and as they grew skilled in it, they grew strong.⁶⁶

But, the concern was not only to recapture the glories of the past, but also to prepare for the future. Thus, journalists, readers, and club and Association officials were always keen to place their particular spin on what they felt the future of football – as it related to the future of Scotland and the rest of the world – held in store. The *Umpire*, in October 1884, printed an article originally included in the *SFA Annual, 1883-84*, one which had a grand prediction of the future.⁶⁷ ‘Ned Duncan’s Dream: or the Great International’ discussed the meeting of the two titans of international football in the year 1901: the Scottish and the Americans, who were to meet in Glasgow after the Americans had disposed of Canada, Australia, and England in successive matches. Such a meeting was possible because a ‘Universal Postage Service’ had made communications across the world far easier than before; and, through this, ‘the great shipping trade of the Clyde ere this was’, global travel had been revolutionised through vessels that moved at ‘100 knots per hour, and no vibration.’⁶⁸ It was not merely trans-continental travel that had moved forward in 1901, however: the attitudes of the sport-going public had also changed, as Parliament had

⁶⁶ Quoted in *SU*, 2 November 1884.

⁶⁷ *SFA Annual, 1883-84*, quoted in *SU*, 29 October 1884.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

granted the consumers' overwhelming wish for betting on sporting events to be banned.⁶⁹ The author then goes on to state the 'coarse language' that had appeared in contemporary football terraces had disappeared altogether, so much so that 'one could now take sweetheart or wife to enjoy themselves'.⁷⁰ In the eyes of this SFA insider, the future of football was to be one of family entertainment on one hand, and physical nourishment on the other, free of all of the distractions which accompanied the game in 1884. And, set in the context of a prosperous and progressive era at the turn of the century, the game of football did indeed look good; Scotland completed their successful, come-from-behind 3-1 win against the United States at 'Bruce Park', Glasgow, sending home the 'vanquished strangers... [who] came in for a round of hearty cheers for their pluck'.⁷¹

However, what would football be like in the distant future, in the year 2000? This was one of the many questions, along with a great deal of early investigative journalism, that were open for discussion in the newspapers' summer issues. Huggins states that the world of literature during this time had met the world of sport head-on, creating a burgeoning sub-genre of sport literature.⁷² In Scotland, this literature often appeared within the sport weeklies. In one *Scottish Umpire* story, Jack, a Queen's Park player, is able to win the heart of Eleanor, and her disapproving father, by gaining a Scotland cap.⁷³ But *Scottish Sport* printed twice weekly, and could not carry enough news on cricket and athletics in football's off-season to fill the contents of the paper. One short story printed in *Sport* in June 1890 was 'An International in the Year 2000 A.D.', by 'Zechariah'. Zechariah gave a far more dynamic and less propagandist account of a future football match than 'Ned Duncan's Dream' did.⁷⁴ The narrator is brought forward to the year 2000 by the Spirit of the Future (continually referred to as 'the S. of F.'), and requests to see a football match of the era. Regretfully, the S. of F. cannot, stating:

You ask an impossibility. Football was declared illegal eighty years ago... and was put down by armed force. The deteriorating effect of the game on the public census was so great that it was necessary for the survival of the race that

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Huggins, *Victorians*, pp. 158-167.

⁷³ Quoted in Keevins and McCarra, *100 Cups*, p. 39.

⁷⁴ *SS*, 13 June 1890.

it should be put down. A match in those days was thought tame unless there was an accompanying riot and slaughter of policemen.⁷⁵

However, the narrator is in luck, as he is allowed to witness an England-Scotland international at 'toeball', 'as played by the cultured descendents of your own day.'⁷⁶ In his attempts to describe the futuristic patterns of architecture and clothing, Zechariah is most fascinated by the presence of women:

The sex, sir, were there in very large numbers; I knew 'em at once by their headpieces... The men – at least I took what I saw to be men – were only visible at intervals. They were planted in sort of harmonic fifths and sixes among the gentle ones, and seemed by their looks to be there on sufferance... They seemed to have taken in exchange for those parts of their attire they had bequeathed to the ladies all that is, at the present day, hideous in woman's dress.... Here the Spirit of the Future undertook to introduce me to the representatives of the Fourth Estate, knowing of course that I would naturally be strongly interested in Futurity's Press... The ladies, who were doing their level best to talk the roof off the place, were, as the attendant Sprite informed me, reporters sending account to their respective papers... Nothing but the female mind could give vent to a description like the following, and which I had the pleasure of listening to as it was spoken into a huge phonograph, or telephone, or something: – 'The crowd at the toeball international to-day was very *recherché*. The *elite* of society were present, as well as a considerable smattering of the *bourgeois*. The weather was charmingly sunny and warm, and in consequence there was a lavish display of the latest things in *costumes* by the ladies present.' I presume that particular lady reporter was representing a fashion paper.⁷⁷

The author's sexual identity crisis does not end with the viewing of the stands and the press. He then goes on to witness the game itself; which is, in fact, not an actual game, but rather an exhibition of the best physical specimens of Scotland and England, as judged by the referee and thirteen ladies:

Toeball is the scientific development of barbarous football. It is a game supposed to give just the requisite amount of exercise for the most perfect and beautiful development of the human frame, and is so constructed as to yield abundant opportunity for a display of the grace and elegance of human movement. These are the true principles of physical science, and on these the game is decided...⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

The narrator goes on to view the game, where the object is mainly to pose for the judges, with players possibly kicking the ball if ‘he was not in the act of posing.’ Jones, the Englishman, is frowned upon for getting mud on his boot (not to mention being cited for rough play for kicking the ball twice in a row), while McStout, the Scottish captain, is taken off the field for injuries sustained for attempting to pose while balancing himself ‘on the head of his walking-stick’, all of which takes place in front of the champagne-sipping referee. ‘I fancied I had had enough of it’, says the narrator, and is consequently sent falling back into his flat in the time of writing.⁷⁹ In its next issue, *Scottish Sport* returned with something more maudlin: ‘Sweet Rothesay Bay – A Clyde Yachting Romance’.⁸⁰

Such a story, no matter its comedic value, encapsulated the unspoken nightmares of those working within the sport as a whole at the time: that the roughness with which football was fast becoming associated would be used to justify the removal of any sort of physical contact from the game. Similarly, Zechariah’s views on the females in the stands implied that any such attempt to fundamentally change football’s nature would be akin to feminising the sport; and, in concert with the gentrification of the sport and the terraces, would rob the working man of one of his sole earthly pleasures. Unlike ‘Ned Duncan’s Dream’, whereby football’s vices were essentially curtailed, Zechariah’s vision was of football not reining-in its nastier habits, and in the end losing far more than merely a sport.

Zechariah’s story laid bare the sexual tension that existed beneath the surface of the Victorian cult of sport; which, although having its origins in the exclusively-male private schools of Britain, found a new home in the male workers’ cultures of the cities and villages. The sporting press only occasionally acknowledged the presence of the opposite sex, and did so either to place romantic affections with or to regard with suspicion, using women as a rhetorical axis of opposition, either as villains or as comic foils. Juvenis was ecstatically in favour of wooing women, as his poetic ode to his favourite devotee of the South-Side Glasgow football scene shows:

Can anybody explain to me the soul of beauty? Now, I know what beauty is in the abstract – particularly female beauty – but the soul of beauty I do not understand, though I have striven my hardest to do so. We read in fictional works of the eye being the window of the soul, but hard-headed practical experience has scarcely led me to believe this. I have searched the speaking eye of a maiden fair – whom all South-Side footballers are raving about – but I have failed to comprehend the soul of beauty, although in mere personal beauty

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ *SS*, 18 July 1890.

the maiden is bountifully blessed. Like unto Adam when he first caught a glimpse of his inamorata Eve, I am smit, but whether the 'smittenness' – pray my little verbal idiosyncrasies – is reciprocal I cannot tell. Were this anything else but a junior football column I would burst into poetry, but I should be plucked by the editor if I did that.⁸¹

A different treatment altogether was meted out to women who went one step further than spectating: playing the game itself. Tranter states that upper and middle-class women were heavily involved in lawn tennis, curling, cycling, croquet, bowls, and golf by the turn of the century, both as players and as patrons, often in mixed sex groups.⁸² Indeed, *Scottish Umpire* in November 1884 expressed dismay that female swimmers were not allowed in the Glasgow Corporation baths' larger pools, stating that the disproportionate number of men swimming in Glasgow was 'a disappointing state of matters'.⁸³ Such attitudes, however, did not extend to football, which remained a reactionary bastion of masculinity. Jessica Macbeth states that much of the opposition towards women footballers in Victorian Scotland was articulated in its most precise terms by the sporting press.⁸⁴ (See Figures 14.11 and 14.12.) The *Umpire* summarised its position while giving a report on a female bullfighter in Spain, stating that such an occurrence had 'the same desire for novelty that originated that monstrosity, the female footballer'.⁸⁵ *Scottish Sport* had a similar concern to that of Zechariah: that women were working their way into football's esteemed press corps, noting the appearance of a female reporter at the Scottish Cup final between Queen's Park and Vale of Leven at Ibrox in February 1890, ultimately dismissing it as an unwanted aberration:

An innovation in the shape of a 'lady reporter' was present in the pavilion. But why did her escort place her beside the window of the dressing-room? It might have inconvenienced the players. It was observed that she had reduced the greater part of her opinion of the game to writing before ever the play began.⁸⁶

The party line between the sporting papers hardly differentiated. While *Scottish Referee*, in May 1895, stated that an exhibition of female footballers in Kilmarnock was 'almost

⁸¹ *SAJ*, 24 August 1886.

⁸² Neil Tranter, 'Women and Sport in Nineteenth Century Scotland', in *Scottish Sport in the Making of the Nation*, ed. by Jarvie and Walker, pp. 27-42.

⁸³ *SU*, 5 November 1884.

⁸⁴ Macbeth, 'Women's Football', pp. 99-105.

⁸⁵ *SU*, 19 November 1884.

⁸⁶ *SS*, 18 February 1890.

certain to get a good reception', its actual account of the match is one of mocking rather than understanding:

On Thursday night last, on Rugby Park, the gay queens of the football arena made their first bow to the Kilmarnock crowd. What it all means I don't know, nor have I drove myself much to enquire. I believe that womanly exercise is quite as necessary as manly exercise, but to be straight I think it is overdoing the business on the part of the fair sex to indulge in the decidedly masculine game of football. I can't say they charmed me much through their airy flights. They, however, pleased the crowd, for they made them laugh; and, of course when people are made laughed they receive value for their money. 'Twas a nice little show full of harmless amusement, and the chief end being served – the coppers coming in plentifully – who could complain? The swells of the town were out, and several dizzy hopeless bafflers, not usually seen at football matches, turned out to honour and adore the ladies. My dear sister inhabitants of the queer globe: my advice would be to you – if you want exercise, take to the skipping-rope and such gentle pastimes. Give the lion his lair, the footballer his field. You are too good, too gentle, too refined for that wild world known to the chaser of the leather.⁸⁷

In its leader three and a half months earlier, the same newspaper had expressed a similar, but altogether more cynical, view on the appearance of the 'New Woman', who had begun entering male spheres of civic and community life, and now had her sights set firmly on sport:

The trail of the 'New Woman' is everywhere, and having made her appearance in nearly every branch of civil life, she has recently been casting about her for fresh fields and pastures anew. County Councils, School Boards, and even mothers' meetings have not set aside the longings of our... sisters for that admiration which seems to be their due by virtue of these incidences of birth. She has struck the cycling fad, but... the New Woman is not yet content. Her soul pines... for still further innovations for what has heretofore been considered the sole preserves of the male biped. Cricket she tried some years ago but not with any pronounced success, and the bat and wicket were soon hung besides the historic fiddle and hoe, and the pretty wielders of the willow retired to the obscurity of the drapery store, or to the limelight of the ballet. Having thus failed to obtain that soulful satisfaction dependent upon existence in the end of this century, it is perhaps no astonishment that the New Woman should thirst for the exhilarating glories of the football arena. Has she not heard of the deeds of derring-do performed by her brothers and cousins and sweethearts when engaged in the chase of the ball? Has she not heard ... the talk of heroes equal to anything that had ever went forth to the face of the dread saracen in the days of old? nay has she not at the occasional time viewed in precincts of the grandstand the sturdy effort of two-and-twenty youths to capture goals for honour...? She has! and... – if it be not too ungallant to say so – with probably an eye to a share of the gate-money, this girl of the period has made a raid on our great winter game. She has come, she has seen, and no doubt [she is] all set to conquer at least the rudiments of the game, and it behoves our aspiring Internationals of the male persuasion to attend to their P's

⁸⁷ *SR*, 3 May 1895; *SR*, 6 May 1895 (quote).

and Q's ere the much-coveted... caps be snatched by the alleged weaker section of the family.⁸⁸

Women, in this instance, were seen as invaders on the football pitch, conspiring not only to participate in male spheres of social and sporting life, but also plotting to receive the ultimate recognition of the male's worth as a footballer: international caps and eventually professional salaries, both of which they were considered ill-equipped to gain by physical means. The article ended with another account of a women's football match, this time in London, one which was noted more for its sartorial novelty than its quality of play, which distinctly underwhelmed the press.⁸⁹ The editor thus concluded his article with the reminder that in football: 'We do not want the New Woman'.⁹⁰ Who 'we' was is a matter for consideration, but one can infer that the *Referee* aligned journalists with the brotherhood of man and the football establishment – and indeed the establishment in general – against the machinations of the opposite sex.

In a column one week later in the *Referee*, the example of the 'New Woman' was used to return the focus to the health and fitness of the nation, singling out one group in particular – students – as letting the side down in the matter of physical health, and criticising them as being even less than women in the field of competition:

Whatever the 'New Woman' may be, the present student is deficient in manliness. His figure – bent, wan, and sickly – may not appeal as one worthy of the 'New Woman's' admiration. The Glasgow student is a book-worm pure and simple. Cram! Cram! Cram! is his god, one and only. As an example to her 'manly rival,' we invite the 'weaker sex' to show him an example by invading the arena he has deserted, putting the weak man to shame by the weaker woman.⁹¹

The press corps may have been changing its attitudes to reflect the needs of its working-class audience, but passages such as this show that there was still an element of the private school games ethic at work amongst these very literate journalists. Any resemblance to the anti-intellectualism of H.H. Almond is not coincidental.

⁸⁸ *SR*, 25 January 1895.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *SR*, 1 February 1895.

Illustration, humour and audience engagement

Lest one think, however, that women and students were the only physically ‘weak’ people mocked by the weekly press, casual apprehension towards other groups could still be seen on the pages of these papers. Issues from the *Scottish Referee*’s first years patronised the working-class with a humour column written by ‘Bauldy’, who wrote his ‘Fitba’ Chats’ in a mock Scots dialect underneath an illustration of the ‘author’ drinking whisky. (See Figure 14.14.) By the end of 1889, the *Referee* ran a similar one-week column of ‘A Day with the Celts’, this time targeted at Celtic supporters, with the author writing, in an exaggerated Irish dialect, of Celtic being the pride of ‘Ould Oirland’ and of attending a match with his surely fictitious friend ‘Tim Murphy’.⁹² Such parodies of the Irish existed in Catholic newspapers as well, and not without internal criticism in the Catholic media.⁹³

But perhaps a more relevant item in early sport newspapers was the inclusion of illustrations and cartoons. Much of the academic discussion of the early visual press has focused on a series of two cartoons which printed within a two-week spell in the *Scottish Referee* in February 1905, drawn by A. Dale. A Rangers player is drawn as Teutonic, while the Celtic player is drawn as an ape-man. These were the only two such drawings of their kind to appear in Scottish *sport* newspapers, but the racist imagery was not without its deeper meaning for Scottish society as a whole. Murray believes these drawings to be one-offs, stating that ‘for a while it looked as though a decided racism was creeping into the *Scottish Referee*... but these cartoons were short lived’.⁹⁴ Bradley, on the other hand, states that such cartoons were proof of the institutional racism that faced Celtic at every corner of its early existence, continuing into later years.⁹⁵ Such cartoons, unfortunately, had precedence. As L. Perry Curtis Jr. documents, the simian Irishman was a common satirical character in the English *Punch* and *Fun* magazines throughout the late nineteenth century, growing more aggressive in his posturing as the tensions over Irish Home Rule

⁹² *SR*, 2 December 1889.

⁹³ Murray, *Old Firm*, p. 87, states that the *Glasgow Observer* was the only paper that made a major feature out of a humour column based on the Irish accent, which was strongly denounced by its main rival, the *Examiner*, as an ‘insulting representation of the Irish’.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁹⁵ Bradley, *Ethnic*, p. 193.

grew tighter.⁹⁶ Colin Kidd describes the post-Enlightenment creation of a Lowland Scottish identity linked to a Teutonic, Pictish ancestry shared with the English, rather than inferior un-evolved Irish and Highlanders.⁹⁷ When Scotland's cities and villages flooded with migrants after the Irish and Highland Famines of the 1840s, the press played a key role in moulding the stereotype of the lazy, indolent Celt.⁹⁸

There is, however, far more to look at than the most extreme examples, many of which have been discussed *ad nauseum*. Illustrations began as something more mundane, and were a recent development in Glasgow's press. Sinclair noted that illustrations in the *Evening Times* were:

rapid sketches of actual incidents and postures of players on the field at matches within an hour's journey, which are embodied in the descriptive report and published the same evening.⁹⁹

While initially including sketches of famous 'celebrity' athletes, cartoons were hard to come by until the arrival of the *Scottish Referee*. Cartoons and etchings had been a part of the sport media landscape in England since the 1870s, with *Punch*, *Fun*, and *Ally Sloper's Half Holiday* finding sport ripe for humorous grist, and with the impracticalities of photography making live action illustrations a necessity in other newspapers.¹⁰⁰ In Scotland, meanwhile, cartoons and illustrations were a prominent feature of Glasgow's own satirical newspaper *The Bailie*. The weekly was partly the brainchild of author Archibald Macmillan, famous as the creator of 'Jeems Kaye', a comically self-important coal baron and politician.¹⁰¹ The long-running 'Men You Know' series introduced local nobility, industrial elites and celebrities. *The Bailie* was quick to notice football's popularity in the 1870s. Not only did he introduce early footballers and officials, but he allowed their likenesses to be drawn and sometimes caricatured in the paper's illustrated

⁹⁶ L. Perry Curtis Jr., *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997).

⁹⁷ Colin Kidd, 'Teutonist Ethnology and Scottish Nationalist Inhibition', *Scottish Historical Review* 74 (197) (April 1995), pp. 45-68.

⁹⁸ Krisztina Fenyó, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance: Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands and the Clearances During the Famine* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), pp. 46-96; John F. McCaffrey, 'Reactions in Scotland to the Irish Famine', in *Scottish Christianity in the Modern World*, ed. by Stewart J. Brown and George Newlands (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), pp. 155-175.

⁹⁹ Sinclair, *Newspaper Life*, pp. 196-197.

¹⁰⁰ Mike Huggins, 'Cartoons and comic periodicals, 1841-1901: a satirical sociology of Victorian sporting life', in *Disreputable Pleasures*, ed. by Huggins and Mangan, pp. 126-150.

¹⁰¹ Maver, *Glasgow*, pp. 177-178.

section. *The Bailie* was responsible for the earliest action drawings of Scottish football, as well as many of the first sketches, courtesy of several artists whose careers had little to do with sport overall. One of these was Alexander Stuart Boyd, who went by the pseudonym 'Twym'. The Glasgow native drew for the satirical *Quiz*, and later from 1888 to 1891 *The Bailie*, before moving on to London.¹⁰² In his 1905 collection of sketches previously drawn, *Glasgow Men and Women, their children and some strangers within their gates*, Boyd stated that while he often drew sporting events, he felt distinctly uncomfortable conveying the movements of the participants, and focused on more ephemeral matters:

I cannot claim to have been [a sport enthusiast], and it may be observed that in this sketch the sports are got over in disgracefully slipshod fashion, while the pencil has been busy with the characteristic individuals in the general crowd of easy-going promenaders...¹⁰³

Some of Boyd's drawings are, in fact, the most vivid interpretations available of football spectators in the late Victorian period. (See Figure 14.8.) There were still many others whose names commonly appear against drawings of sport in *The Bailie*, some of whom later moved on to doing work for the sport papers. This included John Mackay Hamilton, a pantomime periodical publisher who drew both cartoons and sketches of matches.¹⁰⁴ Another, Forrest Niven, who drew the 1886 Scottish Cup final for the *Scottish Athletic Journal*, was a well-known Glasgow artist and actor whose main claim to fame was being the grandfather of actor Dirk Bogarde.¹⁰⁵

Many local newspapers used humour to their advantage when describing the ever-changing world of Scottish football. Poetry and song, written by either supporters or journalists, began to make its way into the ever-increasing sport columns of the west of Scotland's smaller newspapers. In the 5 April 1883 issue of the *Greenock Telegraph*, 'Dribbler' made a request to readers of his fledgling athletics column for poetry: 'Something after the

¹⁰² Mark Bryant, *Dictionary of Twentieth Century British Cartoonists and Caricaturists* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 33-34.

¹⁰³ Alexander Stuart Boyd, *Glasgow Men and Women: their children and some strangers within their gates: a selection from the sketches of Twym* (London: Holder and Stroughton, 1905), p. 129.

¹⁰⁴ Glasgow University Library, *The Glasgow Pantomime Annual, 1894-95* (Glasgow: J.M. Hamilton, 1895) <<http://www.scran.ac.uk/000-000-145-973-C>> [accessed 26 June 2009]. The only collection of Hamilton's newspaper work (in this case, for the *Evening Times*) is John Mackay Hamilton, *Prominent Profiles: being the first 26 of the series of cartoons which commenced in the Evening Times in Sept., 1902* (self-published: Glasgow, 1903).

¹⁰⁵ Clive Fisher, 'Obituaries: Sir Dirk Bogarde', *The Independent*, 10 May 1999. The illustration is in *SAJ*, 16 February 1886. One example of Niven's work as an illustrator is in D. Walker Brown, *Clydeside Litterateurs: Biographical Sketches* (Glasgow: Carter & Pratt, 1897).

“Football’s real, football’s earnest” style’.¹⁰⁶ However, Dribbler received slightly more than he bargained for, as the first printed poem in the column proclaimed the death of Caledonia, a shinty-turned-football club that had recently disappeared from the Greenock scene:

O ‘Caledonia!’ stern and wild,
Excuse this poor poetic child,
Who never will forget thy ‘spree,’
Or thy wild shout of gaiety.
Whoe’er amid thy crowd has played,
Or unto glorious ‘45’ has strayed,
Can for a moment thee forget ?
Can there be one who does regret
That he and you have never met?
If such there be, go mark him well ?
At him no approving spectators yell,
Inspiring hope within his soul
When he attempts to reach the goal.
With loathing let his name be ‘passed,’
And from our thoughts his memory cast;
When he essays the “passing game,”
Despite the merits of his claim,
No ‘Dribbler’ shall record his fame,
But hold him up to scorn and shame;
‘Foul’ is his name, whate’er it be,
And he an ‘out’-cast from society.¹⁰⁷

Dribbler’s rationale for printing this particular poem is unknown. It certainly was not for its literary merits, as he stated mockingly afterwards:

The genius of the would-be poet who was good enough to send me the above is quite *too* apparent. He may yet be a famous man, and I would say to him, as the phrase puts it, ‘Quench not hope; for when hope dies, all dies.’ But don’t go very often to ‘sprees,’ where ‘wild shouts of gaiety’ are indulged in, otherwise your poetic faculties will become too ripe, and people might say in Shakespearean oratory, ‘Hold, hurt him not, for God’s sake; he’s bad.’¹⁰⁸

But the *Greenock Telegraph* was not the only local newspaper to place humour into its sport columns, and the *Kilmarnock Herald* made a regular habit of giving ‘Ready-Made Interviews’ in its sport coverage in the 1890s. (See Figure 14.13.) This particular feature parodied the media industry itself. There were two characters featured in Ready-Made Interviews: the interviewer – whose speech is marked not by words, but by an ellipsis and a question mark – and a representative from one of the local clubs. In response to the

¹⁰⁶ *GT*, 4 April 1883.

¹⁰⁷ *GT*, 19 April 1883.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

uniformity of the questions, the club's imagined representative always gave sufficient answers, while saying very little that was original or insightful. The *Kilmarnock Herald*, therefore, saw the blossoming 1890s sport press approaching banality and market saturation more than a century before tabloids and twenty-four hour sports news channels took these concepts to their extreme.

Conclusion

The early Scottish sport press belatedly rose on the back of a game that had become popular with minimal press attention. In the years after 1880, however, such attention was manifest from not only the largest games featuring the greatest clubs, but also the more mundane entities whose names have long been lost to history. Early sport journalists were not yet aware that football would eventually reach the heady heights of the twenty-first century, but as *Ready-Made Interviews* shows, the press were fully cognizant of their own role in the perpetuation and articulation of the still-young game. In an era before the proliferation of photography, cartoonists and sketch artists were among Scottish football's first image-makers. Humour and literature were similarly used as a more elaborate device of accomplishing what the straight-laced leader columns were attempting to establish, discussing at length the sexual, class and ethno-religious subtexts of the early game in Scotland. There *is* a great deal of bias in these sources, but one should not proceed on the basis that just because there is bias in these sources, that there is *nothing* that can be learned from them. On the contrary, the skewed, middle-class, overwhelmingly Presbyterian perspective given in these newspapers is ideal for studying the fevered climate of early football in the west of Scotland.

13. CONCLUSION

This thesis has discussed the wide range of participation in association football between 1865 and 1902 in the west of Scotland. It has persuasively argued that the sport's potential as both culture touchstone and gate money 'entertainment' quickly divorced the game from its initial high-minded, middle-class trappings. Similarly, despite church organisations' best efforts to use the game as a vehicle for rational recreation, 'church' teams faced little interference (though some criticism) from parish officials when deciding that, indeed, the playing and winning of football was far more important than its use as a moral tool. The game's simplicity and low cost, vis-à-vis the likes of rugby and cricket respectively, allowed the game to spread like wildfire in the west of Scotland's industrial communities. For organised football clubs, however, the lack of capital was a major issue, as clubs needed funds for uniforms, the upkeep of private grounds and entry into Scotland's senior, junior and juvenile leagues. The involvement of local industrial and political elites in the finances of early football clubs was both used as a means to support and foster these clubs, as well as to steer the message of the game back to a moral, recreational one. On this two-way street, however, the footballers themselves were keen to associate with these patrons not only for their financial acumen, but also for the prestige of being linked with local elites. This was especially the case in the Protestant community, where a long Scottish tradition of associational culture impressed a collaborative ethic between classes, and these ties became especially important when rising to the perceived challenges of socialism and Catholic migration. Catholics, excluded from these associative circles, instead turned to figures within their own church for assistance in starting football clubs. Early Scottish football, then, highly resembled the late-nineteenth century west of Scotland workplace as described by Campbell, Duncan and Melling. All of these early associations, however, could not withstand the proliferation and temptation of professional sport. The demands of the supporters of Scotland's larger clubs for victory made professionalism a necessary and eventual evil, and the need to compete with top English clubs' salaries dictated the terms by which this new industry and marketplace would function. From 1865 to 1902, Scottish association football changed from a roughly codified game to a highly specialised trade, one with its own internal politics and divisions of labour.

The game's popularity moved other cultural goalposts as well. This thesis concurs with Huggins, Telfer and Weir regarding the benefits of a convivial club culture amongst middle-class sportsmen. It is equally as important, however, to discuss the positive effects

of this camaraderie on working-class footballers. As the game was initially linked to a male workplace culture, the game's proximity to the public house, especially in the more remote industrial communities of the west of Scotland, is unsurprising, as well as the game's occasional association with scandal. But it is perhaps incorrect to assume the prominence of one recreational activity over the other in the lives of these early footballers, and the singing, acting footballers of the late-nineteenth century furthermore remind modern sport historians that the game was originally part of a much wider popular cultural milieu, one where victory was not the only goal. As much as performance and pub culture may have been a part of early football, the sport may have merely been a part of *them*. And yet, by the 1880s those who paid money to view the game were demanding a bit more from their favourite footballers than mere conviviality. The paradox of football's early popularity was that while supporters had a close relationship with the players on the pitch, the need for these players' remuneration was creating a vibrant but demanding supporter culture that consequently drove players and supporters apart, with this divide being far greater in the larger clubs. This study concurs with Vamplew's view that violence at British sport venues, including those in the west of Scotland, was largely an effort by male, working-class spectators to assert direct, quasi-democratic control over a certain sphere of their lives, one which did not typically exist at the pit or the foundry. Despite the assumed sexism of this highly masculine culture, however, some community football clubs also had devoted female partisans, and this is indicative of Power's view of a communal identity formed between men and women in industrial locales. As this complex supporter culture thrived, the literate press culture which first covered the sport in-depth in the early 1880s sometimes seemed out of touch, covering football, its participants and supporters with a certain amount of class-based animosity. Despite their protestations, however, the mere existence of sport-only newspapers, large sporting columns in the broadsheets and glossy accompanying advertisements confirms McIntire's view that newspapers *were* a part of this changing world of increasingly commercialised leisure, one which profited on the backs of the working-class game. Newspapers strove to provide the best, if not always the most trustworthy, stories to meet the demand of Scotland's football enthusiasts. By the 1890s, the sporting press was itself achieving a self-aware critical mass.

Of course, the academic work to be performed on early Scottish football is far from complete. This thesis is not meant to be an all-embracing account of all football in the west of Scotland, but it nevertheless makes a significant contribution to the historiography on the matter, largely because its starting point does not initiate artificially from the Old Firm. When viewing the entire picture from the ground up, it becomes clear that the

popularity of Rangers and Celtic was far from inevitable; and, rather than being mere torch-bearers for their communities – as Devine believes – their popularity was the result of complex market forces, as well as a certain amount of luck regarding league position throughout the late-1890s. As football was a working-class game, the clubs and football associations of the Victorian period revealed the complexities of the west of Scotland's male work culture, and this thesis takes Guttman's view that male sport such as football was an extension of a sex-specific culture of workplace machismo. While it is possible to see the Old Firm as symptomatic of the ethno-religious divisions present within this culture, it is also unhelpful to use them as a catch-all guide to Scottish football. Despite the results of Bradley's survey, it is unlikely that Scottish footballers in the late-nineteenth century played football merely for its status as a tool of potential division. It is more likely, as Huggins states, that footballers began playing the game because it was enjoyable, a diversion and possible route of escape from a life of back-breaking labour. Just as the game was enjoyable to play, spectators watched the game for its entertainment value, and similarly used it as an emotional release. Political and religious associations may have dictated membership in clubs and the routing interests of supporters, and the extent to which supporters displayed their allegiances, but historians and other academics need to be careful when ascribing the ills of society to the game itself. Despite its surrounding issues, football was and is still just a game; it will always be what players, supporters, officials and journalists make it.

In the longer view, how does this thesis support and critique the previous historiography on early Scottish football, and sport history in general? The amount of information discovered during research justifies further excursions into the smaller local newspapers of the west of Scotland, keeping in mind the strengths and weaknesses of such an approach. This can either serve quantitative ends, as it does with Tranter's research in central Scotland, or qualitative ones, such as Metcalfe's in east Northumberland, with this thesis mostly opting for the latter. Meanwhile, the material within this thesis furthermore supports Vamplew's more quantitative research, much of which takes place within the archives of the SFA and other governing bodies. Similarly, however, there is the need for future research to consolidate archival material from the smaller, less powerful clubs and associations, as this thesis does with Ardrossan Seafield's and the Lanarkshire Junior FA's minute books, and as Vamplew is now doing with the records of the Glasgow Charity Cup Committee. Then there is the more vexed question of the Old Firm. This thesis respectfully disagrees with Murray's tendency to ascribe sectarianism to Scotland's early 'Catholic' football clubs; for, as has been shown, the discriminatory work culture of the

west of Scotland forced Catholic footballers to look elsewhere when seeking civic elites with which to be associated. It was, as Finn states, logical and inevitable that Catholic footballers would seek out influence figures within the Roman Catholic Church. But, as Murray's interpretation of the facts needs more nuance, so too does Bradley's. Not only is Scottish football *not* a direct mirror of Scottish society at the time of writing, but much more research needs to be performed on the game's Victorian origins. Burnett's exasperation regarding sectarianism's perceived importance in the development of Scottish sport is not misplaced, and rather than using the Old Firm as a starting point for further research, historians first need to base their efforts fully on archival and primary source research, rather than cherry-picking from it to meet modern conclusions and assumptions. So much research on the Scottish game's summit has told historians very little about its base, and too much debate on semantics has turned the discussion of it into a shrill cacophony.

This thesis opens with Bairner's quote regarding his belief that Scottish football's story is incomplete without an examination of the game at the local level. When all roads lead solely to Ibrox, Parkhead or Hampden, such an examination is impossible. As such, this thesis heeds Bairner's call for locally-based research, viewing early Scottish football from the ground up. It also displays how this local patriotism interacts with the national and the imperial within the social environment of the Victorian west of Scotland, and how football and its surrounding scene underline a uniquely Scottish identity among its participants. It also places many of these local communities at the centre of the creation of British professional sport: economically, socially and especially culturally. Early Scottish football, on the evidence of this thesis, reflects not only what the middle class believed the beautiful game to be, but also the hopes and aspirations of its working-class participants; not just in Glasgow, but in all of the west of Scotland's communities.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Unpublished archival sources

Ardrossan Seafield Football Club, Minute Book, VLFHC

The Boys' Brigade Glasgow Battalion, First Annual Report, 1885-86, presented at the first annual meeting of the Battalion Council, 27 September 1886, GUL

Kennedy, Sir Alexander J.P., *Dumbarton Football Club: The Early Days*, DL

Lanarkshire Junior Football Association, 1887-1895 Minute Book, SFM

Lanarkshire Junior Football Association, 1895-1906 Minute Book, SFM

Official sources

Scottish Football Association (SFA) Annual, 1876-77 (all located at SFM)

SFA Annual, 1879-80

SFA Annual, 1880-81

SFA Annual, 1882-83

SFA Annual, 1885-86

SFA Annual, 1886-87

SFA Annual, 1887-88

SFA Annual, 1888-89

SFA Annual, 1890-91

SFA Annual, 1891-92

SFA Annual, 1892-93

SFA Annual, 1894-95

SFA Annual, 1895-96

SFA Annual, 1899-00

Newspapers and periodicals (with location)

<i>Airdrie Advertiser</i>	AL
<i>Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald</i>	VLFHC
<i>The Bailie</i>	ML
<i>Bellshill Speaker</i>	MHC
<i>Cumnock Chronicle</i>	BMC
<i>Cumnock Express</i>	BMC
<i>Dalry and Kilbirnie Herald</i>	VLFHC
<i>Dumbarton Herald</i>	DL
<i>Glasgow Herald/ The Herald</i>	ML
<i>Glasgow Observer</i>	ML
<i>Glasgow Sportsman</i>	ML
<i>Govan Press</i>	ML
<i>Greenock Telegraph</i>	ML
<i>The Guardian</i>	
<i>Hamilton Advertiser</i>	HTHL
<i>The Independent</i>	
<i>Irvine Herald</i>	VLFHC

<i>Irvine and Fullarton Times</i>	VLFHC
<i>Johnstone Advertiser</i>	PCL
<i>Kilmarnock Herald</i>	BMC
<i>Kilmarnock Standard</i>	DI
<i>Motherwell Times</i>	MHC
<i>Paisley Daily Express</i>	PCL
<i>Partick and Maryhill Press</i>	ML
<i>Port Glasgow Express and Observer</i>	WL
<i>St. Marnock</i>	BMC
<i>St. Rollox and Springburn Express</i>	ML
<i>The Scotsman</i>	
<i>Scottish Athletic Journal</i>	ML
<i>Scottish Referee</i>	ML
<i>Scottish Sport</i>	ML
<i>Scottish Umpire and Cycling Mercury</i>	ML
<i>Sunday Herald</i>	
<i>Third Lanark Chronicle</i>	ML
<i>Wishaw Press</i>	MHC

Published primary sources

Aird, Andrew, *Reminiscences of Editors, Reporters, and Printers During the last Sixty Years* (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, 1890)

Allan, John, *The Story of the Rangers: Fifty Years of Football, 1873-1923* (Glasgow: The Rangers Football Club Ltd., 1923; Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex: Desert Island Books, 1996)

Ayr Observer ed., *Reminiscences of Auld Ayr* (Ayr: Ayr Observer, 1907)

Boyd, Alexander Stuart, *Glasgow Men and Women: their children and some strangers within their gates: a selection from the sketches of Twym* (London: Holder and Stroughton, 1905)

Brown, D. Walker, *Clydeside Litterateurs: Biographical Sketches* (Glasgow: Carter & Pratt, 1897)

Peter Denny, *Engineer and Shipbuilder, Dumbarton. Born 1852; Died 1917* (Dumbarton: Dumbarton Herald, 1917)

Eyre-Todd, George. *Who's Who in Glasgow in 1909: A biographical dictionary of nearly five hundred living Glasgow citizens and notable citizens who have died since 1st January, 1907* (Glasgow: Gowans & Gray Limited, 1909)

<<http://gdl.cdli.strath.ac.uk/eyrwho/index.html>> [accessed on various dates]

Ferguson, James & James G. Temple, *The Old Vale and its Memories* (self-published, 1927)

Foster, John, *Ayrshire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910)

Hamilton, John Mackay, *Prominent Profiles: being the first 26 of the series of cartoons which commenced in the Evening Times in Sept., 1902* (self-published: Glasgow, 1903)

- Howie, David, *History of the 1st Lanark Rifle Volunteers: list of officers, prize winners, men present at royal reviews, &c* (London: William Mitchell & Co., 1887)
- Jamie, Rev. David, *John Hope: Philanthropist and Reformer* (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, 1900)
- Lamont, Col. William, *Volunteer Memories* (Greenock: James McKelvie and Sons, 1911)
- Low, D.M., *Kelvinside Academy, 1878-1928: Some memories of the first fifty years*, (Glasgow: William Hodge & Co., Ltd., 1928)
- McKay, Archibald, *The History of Kilmarnock* (Kilmarnock: Standard Printing Works, 1909)
- Mackenzie, Robert Jameson, *Almond of Loretto: Being the life and a selection from the letters of Hely Hutchinson Almond* (London: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 1905)
- MacGeorge, Andrew *The Bairds of Gartsherrie: some notice of their origin and history*, (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 1875)
- MacLehose, James. *Memoirs and portraits of 100 Glasgow men who have died during the last thirty years, and in their lives did much to make the city what it now is* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1886) <<http://gdl.cdli.strath.ac.uk/mlemen/>> [accessed on various dates]
- Macleod, Donald, *Historic Families, Notable People, and Memorabilia, of the Lennox* (Dumbarton: A. Lawrance, 1891)
- Maley, Willie, *The Story of the Celtic, 1888,1938: A Jubilee History* (Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex: Desert Island Books, 1996)
- Muir, James Hamilton, *Glasgow in 1901* (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company, 1901)
- Neill, John, *Records and reminiscences of Bonhill Parish* (Hoddesdon, Hertfordshire: Steven Apps, 1979)
- Orr, Captain James, *History of the Seventh Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers, late 4th ad. Battalion and 29th L.R.V., also, biography of officers past and present* (Glasgow: Robert Anderson, 1884)
- Robinson, Richard, *History of the Queen's Park Football Club, 1867-1917* (Glasgow: Hay, Nisbet & Co., 1920)
- Shankly, Bill, *Shankly* (London: Arthur Baker Limited, 1976)
- 'Third Lanark!' (1936) in *Third Lanark F.C.: A Miscellany*, ed. by P. Woods (Glasgow: Mitchell Library)
- Thomson, John, *Drumpellier Cricket Club, 1850 to 1906* (Airdrie: Baird and Hamilton Printers, 1908)
- Wright, Stewart, *Annals of Blantyre* (Glasgow: Wilson & McCormick, 1885)

Wylie, Alexander of Cordale, *Labour, leisure and luxury: a contribution to present practical political economy* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1884)

Wylie, Alexander of Cordale, *Physical Recreation: An address delivered under the auspices of the Scottish Clerks' Association* (Perth: Cowan & Co. Ltd., 1890)

Published secondary sources (books and essays)

Allan, William A., 'Young footballers', in *The Book of Airdrie: being a composite picture of the life of a Scottish burgh*, ed. by James K. Scobbie (Glasgow: Jackson, 1954) pp. 331-332

Anstruther, Ian, *The Knight and the Umbrella: An Account of the Eglinton Tournament, 1839* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1963)

Arthur, Timothy Shay, *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room, And What I Saw There*, ed. by Donald A. Koch (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1964)

Bairner, Alan, 'Football', in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Grant Jarvie and John Burnett (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), pp. 87-104

Bairner, Alan, 'Football and the Idea of Scotland', in *Scottish Sport in the Making of the Nation: Ninety Minute Patriots?* ed. by Grant Jarvie and Graham Walker (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1994), pp. 9-26

Barral, Charles F., "*To the common weal of the burgh*": *The history of Hamilton Academy since 1452* (Glasgow: Jordanhill College of Education, 1973)

Beaven, Brad, *Leisure, citizenship and working-class men in Britain, 1850-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005)

Beckett, Ian F.W., *The amateur military tradition, 1558-1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991)

Bell, Bert, *Still Seeing Red: A History of Third Lanark A.C.* (Glasgow: Glasgow City Libraries and Archives, 1996)

Bennie, Peter, 'The Wayside club', in *The Book of Airdrie*, ed. by Scobbie, pp. 327-330

Boucicault, Dion, *Plays by Dion Boucicault*, ed. by Peter Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984)

Bradley, Joseph M., *Ethnic and Religious Identity in Modern Scotland: Culture, Politics and Football* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1995)

Brandon, Tommy, *The History of Beith Juniors F.C.* (self-published, 1998)

Brown, Callum G., *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London: Methuen, 1987)

Bryant, Mark, *Dictionary of Twentieth Century British Cartoonists and Caricaturists* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000)

- Burnett, John, 'Cricket', in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Jarvie and Burnett, pp. 54-68
- Burnett, John, *Riot, Revelry and Rout: Sport in Lowland Scotland before 1860* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000)
- Burnett, John, 'Sport in Scotland', in *Scottish Life and Society: A compendium of Scottish ethnology (Volume 9) – The individual and community life*, ed. by John Beech et al (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2006), pp. 226-243
- Burns, Jimmy, *Barça: A People's Passion* (London: Bloomsbury, 1998)
- Butler, Bryon, *The Official Illustrated History of the FA Cup* (London: Headline Book Publishing, 1996)
- Byrne, John, *Abercorn: A History* (Kirkcaldy: Scottish Football Historian, 1985)
- Byrne, John, *A Game of Two Halves: A History of Arthurlie Football Club 1874-1994* (self-published, 1994)
- Byrne, John, *The Renfrewshire FA Cup – First Fifty Years* (Renfrew: Stuart Davidson, 1993)
- Campbell, Alan, *The Lanarkshire miners: a social history of their trade unions* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1979)
- Campbell, Alan, *The Scottish Miners, 1874-1939 – Volume One: Industry, Work and Community* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000)
- Campbell, R.H., *Scotland since 1707: The Rise of an Industrial Society* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985)
- Campbell, Tom and Pat Woods, *The Glory and the Dream: The History of Celtic F.C., 1887-1986* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1986)
- Carmichael, Duncan, *The Official History of Ayr United Football Club – Volume 1: 1876-1939* (Ayr: Ayr United Football & Athletic Club, 1990)
- Chant, Christopher, *The Handbook of British Regiments* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1988)
- Checkland, Olive and Sydney Checkland, *Industry and Ethos: Scotland, 1832-1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989 [2nd edition])
- Cochrane, Jim, *Amongst the Ruffs and Tuffs: The History of Kilwinning Rangers F.C., Vol. 1* (self-published, 1999)
- Collins, Tony and Wray Vamplew, *Mud, Sweat, and Beers: A Cultural History of Sport and Alcohol* (Oxford: Berg, 2002)

- Corrins, Robert D., 'James Baird', in *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography, 1860-1960: Volume 1, the staple industries*, ed. by Anthony Slaven and Sydney Checkland (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), pp. 20-23
- Corrins, Robert D., 'Robert Angus', in *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography, 1860-1960: Volume 1*, ed. by Slaven and Checkland, pp. 17-18
- Cosgrove, Stuart, *Hampden Babylon: Sex and Scandal in Scottish Football* (Canongate, 1991, 2001)
- Crampsey, Bob, *The First 100 Years: The Scottish Football League* (Glasgow: The Scottish Football League, 1990)
- Crampsey, Robert A., *The Game for the Game's Sake: The History of Queen's Park Football Club* (Glasgow: The Queen's Park Football Club Ltd., 1967)
- Crampsey, Robert A., *The Scottish Footballer* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1978)
- Crampsey, Bob, 'Sport and "King Football": Professionalism and "Industrialisation"', in *Changing Identities, Ancient Roots: the history of West Dunbartonshire from earliest times*, ed. by Ian Brown (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), pp. 182-202
- Crick, Michael, *The Boss: The Many Sides of Alex Ferguson* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2002)
- 'Cronberry and Cronberry Eglinton F.C.', in *Scottish Non League Football Histories: Volume 2*, ed. by Stuart Davidson (Renfrew: SNLR [Stuart Davidson], 1991)
- Crump, Jeremy, 'Athletics', in *Sport in Britain: A Social History*, ed. by Tony Mason (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 44-77
- Cunningham, Hugh, *The Volunteer Force: A Social and Political History 1859-1908* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1975)
- Curtis, L. Perry Jr., *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997)
- Davidson, Stuart ed., *A Scottish Football Review of 1877/78* (Paisley: Stuart Davidson, 2002)
- Davidson, Stuart ed., *Scottish Junior Football: The Early Years* (Renfrew: Scottish Non-League Review [Stuart Davidson], 1991, 1998).
- Devine, T.M., *The Scottish Nation, 1700-2007* (London: Penguin Books, 2006)
- Dilke, Margeret S. & A.A. Templeton, *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Dunbarton* (Glasgow: Collins, 1959)
- Donnachie, Ian, *Robert Owen: Owen of New Lanark and New Harmony* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000)
- Duncan, Robert, *The Mineworkers* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2003)

Duncan, Robert, *Steelpolis: The Making of Motherwell, c. 1750-1939* (Motherwell: Motherwell District Council, 1991)

Duncan, Robert, *Wishaw: Life and Labour in a Lanarkshire Industrial Community 1790-1914* (Motherwell: Motherwell District Council, Department of Leisure Services, 1986)

Eastwood District Libraries, *Crum's Land: A History of Thornliebank* (Giffnock: Eastwood District Libraries, 1988)

Faulds, Rev. M. H. and William Tweedie, *The Cherrypickers: Glenbuck Nursery of Footballers* (Muirkirk, Ayrshire: *Muirkirk Advertiser and Douglasdale Gazette*, 1951; Cumnock: Cumnock and Doon Valley District Council, 1981)

Fenyo, Krisztina, *Contempt, Sympathy and Romance: Lowland Perceptions of the Highlands and the Clearances During the Famine* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000)

Ferguson, Ron, *Black Diamonds and the Blue Brazil: A Chronicle of Coal, Cowdenbeath and Football* (Ellon, Aberdeenshire: Northern Books, 1993)

Fergusson, Donald J., *The History of Glasgow University Football Club 1877-1895-1995* (Glasgow: Glasgow University Football Club, 1995)

Finlay, Richard J., 'Urbanisation and Industrialisation: West Dunbartonshire since 1750', in *Changing Identities, Ancient Roots*, ed. by Brown, pp. 67-91

Finn, Gerry P.T., 'Faith, Hope and Bigotry: case studies of anti-Catholic prejudice in Scottish soccer and society', in *Scottish Sport in the Making of the Nation*, ed. by Jarvie and Walker, pp. 91-112

Finn, Gerry P.T., 'In the grip? A psychological and historical exploration of the social significance of freemasonry in Scotland', in *Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestant Popular Culture in Modern Scotland*, ed. by Graham Walker and Tom Gallagher (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp. 160-192

Finn, Gerry P.T., 'Scottish Myopia and Global Prejudices', in *Football Culture: Local Contests, Global Visions*, ed. by Gerry P.T. Finn and Richard Guilianotti (London, Frank Cass, 1999), pp. 54-99

Fishwick, Nicholas, *English Football and Society, 1910-1950* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989)

Forbes, Edward J., 'The colliers of New Monklands – a retrospect', in *The Book of Airdrie*, ed. by Scobbie, pp. 263-271

Fraser, W. Hamish, 'Developments in Leisure', in *People and Society in Scotland: Volume II, 1830-1914*, ed. by W. Hamish Fraser and R.J. Morris (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1995), pp. 236-264

Fraser, W. Hamish and Irene Maver, 'The Social Problems of the City', in *Glasgow – Volume II: 1830 to 1912*, ed. by W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 352-393

- Gallacher, Roddy, 'The Vale of Leven 1914-1975: Changes in Working Class Organisation and Action', in *Capital and Class in Scotland*, ed. by Tony Dickson (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982)
- Geddes, Olive M., 'Golf', in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Jarvie and Burnett, pp. 105-127
- Gillen, Vincent P., *Greenock Morton 1874-1999* (Greenock: McLean Museum & Art Gallery, 1998)
- Giulianotti, Richard, *Football: A Sociology of the Global Game* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999)
- Gray, James T., *Maybole: Carrick's Capital* (Ayr: Alloway, 1972)
- Guttman, Allen, *The Erotic in Sports* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996)
- Hamilton Academy 1588-1950* (Kilmarnock: Standard Printing Works, 1950)
- Hamilton, Rev. William, 'Coatbridge and the Parish of Old Monkland', *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Lanark*, ed. by George Thomson (Glasgow: Collins, 1960), pp. 209-236
- Harvie, Christopher, 'Sport and the Scottish State', in *Scottish Sport in the Making of the Nation*, ed. by Jarvie and Walker, pp. 43-57
- Harvie, Christopher and Peter Jones, *The Road to Home Rule: Images of Scotland's Cause* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2000)
- Hay, Roy, 'Soccer and social control in Scotland, 1873-1978', in *Sport: Money, Morality and the Media*, ed. by Richard Cashman and Michael McKernan (Kensington, New South Wales: New South Wales University Press, 1981), pp. 223-247
- Haynes, Richard and Raymond Boyle, 'Media Sport', in *The Media in Scotland*, ed. by Neil Blain and David Hutchison (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), pp. 253-270
- Holt, Richard, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989)
- Hornby, Hugh, *Uppies and Downies: The extraordinary football games of Britain* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2008)
- Humes, Walter M., 'State: The Governance of Scottish Education, 1872-2000', in *Scottish Life and Society: a compendium of Scottish ethnology (Volume 11) – Institutions of Scotland: Education*, ed. by Heather Holmes (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), pp. 84-105
- Huggins, Mike, 'Cartoons and comic periodicals, 1841-1901: a satirical sociology of Victorian sporting life', in *Disreputable Pleasures: Less Virtuous Victorians at Play*, ed. by Mike Huggins and J.A. Mangan (London: Frank Cass, 2004), pp. 126-150
- Huggins, Mike, *The Victorians and Sport* (London, Hambledon and London, 2004)

- Hughes, Thomas, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, ed. by Andrew Sanders (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989 [1869 text])
- Hutchinson, John, *The Football Industry: The Early Years of the Professional Game* (Glasgow: Richard Drew Publishing, 1982)
- Hutchinson, Roger, *Camanachd! The Story of Shinty* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1989)
- Hutchison, David, 'The History of the Press', in *The Media in Scotland*, ed. by Blain and Hutchison, pp. 55-70
- Hutchison, I.G.C., 'Glasgow working-class politics,' in *The working class in Glasgow, 1750-1914*, ed. by R.A. Cage (London: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 98-141
- Hutchison, I.G.C., *A Political History of Scotland, 1832-1924: Parties, Elections and Issues* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1986)
- 'J.P.M.', 'Newmilns Football Club', in *Historical Aspects of Newmilns*, ed. by Newmilns and Greenholm Community Council (Newmilns, Ayrshire: Newmilns and Greenholm Community Council, 1990), pp. 105-106
- Jarvie, Grant, 'Highland Games', in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Jarvie and Burnett, pp. 128-142
- Johnstone, T., *Motherwell Memories* (Hamilton: Hamilton Advertiser, 1938)
- Jones, Stephen G., *Sport, politics and the working class: Organised sport in interwar Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988)
- Kay, Joyce and Wray Vamplew, 'Horse-Racing', in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Jarvie and Burnett, pp. 159-173
- Keevins, Hugh and Kevin McCarra, *100 Cups: The Story of the Scottish Cup* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1985)
- Kenefick, William, *Red Scotland! The Rise and Fall of the Radical Left, c. 1872 to 1932* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007)
- Kenna, Rudolph and Anthony Mooney, *People's Palaces: Victorian and Edwardian Pubs of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1983)
- Kinchin, Perilla, *Tea and Taste: The Glasgow Tea Rooms 1875-1975* (Wendlebury, Oxon.: White Cockade, 1991)
- King, Elspeth, 'Popular Culture in Glasgow', in *The working class in Glasgow*, ed. by Cage, pp. 142-187
- Knox, W. W., *Industrial nation: work, culture and society in Scotland, 1800-present* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999)
- Laird, Bob, *Images of Sport: Third Lanark Athletic Club* (Stroud, Gloucs.: Tempus, 1999)

- Lee, James F., *The Lady Footballers: Struggling to Play in Victorian Britain* (Abingdon, Oxon.: Routledge, 2008)
- Loudon, James D., 'Summer Ashes', in *The Book of Airdrie*, ed. by Scobbie, pp. 333-336
- Love, Dane, *The History of Auchinleck, Village and Parish* (Cumnock: Carn Publishing, 1991)
- Lupson, Peter, *Thank God for Football!* (London: Azure, 2006)
- Lynch, Michael, *Scotland: A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1991)
- McAllister, Jim, *The Sons of the Rock: The Official History of Dumbarton Football Club* (Dumbarton: Dumbarton Football Club, 2002)
- McAlpine, C. Joan, *The Lady of Claremont House: Isabella Elder, Pioneer and Philanthropist* (Glendaruel, Argyll: Argyll Publishing, 1997)
- McCaffrey, John F., 'Reactions in Scotland to the Irish Famine', in *Scottish Christianity in the Modern World*, ed. by Stewart J. Brown and George Newlands (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 2000), pp. 155-175
- McCarra, Kevin, *Scottish Football: A Pictorial History from 1867 to the Present Day* (Glasgow: Third Eye Centre, 1984)
- McCulloch, Charlie, *Ashfield Football & Athletic Club, est. 1886* (self-published, 1986)
- McCulloch, Charlie, *The History of Ashfield F.C., 1886/87-2006/07* (self-published, 2007)
- McGlone, David and Bill McLure, *The Juniors: 100 Years – A Centenary History of Scottish Junior Football* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1987)
- McIlvean, John Gardiner, *The Birth of Football in Burns Country: With a Philosophy of Football, etc.* (self-published, 1978)
- Macintyre, Stuart, *Little Moscows: Communism and Working-class Militancy in Inter-war Britain* (London: Croom Holm, 1980)
- Mackay, James A., *Kilmarnock: a history of the Burgh of Kilmarnock and of Kilmarnock & Loudoun District* (Darvel, Ayrshire: Alloway, 1992)
- MacLennan, Hugh Dan, 'Shinty', in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Jarvie and Burnett, pp. 211-228
- MacLennan, Hugh Dan, 'Shinty and the Celtic Celebration of New Year', *Sport in the Making of Celtic Cultures*, ed. by Grant Jarvie (London: Leicester University Press, 1999), pp. 83-99
- McLeish, Peter, *Hamilton Academical Football Club: A History* (unpublished)
- McLellan, Jack, *Larkhall: Its Historical Development* (Larkhall, Lanarkshire: H. Matthew & Co. Ltd., 1979)

- Macleod, Norman, *The Old Lieutenant and his Son* (London: Charles Burnet & Co., 1891)
- MacPhail, I.M.M., *A short history of Dunbartonshire* (Stevenage: SPA Books, 1984)
- MacPherson, Archie, *Jock Stein: The Definitive Biography* (Newbury, Berks.: Highdown, 2004)
- Macpherson, Rev. Kenneth J., 'The parish of Dalserf', in *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Lanark*, ed. by Thomson, pp. 391-401
- McQuillan, T. Courtney, *The 'Hill—Its People and its Pits: A History of the Village of the Lethanhill/Burnfoothill* (Lugar, Ayrshire: Council and Doon Valley District Council, 1988)
- Malcolm, Pat, 'Leisure and Recreation', in *The History of Clydebank*, ed. by John Hood (Carnforth, Lancs.: Parthenon Publishing, 1988), pp. 51-58
- Maloney, Paul, *Scotland and the music hall, 1850-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003)
- Mangan, J.A., *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian public school: the emergence and consolidation of an educational ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981)
- Mangan, J.A., 'Missionaries to the Middle Classes', in *Education*, ed. by Holmes, pp. 415-434
- Mangan, J.A., 'Catalyst of Change: John Guthrie Kerr and the Adaptation of an Indigenous Scottish Tradition', in *Pleasure, profit, proselytism: British culture and sport at home and abroad, 1700-1914*, ed. by J.A. Mangan (London: Frank Cass, 1988)
- Marwick, R.W., *The Boys from the 'Brig: The Life and Times of Albion Rovers* (Coatbridge: Monklands Library Services Department, 1986)
- Mason, Tony, *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1980)
- Massie, Allan, 'Rugby', in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Jarvie and Burnett, pp. 248-260
- Maver, Irene, *Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000)
- Maver, Irene 'Leisure and Culture: The Nineteenth Century', in *Aberdeen, 1800-2000: A New History*, ed. by W. Hamish Fraser and Clive H. Lee (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), pp. 398-421
- Maver, Irene, 'Leisure Time in Scotland During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', in *The individual and community life*, ed. by Beech et al, pp. 174-203
- Maver, Irene, 'The Social and Associational Life of the Scottish Workplace', in *Scottish Life and Society: A compendium of Scottish ethnology (Volume 7) – The working life of the Scots*, ed. by Mark Mulhern, John Beech and Elaine Thompson (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2008), pp. 500-522

- Melling, Joseph, 'Scottish Industrialists and the Changing Character of Class Relations in the Clyde Region, c. 1880-1918', in *Capital and Class in Scotland*, ed. by Dickson, pp. 61-142
- Merry, Sandra, 'Sport in Hamilton', in *Hamilton 1475-1975*, ed. by William Wallace (Hamilton: Committee, Burgh of Hamilton Quincentenary, 1975), pp. 73-77
- Metcalf, Alan, *Leisure and Recreation in a Victorian Mining Community: The Social Economy of Leisure in North-East England, 1820-1914* (London: Routledge, 2006)
- Moisley, H.A., 'Population', in *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Renfrew and the County of Bute*, ed. by H.A. Moisley et al (Glasgow: Collins, 1962), pp. 105-113
- Moffat, Albert, *Petershill Football & Athletic Club, 1897-1997: A Hundred Years of the Peasy* (self-published, 1997)
- Morgan, Nicholas J., 'Alexander Crum', in *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography, 1860-1960: Volume 1*, p. 347-350
- Muir, Alex, 'The lace industry', in *Historical Aspects of Newmilns*, ed. by Newmilns and Greenholm Community Council, pp. 96-100
- 'Muirkirk Juniors – In Brief', in *Scottish Non League Football Histories: Volume 6*, ed. by Stuart Davidson (self-published, 2002)
- Murray, Bill, *Bhoys, Bears, and Bigotry: The Old Firm in the New Age* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1998)
- Murray, Bill, *Glasgow's Giants: 100 Years of the Old Firm* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1988)
- Murray, Bill, *The Old Firm: Sectarianism, Sport, and Society in Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984, 2000)
- Paterson, Chris, 'Pollok F.C.', in *Scottish Non League Football Histories: Volume 1*, ed. by Stuart Davidson (Renfrew: SNLR [Stuart Davidson], 1990)
- Paterson, Jack, and Bob McPherson with Brian Wright, *Marching On...: 125 Years of the St. Mirren Football Club 1877-2002* (Paisley: The St. Mirren Football Club Limited, 2005)
- Pickering, Michael, 'White Skin, Black Masks: "Nigger" Minstrelsy in Victorian England', in *Music Hall: Style and Performance*, ed. by J.S. Bratton (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1986), pp. 70-91
- Potter, David W., *Willie Maley: The Man Who Made Celtic* (Stroud, Gloucs.: Tempus, 2003)
- Pye, Denis, *Fellowship is Life: The National Clarion Cycling Club, 1895-1995* (Bolton: Clarion Publishing, 1995)
- Rafferty, John, *One Hundred Years of Scottish Football* (London: Pan Books Ltd., 1973)

- Rawlinson, George and Anna Robinson, 'The United Turkey Red strike, December 1911', *Roots of Red Clydeside 1910-1914? Labour Unrest and Industrial Relations in West Scotland*, ed. by William Kenefick and Arthur McIvor (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1996), pp. 186-211
- Reader, W.J., 'Alfred Bernhard Nobel', in *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography, 1860-1960: Volume 1*, ed. by Slaven and Checkland, pp. 279-282
- Reid, Robert, et al, *Partick Thistle Football Club: The Official History 1876-2002* (Harefield, Middlesex: Yore Publications, 2002, 2003)
- Robertson, John D.M., *The Kirkwall Ba': Between the Water and the Wall* (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press, 2005)
- Robson, Gerry, 'No One Likes Us, We Don't Care': *The Myth and Reality of Millwall Fandom* (Oxford: Berg, 2000)
- Ross, David, *Killie: The Official History – 125 Years of Kilmarnock F.C.* (Kilmarnock: Kilmarnock Football Club, 1994)
- Ross, David, *The Roar of the Crowd: following Scottish football down the years* (Glendaruel, Argyll: Argyll Publishing, 2005)
- Russell, Iain and Michael McDermott, 'The Sewing Machine – The Singer Factory', in *The History of Clydebank*, ed. by Hood, pp. 15-22
- Sanders, Richard, *Beastly Fury: The Strange Birth of British Football* (London: Bantam Press, 2009)
- Shaw, J. Berend, *The Glasgow Battalion of the Boys' Brigade, 1883-1983* (Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1983)
- Shaw, James Edward, *Ayrshire 1745-1950: A Social and Industrial History of the County* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1953)
- Sinclair, Alexander, *Fifty Years of Newspaper Life, 1845-1895: being chiefly a Reminiscences of that Time* (Glasgow: Glasgow Herald, 1895)
- Slaven, Anthony, *The development of the west of Scotland, 1750-1960* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975)
- Slaven, Anthony, 'Dr. Peter Denny', in *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography, 1860-1960: Volume 1*, ed. by Slaven and Checkland, pp. 214-217
- Slaven, Anthony, 'James Gilchrist', in *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography, 1860-1960: Volume 1*, ed. by Slaven and Checkland, pp. 218-221
- Slaven, Anthony and Michael S. Moss, 'The Shipbuilders', in *The History of Clydebank*, ed. by Hood, pp. 3-13
- Slaven, Anthony, 'Timber & Furniture', in *Dictionary of Scottish business biography 1860-1960 – Volume 2, processing, distributing, services*, ed. by Anthony Slaven and Sydney Checkland (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990), pp. 109-112

- Sloan, Sir Tennant, 'The Glasgow Academical Club', in *The Glasgow Academy: The First Hundred Years* (Glasgow: Blackie & Son, Ltd., 1946), pp. 160-188
- Smith, David B., 'Curling', in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Jarvie and Burnett, pp. 69-86
- Smout, T.C., *A Century of the Scottish People, 1830-1950* (London: Fontana Press, 1986, 1997)
- Springhall, John (coordinating ed.), Brian Fraser and Michael Hoare, *Sure & Stedfast: A History of the Boys' Brigade, 1883 to 1983* (London: Collins, 1983)
- Strawhorn, John, *750 years of a Scottish school: Ayr Academy, 1233-1983* (Ayr: Alloway Publishing, 1983)
- Strawhorn, John, *The History of Ayr: Royal Burgh and County Town* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989)
- Strawhorn, John, *The History of Irvine: Royal Burgh and New Town* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1985)
- Strawhorn, John, *The New History of Cumnock* (Cumnock: The Town Council of Cumnock, 1966)
- Strawhorn, John and William Boyd, *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: Ayrshire* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1951)
- Swinburne, John, *Motherwell Football Club: A History of the Steelmen 1886-1986* (Motherwell: Motherwell Football and Athletic Club, 1985)
- Taylor, Hugh, "Go, Fame...": *The Story of Kilmarnock Football Club* (Kilmarnock: Kilmarnock Football Club, 1969)
- Taylor, Matthew, *The Association Game: A History of British Football* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2008)
- Telfer, Hamish, 'Ludism, laughter and liquor: homosocial behaviour in late-Victorian Scottish harriers clubs', in *Disreputable Pleasures*, ed. by Huggins and Mangan, pp. 185-203
- Thomson, George, 'Eastern Part of New Monkland Parish', in *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland: The County of Lanark*, ed. by Thomson, pp. 205-208
- Thomson, J.F.T., 'More than a game': *Kilmarnock Rugby Football Club – a centenary history* (Kilmarnock: Smith Brothers, 1973)
- Thomson, Ian, 'Athletics', in *Sport, Scotland and the Scots*, ed. by Jarvie and Burnett, pp. 19-38
- Tranter, N.L., 'Organised sport and the working classes of central Scotland, 1820-1900: the neglected sport of quoiting', in *Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain*, ed. by Richard Holt (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 45-66

Tranter, Neil, *Sport, economy and society in Britain 1750-1914*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

Tranter, Neil, 'Women and Sport in Nineteenth Century Scotland', in *Scottish Sport and the Making of the Nation*, ed. by Jarvie and Walker, pp. 27-42

Vamplew, Wray, *Pay up and play the game: Professional sport in Britain, 1875-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988)

Walker, Graham, 'The Protestant Irish in Scotland', in *Irish Immigrants and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Proceedings of the Scottish Historical Studies Seminar – 1989-90*, ed. by T.M. Devine (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers, 1991), pp. 44-66

Walker, Graham and Tom Gallagher, 'Protestantism and Scottish politics', in *Sermons and Battle Hymns*, ed. by Walker and Gallagher, pp. 86-111

Walker, Graham, "'There's not a team like the Glasgow Rangers': football and religious identity in Scotland", in *Sermons and Battle Hymns*, ed. by Walker and Gallagher, pp. 137-159

Walvin, James, *The People's Game: The History of Football Revised* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1994)

Weir, J., *Ardrossan Burgh Centenary, 1846-1946* (Ardrossan: Arthur Guthrie & Sons, 1946)

Weir, John, *The Boys from Leven's Winding Shore: A History of Vale of Leven Football Club* (self-published, 1997)

Weir, John, 'The clergy and early Scottish football', in *Drink, Religion and Scottish Football: 1873-1900*, ed. by John Weir (Renfrew: Stuart Davidson, 1992)

Weir, John, 'Drink up and play the game', in *Drink, Religion and Scottish Football*, ed. by Weir

Weir, John, *A History of Cowliars Football Club: 1876-1896* (Renfrew: SNLR (Stuart Davidson), 1990)

Weir, John, 'Morals, Status and the Scottish football player', in *Drink, Religion and Scottish Football*, ed. by Weir

White, Brenda M., 'John Lees', in *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography, 1860-1960: Volume 1*, ed. by Slaven and Checkland, pp. 454-456

White, Brenda M., 'Robert Smyth McColl', in *Dictionary of Scottish Business Biography, 1860-1960: Volume 2*, ed. by Slaven and Checkland, pp. 376-377

Wilkie, Jim, *Across the Great Divide* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1984)

Williams, Gareth, 'Rugby Union', in *Sport in Britain*, ed. by Mason, pp. 308-343

Withers, Charles W.J., *Urban Highlanders: Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, 1700-1900* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998)

Wright, John and Ian MacLean, *Circles Under the Clyde: A History of the Glasgow Underground* (Harrow Weald: Capital Transport Publishing, 1997)

Scholarly articles and conference papers

Anderson, Robert, 'Secondary schools and Scottish society in the Nineteenth Century', *Past and Present*, 109 (November 1985), pp. 176-203

Anderson, R.D., 'Sport in the Scottish Universities, 1860-1939', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 4 (1) (1987), pp. 177-188.

Andersson, Torbjörn, 'Immigrant teams in Sweden and the case of Assyriska FF', *Soccer & Society*, 10 (3) (May 2009), pp. 398-417

Atherton, Martin, David Russell and Graham Turner, 'Playing to the flag: a history of deaf football and deaf footballers in Britain', *Sports Historian*, 19 (1) (May 1999), pp. 38-60

Bairner, Alan, 'Memory and the Literary Imagination: Religion, Politics and Football in Robin Jenkins's *The Thistle and the Grail*', *Sport in History*, 29 (2) (June 2009), pp. 171-189

Bilsborough, Peter, 'The commercialisation of sport: Glasgow, 1870-1914', *Momentum*, 9 (2) (1984), pp. 7-13

Bilsborough, Peter, 'School sport for Boys in Glasgow, 1866-1914', *Physical Education Review*, 11 (2) (1988), pp. 97-105

Booth, Douglas, 'Sites of Truth or Metaphors of Power? Refiguring the Archive', *Sport in History*, 26 (1) (April 2006), pp. 91-109

Bradley, Joseph M., 'Football in Scotland: A History of Political and Ethnic Identity', in *International Journal of the History of Sport* 12 (1) (April 1995), pp. 81-95

Bruce, Steve, Review, *Contemporary Sociology*, 25 (4) (July 1996), pp. 551-552

Byrne, James P., 'The Genesis of Whiteface in Nineteenth-Century American Popular Culture', *MELUS*, Vol. 29, No. 3/4 (Pedagogy, Canon, Context: Toward a Redefinition of Ethnic American Literary Studies) (Autumn-Winter 2004), pp. 133-149

Carlson, Douglas W., "'Drinks He to His Own Undoing": Temperance Ideology in the Deep South', *Journal of the Early Republic*, 18 (4) (Winter 1998), pp. 659-691

Collins, Tony, 'Rereading *Tom Brown's Schooldays*' (unpublished conference paper, British Society of Sports History Conference, University of Stirling, 18 July 2009)

Finn, Gerry P.T., 'Racism, Religion and Social Prejudice: Irish Catholic Clubs, Soccer and Scottish Society – I The Historical Roots of Prejudice', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 8 (1) (1991), pp. 70-93

Finn, Gerry P.T., 'Racism, Religion and Social Prejudice: Irish Catholic Clubs, Soccer and Scottish Society – II Social identities and conspiracy theories', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 8 (3) (1991), pp. 370-397

Gregson, Keith and Mike Huggins, 'Sport, music-hall culture and popular song in nineteenth-century England', *Sport in Society* 2 (2) (Summer 1999), pp. 82-102

Guttmann, Allen, 'Sport, Politics and the Engaged Historian', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 38 (3) (July 2003), pp. 363-375

Hay, Roy, 'A Tale of Two Footballs: The Origins of Australian Rules and Association Football Revisited' (unpublished conference paper, British Society of Sports History Conference, University of Stirling, 17 July 2009)

Hill, Jeffrey, 'Sport, History, and the Public: In Search of a Radical Perspective' (Sir Derek Birley Lecture, British Society of Sports History Conference, University of Stirling, 18 July 2009)

Huggins, M. 'The Spread of Association Football in North-East England, 1876-90: The Pattern of Diffusion', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 6 (3) (1989) pp. 299-318

Hutchinson, John, 'Sport, Education and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-century Edinburgh: The Emergence of Modern Forms of Football', *Sport in History*, 28 (4) (December 2008), pp. 547-565

Jackson, Lorna, 'Patriotism or Pleasure? The nineteenth century Volunteer Force as a vehicle for rural working-class male sport', *Sports Historian*, 19 (1) (May 1999), pp. 125-139

Jarvie, G. and I.A. Reed, 'Sport, Nationalism and Culture in Scotland', *Sports Historian*, 19 (1) (May 1999), pp. 97-124

Johnes, Martin, 'Archives, Truths and the Historian at Work: A Reply to Douglas Booth's "Refiguring the Archive"', *Sport in History*, 27 (1) (March 2007), pp. 127-135

Kelly, John, 'Hibernian Football Club: The Forgotten Irish?', *Sport in Society*, 10 (3) (May 2007) pp. 514-536

Kidd, Colin, 'Teutonist Ethnology and Scottish Nationalist Inhibition', *Scottish Historical Review*, 74 (197) (April 1995), pp. 45-68

Korr, Charles P., 'West Ham United Football Club and the beginnings of Professional Football in East London, 1895-1914', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 13 (2 – Special Issue: Workers' Culture) (April 1978), pp. 211-232

Lewis, Robert W., 'The Genesis of Professional Football: Bolton-Blackburn-Darwen, the Centre of Innovation 1878-85', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 14 (1) (April 1997), pp. 21-54

Magoun, Francis P. Jr., 'Scottish Popular Football, 1424-1815', *The American Historical Review*, 37 (1) (October 1931), pp. 1-13

- Maver, Irene, 'Glasgow's public parks and the community, 1850-1914: a case study in Scottish civic interventionism', *Urban History*, 25 (3) (1998), pp. 323-347
- Metcalf, Alan, 'Football in the mining communities of east Northumberland, 1882-1914', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 5 (3) (1988), pp. 269-291
- Phelps, N.A., 'Professional football and local identity in the 'golden age': Portsmouth in the mid-twentieth century', *Urban History*, 32, 3 (2005), pp. 450-480
- Pickering, Michael, 'Eugene Stratton and Early Ragtime in Britain', *Black Music Research Journal*, 20 (2) (European Perspectives on Black Music) (Autumn 2000), pp. 151-180
- Power, Rosemary, "'After the Black Gold": A View of Mining Heritage from Coalfield Areas in Britain', *Folklore*, 119 (2) (2008), pp. 160-181
- Prynn, David, 'The Clarion Clubs, Rambling and the Holiday Associations in Britain since the 1890s', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 11 (2/3 – Special Issue: Conflict and Compromise: Socialists and Socialism in the Twentieth Century) (July 1976), pp. 65-77
- Shiels, Robert S., 'The Fatalities at the Ibrox Disaster of 1902', *Sports Historian* 18 (2) (November 1998), pp. 148-155
- Tolson, John, 'The Thirteenth Earl of Eglinton (1812-1861): A Notable Scottish Sportsman', *Sport in History*, 28 (3) (September 2008), pp. 472-490
- Tranter, N.L., 'The Cappielow Riot and the Composition and Behaviour of Soccer Crowds in Late Victorian Scotland', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 12 (3) (December 1995), pp. 125-140
- Tranter, Neil, 'The Chronology of Organized Sport in Nineteenth-century Scotland: A Regional Study I – Patterns', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 7 (1) (May 1990), pp. 188-203
- Tranter, Neil, 'The Chronology of Organized Sport in Nineteenth-century Scotland: A Regional Study II – Causes', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 7 (2) (September 1990), pp. 365-387
- Tranter, Neil, 'The First Football Club?', *International Journal of the History of Sport* 10 (1) (April 1993), pp. 104-107
- Tranter, N.L., 'The Patronage of Organised Sport in Central Scotland', *Journal of Sport History*, 16 (3) (Winter 1989), pp. 227-247
- Tranter, N. L., 'The Social and Occupational Structure of Organized Sport in Central Scotland during the Nineteenth Century', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 4 (1) (May 1987), pp. 301-314
- Vamplew, Wray, 'Alcohol and the Sportsman: An Anomalous Alliance', *Sport in History*, 25 (3) (December 2005), pp. 390-411
- Vamplew, Wray, 'The Economics of a sports industry: Scottish gate-money football, 1890-1914', *The Economic History Review*, 35 (4) (November 1982), pp. 549-567

Vamplew, Wray, “‘Remembering us year after year’: The Glasgow Charity Cup 1876-1966,’ *Revista de História de Esporte*, 1 (2) (December 2008), pp. 1-27

Vamplew, Wray, ‘Sports crowd disorder in Britain, 1870-1914: Causes and controls’, *Journal of Sport History*, 7 (1) (Spring 1980), pp. 5-20

Walker, Graham, ‘Identity Questions in Contemporary Scotland: Faith, Football and Future Prospects’, *Contemporary British History*, 15 (1) (Spring 2001), pp. 41-60

Unpublished theses

Bilsborough, Peter, ‘The development of sport in Glasgow, 1850-1914’ (M.Litt. thesis, University of Stirling, 1983)

Corrins, R.D., ‘William Baird and Company, Coal and Iron Masters, 1830-1914’, (Ph.D. thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1974)

Docherty, Charles, ‘Migration, Ethnicity, Occupation and Residence in Contrasting West of Scotland Settlements: The Case of the Vale of Leven and Dumbarton, 1861-1891 (Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1988)

Kennedy, David, ‘The Division of Everton Football Club into Hostile Factions: The Development of Professional Football Organisation on Merseyside, 1878-1914’ (Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds, 2003)

Macbeth, Jessica Louise, ‘Women’s Football in Scotland: An Interpretive Analysis (Ph.D. thesis, University of Stirling, 2004)

McIntire, Matthew J., “‘The news that sells’”: Sport and the press in British society, 1855-1914’ (Ph.D. dissertation, City University of New York, 2003)

Telfer, Hamish McDonald, ‘The Origins, Governance and Social Structure of Club Cross Country Running in Scotland, 1885-1914’, (Ph.D. thesis, University of Stirling, 2006)

World Wide Web

BBC News <<http://news.bbc.co.uk>> [accessed at various dates]

Chestnut, Jim, ‘Helensburgh Football Club’, in *Helensburgh Heritage Trust* [<http://www.helensburgh-heritage.co.uk/pdfs/HelensburghFC.pdf>] [accessed 5 June 2008]

Clements, James, ‘Football in Stevenston’, in *Threetowners* <<http://www.threetowners.com/Stevenston/football.htm>> [accessed 1 August 2008]

Clydesite <<http://www.clydesite.co.uk/>> [accessed at various dates]

Crampsey, Robert A., ‘Arnott, Walter (1861–1931)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52815>> [accessed 28 May 2009]

Crampsey, Robert A., 'McColl, Robert Smyth (1876-1959)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)
<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/57466>> [accessed 7 November 2008]

Dumbarton Harp Social Club <<http://www.dumbartonharp.com/>> [accessed 31 July 2008]

East Park Online <<http://www.eastpark.org.uk>> [accessed 11 June 2009]

Fraser, W.H., 'Isabella Elder', in *The Glasgow Story*
<<http://www.theglasgowstory.com/story.php?id=TGSDH13>> [accessed 9 August 2008]

The Glasgow Pantomime Annual, 1894-95 (Glasgow: J.M. Hamilton, 1895), Glasgow University Library <<http://www.scran.ac.uk/000-000-145-973-C>> [accessed 26 June 2009 – password protected]

The Glasgow Story <<http://www.theglasgowstory.com>> [accessed at various dates]

'The Isle of Dogs: Introduction', *Survey of London: volumes 43 and 44: Poplar, Blackwall and Isle of Dogs* (1994), pp. 375-387 <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=46507>> [accessed 23 July 2008]

Kennedy, Niall, *Partick Thistle: The Early Years, 1875-1900 – A work in progress*
<<http://www.ptearlyyears.net>> [accessed on various dates]

'Lodge St. John Whiteinch 683 History', in *Lodge St. John Whiteinch 683*
<<http://www.stjohnwhiteinch.co.uk/1187/index.html>> [accessed 10 August 2008]

Mason, Tony, 'Busby, Sir Matthew (1909-1994)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004)
<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54785>> [accessed 29 June 2007]

Mawer, Bryan, *Sugar Refiners and Sugarbakers Database*
<<http://home.clara.net/mawer/intro.html>> [accessed 5 June 2009]

Millar, Mary S., 'Montgomerie, Archibald William, thirteenth earl of Eglinton and first earl of Winton (1812-1861)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19057>> [accessed 5 November 2008]

'Montgomerie, Archibald, 13th Earl of Eglinton', in *The Peerage*,
<<http://thepeerage.com/p2158.htm>> [accessed 23 June 2009]

Morgan, Kenneth O., 'Hardie, (James) Keir (1856–1915)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2007)
<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33696>> [accessed 12 June 2009]

Moss, Michael S., 'Randolph, Charles (1809–1878)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2008),
<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23115>> [accessed 25 June 2009]

Richards, Eric, 'Sellar, Patrick (1780–1851)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25055>> [accessed 9 August 2008]

Scottish Football Association, Player & Result Finder, Scotland 'A' Squad
 <http://www.scottishfa.co.uk/scotland_fixture_archive.cfm?page=823> [accessed at various dates]

Scottish League Website <<http://www.scottishleague.net/>> [accessed 19 August 2009]

Scottish Mining Website <<http://www.scottishmining.co.uk/249.html>> [accessed at various dates]

Slaven, Anthony 'Pearce, Sir William, first baronet (1833–1888)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004),
 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21692>> [accessed 31 July 2009]

The University of Glasgow Story <<http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/>> [accessed at various dates]

Waller, Philip, 'Shankly, William [Bill]' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40246>> [accessed 6 June 2007]

Personal communication

John Byrne, Historian, Arthurlie FC
 Tony Cowden, Administrator, Greenock Morton FC
 Albert Moffat, President, Petershill FC
 Richard Moss, Chairman, Albion Rovers FC
 David Ross, Webmaster, Scottish League Website
 Scott Struthers, Secretary, Hamilton Academical FC
 Robert Watson, Secretary, Wishaw FC

