MAKING MEN
Rugby and Masculine Identity

Edited by John Nauright and Timothy J. L. Chandler
## Contents

*List of Illustrations and Tables* vii

*Notes on the Contributors* viii

*Acknowledgements* xi

Introduction: Rugby, Manhood and Identity

*Timothy J. L. Chandler and John Nauright* 1

1 The Structuring of Manliness and the Development of Rugby Football at the Public Schools and Oxbridge, 1830–1880

*Timothy J. L. Chandler* 13

2 Rugby, Class, Amateurism and Manliness; The Case of Rugby in Northern England, 1871–1895

*James W. Martens* 32

3 Sport and the Masculine Hegemony of the Modern Nation: Welsh Rugby, Culture and Society, 1890–1914

*David Andrews* 50

4 The Hard Man: Rugby and the Formation of Male Identity in New Zealand

*Jock Phillips* 70

5 Forging a Ruling Race: Rugby and White Masculinity in Colonial Natal, c.1870–1910

*Robert Morrell* 91

6 Colonial Manhood and Imperial Race Virility: British Responses to Post-Boer War Colonial Rugby Tours

*John Nauright* 121

7 Games Field and Battlefield: A Romantic Alliance in Verse and the Creation of Militaristic Masculinity

*J. A. Mangan* 140

---

**Notes**

- The page dimensions are 440.0x665.0
- The text is in English
- The page contains a table of contents
- The table lists various sections, chapters, and contributors
- The content includes references to Rugby, Manhood, Identity, and related topics
- The contributors' names and page numbers are provided for each section
- The text is formatted in a clear and structured manner
- The page layout is consistent and easy to read
8 Football, Class and War: The Rugby Codes in New South Wales, 1907–1918
Murray Phillips 158

Albert Grundlingh 181

John Nauright and David Black 205

11 Sustaining Masculine Hegemony: Rugby and the Nostalgia of Masculinity
John Nauright 227

12 Conclusion
Timothy J. L. Chandler and John Nauright 245

Index 249
List of illustrations and tables

Illustrations

3.1 The Welsh goat ramming New Zealand Prime Minister Seddon 60
3.2 Last ditch Welsh defence against the all-conquering New Zealanders 65
5.1 Rugby-playing schools in Natal 95
5.2 Hilton College football team 100

Tables

8.1 Comparison of NSW RL and NSW RU Gate Receipts (1904–14) 164
8.2 NSW Financial Affairs, Newspaper Coverage and Playing Strength (1914–19) 167
Notes on the Contributors

David L. Andrews is an assistant professor in the Department of Human Movement Sciences and Education at the University of Memphis, Memphis, Tennessee. He has published on a variety of topics related to the status and influence of sport as an aspect of popular culture. He was editor of a special issue of the Sociology of Sports Journal on Michael Jordon in 1996. His most recent published articles have appeared in the Sociology of Sport Journal, Quest, Sport Science Review, and Cultural Studies: A Research Annual. He is currently writing a book which critically deconstructs Michael Jordan’s position within contemporary American culture.

David R. Black is Associate Professor of Political Science at Dalhousie University in Halifax, Nova Scotia. He is the co-author of Rugby and the South African Nation (1998) and author of many articles and book chapters on various topics, including: Australian, Canadian and Swedish (‘middle power’) policies towards southern Africa; the Commonwealth and South Africa; theory and Canadian foreign policy; the political economy of Namibia; and sport, politics and apartheid in South Africa. Recent articles have appeared in the Canadian Journal of Development Studies and Sports History Review.

Timothy J. L. Chandler is an associate professor in the School of Exercise, Leisure and Sport at Kent State University, Kent, Ohio and Visiting Lecturer at De Montfort University, Bedford. He is the author of many book chapters and articles on sport in the English public schools and is co-editor of The Rugby World to be published by Frank Cass in 1999. His articles have appeared in The International Journal of the History of Sport, Canadian Journal of History of Sport and the Journal of Comparative Physical Education and Sport amongst others. The success of Making Men has led to Tim and John Nauright consulting on, and participating in, the BBC Wales television series A Social History of Rugby that airs prior to the 1999 Rugby World Cup. Tim is on the editorial boards of Sports History Review, Football Studies and the Journal of Comparative Physical Education and Sport.

James A. Mangan is the Director of the International Research Centre for Sport, Socialization and Society at Strathclyde University, author and editor of numerous books and articles on sport, culture and society and founder of the Frank Cass journals International Journal of the History of Sport, Culture, Sport, Society and the European Sports History Review, as well as the book series Sport in the Global Society.


Robert Morrell is an associate professor in the Education Department at the University of Natal, Durban. He previously taught at the universities of Transkei and Durban-Westville. He edited White but Poor: Essays on the History of Poor Whites in Southern Africa 1880–1940 (Pretoria: UNISA, 1992) and has published articles on agrarian history in South Africa. Recent articles have focused on schools and the generation of colonial masculinity in Natal that have appeared in journals such as Masculinities and Body and Society. His present interests centre on gender and the history of the Natal Midlands in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

John Nauright is a senior lecturer in sports studies in the Department of Human Movement Studies at the University of Queensland in Australia. He is published widely on the history and sociology of sport and is the author of Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa (1997); co-author of Rugby and the South African Nation (1998) and Socio-Cultural Foundations of Human Movement (1996); editor of Sport, Power and Society in New Zealand (1995) and co-editor of The Rugby World (Frank Cass, 1999). He is the founding editor of Football
Studies, the journal of the Football Studies Group; co-editor of the *Journal of Comparative Physical Education and Sport*; associate editor of *Sporting Traditions*, the journal of the Australian Society for Sports History, and a member of the international editorial boards of *The International Journal of the History of Sport* and *Sport History Review*.

**Jock Phillips** is Chief Historian of the Historical Branch of the New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs. He was formerly a reader in New Zealand and American History at Victoria University of Wellington where he founded the Stout Research Centre for the Study of New Zealand History, Society and Culture. His best-known publication is *A Man’s Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male – A History*, but he has also published several other books on the social and cultural history of New Zealand. He is at present leading the conceptual team for the history exhibitions in the new Museum of New Zealand/Te Papa Tongarewa. He played rugby as a youth, but would now describe himself as a soccer fan, rather than a rugby fan.

**Murray Phillips** is Senior Lecturer in sport studies at the University of South Australia. He is the author of numerous articles and book chapters on the history and sociology of sport with particular emphasis on rugby union and rugby league, and has completed a history of coaching in Australia to be published in 1999. His articles have appeared in *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, *Sport History Review*, *Sporting Traditions*, *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *Journal of Australian Studies* and *Sport Marketing Quarterly* among others. He is reviews editor of *Football Studies* and a member of the editorial board of *Sporting Traditions*. Murray is a former Queensland rugby union representative.
We first discussed the possibility of putting together a book on the history of rugby union football at the North American Society for Sport History conference at Clemson, South Carolina in 1989. At that conference there were several people interested in the project, but due to other commitments, such as PhDs and heavy teaching loads, the idea did not immediately produce results. We reactivated the project at a meeting during the conference of the International Society for Comparative Physical Education and Sport in Houston in 1992. It was there that we decided to focus on the historical links between rugby union and masculinity, drawing on the excellent work of feminist scholars working on gender and sport and the application of that work to the gendering of men through sport, particularly in the work of Michael Messner and Donald Sabo.

Most of the papers were written during 1993 and 1994, prior to the move to professional rugby union in late 1995. The last two chapters and conclusion have been partially revised to deal briefly with post-1994 issues, but we focus more consciously on the impact of professionalization, commercialism and the rise of women’s rugby on traditional rugby cultures, as well as the diffusion of rugby outside the ‘white Empire’ in our companion volume The Rugby World appearing with Frank Cass in 1999. We wish to thank all the authors for their excellent and usually timely work which has made the editing process easier. The authors are based in Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, Scotland and the USA which could have spelled disaster in terms of organization. However, modern technology came to our aid. With the use of the internet, John Nauright and David Black, located in Brisbane, Queensland and Halifax, Nova Scotia respectively, could collaborate on one of the chapters, while the editors were able to communicate daily (or nightly) via E-mail to keep the project ‘on track’.

In the course of putting together a book such as this, numerous debts are incurred. We would like to thank our institutions, the University of Otago and the University of Queensland in John’s case and Kent State University in Tim’s case, and our colleagues at these institutions for their interest and assistance during the course of the project.

Throughout the preparation of the manuscript we have been fortunate to have had the support of editors Norma Marson and David Michael, and
the commitment to the project of the publisher Frank Cass. A big debt goes to Tara Magdalinski of Sunshine Coast University for her work in compiling the index with assistance from John and from John Harms. Additionally, all of the authors would like to express their gratitude to those archivists and librarians who have assisted them in the course of their research for this book.

We would also like to thank the following publishers for allowing us to include revised versions of previously published materials: Penguin for permission to publish a revised version of a chapter by Jock Phillips in his book *A Man's Country* (1987); the *Canadian Journal of History of Sport* for permission to publish a revised version of an article by John Nauright which appeared in Volume 23, Number 2 in December 1992, which forms the basis for Chapter 6; and the *Journal of Sport History* for permission to publish a revised version of an article by David Andrews which appeared in Volume 18, Number 3 in 1991, which forms the basis of Chapter 3.

Finally, we owe a special debt to our long-suffering partners and families (located in various rugby-playing countries around the world!) who have always been supportive, and have never been intrusive in the lengthy process of producing this book. In the hope that they will find the results of our efforts to have warranted such devotion, we fondly dedicated to the book to them.

J.R.N.
Brisbane, Queensland, Australia

T.J.L.C.
Kent, Ohio, USA

November 1995
and September 1998
In the past 25 years, there has been a rapid expansion of literature examining the development of sport and its role in society. While much of this literature has focused on men, we still do not understand the historical relationship between masculinity and sports well enough. North American sport sociologists such as Michael Messner and Donald Sabo, following work by feminist scholars, have begun to place constructions of masculinity at the centre of discussions of sport and power in society. We hope to follow their excellent work through applying concepts from gender studies to the study of sports history. We are all well aware that men have predominated in sports as well as in dominant power structures in society. In the case of sport, and especially in sports history, however, we have not focused enough attention on the effect that gendered identities, created and perpetuated over time, have had on sports, the men and women who play them, the women supporting male partners who play them and, more broadly, on the place and values of sport in society generally. Following David Whitson, we are concerned with ‘how masculinity is constructed in a society and how the particular way of being male that we know as manliness has achieved and maintained its privileged position in Western societies’.

In particular, we are concerned with the process of developing concepts of what it meant to ‘be a man’ in societies heavily influenced by the ideals generated by the Victorian upper and middle classes in England. Their ideals spread far and wide, particularly in the areas where British settlers predominated. For most of the contributors to this collection, the concept of hegemony as developed by Antonio Gramsci and applied to sport by Richard Gruneau, John Hargreaves and others best explains the process of creating and maintaining white, middle-class and male-defined patterns of cultural behaviour and the incumbent ideological underpinnings of these societies.

Hegemony, as we present it, refers to the process whereby power is negotiated and consent won for particular views of the world. The great value of hegemony as an explanatory tool is that it allows for the conceptualizing of resistance and how dominant power groups seek to shape, manipulate or control that resistance through incorporating elements of resistance into the existing hegemonic structures. Examples
of this are in Chapter 10 by Nauright and Black and Chapter 11 by Nauright, which argue that the movements protesting against New Zealand rugby ties with South Africa challenged the white male hegemony in both societies through threatening an almost sacred cultural practice – rugby. While protest groups achieved considerable success – often in spite of the wishes of governments – their achievements in effecting actual social change (in New Zealand at least) were quite short-lived as rugby’s recent rehabilitation in New Zealand shows. In addition, South African rugby is clearly dominated by members of the old white power structures that existed during the apartheid era.

While discussions of the South African case in sport are quite widespread, as indeed are studies of sport, culture and politics in most of the societies we examine, the missing central frame of reference, particularly in the historical literature, has almost always been that sport, politics and power have been and are male-dominated. Usually this is assumed but not discussed in any detailed fashion. Attacks on rugby in South Africa, for example, were assaults on the very essence of white power and privilege. Therefore, we feel it is important to begin with an examination of sport, in this case the sport of Rugby Union, from the position that it has been, and largely remains, an activity controlled by males, played by males, written about by males and utilized by male politicians. On the other hand, it is a sport that denigrates females, is underpinned by female domestic service and child-minding and promotes violence against ‘others’ particularly against females. In any list of gendered activities, rugby and other codes of football must be near the top.

While not all of these issues are dealt with explicitly in this collection, the contributors all acknowledge them as central to an understanding of the cultural role of rugby in the societies of the British Isles and settler empire of the past 150 years. This is not to say that the sport of Rugby Union in and of itself is inherently bad or evil, but an understanding of its cultural manifestations is necessary if we are to appreciate its full role in the societies where it is played as a major sport. The authors of this collection all have Rugby Union in their blood, and most of us have played the game at some level in the past.

In this collection of essays we seek to do four specific things. First, we seek to add to historical analysis of gender in sport by concentrating on rugby football, which historically has been viewed as one of the most masculine and manly of sports – particularly in the British Isles and in areas where British migrants settled in large numbers. Rugby developed as the sport we now recognize as Rugby Union football in conjunction with industrialization, urbanization and the rise of nationalism, all of which have affected the ways in which the game has been interpreted.
Similarly, the codes of Rugby League, American, Australian, Canadian and Gaelic football have also been infused with masculine and nationalist discourses. These other codes of football are, because of limitations of space, only alluded to in this volume but are, we believe, equally worthy of critical historical analysis.

Second, by analysing rugby over time and in different contexts, we seek better understanding of the relationships between sport, power, and what it has meant and currently means to 'be a man' in modern societies. While these essays concentrate predominantly on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many of the developments of these periods are salient today as the concluding three chapters in this volume highlight. Modern technologies such as television and videotape have enabled us to capture past successes to be replayed both nationally and, increasingly, personally. Such technologies have served to reinforce perceptions of common identity, shared historical experiences and shared beliefs about masculine success. One only has to be in England during soccer's World Cup tournament to become intimate with the English victory in 1966; or to be in New Zealand or South Africa at the time of a major rugby tour to view numerous past glories of All Black and Springbok rugby.

The discourses surrounding these past victories promote a sense of men overcoming the odds, pulling together and asserting dominance over an opponent for the greater glory of the nation and its manhood. Such discourses promote a feeling of nostalgia, a cultural 'security-blanket' and reference point that helps tell people who they have been (or at least who someone with the power to assert these discourses says they have been) in the face of insecurities in the present, as Nauright discusses in Chapter 11. Similarly, depictions of British, Australian, Canadian or New Zealand troops fighting in the world wars assert these same qualities which promote historical links with a shared past. This past, however, is largely a masculine one reinforced by manly courage in battle, whether on the sports field or battlefield. How these values appeared and were inculcated in the male population is examined by J. A. Mangan in Chapter 7. The difficulties in asserting these values downward from the elite is brought out in the debates emerging around participation in the First World War in Chapter 8 by Murray Phillips. Given the differences of opinion, it is interesting to note that the legends of the Diggers and the victims of Gallipoli have been turned into a defining element of Australian national identity. Promoting war heroes like sporting heroes has served the purpose of generating a feeling of 'community' among members of the nation, so that when necessary the 'community' of the nation can be called upon to pull together and sacrifice for the sake of some 'national' crisis or other. For men this can involve being prepared to make the supreme sacrifice of life for their 'nation'. 
Manhood ideologies are not immutable constructs, however. Rather, they are adaptations to social environments and reflect the material conditions of life. It is for this reason that we have chosen as our third aim to look at one activity, rugby football, in a variety of settings to assess carefully adaptations to the game. For even though rugby's rules and regulations were standardized in the late nineteenth century and are accepted around the world, the styles of play and the ethos of the game in each of the cultures/societies reviewed maintain a local and diverse character even today. Similarly the meanings attached to the game as played in these locales vary also. Rugby is thus both a local and an international game. It is a nuanced activity, whose differing histories can help to uncover both the sources and the sustenance of those nuances. For example, while rugby remained a largely middle- and upper-class game in England and Scotland, it developed into a mass sport in Wales and New Zealand and a mass sport for white males generally and black males in some regions of South Africa. In addition, Rugby Union remained an elite sport in the north of England and in Australia (especially in New South Wales and Queensland), while the professional game of Rugby League predominated as a mass sport in these areas. As a result of these differing class and national contexts, the values around Rugby Union are not the same in the cases we examine. One caveat should be stated here: this book reflects the state of academic research to the mid-1990s on rugby football and as such, several areas worthy of inclusion are missing. This in no way suggests that we do not consider the study of rugby in France, Argentina, Western Samoa, Fiji, Japan, etc. as not meriting inclusion, but demonstrates both the lack of studies on these countries and the need for such examination to take place.

Finally, this book is also unabashedly about the sport of rugby football and its history. The contributors have tried to offer necessary suitable descriptive detail for the benefit of those unfamiliar with the development of the game in a particular culture or society and we hope that this too will add to our general understanding of the game. Well-regarded general histories which chart the beginnings of the game are readily available, so only a brief word on the general background to the game seems warranted here.

In Britain, the game of football has a long and varied history. It has been known at different times and in various forms as harpastum, campball, and cnappan, and has been played in these various forms from the time of the Roman occupation. A number of these forms of the game survived the rigours of royal rebuke from the reign of Edward III through the period of the Commonwealth to the beginning of Queen Victoria’s reign. Certainly the traditional Shrove Tuesday match seems to have been a
feature of life in many communities around the country well into the nineteenth century. There were two broad categories of the game as played in towns and villages around the country which eventually found their way into the public schools — the dribbling game favoured by Westminster, Charterhouse, Shrewsbury, Eton and Harrow, and the handling game favoured by Rugby, Marlborough and Cheltenham. These schools became the seedbeds of the institutionalized forms of the game because, as the public schools became greater in number, with increasing numbers of students enrolled (many of whom were not local), boys brought countless local variations of the two basic forms of the game to these schools thereby creating an environment where a particular game might grow. Yet despite some unique characteristics, many of which were dependent on location and conditions (for example, a wall at Eton, heavy mud at Harrow or cloisters at Charterhouse), all schools played one of the two broad categories of the game. While the development of a specific set of laws for the game of football, 'as played at Rugby School', saw the beginnings of codification and later the institutionalization of a game with such a lengthy history, such codification facilitated a range of other developments. Central among these were the linkings of rugby football with the concepts of manliness, masculinity and muscular Christianity, and the highlighting of the pedagogical and character-building qualities of the game.

In conjunction with the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the reformed Victorian public schools (with Arnold's Rugby as their model) became the centres for a movement in which the games ethic became a central feature of the ideologies of these institutions. Young boys were sent to these schools to become young gentlemen with the emphasis becoming steadily less on the gentle aspect and more on the manly virtues. Manliness, hardiness and endurance — the products of austere training and testing, with the games field as a major arena of inculcation — became the watchwords of late nineteenth-century public school headmasters and staff. These new watchwords and their supporting rhetoric gradually replaced the favoured earnestness, selflessness and humility of their more Arnoldian predecessors. A range of explanations has been offered for this development and the importance of the games field to its success. These include both the expression of canalized aggression to counteract an otherwise sedentary lifestyle, and the need for an arena to provide a sense of traditional masculinity, which the development of an increasingly urban-industrial society was eroding.

As several of our contributors note, the chief proponents of the late nineteenth-century bourgeois ideal of manliness were evangelical headmasters such as Almond, Thring and Cotton; muscular Christian dons such as Leslie Stephen and E. H. and H. A. Morgan; and, an army
of games-playing housemasters and assistant masters such as Edward Bowen, G. M. Carey and A. C. Taylor. As guardians of an increasingly influential educational system, these men became recognized as ‘opinion leaders’ as their ideology of manliness became diffused as a widely pervasive and almost inescapable feature of both public school and upper-middle-class life. Manliness came to mean a commitment to muscle, and to arduous physical activity. Rugby football was to become the ideal centrepiece of this commitment. As a game, it was touted as promoting the cardinal virtues of unselfishness, fearlessness and self-control. It offered opportunities for struggle and sacrifice, required strength and hardiness, and in the process, it was argued, produced heroes and hearties. Rugby football therefore developed not only a code of rules but a code of conduct and a code of honour – manliness. And as the game developed in the period between mid-century and about 1880, so the concept of manliness was further developed also, becoming an almost ‘ungentle’ manliness rooted in the Darwinian notion of strength through struggle. It was as much the idea of developing superiority to physical suffering as promoting the exhibition of endurance and temper which proponents of the manly virtues saw in rugby football. They made the game compulsory for all boys and pilloried those they felt were shirkers or charlatans where the game was concerned. Shrinking from danger, pain and fatigue was unacceptable. Toughness of muscle and toughness of heart were vital ingredients for the rising generation of national leaders and imperial rulers. Manly might on the football field, it was thought, would translate into fighting the good fight to protect the empire on the battlefield.

As Chandler notes in Chapter 1, by the end of the nineteenth-century the public schools and Oxbridge had come to be regarded as the places where moral manliness was best learned by upper-middle-class young men, and rugby football was the activity through which to promote and leaven this quality of character. It was a quality of character that was to become a prerequisite for admission to the group of imperial warriors of whom Mangan writes. In settings in which this group were masters of others’ environments, manliness came to take on a sacrificial quality. Anthropologists such as Gilmore have noted that ‘manhood ideologies always include a criterion of selfless generosity, even to the point of sacrifice’. To display manliness and be seen to be real men in this context required such imperialists to show the ultimate form of noblesse oblige in demonstrating that they were nurturing their society and its view of manliness. By ‘laying down their lives’ (less for their friends than) for their class, their monarch, their country and their empire, they could indeed fulfil their manly mission and uphold the honour of their caste.

While some were prepared to offer the ultimate sacrifice for Queen,
country and empire abroad, others were adopting a different form of manliness, a different set of values and eventually an independent ‘union’ for the game of rugby in the North of England and later in Australia. They rejected the hegemony of the public school ideology. In his discussion of rugby in northern England, Martens notes that many northern clubs chose to reject the ‘amateur’ ideology of the public school (whose products he describes as ‘an elite class of warrior philosophers’) in favour of a system in which it was possible to pursue rewards beyond those that the joy of playing the game might offer, and certainly beyond those that were required of an imperial ruling class. For the more ‘socially mixed’ memberships of northern clubs, such as Liverpool, Manchester, New Brighton and Sale, rugby football offered working men opportunities for success of a very different hue. Pay for play, leagues and championships were not elements acceptable to the public school men. Villa-Toryism did not include professionalism. Nevertheless, these northern men also thought of themselves as manly. They too saw rugby as offering them opportunities to confront their physicality and display their masculinity. Yet, whereas the upper-middle-class regulators of the game saw rugby football as offering a means of class integration and promoting an ideology of leisure, northern working-class men and their industrialist bosses saw the game as offering other ways of demonstrating their ‘muscle’ and independence from the emerging hegemonic notions of leisure being promoted in the South. Such a view of masculinity reflected their particular environment just as their desire to secede from the Rugby Football Union (RFU) reflected their desire to be masters of that environment. As Murray Phillips shows in Chapter 8, Rugby Union officials were not able to assert control over the game as it spread among the working classes of Sydney and Brisbane either. From 1907, Rugby League was played in Australia and a battle ensued over which code would predominate, a battle eventually won by League.

The environment and the unique qualities that rugby enthusiasts around the world associate with Wales, the Welsh and their national game appear almost God-given. And the connection between Wales, rugby and choral singing is a stereotype that has been articulated, developed and sustained over time to add to these associations. For many, all of these stereotypes come together in the mass singing of ‘Land of My Fathers’ before international rugby matches at Cardiff Arms Park. In looking at the impact of broader social and cultural practices within which rugby was situated from the end of the nineteenth century until 1914, David Andrews in Chapter 3 offers a critical perspective on the effects of the masculinization of national identity in a unique and developing culture – Wales. He argues that organized leisure and sporting practices, of which rugby was the most central, played a significant role both in gendering
Wales as a modern nation-state, and in placing masculinity at the centre of a unified Welsh national identity. As Andrews demonstrates, the Welsh middle class searched for cultural bases in ‘inventing’ a Welsh national identity. Wales had the highest levels of immigration of any country except for the United States in the late nineteenth century, thus generating a perceived need to create an identity which could unite people living there. Rugby, like many other traditional Welsh institutions, was explicitly male and patriarchal. It became a focal point of developing Welsh nationalism. For as the British (and notably the English) looked to capitalize on the developing Welsh economy and, in particular, ‘King Coal’, the Welsh increasingly turned to rugby as a means of expressing nonconformity and a state of difference and uniqueness through a sporting vernacular. The Welsh view of their Britishness is most clearly evidenced in rugby at the international level. When playing in the Home Internationals the Welsh were unique. But in looking beyond the four nations, Welsh rugby internationals immersed themselves within the proud group of warriors dubbed ‘British Lions’. Where Andrews’ contribution is important is in its conceptualizing of the modern nation as a gendered nation which is generated and sustained through cultural activities and expression.

While rugby approached religious status in Wales, it matched and perhaps surpassed that status in the settler societies of New Zealand and South Africa. The history of rugby in these two countries at the farthest reaches of the British Empire developed quite differently, yet these two places have been closely tied together through their competitions against each other in rugby. By 1906, as Nauright shows in Chapter 6, they were thought to be the two best rugby-playing countries in the world. Up until South Africa’s exclusion from international rugby in the mid-1980s, test series between the two were generally thought of as unofficial world championships. In South Africa, rugby became a means of exclusivity whereby white males set themselves apart from women and the majority black population as Morrell and Grundlingh clearly demonstrate in Chapters 5 and 9. In New Zealand, whites emerged victorious in wars to subdue the native Maori population and through the ravages of war and disease and the continuation of white immigration, the Maori became a minority. White New Zealanders were thus able to take a more moralistic stance in granting Maori greater legal rights and were able to incorporate interested Maori into white cultural practices. In South Africa, the opposite held true and whites (divided into English-speaking and Dutch-and later Afrikaans-speaking groups) felt they needed to maintain cultural exclusivity in the face of a massive black majority as Morrell, Grundlingh, and Nauright and Black (Chapter 10) evidence.

The discussion in several of the chapters focuses on rugby in the
formation of identities, particularly national identities in Wales, New Zealand and South Africa where rugby was a central element in the shaping of a middle-class male-dominated hegemony. Here we are concerned with the development of rugby as a part of male-dominated social formations, and in some cases one of the most crucial areas of cultural defining and socialization of males in particular to certain values and ways of seeing and living. Many contributors have been influenced by the concept of ‘invented traditions’ as promoted in the work of Hobsbawm and Ranger and others. We should note Grant Jarvie’s caution, however, in suggesting that traditions are not always ‘invented’ but rather ‘selected’ from a range of pre-existing experiences. Thus, as Andrews shows, promoters of rugby in Wales drew upon the long history of folk football there to generate the historical links between rugby football and Welsh society. This was not an invention, but a selection based on memories of past experiences. Playing rugby for newer immigrants could thus link them to an indigenous past and help them feel a part of an historic Welsh nation. Playing dominant sports has enabled immigrants in many settings to assimilate into the dominant culture and feel a sense of belonging.

For white South Africans, and especially for Afrikaners, rugby’s tradition as a central element of culture indeed had to be invented. Afrikaners largely resisted British imperial culture and ideologies but ironically took rugby and imbued it with their own set of meanings as Grundlingh evidences here and Archer and Boullion have also suggested. Archer and Boullion go so far as to suggest that the rugby scrum was symbolic of the laager, the circular formation that Afrikaners who went on the Great Trek into the interior used to protect themselves against African attack. While such notions can be taken too far, Grundlingh leaves no doubt as to the emergence of an Afrikanerized rugby that emerged alongside Afrikaner nationalist politics and Afrikaner cultural and economic associations formed primarily during the 1930s to challenge British imperial hegemony in South Africa. As Morrell demonstrates, however, we should not forget the strong English roots of South African rugby and its significance in creating a white (and largely male) cultural identity which separated rugby-playing whites from non-rugby-playing blacks in colonial Natal. We are still a long way from adequately discussing differences of experience in rugby between Afrikaner and non-Afrikaner whites, but it is clear that they have come together in their support for the national team – the Springboks. For white men and also for many white women, the Springbok represented white South African power and even defiance of international pressures during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. For ‘Coloureds’ and Africans who played rugby, the Springbok represented white racism and the exclusion of
blacks from rugby. Even in the 1930s, blacks supported foreign teams touring South Africa. It has also been noted in the 1990s that there are invariably more blacks in the English national rugby team than the now ‘non-racially selected’ South African one. What is clear from the chapters dealing with South Africa is that rugby became one of the crucial cultural practices whereby white males asserted their domination over women and over all members of other groups in South African society. Rugby provided a space in racially exclusive schools and clubs where white males could come together apart from the great majority of others in their society.

And what of rugby union in the immediate past, present and future? We begin to link the history of rugby and its masculine culture with more contemporary developments, though we only begin to tell the story here in the final three chapters. Much more needs to be done on the development of Rugby Union in the ‘Five Nations’ of the British Isles and France in the period since the First World War, and particularly in the television age and that of the rugby World Cup. Here we start by at least looking at what has been happening in rugby primarily in South Africa and New Zealand where Rugby Union has not lost its hegemonic position, but has, however, been threatened by defections to Rugby League and by the thorny issues of professionalism and commercialism. The incorporation of the Springboks, All Blacks and Australian Wallabies and attempts to keep players from jumping to Rugby League led to the professionalization of the game and the formation of a southern hemisphere annual Tri-Nations competition. At the same time, the media in New Zealand and South Africa especially have actively promoted a nostalgic identity through the viewing of past rugby glories as central to the ‘national’ experience. While these societies have been in a cycle of rapid social, economic and political transformation, the repeated use of rugby’s past helps to comfort people in their dealings with such changes in the present.

An examination of the links between masculine identity and politics is examined by Nauright and Black in Chapter 10 and to a lesser degree by Grundlingh in Chapter 9. We are nowhere near a clear understanding of how the male-dominated spheres of sport and politics have been mutually reinforcing, perhaps obscured by politicians’ and sports administrators’ repeated political assertion that politics must be kept out of sport. This assertion probably was used most frequently in the attempts to maintain international rugby links between New Zealand and South Africa from the late 1950s onwards. Nauright and Black argue that successes in isolating South African rugby were achieved despite government opposition in New Zealand before 1984 and in spite of rugby officials’
intransigence and the refusal of governments to outlaw tours. In South Africa, rugby struck so close to the core of white male identity that when the 1967 All Black tour of South Africa was called off, prime minister John Vorster reversed his government’s position and allowed Maoris to tour as part of All Black teams. Keeping All Black rugby was obviously more important than maintaining strict racial exclusivity. During the 1981 Springbok tour of New Zealand, many National Party MPs in New Zealand openly associated themselves with rugby as threats to their slim majority emerged on the far right. Many Labour MPs on the other hand openly supported the protest movement which tried to stop or disrupt the tour.

Although protests in New Zealand were initially against apartheid, many women joined in to protest against the overwhelming domination of the rugby culture. One group cleverly called themselves Women Against Rugby or WAR. They withdrew all domestic servicing of rugby for the duration of the tour. Clearly the rugby culture itself and its promotion of masculine and misogynist values were the point of attack for many. For a brief period from 1981 to 1986 it appeared that the hegemonic masculinity of New Zealand society as promoted and nurtured through rugby might collapse.14 This hope was to be short-lived, however, as New Zealand won the inaugural rugby World Cup in 1987 and South Africa was re-admitted to international rugby in 1992 playing their return match against the All Blacks in Johannesburg.

All the essays here attest to the remarkable resilience of rugby and its attendant masculine culture to resist challenges from outside. While the masculine identities promoted have not always been the same or put forth for the same reasons, a pattern of masculine hegemony is clearly recognizable in each society we examine. While we need to be careful in concluding that there is some kind of transhistorical patriarchal domination in these societies, masculine hegemony, usually defined by white males of the middle and upper classes, has existed, albeit in slightly differing forms. Is there something about rugby football that reinforces masculine hegemony? Certainly there is no a priori masculinity built into the game. Women now playing rugby in a number of countries demonstrate that one does not have to ‘be a man’ in order to play rugby well. The social construction of values attributed to the playing of rugby and the participation in the culture surrounding the game have achieved a remarkable degree of uniformity throughout the white rugby-playing world at least. Operated by English public-school and settler-society privately educated men, the sport has provided an opportunity for the conservation of ideals of amateurism, Victorian self-sacrifice and manliness, which, although challenged on many fronts in recent decades, have remained remarkably resilient. We hope that these essays contribute
to a greater understanding of the place of rugby as a male-dominated and male-defined activity in wider male-dominated societies of the British Isles and settler empire of the past 150 or so years.

NOTES

1. For example, see Michael Messner and Donald Sabo (eds), Sport, Men and the Gender Order: Critical Feminist Perspectives (Champaign, 1990); and Michael Messner and Donald Sabo, Sex, Violence and Power in Sports: Rethinking Masculinity (Freedom, CA, 1994).
9. For additional material on rugby and identity in Wales, also see Gareth Williams, 1905 And All That: Essays on Rugby Football, Sport and Welsh Society (Dyfed, 1991).
10. See Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (eds), The Invention of Tradition (Cambridge, 1983).
12. As many studies of baseball and immigrants have shown for the United States.
One way of investigating the growth and acceptance of sport in England in the Victorian period is to assess the degree to which social and cultural support systems both encouraged and stabilized its development. Nationalism, manliness, morality and health were among the major cultural supports underpinning the development of organized sport and, in particular, rugby football. Central to our understanding of the influence of these interrelated support systems is the context in which they directly contacted sport. The public schools and universities played an important part as arenas in which these supports influenced, and were influenced by, the development of sport. As Holt notes, '[a] dramatic enlargement and transformation of private secondary education provides the best way of understanding the peculiar importance attached to the regulation and promotion of sports by Victorian elites. It was public schoolmen who founded ... the Football Association in 1863, [and] the Rugby Union in 1871.' And while it appears to have been cricket and rowing which dominated the sporting life of the public schools and Oxbridge in the early years of the nineteenth century, by mid-century football was emerging as an educational tool. By 1880 one form of football, rugby football, was the dominant activity in promoting the now fully fledged philosophy of morality (the monk) combined with manliness (the beast) which permeated both institutions.

Opinions regarding the importance of manliness to the development and organization of sport are wide-ranging. Manliness has been seen as a euphemism for patriotism and imperialism, as a substitute for morality and as a synonym for health. Mangan, for example, sees manliness as a confused moral concept which embraced divergent notions such as 'success, aggression, and ruthlessness, yet victory within rules, courtesy
in triumph, and compassion for the defeated'. Crosset, by contrast, views manliness as ‘the primary ideological function and catalyst for the organization and growth of early modern sport ... [because it] helped define male sexuality as distinct from female sexuality ... thereby making sport part of a larger ideological battle’. There is somewhat greater concordance of opinion about social functions underlying the development of rugby football. Among these are: facilitating the expression of canalized aggression, providing a traditional sense of masculinity, and promoting a male preserve against the erosion of male hegemony. Nevertheless, there are enough themes common to both rugby football and manliness to suggest that assessing the development of manliness through a careful review of the development of rugby as a codified and organized game can be both useful and enlightening.

The approach taken in this chapter is somewhat restrictive. I have looked only at the Oxbridge colleges and public schools which had a direct impact on the development of rugby football (Holt’s assertion about the transformation of secondary schooling notwithstanding). These institutions were of overwhelming importance to the development of organized sport because they were its institutional seedbeds, and provided a unique environment within which sport could grow. They also provided a place where public morality could be shaped and amended. I have concentrated on sources and materials from these establishments as well as on some of the discussions of the topic in the more influential sporting and educational literature of the time. Of particular interest have been discussions regarding the codification and organization of rugby football as a way of looking at the emergence and deliberate ‘structuring’ of manliness within the confines of the game. Thus rules, style of play and ethos have been critical elements in this analysis. Finally, by viewing 1871 as something of a watershed in the development of the game, I argue that the formation of the Rugby Football Union (RFU) marked the end of a period of almost fifty years of slow but steady change for the game. Likewise, by about 1880 the dominant elements of the concept of manliness had also changed from the serious, self-denying rectitude of the early Victorian period and the moral manliness of the ‘Age of Equipoise’, to the stylized robustness, persevering stoicism and the almost ‘ungentle’ manliness of the late Victorian and Edwardian eras which was typified by the Darwinian notion of ‘strength through struggle’. As Newsome suggests, the emphasis on ‘godliness and good learning’ in the classroom became increasingly an emphasis on manliness and good form on the games field. What began as Christian manliness was transformed through muscular Christianity to become ‘muddied-oafishness’ by the end of the century.
Background
In the first half of the nineteenth century, football was generally played in two different contexts and thus took on two different forms. One was largely a game for children. This was football in its ‘playground’ form in which the ball was used as a missile, and was played almost exclusively with the feet. The other was the free-for-all game generally played by apprentices and other younger adults in the narrow streets and marketplaces of towns and villages in which the ball was essentially used as a quarry. This form of the game, while being less tame, was, despite its long history, also less common. The games found in each of the public schools appear to have been versions of the playground game. They had been developed according to local context and were structured, in large part, according to local conditions and numbers. Individual context thus played a significant part in the development of the game of football at each of the public schools. It also accounts for the variations of the game played within a school. And although very few of these games have survived, unique varieties still exist at the two oldest great public schools, Winchester and Eton. However, neither of these schools’ forms of football was to achieve the widespread appeal or following of the game developed at Rugby. The question remains as to why it was Rugby’s game that became so widespread and so intimately associated with the concepts of manliness and morality while the games played at Eton, Winchester and elsewhere remained strictly local affairs.

The ‘Sacred Seven’ schools of Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Harrow, Charterhouse, Shrewsbury and Rugby had been the home of sports and games long before the rise of athleticism in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Similarly, at Oxford and Cambridge, undergraduates were also involved in a number of sporting activities at both the college and university levels. Cricket and football, rowing and fives had been a regular part of the daily lives of schoolboys since the late eighteenth century. And although by the late 1830s, games of all sorts were being associated with morality and the education of character both within and outside these institutions by educators and parents as well as critics, it could be said of Cambridge at least that it was still a place where ‘large numbers of undergraduates enjoyed a spell of high spirits and hard drinking before settling down’.

An article in the New Monthly Magazine for 1838 was not alone in expounding on the incomparable and ‘truly English school of practical morality, the Fives’ Court’. Its author suggested that

[t]he virtues of the Fives’ Court as a former of manners, are manifold. It cannot have escaped the observant reader that the discipline of that university implies the exhibition of courage,
temper, endurance, perseverance, superiority to physical suffering, and an habitual observance of great and uncommon temperance; excellencies whose cultivation ... [is] the sole parent of grand and noble characters.\textsuperscript{14}

These were among the most important manly virtues to be inculcated in young men, and within a 20-year period would be lauded as being among the major benefits of playing football.

Both the public schools and the universities were under great pressure to reform by the 1840s. The major criticism assigned to both types of institution was that they were centres of vice and immorality. A variety of suggestions was made in answer to such criticisms at Eton, which was often singled out as being particularly in need of reform. But among the most widely recommended of antidotes was ‘the encouragement of better tastes for manly amusements, and for manly intellectual pursuits’.\textsuperscript{15} Games and sports such as cricket and rowing were considered ‘the best auxiliaries to a high and liberal intellectual tone, to restrain the young mind from vulgar and pernicious immoralities’. Such activities were likely to offer greater opportunities for turning out healthy citizens and good Christians than if young men were kept in ‘the mechanical and orderly routine of the severest system of education’.\textsuperscript{16}

Others were less sanguine about the degree of freedom to be given to boys. Thus both the \textit{Quarterly Review} and the \textit{Quarterly Journal of Education} agreed that what the schools really needed, at least, was the closer superintendence of boys by masters out of school hours. Athletics and sports helped but not enough. In fact the centrepiece of the arguments raised by contributors to the \textit{Quarterly Journal} during the mid-1830s was that the master–boy enmity had to be broken down and replaced by the much closer ties of respect, esteem and sympathy. The master had to become a model for the younger boys to emulate as much as the school hero.\textsuperscript{17} Rugby, under its new headmaster Thomas Arnold, quickly gained a reputation for being a school where closer supervision of boys by masters was common practice and where better master–boy relationships were fostered. In large part it was for these reasons that Rugby became the model for the reformed public school. Furthermore, Arnold gave a new dignity to the profession of schoolmastering which continued to attract increasing numbers of non-clerical gentlemen with an Oxbridge education who saw educational value in the playing of games.

Stanley’s \textit{Life} of Arnold, first published in 1844, ensured that Arnold received the credit for this although W. C. Lake, one of Stanley’s contemporaries and very close friends both at Rugby and in later life, believed that ‘Rugby was less unlike other Public schools than Stanley’s \textit{Life} led followers to believe’.\textsuperscript{18} In fact Lake believed that giving up