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*A socio-historical analysis of the development of cricket in England since 1800.*

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A SOCIO-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF CRICKET IN ENGLAND SINCE 1800

by

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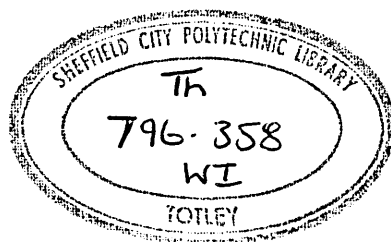
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## ABSTRACT

### A SOCIO-HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CRICKET IN ENGLAND SINCE 1800

by

Glenys Ann Williams BA (Hons)

Few histories of modern sports have attempted to follow the historical-sociology method advocated by Abrams (1982). Three exceptions to this are the works of Dunning and Sheard (1979), Hargreaves (1986) and Guttman (1978), all of whom attempt to use different theoretical perspectives in order to reveal the social development of a sport or sport in general.

After making a detailed analysis of each theory, an attempt was made to test the applicability of each theory, in this case to the particular example of cricket. An in depth study was conducted of the history of the game and its developments. Chapter Two deals with the game from its folk beginnings until 1870, Chapter Three with the years 1870 to 1945, and Chapter Four with the post World War II era. A particular 'turning point' was identified in each period and was given special consideration. In Chapter Two this revolved around the development of the laws of the game, in particular those surrounding bowling techniques. Chapter Three focused on the Bodyline controversy, and Chapter Four on the Packer Affair. It was hypothesised that, unless cricket could be proved to be a unique case, each of the theories should be able to account for, and perhaps even predict, the game's development during each period and, in particular, the relevant turning point for that period.

From this analysis it was discovered that each of the theories was able to explain certain areas of the socio-historical development of cricket but that, at the same time, they were insufficient to explain others. Cricket did indeed appear to be the exception to many of the rules each author had formulated. These deficiencies seemed to occur because of the limits placed on each theory by their respective theoretical perspective. Such theories, however, are only able to operate because they are based around a specific methodology and any attempt at analysis is possible only because of the limits placed upon each theory. It was suggested therefore that future work might involve the development of an eclectic theory although this in itself is problematical.

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## INTRODUCTION

The problem facing the social historian of sport is the apparent lack of literature that attempts to relate the history of sport to changes in society as a whole. Traditionally, history deals with a detailed chronology of events, sociology with theories about larger social changes. This becomes apparent when considering the literature available on cricket. Cricket historians from Pycroft (1851) and Denison (1846) through Cardus (1924), Altham (1926), Arlott (1948) and Bowen (1970) to Martin-Jenkins (1980) and Lewis (1987) present a very detailed history of the game in terms of scores and results, important events and personalities, but rarely attempt to place cricket in its correct social context or hazard detailed explanations of why changes occurred at particular times. On the other hand there are several sociological writers such as Chorbajian (1984), Eitzen (1984), Stone (1969) and Luschen (1984) whose theories, although related tentatively to sport, fail to draw sufficiently on historical evidence to substantiate their arguments.

Abrams (1982) in his work on historical sociology points out that traditionally supposed differences between history and sociology do not and should not exist as they have always involved the same aim, namely to understand the problem of human agency in terms of the process of social structuring. The problem of human agency is a paradox in which a way has to be found of..

accounting for human experience which recognises, simultaneously and in equal measure that history and society are made by constant and more or less purposeful individual action and that individual action, however purposeful, is made by history and society. (p.xiii)

The best way, Abrams suggests, to deal with this problem of the

two-sidedness of society stressed by sociologists is to approach it from a historical perspective and recognise that, as Giddens (1979) suggests,

what history is, or should be, cannot be analysed in separation from what the social sciences are or should be... There simply are no logical or even methodological distinctions between the social sciences and history...(in Abrams p.xviii)

By recognising that the shaping and transforming of social structure is a process that occurs in time then it is possible to merge history and sociology, and sociology can thereby begin to answer such questions as to why individuals make particular choices and what forces result in them succeeding or failing. Most sociology books have chapters setting the historical background, but the subsequent analysis tends to be totally ahistorical.

Sociology, Abrams suggests, becomes historical when 'why' questions replace 'what' questions and human action is seen as a continual process that occurs within changing social configurations. It is this kind of analysis that is largely lacking in any attempt to explain the role of sport in British society since the Industrial Revolution.

Marx (1973), Weber (1968) and Durkheim (1933), the founding fathers of sociology, do not specifically mention sport in their theories. It must be remembered, however, that they were working at a time when sport was peripheral to society, and that all three theories do contain an account of how culture, and specifically religion, is integral to the social order and its cohesion. Durkheim stresses religion's contribution to social integration, Marx to bourgeois ideology and Weber to rationalisation, all of which are pertinent in modern society to sport rather than religion.

Indeed, Abrams points out that Marx, Weber and Durkheim all made

contributions to the historical sociology method. Their primary concern was with the transition to industrialisation and, although their emphases were different, they all asked the same basic question: "to what extent does the world have to be the way it is?"

It is questions like this that the first important analyses of sport and social development try to answer. Huizinga's "Homo Ludens" (1938) and Veblen's "The Theory of the Leisure Class" (1953) both attempted to explain the social significance of play, games and sports, but in a way which related them to the problems of social action, structure and development which were central to the work of Marx, Durkheim and Weber.

These are concerns that Gruneau (1983) suggests have been lost over the years and he argues that

far too much sociological writing on sport has degenerated into the banal application of set sociological typologies, a nit-picking concern over problems of definition, pointless collections of "social facts", or crude decontextualized discussions of the "meaning" of the sporting experience. (pg. 18)

In recent years, however, authors such as Gruneau have once more attempted to analyse sport within the broad context of historical sociology. Three authors who have attempted to answer the question "why" sport has evolved in a particular way are Dunning and Sheard (1979), Hargreaves (1986) and Guttman (1978), who draw their theories from Durkheim, Marx and Weber respectively in order to explain the development of sport since the Industrial Revolution. The aim of this project is to attempt to test these theories against a particular sport in order to evaluate their comprehensiveness. The sport chosen is cricket, a game with a long tradition of "literature", and one which, as a peculiarly English game with an unusual pattern of historical development, appears to constitute an "extreme" case study, one

which should be able to test the applicability of and highlight any weaknesses in the theories of Dunning and Sheard, Hargreaves and Guttmann.

A previous investigation of the term 'sport' (see Appendix 1) indicated a very wide range of definitions and contexts for the term. This is to some extent also true of cricket which is played at various levels and in differing contexts around the world. Therefore for the purpose of this study the definition has been restricted to a study of the development of the professional or first-class game in England since around the beginning of the 18th century.

Chapter One will outline and compare the theories of Dunning and Sheard, Hargreaves and Guttmann. Chapter Two will consider the development of cricket from its folk beginnings to 1870. Chapter Three covers the era of the amateur from 1870 to 1945, and Chapter Four the post World War II period until the present day. In each period it was possible to identify specific periods of crisis or turning points which had to be resolved in order for the game to continue its evolution. The first period considers the growing question of the role of the professional in the game, characterised by the development of round arm and over arm bowling. In the period up to 1945, "Bodyline" is considered as an example of how the growing pressures of international competition and the internal dynamics of the game can produce a crisis centred around the interpretation of the rules. In Chapter Four the Packer Affair is considered as an example of the modern trend in which sport moves towards a fully professionalised, highly paid form of entertainment.

In each chapter the historical evidence presented will be used to test the theories of Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves in order to ascertain how far each is applicable to the particular case of cricket and to what extent they are able to explain the development of the game and its relationship to society.



In the case of Guttman, as this is a more general theory, a full analysis will be reserved until the concluding discussion.

In the conclusion an attempt will be made, in drawing together the threads of the previous chapters, to evaluate each theory, to discuss the strengths and weaknesses of the respective methodologies and to speculate on how each of the theorists might view the development of sport in the future; in other words, what would be the outcome for sport, and for cricket, if each of the theories were taken to their logical conclusion.

In particular, mention will be made of the major problem that arises with socio-historical theories; namely that they are, by nature, bound by their respective sociological dogma. For this reason, it is not always possible, as will be illustrated in the case of cricket, to explain exceptions to any particular rule or to deal with case studies that do not fit onto a well defined framework. Finally, as an indication of possible work for the future, the question will be raised of a possible eclectic theory derived from various schools of thought with a discussion of the problems that the development of such a theory for a history of sport might pose.

## CHAPTER 1: THEORIES

The following chapter will attempt a critical analysis of the theories of Dunning and Sheard (1978) Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players, Hargreaves (1986) Sport, Power and Culture, and Guttman (1979) From Ritual to Record. All three authors make an attempt to address a general theory to specific issues in sport. The questions they address are often the same and the events they view as important are similar. As a result of their different sociological emphases, however, the basic frameworks for the historical and sociological analysis of sport that they produce are different. Their methods are similar and they all agree for example on the importance of concepts such as class, but each author defines these concepts differently and, as a result, they differ in their perception of how these concepts relate to and affect the development of sport. Dunning and Sheard use configurational society to explain the development of rugby football in Britain by relating it to changes in the wider social structure in which sport is seen to reflect the processes of civilisation and embourgeoisification. Hargreaves uses the Marxist approach in order to illustrate the way in which sports, as cultural formations, are related to the power apparatus, and Guttman emphasises the Weberian argument that it is the growth of the 'scientific world view' that is the main influence on the nature of modern sport.

Each author can be compared and contrasted with the others at five different levels:-

- (a) basic theoretical orientation
- (b) historical models
- (c) the regulation of sport; power and class relations
- (d) professionalism and amateurism
- (e) the modern 'crisis' of sport,

each of which will now be considered in turn.

(a) Basic theoretical orientation.

As mentioned above, Dunning and Sheard, Hargreaves and Guttmann have the common aim of attempting to interpret sport sociologically and historically and to see sport as revealing key features of society. Like Durkheim, Marx and Weber, they are all interested in the growth of industrialisation and argue that the development of modern sport is linked in some way to this. They also agree that the main problem is one of agency and freedom as this gives rise to a paradox in which, as Gruneau (1985) explains,

play gives the impression of being an independent and spontaneous aspect of human action or agency, and at the same time a dependent and regulated aspect of it; (p.21)

- a paradox which is reflected in modern sport. Their emphases, however, are different. The configurational approach used by Dunning and Sheard relates rugby football's development to changes in the wider social structure and emphasises the processes of civilisation and embourgeoisification. They concern themselves with long-term social processes that have resulted in the game, descending from various folk-games, developing into a fully modern sport and undergoing what is described as a process of 'democratisation'. A study of rugby is useful, Dunning and Sheard argue, in order to throw light on four interconnected problem areas.

- (i) the development of the British class structure and of related institutions such as the public schools,
- (ii) the reasons why Britain was, so far as we can tell, the first country to develop modern sport,
- (iii) Norbert Elias' theory of the 'civilising process',
- (iv) the worldwide trend toward

competitiveness, seriousness of involvement and 'achievement-orientation' which, together with a trend towards growing cultural centrality, is evident in sport in most present day societies.

Rugby is chosen because, as Dunning and Sheard explain, it

offers an opportunity for examining within the framework of a single sport, issues such as the growth of professionalism, the correlative decline of amateurism, and the clashes of group interest and ideology which occurred in that connection. (p.16)

Sociologically it is of interest because it shows

the strength of the pressures in modern society which are leading to the transformation of sports into serious, intensely competitive, achievement-oriented and, at least in that sense, 'professional pursuits'. (p.17)

They suggest that the growing seriousness and competitive nature of sport is connected with increased violence and argue that rugby's development represents what Durkheim would have called a 'crucial' or 'decisive' case in which, as he explained (1964), one or two well studied and significant facts are of more importance than more numerous but imprecise observations. It is Elias' (1978) theory of the 'civilising process', itself drawn from the work of Durkheim, that forms the main theoretical focus of the study, in which societies develop from lower to higher levels of civilisation, and in doing so demand stricter controls over violence and aggressive behaviour. The use of direct force to maintain control gradually disappears and is replaced by more subtle internalized restraints. Sport is seen as a good means of testing this theory, rugby especially so as it is a violent physical game which makes its standards of violence control easily detectable. Dunning and Sheard argue that if standards of violence control in rugby correlate with a rise in more general standards as a result of the civilisation process then,

unless either rugby or British society are atypical or it can be proved that social control and violence in sport are unrelated, their theory can be held to be valid.

Dunning and Sheard reject the 'crude economic determinism' which suggests that Britain was the first sporting nation merely as a reflex of industrialisation. More crucial was the emergence of a society where the ruling classes were able to maintain some degree of independence from the state which gave them much more freedom than their European counterparts in their leisure choices. The middle-class became increasingly powerful and at the same time accommodated the values of the aristocracy who in turn had to bow to middle-class pressure. This 'mutual accommodation', Dunning writes, was 'the principal structural source of the persistence of amateur structures and values of British sport, even those which are professional' (p.270), and

the development in British sport of an amateur-dominated structure can be regarded as symptomatic of the structure and development of British society as a whole in the nineteenth and twentieth century. (p.270)

Dunning and Sheard, then, use sport as a case study to prove a wider thesis about the nature of social and cultural change. They use rugby football, interspersed with comments about soccer and cricket, to put forward a theory that the development of rules controlling violence in rugby is closely related to the process of 'civilisation' as described by Elias and the related process of embourgeoisification.

Hargreaves is also concerned about the nature of social and cultural change, but draws on examples from a wide variety of sports to develop a Marxist perspective in which sports development is related to the power apparatus. He writes that,

there are few activities which have secured a more central place in the national cultures of countries like Britain and the USA than sport. (p.91)

His main concern is with the role sport has played in accommodating the British working class to the social order. Like Dunning and Sheard, Hargreaves rejects the 'common sense' view that sport has no relation at all with the power network but merely plays a positive function in compensating for the disappointments of everyday life. He points out, in fact, that the promotion of this view is a common means of reproducing the sport-power relation. On the other hand, he also rejects the more extreme neo-marxist view that sport is merely a means of social control and that those taking part are victims of a massive conspiracy. He distances himself from crude Marxist interpretations of sport as 'bourgeois ideology' in order to reach an understanding of the relationship that actually exists between sport, power and culture. As he explains,

Unless we have adequate concepts with which to understand the character of sport, the social and historical context of sporting activity, and the power network which impinges on sports, it is not possible to understand the sport-power relation. We are going to argue then, that sport, in specific conditions, is an important, if highly neglected, constituent of power structures and that the reproduction of the sport-power relation is systematically concealed in the routine operation of that relation. (p.93)

Guttmann, like Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves, also agrees that there is undoubtedly a relationship between the rise of modern sport and the development of modern society and, after considering and criticizing the viewpoints of the Marxists and neo Marxists, argues that it is the Weberian view of social organisation that is 'more congruent with reality' and does not 'founder upon the shoals of blatant contradiction of theory by fact'. This theory emphasises the growth of a rational scientific world view as the 'basic explanatory factor' influencing the nature of modern sport. Guttmann writes that

one great advantage of the Weberian model is that it enables one to see in the microcosm (modern sports) the characteristics of the macrocosm

(modern society) - secularism, equality, specialisation, rationalisation, bureaucratic organisation and quantification. (pp.80-81)

These characteristics, coupled with the quest for records,

are independent, systematically related elements of the ideal type of modern society. They derive from the fundamental Weberian notion of the difference between the ascribed status of traditional society and the achieved status of a modern one. (p.81)

Guttman argues that the Weberian perspective doesn't reduce its explanation to economic determinism, neither does it lean too heavily on the notion of the relationship between religion and sport which states that it was the rise of Protestantism that encouraged the development of modern sport. There are far too many exceptions for this to be true, and also it doesn't explain the popularity of sport in non-Protestant countries such as Japan and the USSR. Guttman follows the line taken by Merton (1968) in believing that 'new science' rather than religion is the key and he writes that,

the emergence of modern sports represents neither the triumph of capitalism nor the rise of Protestantism but rather the slow development of an empirical, experimental, mathematical Weltanschauung. England's early leadership was less to do with the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism than with the intellectual revolutions symbolised by the names of Isaac Newton and John Locke...(p.85)

He also cites Lenck, who wrote that

Achievement sport, ie. sport whose achievements are extended beyond the here and now through measured comparisons, is closely connected to the scientific-experimental attitudes of the modern West. (in Guttman p.85)

This would explain the rise of sport in Eastern Europe after the Second World War, and also why France, a Catholic nation, was a leader in the nineteenth century.

Guttmann then goes on to apply the Weberian approach to sport in an attempt to explain the trends that he identifies as occurring in modern sport as a result of the growth of the scientific world view.

From different theoretic perspectives therefore, Dunning and Sheard, Hargreaves and Guttmann each put forward their own analysis of the nature of sport and social change and the way that this is reflected in sport. All three are addressing the 'problem' of sport, but their different emphases result in them perceiving the question in different ways. For Dunning and Sheard, the problem is the way in which the civilising process, at work in society as a whole, influences and correlates with the growth of violence control in the specific example of rugby football. For Hargreaves the problem is the way in which sport, as a cultural form, is related to the power apparatus and how, as a result, sport in particular helps to accommodate the working class to the social order. For Guttmann the problem is one of analysing the way the scientific world view has influenced the development of sport in general in modern society. This then highlights a major difference in the theories, namely their focus of attention. Dunning and Sheard concentrate on a specific game, Hargreaves on a specific class and Guttmann on specific attributes of modern sport. All authors agree that previous studies have failed to attempt to find a relationship between the development of Western society and its problems and the development of sport, a task which all three authors claim to fulfil.

#### (b) Historical Models.

Both Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves use detailed historical frameworks in order to develop their theories. This is



important as the nature of both their theories, Dunning's and Sheard's in particular, rests on its ability to place sporting events that occur within specific periods of larger social change.

Dunning and Sheard identify five main stages in the development of modern rugby and suggest that at each level the game being played is composed of increasingly elaborate and orderly behaviour and an increase in the complexity and formality of the rules and organisation. The five major stages, based on the process of 'democratisation', are as follows:-

1. 14th - early 20th centuries:

Football existed as a variety of wild and unruly folk games with no written rules and much local variation.

2. 1750 - 1840:

During this period, folk football was adopted by the public schools and began to emerge as a distinctive game in which certain aspects of the game were adopted and elaborated to fit in with the forms of social organisation characteristic of these schools, especially the 'prefect-fagging' system.

3. 1830 - 1860:

This was a period of rapid transition in which the rules became more elaborate and stringent and required greater self-control from the players. In 1845 a set of rules were first written down at Rugby School. It was also at this stage of 'incipient modernisation' that soccer began to emerge.

4. 1850 - 1900:

This period saw the spread of football from the schools to independent clubs. The Rugby Football Union and Football Association were set up to control the two distinct games that emerged. Spectators were beginning to be drawn to the game and for the first time it was becoming possible for a man to 'work' as a full time

player. This eventually led to the split within the Rugby Union.

5. 1900 - present day:

Rugby Union and Rugby League exist as separate games. Rugby League is a professional sport but remains a stronghold in the North of England and, in many cases, the players are in fact only semi-professional. Rugby Union, on the other hand, initially suffered from the split but recovered to become a national amateur sport. There have been increasing pressures on the game since the 1960s for it to become more professional in approach. (pp.2-3)

Dunning and Sheard note that the transition from one stage to the next is determined by

the structure and dynamics of the overall social context within which, at any given time, the game was played. (p.3)

At each stage it is important to note that, while one particular game form was dominant, the others still existed in varying degrees.

Diagram 1 below portrays the historical and sociological trends which culminated in the modernisation of rugby football.

Dunning and Sheard then go on to describe the democratisation of the game that took place in the 1870s, the increasing strength of the Northern gate-taking clubs and the eventual split between the North and South in 1893. They end by considering the present day problems faced by Rugby Union, a supposedly amateur game caught up in the trend towards professionalisation. These points will be considered in more depth in their relevant sections.

Hargreaves' historical framework is based on the identification

# Establishment of the 'sufficient conditions' for incipient modernization

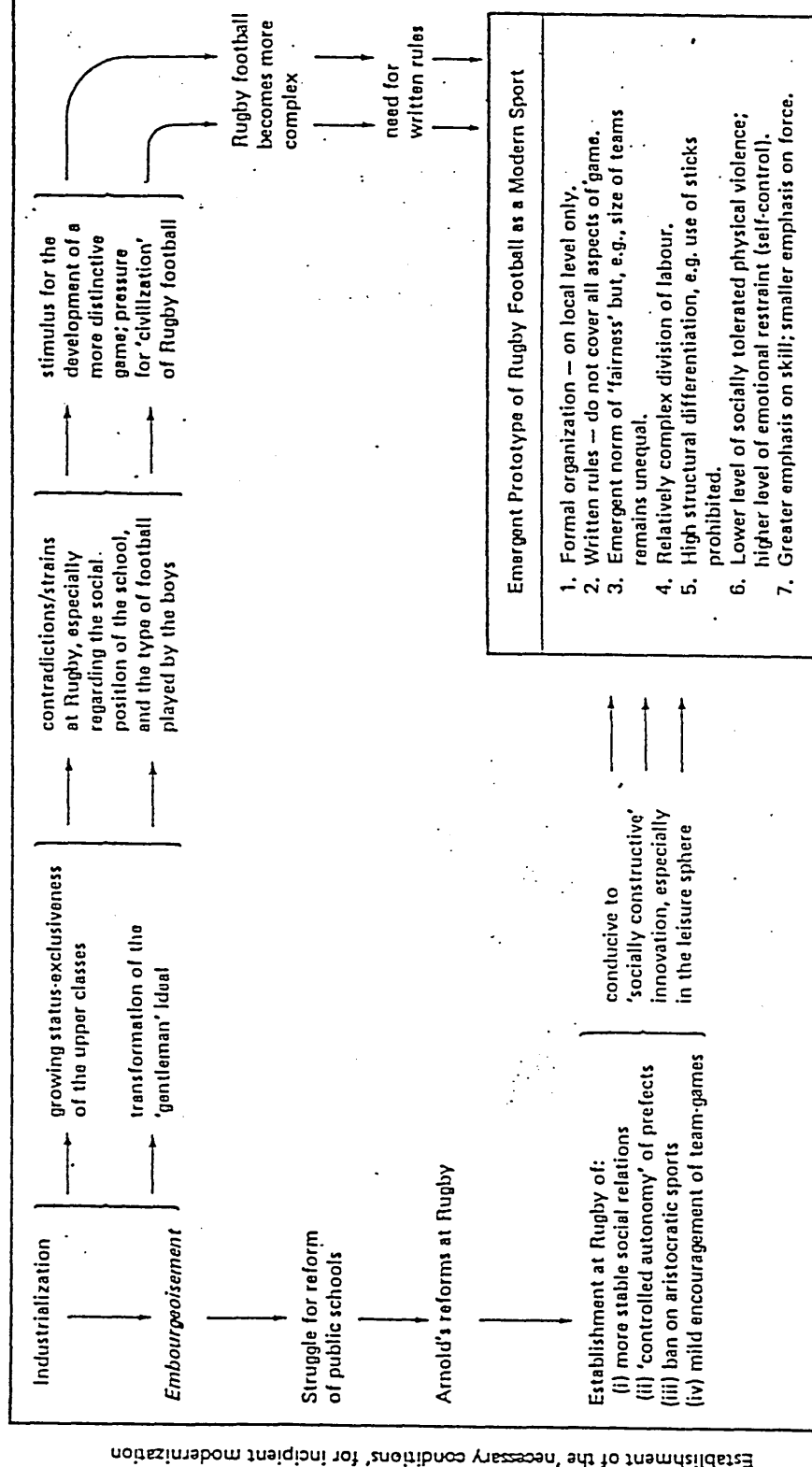


Figure 1. From Dunning and Sheard (1979) (p.68)

of four turning points:-

1. the turn of the 19th century.
2. the mid 19th century.
3. the mid 1880s
4. the 1950s

At each turning point

the power network has been strategically elaborated in response to perceived threats to the social order, from the point of view of dominant groups.  
(p.7)

The dynamics of the relation between sport power and culture require a transformation in 'the structure and meaning of sport and its relation to the power network.' Hargreaves' argument rests on the notion that sport is a cultural formation, certain elements of which are fundamental components of power networks. He identifies two main types of culture:-

1. Major institutions such as education, the media, science and religion which, as sources of power, reproduce social divisions, and
2. the individual's way of life including the family, work and leisure which subordinate groups to the social order.

Sport is able to operate at both levels and it is for this reason that it is able to reproduce power relations. Two other kinds of culture include:-

1. Popular culture which overlaps considerably with working class culture and, as Hargreaves writes,

The long historical association between sports and popular culture culminating in sport becoming a major component of the national popular culture is,

we argue, highly significant for the character of sport. (pp.9-10)

He stresses the attack made on popular culture and working class sporting forms in the early 19th century - an attack which is totally ignored by Dunning and Sheard.

2. Consumer culture which in the 20th century has increasingly taken over sport to the extent that it has become merely another element of the consumer market. The primary focus of sport is the body and its attributes such as strength, skill, grace and speed. Control over the body is an important aspect of social control in all societies and, therefore, because the body is integral to sports performance, it follows that sports may function to symbolize and uphold the social order.

A summary of Hargreaves' historical analysis is best achieved by considering each of his historical periods in turn.

The first phase is the transition to and early phase of industrial capitalism in which working class opposition to rational recreation and upper class disunity prevented the achievement of bourgeois hegemony. At the same time, divisions in the working class prevented them finding an alternative to the popular sports which were being repressed. The 'respectable' working class allied with upper class reformers, while the 'rough' working class allied with upper class traditionalists, thus ensuring that bourgeois hegemony was not achieved over either the upper or working class.

The mid-Victorian period witnessed the growth of the amateur gentleman ideal in the public schools and universities, and the cult of athleticism became an important source of upper class unity. At the same time some repression of working class

recreations were necessary. Therefore unity was achieved among the dominant groups but bourgeois hegemony was still not achieved over the working class.

In the 1880s a more independent and organised working class demanding sport emerged along with mass spectatorism mainly composed of the respectable working classes and lower middle classes for whom sport served as a source of male identity. This commercialisation, along with working and middle class involvement, threatened amateur control over sport and therefore some accommodation was necessary in order to preserve the hegemony. This was the period of greatest influence for the amateur-gentleman ethic during which the young male working class was increasingly won over to sport, and political parties began to use sport to win votes. This expansion continued during the inter-war period when, aided by the media, sport came to be seen as part of national life. This was also encouraged by local government and school provision. The working class were still excluded from decision making, however, and they were still differentiated by sport although accommodation rather than confrontation was encouraged. This period therefore saw the achievement of bourgeois hegemony over the working class.

The 1950s provided another turning point in which commercial and business trends achieved hegemony and sport became part of the consumer culture. The period saw increased state intervention into, and socio-centrality of, sport which has led it to become more politicized. Sport still divides the working class and other divisions such as gender, age and race still exist.

It can be seen therefore that both Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves identify critical periods in the history of sport which, on the surface, appear to be similar. There are some important differences however. Dunning and Sheard use a much longer time-scale than Hargreaves who totally disregards what

Dunning and Sheard describe as the transition from folk games to modern sport. It is also important to restate that they connect sport to society in different ways, Dunning and Sheard through the civilising process and Hargreaves through class hegemony.

Unlike Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves, Guttmann does not go into a detailed historical analysis of the development of sport, operating instead at the level of long term trends. He does recognise however that the

Gestalt of modern sports does appear in sharply delineated contrast against the background of primitive, ancient and medieval sports. (p.15)

Sports in the past were closely related to religious festivals and rituals; participation was limited to those from certain classes or castes, there was little formal organisation and role specialisation and they were generally oriented towards qualitative assessments of the meaning of the sporting experience. On the other hand, modern sports, which evolved in England between the early eighteenth and late nineteenth centuries, have become increasingly secular, meritocratic, rational, bureaucratised and oriented towards record-setting and quantitative assessment of the meaning of the sporting experience.

There are seven distinguishing characteristics of modern sport:

Secularism.

Equality of opportunity to compete and in conditions of competition.

Specialisation of rules.

Rationalisation

Bureaucratic organisation.

Quantification

The Quest for Records.

These are taken to be the characteristics of modern society as described by Weber (1958) and Parsons (1949). They are

interrelated and interact systematically. Without any one of these factors, the others could not have developed.

Guttman also considers two other issues; the theory of 'American Exceptionalism' and the preference for team versus individual sports in America.

Guttman rejects the theory of American Exceptionalism and argues that American sports are not only less unique than they appear but that they are also essentially modern sports similar to those of any other modern society. Baseball, for example, has its roots in the agricultural cycle and its popularity is due to its tremendous potential for quantification. The only reason it remained more or less confined to North America was because of the greater influence of sports from Britain, which was able to impose its traditions on foreign cultures before the USA. The shift in the 1960s to American Football was due to the attractiveness of its violence in a more violent society. Football provides a kind of catharsis especially important for the higher class Americans who have been socialised to such an extent that they have few other outlets for their aggressive tendencies.

Guttman also points out the apparent contradiction that Americans like to think of themselves as individuals and yet are more likely to participate in team sports. The choice, Guttman argues, is not between freedom of expression and oppressive constraint but is rather one of differing conceptions of individualism and freedom. Two kinds of freedom are described, negative and positive. With negative freedom the individual retains complete independence from society and is bound by the constraints of institutional order. With positive freedom the individual is free to choose from different alternatives offered to him within the institutional order. The only difficulty is that the expanding choices and opportunities offered by the cooperation of positive freedom can impose restrictions on the



more spontaneous negative freedom. However, despite these losses, modern society has witnessed a great increase in freedom over the past two hundred years and modern sports have benefited from the increase.

(c) The Regulation of Sport: power and class relations.

Dunning and Sheard, Hargreaves and Guttmann all agree that play, games and sport are regulated in some way, but again differ in their emphases. They agree that regulation is an integral part of modern sport and that its growth took place alongside the growth of industrialisation in nineteenth century Britain. They differ however as to how and why regulation came about and what, culturally, it represents.

Dunning and Sheard argue that this regulation can be explained by reference to the processes of civilisation and embourgeoisification. They describe how, by the 1830s, fundamental changes had begun to take place which began the transformation of football into a modern sport. The game became more formally organised with complex written rules. It also became more civilised, the wilder elements of the game being eradicated and the games being subject to stricter controls.

The prime mover in these developments was industrialisation and the modernisation of football was a consequence of the social changes wrought by industrialisation. As Dunning and Sheard describe

The dominant long-term process in nineteenth century Britain was a process of embourgeoisement... the power of the bourgeoisie grew with the result that institutions which had previously been adapted to the interests of the aristocracy and gentry began to reflect bourgeois interests and bourgeois values. (p.67)

This increasingly genteel bourgeoisie who sent their sons to public school wanted them to have a gentleman's education, without the decadence of the traditional aristocracy, reflected in their brutal sports. Thus sport, along with the rest of the public school life, had to be reformed. In order to achieve this the game had to become less violent and more 'civilised', with more complex and distinct rules. The game gradually became a 'mock fight' with the emphasis on skill rather than brutality.

These rules allowed for 'flair' and 'manliness' but didn't let them go too far. As Dunning and Sheard write,

The game was brought into line with the more 'refined' standards which, in conjunction with industrialisation and embourgeoisement, were developing in British society at large. (p.96)

Their analysis of events such as the Rugby League/Union split and the dual system that emerged out of it may, they suggest

enable us to illuminate the developing structure of class relations in British society from a relatively novel angle. (p.6)

Like Hargreaves, Dunning and Sheard see class as a source of sporting values and a means of relating to society. They see class as significant in the development of sport, first as an accommodation between the aristocracy and bourgeoisie, then as the conflict over professionalism between this alliance and the working class. What is missing is any sense of this as part of a general process of class domination and power.

Hargreaves argues however that regulation is an important aspect of class relations which are reflected in the sport-power relation. He defines power as

a relationship between agents, the outcome of which is determined by agents' access to relevant resources and their use of appropriate strategies in specific conditions of struggle with other agents. (p.93)

and suggests that the sport-power relation is constructed on two levels - civil society and the state. His main theme is to show how organised sports emerged and developed alongside the elaborating and expanding civil state of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and how, in the late twentieth century, the state becomes increasingly involved in sport and therefore in civil society as a whole. The exercise of power, however, requires resources, access to which are unequal across society. It is in this way that dominant groups, those with best access to the resources of knowledge, then emerge. Hargreaves is careful to point out however that the power wielded by a dominant group is rarely total in its scope and is frequently resisted by other groups in society. For this reason then, an accommodation between groups usually takes place and all groups tend to gain something from the struggle.

As far as sport is concerned, Hargreaves concentrates mainly on the way subordinate groups have resisted attempts at control by their superiors and thereby gained some power for themselves.

This is particularly viewed from the angle of class relations. When one class, or part of it, manages to achieve leadership over the rest of society, hegemony is said to have been achieved, and Hargreaves argues that sport played an important part in this process, especially in the nineteenth century with the growing political power and eventual hegemony of the bourgeoisie. Hegemony is a continual process in which a series of alliances and compromises are made, and Hargreaves suggests that the bourgeois hegemony of the twentieth century was achieved by the recomposition and accommodation of the working class, a process in which the involvement in sport played an important part. The working class, he suggests, were won over to sports rather than forced into them.

Hargreaves gives two ways in which sports contribute to the hegemony;

1. through the division and fragmentation , mainly of the working class, in terms of gender, age, community and ethnic groups, and
2. through integration of the working class into the consumer culture and through the development of a national identity.

Under consumer culture, control by repression has been replaced by control by stimulation, and sexuality is used to emphasise the importance of the body. As Hargreaves writes,

the body is clearly the object of crucial importance in consumer culture and its supply industries; and sports, together with fashion... dieting, keep-fit, therapy... are deployed in a constantly elaborating programme whose objective is the production of the new 'normalized' individual.  
(p.14)

Guttman sees class merely as a measure of participation, with the ruling class more likely to participate.

In his discussion on the role of regulation, Guttman concentrates on the concept of freedom and the paradox, already noted by Gruneau, of freedom and restraint. There are two categories of play - spontaneous and organised. The fact that much of our play is organised and regulated raises the problem of how play can remain free whilst being organised. The answer to this lies in the fact that even when play is being regulated it still remains outside the sphere of material necessity and is free in that it is pursued for its own sake and is separate from the demands of real life. He goes further to argue that the rules and regulations that bound the limits of games and sports are actually necessary in that they allow the player to find freedom in the pursuit of gratuitous ends through cooperation with other players. Rather than acting as constraints, rules actually expand choices and possibilities. Guttman argues that humans voluntarily surrender some of their absolute freedom in order to achieve a degree of mutual gain. He cites Suits

who provides the following comments on the role of rules in games;

To play a game is to attempt to achieve a specific state of affairs... using only means permitted by rules... where the rules prohibit the use of more efficient in favour of less efficient means..., and where such rules are accepted just because they make possible such activity. (p.5)

It can be clearly seen therefore that each author, although using the same term, has different conceptions of the meaning of the word class. For Dunning and Sheard it is a particular form of configuration in which class is one of the structures formed in society by independent human beings. For Hargreaves, class is the basis of the social structure through which the struggle for hegemony is conducted, and for Guttmann class is merely an index of participation. Therefore, although each author agrees that sport is regulated and that this occurs mainly as a result of class, (in Dunning and Sheard's case embourgeoisification, in Hargreaves' case, hegemony,) the difference in definition means that their attempt to link sport with society is also different. Whereas for Dunning and Sheard regulation is about the institutionalisation of rules proscribing violence, for Hargreaves regulation is about control of the subordinate class. This is true not only at the 'macro' level, which concerns sport's significance to the social order, but also at the 'micro' level, which is concerned with smaller issues relating specifically to sport. Their discussion of the role of the amateur and professional in sport is one of these issues.

#### (d) Professionalism and Amateurism.

One of the major areas of contention that arose with the development of modern sport was the debate over

professionalisation. Both Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves use a similar characterisation of the 'amateur' response to professionalism in which amateurism was an upper and middle class response to a perceived threat from the lower classes, and was either an attempt to retain sport for themselves at a time of growing class conflict (Dunning and Sheard) or an ethic developed and used in order to subordinate the lower classes (Hargreaves).

Before the 1880s in Britain the amateur ethos had been, according to Dunning and Sheard, just a 'loosely articulated set of values regarding the functions of sport and the standard believed necessary for their realisation.' (p.153) However, with the threat of professionalism from the north, the amateur ethos 'began to crystallize as a highly specific, elaborate and articulate ideology' and became what Durkheim called a 'social fact'. (p.153)

Dunning and Sheard list three components of the amateur ethos. To be called a sport, an activity had to have the following attributes;

- (1) Pursuit of the activity as an 'end in itself' ie. simply for the pleasure afforded, with a corresponding downgrading of achievement striving, training and specialisation;
- (2) Self restraint and, above all, the masking of enthusiasm in victory and disappointment in defeat;
- (3) The norm of 'fair play' ie. the normative equalisation of game chances between contending sides, coupled with a stress on voluntary compliance with the rules and a chivalrous attitude of 'friendly rivalry' towards opponents.

Therefore, the ideal aim was the production of pleasure with the competitive element central and victory being subordinate to enjoyment. To stress victory would turn the game from a 'mock fight' into a 'real' one. The amateur ethos was obviously opposed to cups and leagues as this was seen to increase the

violence in the game and encouraged players who were not 'gentlemen', induced betting and bad behaviour, and made the game over serious. As Dunning and Sheard write,

The introduction of extrinsic rewards into sport... was bound to lead to a downwards spiral, with professionalism and 'corruption' the inevitable end results. (p.156)

Dunning and Sheard argue that it is significant that this argument occurred at a time of mounting class tension. The objection to professionalism also expressed itself in contempt towards the north and its working class. It was not so much professionalism that was the problem; professionals, after all, existed quite happily alongside amateurs in cricket. The real fear was that the working class professionals would become better at the game than amateurs from the upper and middle classes. As Dunning and Sheard write, 'class ideology and class antagonism were never far below the surface'. The amateurs believed that for professionals rugby ceased "to be a 'sport', a form of play, and became a form of fighting in earnest." The game was reduced to little more than gladiatorial combat. The public school elite also attacked spectatorship as the increasing numbers in working class crowds were seen as a threat to public order and, whereas participation was morally and physically beneficial, spectatorship was not. Dunning and Sheard write that

Thus, members of the public school elite identified their own ethos with that of the nation as a whole. Groups who adhered to different standards had betrayed their national heritage. (p.162)

For Hargreaves too, the main areas of contention in the nineteenth century were found in the different emphases placed on sport by the different classes and expressed by the middle and upper classes in the amateur ethos. Gruneau cites four counts on which amateurs objected to professionals, points with which Hargreaves would agree;

- (1) Commercialism was supposed to debase play by allowing the representational character of play to take preference over the act of playing itself;
- (2) Commercialism was seen to emphasise instrumental 'ends' more than traditional 'means';
- (3) Commercialism was viewed as inflaming passion (often leading to violence) rather than dramatising the values of restraint; and finally
- (4) Commercialism was seen to be closely associated with gambling, drinking and frivolity - all of which offended bourgeois Protestant sentiment.

Again, of course, these points were imposed on the working class by the upper class amateurs who had no wish to mix with, and risk defeat at the hands of, the lower classes. As well as exploring these issues, Hargreaves also examines the way in which sport, as a working class activity, was able to retain some autonomy, for, as he explains,

the extent to which a given cultural formation is enabled to feed the power network also depends crucially on its own particular character, that is on those autonomous features which distinguish it from others as a specific type of cultural formation. (p.10)

This autonomy is important in the construction of the sport-power relation and several characteristics of sport are important in this respect. All sporting activities involve some elements of play, and players of sport subject themselves to formal rule structures which in effect suspends reality and sets it aside from normal life. Rule structures equalize conditions of competition and the uncertainty of outcome gives rise to sport's unique excitement. Sports constitute a form of 'popular' theatre involving participants, spectators and commentators all with a common interest; they are characterised by ritual practices which denote what is important to the participants, and many are 'political rituals' which evoke



loyalty to the authorities in control in society. Also sports are rich in symbolization and the pageantry and ceremony with which sports often surround themselves serve to legitimate power relations.

As a result of these characteristics therefore, the working class has been able to retain a certain amount of autonomy in their sporting pastimes which has occasionally challenged and necessitated a renegotiation of bourgeois hegemony.

The conflict between amateurs and professionals is not one which concerns Guttman any further than his noting that a growth of professionalism in general is one of the elements of modern sport which he identifies as a result of the growth of the scientific world view.

It is worth noting, however, that although there are many areas in which Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves do not agree, the way they view the response to the rise of professionalism is similar, although again this is for different reasons. Hargreaves views the taking over of sport for themselves by the bourgeoisie as a deliberate ethic devised to control the working class, whereas Dunning and Sheard view the amateur ethic as a more retrospective attempt to rescue sport for the middle and upper classes at a time of class tension. The continuing controversy surrounding professionalism constitutes one of the 'crises' in modern sport which will be discussed in the next section.

What each author views as the 'crisis' in modern sport, and whether they perceive there to be such a crisis, is of course determined by the way that they conceive of the social order and sport's role within it. As has already been noted, both Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves attempt to connect sport to society but along different axes. This means that, although they use basically the same time scales, they differ in the 'turning points' that they identify and the way they interpret their significance. So, for example, it will become apparent that Dunning and Sheard are primarily interested in rules and violence control as this is central to the theory of the civilising process. For Hargreaves, however, this is of little or no importance. He stresses the role of the media and the commercialisation of sport as a way of accommodating the working class to the dominant viewpoint, a criterion which has little significance for Dunning and Sheard.

Guttmann shares neither Dunning and Sheard's nor Hargreaves' sense of sport in crisis and therefore will not be considered here.

Dunning and Sheard list three components which constitute Britain's current 'sporting crisis'. The first arises out of the discrepancy between expectations and performance that has arisen as other industrial nations have caught up and overtaken Britain, not just in sport, but in all areas of industrialised society. The second involves the alleged increase in violence in and around modern sport. This apparent increase at first appears to refute Elias' theory of the civilising process, but Dunning and Sheard argue that sports related violence can be explained only with reference to the theory. The long-term development of rugby with its increasing social control over violence in the game seems to confirm the theory, and these

controls have corresponded with increases in the level of 'civilisation' as a whole. This 'civilisation' is characterised by a complex set of rules outlawing violent behaviour, clearly defined sanctions to deal with the infringement of rules, and the institutionalisation of the role of an independent 'umpire', all of which is under the control of a centralised body, the Rugby Football Union (R.F.U.).

Dunning and Sheard argue that the reason some people perceive there to be an increase in violent behaviour is precisely because the civilising process has raised our standards and expectations of self control. Therefore behaviour acceptable in the past is now defined as violent. People feel 'hemmed in' by the strict standards controlling physical violence and one of the few socially permitted ways of releasing this violence is on the sports field. This demand for 'mimetic' violence, Dunning and Sheard argue, gives further support for Elias' theory.

On the other hand, however, Dunning and Sheard go on to say that this does not deny that there has been some increase in actual sport-related violence, attributable, they argue, to the growing cultural centrality of sport in which sport has become almost 'quasi-religious'. An increasing emphasis on success leads to greater competitiveness which in turn increases the incidence of violent behaviour. Both of these trends, the civilising process and cultural centrality, are part of the deeper structural tendency Elias described as 'functional democratisation'. The final component of the crisis revolves around the amateur/professional conflict.

Dunning and Sheard restate that the amateur ethos has been the dominant sport ideology in Britain, the central component of which is sport for fun including the ideals of fair play, voluntary adherence to rules and non-pecuniary involvement. However, as a result of increasing industrialisation, urbanisation and a complex and impersonal society, these ideals

are no longer easy to uphold. How is this so? Dunning and Sheard again cite Elias, who believed that the social transformations associated with industrialisation also transform the social structure.

Referring back to Durkheim's work on the division of labour, Dunning and Sheard describe how longer and more differentiated "chains of interdependence" emerge with a greater functional specialisation and the integration of functionally differentiated groups into wider networks. This brings about a change in the balance of power as more specialised roles make people increasingly dependent upon others and people are able to exert reciprocal control. This is also reflected in sport. Top level sportsmen can no longer be independent as they are playing for their cities and countries. They are expected to produce 'sports performances' to satisfy the controllers and consumers of sport. The sheer numbers involved means that high achievement-motivation, long-term planning, self-control and renunciation of short-term gratification are necessary to get to the top. This is helped by the fact that in the impersonal modern state, sport has become a channel for attaining social mobility and status. They also say that, increasingly, questions of identity are at stake for performers and spectators when traditional props of identity (class, religion and occupation) are weakening. All of this makes it difficult to uphold the amateur ethos and places constraints on immediate short-term enjoyment with the contest as an end in itself.

Dunning and Sheard point out that the increased cultural centrality and significance of sport is due to six interacting determinants:-

- (i) the increasing importance of sport as a source of identity and status.
- (ii) the changing balance between work and leisure.
- (iii) the growing secularisation of beliefs and social institutions generally. Sport is a means of collective

identity replacing the role of religion.

- (iv) the excitement sport can provide in a routine and 'civilised' society.
- (v) the potential sport has for expressing masculine identity; and
- (vi) the importance of sport as a source of social identity or what Durkheim describes as 'mechanical solidarity'.

It is this last factor, 'mechanical solidarity', that Dunning and Sheard argue leads to football hooliganism. They consider this problem briefly and conclude that the solution would be to make football hooligans play rugby. This would institutionalise the violence while at the same time raising the standards of play by spreading the game to a group whose norms and values are ideally suited to it. Of course, the main obstacle here would be class prejudice. Dunning and Sheard are certain that the R.F.U. would be horrified at the idea.

As a final point, Dunning and Sheard both emphasise their support for Elias while at the same time pointing out that 'real violence' is on the increase both in sport and the wider society. They suggest that the 'civilising process' is in fact curvilinear and that it is only in the early stages that functional democratisation is civilising. After this it produces effects that lead to disruptive conflict - it may be that such a level has been reached in Britain. This is a major obstacle both in sport and society as a whole and,

until it is eradicated or at least significantly softened in its effects, it will be impossible to satisfy the aspirations of the British people for industrial and sporting success. (p.289)

Hargreaves points out that hegemony can never be guaranteed and has to be continually worked for and renewed by the class in power. For this reason therefore he considers the question of

whether it might be possible for the politics of sport and the body to exert an emancipatory effect. As Hargreaves explains,

Sport is being moved closer to the centre of the political stage as fissures appear in the apparently apolitical face of sport, through which subordinate groups are able to challenge bourgeois hegemony to a greater extent than ever before.  
(p.221)

Hargreaves therefore gives two ways in which sport is becoming problematic and these can be said to constitute the crisis in modern sport.

The first problem area revolves around the way the alienated population of the inner cities are handled by the government. Many lower working class male youths (white and black), never having experienced the rigours of work discipline, see leisure as just another area from which they are deprived and alienated; sport does not accommodate these people to the social order. This is not helped by New Conservatism which restricts provision for sport and thereby generates a struggle for provision in the inner cities thus polarising dominant and subordinate groups rather than accommodating them. This can be seen in the way in which demands for sport in the black community represents not only a demand for a better environment but a means of asserting their separate identity and resisting subordination by developing sport as a source of pride and dignity. He argues that

the issue of how free time is spent and how the material forces necessary to structure it appropriately are allocated is now an urgent political issue which can hardly be kept to the margins of the political agenda any longer. (p.221)

The second area in which sport is problematic

stems from the fact that the attempts to subject sports to a capitalist pattern of rationalisation and to programme sport in the 'national interest' exists in tension with the nature of sport as an autonomous means of expression. (p.222)

The commercialised sporting spectacle tends to raise public expectations to such an extent that it runs the risk of ultimately alienating the audience. Ruthless sporting competition is not necessarily the most exciting, rule breaking may become systematic and violent outbursts, scandals and intensive bureaucratic organisation make for an ugly spectacle not easily marketed as 'family entertainment' and which does little to exemplify national virtues. Whereas sports are supposed to uphold the social order, modern audiences are now well used to breakdowns in this order, such as hooliganism.

Finally, Hargreaves mentions the struggles of the female population to break into sport, one of the major bases of male hegemony, in a way which does not just reflect male sporting values, but which satisfies women's own needs and expectations. Hargreaves predicts that this will be one of the fiercest areas of battle, a struggle which "will have almost incalculable consequences, in particular, for the character of the recomposition of the working class".

The aim of this chapter therefore has been to establish the basic framework which each author uses for the historical and sociological analysis of sport. This has been done by considering five different areas of analysis and attempting to make comparisons between the theories at each stage. In order to take these evaluations further, however, it is necessary to attempt to apply these perspectives to the particular instance of cricket. The following chapters therefore will outline the historical development of cricket, as explained in the introduction, in order to establish which if any of the theories considered above offers the most convincing account of the way the game has evolved during the past two centuries.

CHAPTER 2  
CRICKET: FOLK BEGINNINGS TO 1870

This chapter will consider the first three phases of cricket's development as cited by Brookes (1978);

1. The age of the folk game (pre 1660),
2. The era of the aristocracy and gentry (c.1660-1830),
3. The end of patronage and the era of the Professional XI's (1830-1870). (p.7)

Special attention will be made to the gradual codification of the game throughout this period which culminated in 1864 with the legalisation of overarm bowling, the 'turning point' in the game which was identified in the introduction. The evolution of the rules of the game is seen as problematic because of its early occurrence and the fact that it is bound up with and increasingly determined by definitions of class and class consciousness.

In order to understand the game's development it is necessary to locate it within the social context in which it occurred. Despite different emphases and interpretations, historians (Brookes (1978), Hole (1949), Brodribb (1952), Brailsford (1969), Malcolmson (1973), Bailey (1978), Ford (1972), Walvin (1978), Cunningham (1980) ) who have tried to situate leisure in its social context in the late 18th and 19th centuries all agree on specific points which are of relevance to cricket. They include; the public, undifferentiated and brutal nature of popular pastimes; the role of patronage by the aristocracy and gentry; the attack mounted on popular culture from the late 18th century; and the reorientation of middle class leisure especially around sport as celebrated in the public schools. An analysis will be made of the way in which they related to and



affected the nature and development of cricket and its problems. Areas to be considered include: the aristocratic patronage of the early game; its survival despite the subsequent withdrawal of this patronage; the early emergence of professionalism and spectatorism; the arguments surrounding the popularity of the professional touring XI's, and the development of new bowling techniques.

Cricket emerged from a class of folk ball games including 'stool ball' and 'trap ball' which were very popular before the mid 16th century when the State had only limited means of enforcing its will on the people, especially those recreations patronised by the aristocracy (Brookes, 1978, Hargreaves, 1986). Up until the early 19th century, popular culture was still largely pre-industrial in nature. The rhythm of work was set by the agricultural year, work discipline was slack, the working week irregular and there was no distinction between work and leisure. The culture revolved around the tavern where publicans played a central role in organising activities. This culture also focused on 'holy days' and, like the rest of society, was violent and brutal in nature and was characterised by superstition, hostility to outsiders and even riots (Clarke and Critcher, 1985).

It was in this emotional and expressive pre-industrial society that sport had its social setting. Sports were a reflection of public culture, many being violent, mass events. The early codification of cricket, however, appears to have made it more genteel and lifted it above the realm of public, undifferentiated and brutal popular pastimes. Certainly, like all games, it was played informally in the street, but at the same time a game form existed that was highly organised in terms of rules and differentiated in terms of playing positions. The non-contact nature of the game also made it less prone to violent exchanges than other contact sports.

Continuous attempts were made from the Tudor dynasty onwards to suppress games seen as a threat to social order and the moral wellbeing of the people. Cricket was protected from these increasingly successful attempts at suppression by the patronage of the aristocracy who, in the process of becoming land-based and more businesslike, were beginning to set aside pastimes of their own. It is likely that the game was adopted by the aristocracy after witnessing the tenants and servants of their estates playing the game (Altham, 1926). The aristocracy had both the time and money to stage matches and, more importantly, it provided an occasion for both excitement and a small wager. As Brookes (1978) explains,

In short, cricket's adoption by members of the landed aristocracy and gentry in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was born of a gradual recognition that the game offered an opportunity to re-enact vestiges of an earlier lifestyle in a setting which combined the maximum of excitement with the minimum of danger. (p.33)

The first step in the patronage of the game took place in the Southern counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey and Hampshire (Brookes, 1978). By the 18th century the aristocracy had regained its former strength and exclusiveness, though now it lay in land rather than military prowess, and their involvement in cricket's 'Great' matches reflects this. Brookes (1978) lists four reasons why the game was patronised and played by the aristocracy;

1. It allowed them to be seen by, and thereby reaffirm their authority over, the people on their estates.
2. It allowed the making and renewal of friendships.
3. It allowed upper class gentlemen to act out their rivalries without any real danger to their wellbeing.
4. It was a source of entertainment, exercise and enjoyment for a class with unlimited funds for the pursuit of leisure. (pp.38-40)

Cricket was better suited to providing these requirements than, for example, folk football, because the non-contact nature of the game allowed gentlemen to participate without demeaning themselves or risking physical injury.

By 1750 a set of articles had been produced which standardised local variations and provided guidelines on the conduct of play (Rait Kerr, 1950, Brodribb, 1952). In 1744, 1771, 1774 and 1778 these articles were incorporated into a set of 'laws', the development of which have been well documented by Rait Kerr (1950) and which are summarised in Appendix II. That these 'laws' were able to command widespread respect is indicative of the authority that the aristocracy wielded at this time. Brookes (1978) argues that

The patronage lavished on cricket by the aristocracy was undoubtedly the most potent influence on the overall development of the game during the eighteenth century. The organisation of matches became more elaborate; efforts were made to standardise the rules of the game; and the employment of the first 'professionals' encouraged a general improvement of playing skills. (p.45)

In the early 19th century the aristocracy came to view the patronisation of popular sports as a means of social control as well as a chance to take part in an enjoyable pastime. Clarke and Critcher (1985) explain that

In this sense popular culture was the culture of the whole people, a culture which negotiated a tenuous 'Englishness', a unity, out of the complex divisions of class, gender and religion. The leisure of the labouring masses was, at least at holiday time, the leisure of the ruling oligarchy. Thus, custom, self-interest and inclination were powerful supports to patronage. (pp.53-4)

and Cunningham (1980) cites D.P. Blaines (1840) who wrote that cricket...

has a particular claim to patronage, for it is in every sense a game of the people generally, from the highest to the lowest; it excites no envy by its exclusiveness, and it equally enjoys the attention of the prince and the peasant.

The Hambledon Club, founded by the Rev. Charles Powlett in 1756, is a good example of how a village club could flourish under the patronage of a gentleman. All the players were from the Hambledon area and the membership consisted of a fine balance of 'aristocratic patronage and local enthusiasm'. The strength of the team drew crowds of 20,000 and it was only when outside professionals with no local connections were brought in around 1780, together with the gradual withdrawal of upper class patronage and the club's difficult geographical position, that the club declined. It had reigned supreme for twenty five years but with the increasing importance of London as a centre for the game its demise was imminent. It was made certain in 1787 with the formation of the Marylebone Cricket Club (M.C.C.).

The M.C.C. was an offshoot of the White Conduit Club which, Brookes (1978) suggests, was nothing more than a collection of gentlemen with a common interest in cricket. Very little is known of the club's early days but Brookes (1978) argues that it is doubtful they immediately assumed the importance attributed to them by writers such as Altham (1926) and Rait Kerr (1950). The club was not formally organised and had no internal structure. There is also no evidence of the club having any influence outside of London where the game was still being run by upper class patrons or, with the withdrawal of their patronage, by local middle class enthusiasts.

This then was the situation at the turn of the century. By 1800 cricket had been recorded in thirty one English counties, Scotland, Ireland and Wales and was as popular in the major towns as it was in the country (Bowen, 1970). Indeed cricket was, as Bowen (1970) explains, "the only team game then, and for

another sixty years, which had anything like mass support." By 1830 the rules had reached a level of sophistication at which, with only two exceptions and a few minor alterations, the game was to remain for over a century. (See Appendix II and III)

Cricket at this time was set apart from all other games by several unique features which developed as a result of the patronage of the aristocracy. These were,

1. the game's early codification,
2. mass spectatorism, and
3. the presence of professionals.

It is very important to stress that this codification took place a good century before that of other sports as did the emergence of professionals and the rise of spectatorism. The presence of the professionals in cricket is especially unique in that cricket never experienced the severe crisis faced by other sports over professionalism (Dunning and Sheard, 1979).

It follows therefore that approaches which assume that sport is a product of a 'mature' industrial society have to explain the anomaly of cricket's early development. While cricket may eventually prove to be a special case, it seems reasonable to expect the theories of Dunning and Sheard(1979), Guttmann (1978) and Hargreaves (1986) to have some way of explaining why the characteristics of 'modern' sports appear so much earlier in cricket than in other sports.

By 1800 aristocratic patronage was being withdrawn from the game as the upper classes abandoned 'traditional' recreations in favour of socially segregated pursuits (Dunning and Sheard, 1979, Clarke and Critcher, 1985). This, together with the attack mounted on popular culture from the late 18th century, constituted a real threat to traditional sports. As the pattern of work became set by the rhythm of the machine rather than the agricultural cycle, the antagonism towards popular culture grew. Malcolmson (1973) explains that recreation was

an indulgence which could easily pass beyond the limits of social acceptability; if industry was to be kept up it would have to be strictly controlled... Recreation was commonly seen as an impediment, a threat of substantial proportions, to steady and productive labour.

The attacks on popular culture took several forms. The Enclosure Act of 1848 effectively robbed the people of many of their recreation sites, and moral campaigners produced propaganda against popular culture (Cunningham, 1980, Clarke and Critcher, 1985). In 1801 the Society for the Suppression of Vice was formed which concentrated its efforts on breaking Sabbath laws, and the formation of The Society for the Protection of Animals in 1824 provided a focus against popular bloodsports. The efforts of such groups were helped by a set of laws passed in the early 19th century which banned various pastimes. The situation was worsened by the withdrawal of aristocratic patronage from many pastimes as the aristocracy, feeling threatened by the up and coming bourgeoisie, withdrew from public life (Dunning and Sheard, 1979).

The effect on cricket however is not clear cut. Indeed Cunningham (1980) suggests that cricket not only survived this attack but flourished, whilst other pastimes were being actively suppressed. Bowen (1970) cites Bell's Life which reports that between 1838 and 1866 the number of matches played rose from 130 to 500, due mainly to improvements in the rail network. However, during the same period, it is interesting to note that the number of matches played at Lord's remained the same and M.C.C., who had by this time taken over the control of the laws of the game, raised admission prices to matches at Lord's in an attempt to exclude the lower classes. Indeed, in the mid 1820s a controversy arose that indicated that cricket, despite its survival of the attacks on popular pastimes, was being affected by the accompanying trend towards social exclusiveness. A row

emerged about the development of new bowling techniques which, it could be argued, was a manifestation of the discontent among the upper classes concerning the increasing role of the professional in the game. The argument centred around the M.C.C. and a group of progressive businessmen and country gentlemen who had no objections to the principles of professionalism and who gave their support to James Broadbridge and William Lillywhite who were developing the use of 'round-arm' bowling methods. Brookes (1978) describes how the events were an indication of

the gulf that divided the M.C.C., with its elitist preferences for amateur teams playing in private grounds, and the 'progressives', led by men like G.T. Knight, who favoured allowing professionals to play alongside amateurs in a regular series of 'county' matches.(p.96)

In 1828 a sustained effort was made by the pro-round-arm group to gain acceptance for the new technique (Brookes, 1978). In the columns of the Sporting Magazine letters were published by Mr. Knight advocating the new style and by Mr. Denison in defence of the M.C.C. Altham (1926) provides a good summary of the arguments for both sides. Knight argued that:-

1. It is universally admitted that batting dominates bowling to an extent detrimental to the game.
2. The new style is not really new at all. The Kent bowlers... practised it twenty years earlier, and it was only because they raised the arm too high that the M.C.C. went too far in the opposite direction and condemned all scientific progress by demanding that the hand should be kept below the elbow.
3. There has been no attempt to regulate the new style by law.
4. The proposal to redress the balance of the game by increasing the size of the wicket is retrograde; it would reduce and not stimulate the science of the game.
5. To describe the new style as 'throwing' is nonsense; the straight arm is the very antithesis of a throw; moreover it makes

- it impossible to bowl fast and dangerously.
6. Let us keep to a middle course, avoiding the tameness of the old...school and the extravagances of the new alike.

Denison replied in defence of the M.C.C. that;

1. The new style is fatal to all scientific play, putting a premium on chance hits and placing scientific defence at a discount.
2. It is throwing pure and simple.
3. It must lead to a dangerous pace, such as cannot be faced on hard grounds save at the most imminent peril. (p.62)

Three experimental matches played between Sussex and All England failed to do anything but highlight the opposition of the two camps and, as Broadbridge and Lillywhite continued their practices, faced by little or no opposition from weak umpires, the M.C.C were forced to capitulate and in 1835 altered Law 10 to permit round-arm bowling (Brookes, 1978). Lillywhite then went one step further and lifted his arm even higher and although the M.C.C. attempted to stop this by instructing umpires to call 'no ball' the argument continued for another eighteen years until such a time when, as Brookes (1978) writes, "the Victorian establishment could overcome its differences and finally agree upon the role professionals were to play in first class cricket."(p.95)

As a result of the M.C.C.'s inability to exert any influence over the professionals and their reluctance to make any rule changes that would have accommodated them, a split occurred in the game (Brookes, 1978). The amateurs retreated into the relative seclusion of country house cricket and wandering amateur teams such as I Zingari (founded 1845) and Quidnunc (1851), while in 1846 William Clarke selected the first All England XI, a touring team comprised entirely of professionals whose purpose was to make money. This was a revolutionary concept, an entirely new type of cricket, and it was from this time that cricket became a national sport. There is no doubt



that one of Clarke's main aims was to improve the opportunities open to professional cricketers, especially those from the North, but his own reluctance to share out the profits led to Wisden and Dean setting up a rival United XI of England who together with Clarke's team were to dominate English cricket for the next ten years. The popularity of cricket greatly increased during these years. The highlight of their success came in 1864 when persistent efforts finally forced the M.C.C. into legalising overarm bowling (Brookes, 1978).

The 1840s were the period when attacks on popular culture reached their peak (Clarke and Critcher, 1985). There was also a marked change in the rhythm of work and it was during this period that 'leisure' first became apparent as a distinct area of human activity. The pastimes of the aristocracy remained largely unaffected as they were able to withdraw to their estates and continue their pastimes in seclusion. This also applied to cricket. Walls were built around the Artillery Ground in London and the aristocracy favoured single-wicket matches which usually involved an amateur batsman playing against a professional bowler (Lewis, 1987).

Opinion is divided as to the effect on working class culture, but Cunningham (1980) suggests that the traditional 'blackage' view of total deprivation is too simplistic. There were many pockets of resistance and, while many popular traditions were declining, others were being adopted and some actually flourished. Indeed, Cunningham (1980) argues that

In fact, I have come to see this half of the century as one of vigorous growth of popular leisure and of a commercialisation of it comparable to the commercialisation of leisure for the middle class in the eighteenth century... I see it myself as a confirmation of the argument of E.P. Thompson that the people had some capacity to make their own culture.

Cricket was one of these flourishing pastimes and this is

illustrated by the success of the professional touring XIs. It was not unusual for a five-figure crowd to watch their matches. Cricket, it seemed, was able to flourish without the patronage of the aristocracy (Bowen, 1970).

Cricket in the mid 19th century then was characterised by

1. The growing importance of professionalism.
2. The growth of mass spectatorism.
3. Class exclusiveness.

Again, it is important to stress that these trends do not occur in other sports for another forty years, and while it might follow that this is so because of a definite progression, which occurs earlier in cricket than with other sports, one would still expect any theory that was based on a socio-historical framework to be able to explain this, and any other exceptions to their time-scale.

It looked as if the professional XIs were destined to reign supreme for many years but internal squabbles led to regional splits with the North refusing to play the South. Brookes (1978) argues that this was viewed by M.C.C. as nothing less than a strike which, in the mid 19th century, evoked visions of working class revolution amongst the ruling classes. As a result, Brookes argues,

the professional cricketer was thrown into an ever-hardening stereotype of the 'working-classes', and as a result his relationship with the gentleman amateur was redefined in terms of class difference rather than a genuine, if sometimes grudging, respect for outstanding sporting ability. Henceforth, disagreement between amateurs and professionals could only be understood as examples of class conflict. (p.114)

Gradually, with the increasing popularity of county cricket, the professionals began to realise that their futures lay with the counties. In retrospect it is easy to see why the counties were favoured instead of the touring XIs who lacked any sense of

local identity for local supporters and who were often so strong that the outcomes of matches were a foregone conclusion (Brookes, 1978). County cricket provided both local interest and competition which explains its increasing popularity in the 1860s and '70s as does the ingenuity of the administrators in providing a game which represented a compromise between 'the populism of professional cricket and the elitism of country house cricket'.

Many traditionalists were put out by the success of the Northerners at the game which, as Brookes (1978) explains, confirmed their belief that

the great objection to professionals was that they were believed to be a threat to the sanctity of sport. (p.116)

This represented part of the middle class reorientation of leisure that took place in the mid 19th century and had its origins in the trend in the early 19th century for upper class leisure exclusiveness.

The 1850s and 1860s saw the public schools take over the role of preserving, developing and promoting games as a means of character building for young Victorian gentlemen. The reformation of the public schools has been well documented by writers such as Bailey (1978), Cunningham (1980) and Mangan (1985) and following the examples of Thomas Arnold's reforms at Rugby School, sports such as football and cricket enjoyed a revival. Folk football, for example, a rough and unruly game long played by the boys at the school, was developed to such an extent that its nature completely changed, a process examined by Dunning and Sheard (1979) in their analysis of the development of modern rugby.

Cricket, however, although played in public schools, was not affected in the same way. The game itself had been more or less

modernised as far as the rules were concerned by the early years of the 19th century while still under the patronage of the aristocracy and was not taken out of working class circulation as other sports were during the 1840s-60s due, it could be argued, to the professional touring XIs. So, while continuing to provide many excellent amateur players, the schools did little to change the actual rule structure of the game.

They did, however, provide the basis for the realisation of the amateur gentleman ethic, an ideal which was to dominate sport and society for the next seventy years and which was characterised by the subordination of, and sometimes open hostility towards, the working class professionals in sport (Brookes 1978, Dunning and Sheard, 1979, Hargreaves, 1986). Cricket was no exception to this. Professionals existed in cricket long before other sports had even begun their codification. The earliest professionals were those men given employment on country estates so as to enable them to represent their upper class patron's team (Brookes, 1978). The M.C.C. engaged its first professionals in 1825 (Lewis, 1987). Their main job was to bowl at the 'gentlemen batsmen'; therefore, as Brookes (1978) describes,

Soon the roles of batsman and bowler came to reflect class divisions in society at large. By 1850 the pattern of amateur batsmen and professional bowlers was well established. (p.92)

On the surface the opportunities for professional cricketers at clubs did appear to give them some control over their employment as well as the opportunity to realise their full market potential but in fact the standard pay rates used by clubs allowed them to exercise more or less arbitrary controls over the professionals. The most important attribute of sport was claimed to be the relaxation it provided from the rigours of work. The Victorian amateur-gentleman feared that the professional was associated with a win-at-all-cost attitude

which, as Brookes (1978) explains, posed

a serious threat to the esprit de corps and discipline which were integral features of the English public school tradition, and which were believed to have played such an important role in the foundation of the Empire. (p.117)

This was the period when Britain led the world in the sporting arena and the symbolic greatness of cricket was deemed too great to allow it to be shaped and manipulated by working class professionals.

These, then, were the reasons for the end of the era of the professional XIs in 1870. Internal disagreements, lack of local interest and predictable outcomes in the professional games, combined with the growing status exclusiveness on the part of the Victorian bourgeoisie and the evolution of the amateur ethic, all paved the way for county cricket to become the dominant game form in the late 19th century (Brookes, 1978).

How far then, are the theories of Dunning and Sheard (1979) and Hargreaves (1986) able to explain the development of cricket from its early beginnings until the emergence of the County Championship in the 1870s? Can they explain the early occurrence of cricket as an organised sport, its codification and survival despite the decline of other folk games.? What light do the respective theories shed on the changes that occurred in cricket in the mid 19th century which was characterised by the growing importance of the professionals, the growth of mass spectatorism and an increase in class exclusiveness, factors which culminated in the round-arm bowling controversy? Finally, what reasons can Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves offer to explain the end of the era of the professional XIs and the growing status exclusiveness of the Victorian bourgeoisie which led eventually to the formulation of the amateur ethic? Any theory suggesting a developmental history of sport during this period should be able

to explain these characteristics of cricket in the third quarter of the 19th century as well as suggest reasons as to why the public schools had less influence on cricket than they had on other games and why cricket was able to accommodate its professionals whereas in other sports they were virtually banned.

In their analysis of the development of rugby football Dunning and Sheard (1979) note that folk games did decline in the mid 19th century and list four contributory factors;

1. The civilising process which made violent games less acceptable to the higher social classes.
2. The emergence of a landed gentry who 'organised' folk games and in doing so introduced elements of control and fairness as a means of violence control.
3. The more rigid class barriers that emerged out of industrialisation which resulted in the withdrawal of patronage and the growth of status exclusive leisure pursuits.
4. The tightening of labour discipline and the lack of playing space meant that the working classes no longer had either the time or means in which to play folk games.

They do, however, agree that there were pockets of resistance and that the games did not all die out spontaneously, although by the end of the 19th century, folk football had been almost totally replaced by the modern forms of soccer and rugby. The game's survival, Dunning and Sheard argue, was due to its adoption by the public schools where, until the 1830s, it existed in as unruly and violent a form as its folk counterpart. Thomas Arnold's reforms at Rugby School (1828-1842), necessitated by the process of embourgeoisement, restored the staff's authority and allowed him to encourage 'character

building' team games at the expense of traditional aristocratic pastimes such as hunting. The status ambitions of the bourgeois parents at Rugby, their desire for a 'manly' education for their sons which trained them as 'gentlemen', and the desire of the boys to develop a football game that was distinct from the working class form, were factors which led the pupils at Rugby to innovate and develop the handling game. In 1845 the first rules were laid down at Rugby and the game gradually evolved into one suitable for an 'English Gentleman' with an emphasis on self control and fair play.

By the 1880s the continued expansion of the middle classes and the development of the 'public schools games cult' had resulted in the Rugby game being adopted in other public schools. As the boys moved to university, however, the need for a uniform set of rules became apparent and there was conflict between those advocating the soccer form (Eton and Harrow) and those who preferred the handling game. The fact that neither group could gain the ascendancy is another indication, Dunning and Sheard argue, of the extent to which embourgeoisement had progressed by the mid 19th century. In 1863 the soccer advocates broke away and formed the Football Association. The Rugby Union was eventually formed in 1871 when it was realised that a central body was needed to combat the increasing popularity of soccer, to try and reconcile the different forms of rugby that were emerging and to do something about the controversy that had arisen over the violent practice of 'hacking'.

This then is Dunning and Sheard's explanation of how the process of embourgeoisement and a call for more 'civilised' standards in the mid 19th century led to the folk football game being developed into a fully modern sport suitable for a 'gentleman' of the 1870s. What can their analysis of the development of rugby football, however, tell us about cricket's development during this period and how far are they able to provide explanations for the questions that were posed earlier?

Cricket, like rugby football, was derived from earlier folk games. Unlike football, however, by the mid 1700s these games had been codified and a set of laws established controlling the conduct of the game - a process which did not occur in the case of folk football until the mid 19th century when the games were adopted and adapted by the public schools.

Dunning and Sheard acknowledge that the rules of cricket were well established by the time the boys at Rugby began to modernise football, but they make no attempt to explain the reasons for this or why cricket was able to resist the attack made on popular culture in the late 18th century. Their description of the characteristics of folk games and analysis of their decline assumes that all games existed at similar levels of development at the same time, a fact certainly not true of cricket which had reached a high level of codification before the concerted attacks even began.

Dunning and Sheard also acknowledge the emergence of a landed gentry who organised and patronised folk games as well as the changing patterns of work which resulted in the working classes no longer having the opportunity or space for leisure. It is important to note, however, that for Dunning and Sheard these factors arise as a result of the changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution and, although these changes do occur in cricket, Dunning and Sheard are unable to explain why they occurred one hundred years before they would expect.

Dunning and Sheard's analysis of the civilising process has some relevance for the evolution of cricket during this period. They argue that the operation of the civilising process results in a progressive pacification of sport through increasingly elaborate rules. The rules of cricket certainly did become more complex during the period in question although it must still be noted that the first written rules exist from 1744, one hundred years before the first code was laid down at Rugby. Apart from this,



however, it is not so easy to pinpoint any real influence of the civilizing process in cricket at this time. The only example that can be found in cricket during this period is the outlawing in 1788 of batsmen being able to barge out of the way a fielder attempting to make a catch (Rait Kerr, 1950). In all other respects, specifically the legalisation of round-arm and overarm bowling, the reverse seems to be true. Both actually represent more 'confrontational' styles of play designed to intimidate the batsman. The theory itself is also difficult to apply to a non-contact sport such as cricket where, with the exception given above, actual bodily contact, and hence the capacity for violence, has always been minimal.

Dunning and Sheard's analysis of the process of embourgeoisement can also be used to illustrate certain aspects of cricket's development prior to 1870. They argue that the more rigid class barriers that emerged out of industrialisation resulted in the withdrawal of patronage and the growth of status exclusive leisure pursuits. This is certainly true of cricket which witnessed the withdrawal of upper class patronage from the game in the early 19th century and their retreat to a more socially exclusive form of game. This happened, Dunning and Sheard argue, because the upper classes and up and coming middle class entrepreneurs became increasingly aware that if industry was to be successful workers would have to be strictly controlled and therefore those who had patronised the game became more in favour of the suppression of working class pursuits. In the case of cricket this often meant the withdrawal of upper class patronage and the aristocracy choosing instead to play the game behind closed doors as was the case with the Artillery Ground. What Dunning and Sheard are unable to explain, however, is why cricket, in the face of such attacks on popular culture, was able to survive and indeed, in many cases, flourish. They do not consider the role of the Professional XIs and therefore they disregard the increase in professionalism and rise of mass spectatorism which accompanied the success of the XIs.

How then are Dunning and Sheard able to explain the argument that arose regarding round-arm bowling, a technique advocated largely by professional bowlers and objected to by the upper middle class members of MCC, given that this row arose partly out of the success of the Professional XIs and partly because of the growing status exclusiveness of the upper classes.

Dunning and Sheard's theory of embourgeoisification can explain the reluctance of the M.C.C., an upper middle class institution with low status security, to accept the changes in techniques advocated by working class professionals and the subsequent withdrawal to the country house games by the upper classes. Their analysis however cannot suggest why, faced with the withdrawal of both upper class and M.C.C. support, the game was able to survive and did so very successfully in the form of the Professional XIs for the next decade. It might perhaps be argued that it was because the middle classes as yet had not gained enough power to exert their will over the professionals. Although the game was played in the public schools, its survival had nothing to do with the fact that it was adopted and developed in these institutions, although they later did have an effect in the production of the amateur ideal that was to dominate the game. In fact, the game's continued success during this period had more to do with its popularity among the lower classes of society who flocked to see the Professional XI games and transformed cricket into a spectator sport, again fifty years before its time. The inability to explain this phenomenon is one of the major weaknesses in Dunning and Sheard's theory. Other than mentioning that some resistance was mounted by the working class to the attack on folk games in the early 19th century, no account is made of the pastimes of the working class, the fact that for them 'civilisation' often meant deprivation in terms of leisure or the effect that their sporting preferences may have had on the development of sport.

Hargreaves' (1986) description of the attack on popular culture is couched in terms of hegemony and class relations and he provides some explanation as to why cricket was adopted by the aristocracy as early as the 18th century although this does not include any suggestions as to why only cricket became codified so early on and not any of the other pastimes which received patronage.

The declining influence of Puritanism and gradual development of capitalism led to a boom in pre-industrial popular culture. The early 18th century saw considerable commercialisation and professionalisation of some sports, notably cricket, which developed under the patronage of gambling aristocrats. Prior to 1790 the ruling class was not unified enough to transform or discipline popular culture especially in cases where the lesser Tory gentry formed alliances with the ordinary people in opposition to the Whig oligarchy. Whig control was reasonably effective, however, as their visibility in restraining popular culture was low and, on occasions when they did meet the lower classes in sport, their involvement took on a hegemonic style that stressed their dominance. In cricket, for example, they not only financed and led teams, but monopolised the more popular fielding positions. As Hargreaves explains,

Whether contrived or otherwise, by patronising, identifying with, and sharing in the enjoyment of popular sports and pastimes, the oligarchy and gentry cemented the social bonds between themselves and the local populace; and their manner and style of participation symbolised and reproduced the social hierarchy. (p.19)

Hargreaves' theory therefore goes some way to explaining the reason for the popularity of cricket with the aristocracy and its early codification. However, although he notes the advanced development of cricket compared to other sports, he puts forward no reasons to suggest why this was so. The early timing and

codification of the game therefore is an area which neither author can explain totally. Hargreaves notes that the game was developed under the patronage of gambling aristocrats but, as this was also true of other popular pastimes, it does not explain why cricket was able to resist attempts at suppression and reform in the early 19th century. Hargreaves hints at the answer to this when describing how, when involved in a game with the lower orders, the aristocracy and gentry always monopolised the more popular positions. This capacity could in fact be the reason for cricket's early popularity and survival when other games, like folk football, fell by the wayside. Unlike football, even the earliest form of cricket involved a certain degree of role specialisation, and a system soon developed where the ruling classes preferred to bat and leave the bowling to their social inferiors. The same was true of the more active fielding positions. From this it becomes easy to see how the differentiated playing roles could be used to express dominance, albeit symbolically, over the lower classes. Cricket may well have survived because of this specialisation of roles. Indeed, as class consciousness became increasingly important in the 19th century, cricket, perhaps better than any other sport, served to illustrate and thereby reinforce such class divisions.

Hargreaves describes the years 1790 to 1850 as a period of 'unprecedented change' which saw the rise of the industrial capitalists and the emergence of a new, organised, combative working class demanding political change. The dominant class felt threatened by social and political disorder and responded by increasingly withdrawing their patronage from working class pastimes. At the same time middle class reformers approved of any measures taken to inculcate the lower orders with bourgeois virtues such as hard work, discipline, sobriety and respectability. Popular sports suffered as Enclosure Acts removed the venues, and attacks on holidays and increased working hours removed the opportunities to take part in such 'disreputable' activities. At the same time the rational

recreation movement began to provide schools, museums and music halls in an attempt to wean the working class away from traditional pursuits. However, in many areas the attack on popular culture was fiercely resisted and the frequent resort to legislation indicates, Hargreaves argues, just how stubborn and widespread their resistance was. Working class people may well have taken part in activities organised by patrons, but this did not mean that they subscribed to their ideological viewpoints. Many sports were successfully reconstituted during this period, while others grew and developed. Hargreaves points out that, once more, this was not due solely to the patronage of the upper class. In cricket, for example, the gentry may have maintained control over the governing bodies but it was the commercial interests of men like William Clarke who, taking advantage of its popularity, developed the game tremendously. The elimination of gambling from Lord's in 1825 does show however that the ruling powers in cricket were prepared to accommodate to the pressures for reform as does attempts by clubs such as MCC to reserve membership for the upper classes.

The important feature of this period therefore, for the purpose of a study of cricket, is that during the first years of the 19th century, no group was able to gain overall hegemony. The dominant classes were not united in their demand for reform, many Tory traditionalists defending their sporting links with popular culture which they regarded as 'a social cement'. The middle classes, who were on the whole the main force behind the rational recreation movement, were also divided with, for example, the brewers busy promoting drink and popular sports whilst temperance societies tried to suppress them. Therefore the disunity in the ruling classes reduced the effectiveness of attempts to reform working class culture and Hargreaves argues therefore that by the 1840s, although controls over popular sports cannot be seen in terms of their contribution to bourgeois hegemony, they nevertheless played an important part in working class integration at that time.

When considered from this point of view, therefore, Hargreaves appears to be able to offer an explanation as to why cricket experienced substantial growth and development in the first half of the 19th century despite the attacks made on popular sports. This was the period when, although retaining an element of control, the Whig oligarchy had not succeeded in uniting the ruling classes and therefore could not achieve hegemony over the lower classes. Cricket is a good illustration of this situation. In some areas Tory traditionalists continued to patronise and take part in the games as before, expressing the belief that they served as a means of uniting the classes and thereby reproducing the social order. Other aristocrats, more wary of mixing with the lower classes, withdrew to the country house game, having left control of the M.C.C. in the hands of the gentry and up and coming bourgeoisie. Their leanings towards rational recreation can be seen in the prohibition of gambling at Lord's in 1825 - an early sign of embourgeoisification. At this stage, however, they were not able to enforce their will effectively on either the upper classes or the working class professionals who, under the commercial guidance of William Clarke, were able to retain a certain amount of autonomy, as did the working classes in society as a whole. They did so with the formation of the Professional Touring XIs who, had they not succumbed to internal arguments, may well have been able eventually to mount a serious challenge to the hegemony of the M.C.C. Their initial success showed that the game did not depend entirely on upper class patronage and was a remarkably early example of a successful commercialised sport. It would be another 50 years before any other sport even attempted commercialisation in this way, some, as will be seen in the next chapter, being torn in two as a result. The professional XI games appealed greatly to the working classes who were in many cases being forcibly deprived of their traditional pastimes. Professional cricket, however, never really posed a serious threat to the upper classes as it had already acquired a degree of respectability and did not

possess the unruly elements that would have so alarmed the ruling classes in other folk games.

The mid Victorian period was a time of economic expansion and relative economic and political stability. The period saw the achievement of bourgeois hegemony over the aristocracy and unity in the ruling classes. Like Dunning and Sheard, Hargreaves stresses the role of the public schools in this process. Under the influence of public schools, sports became more specialised and organised and, as Hargreaves writes,

the remarkable reconstruction, innovation and scale of expansion of organised sports was a major achievement of the mid Victorian era, which laid much of the foundation on which working class people would participate later and for the development of sport worldwide. (p.45)

The general feeling was that sports could be used to unite and mend divisions between the classes. Almost immediately the working classes began to show an interest in the reconstituted sports and in doing so accepted many upper class values. Attempts were also made from above to promote 'orderly' sports as a means of cultural integration and social harmony. This was initiated mainly through religious institutions, local employers or groups such as the YMCA or the Mechanics Institutes. The strategy largely failed however because;

1. there was not enough upper class support;
2. the Church also insisted on attendance and employers would only allow 'reputable employees' to use facilities;
3. sport was not allowed in parks or open spaces; and
4. many popular sporting pastimes had managed to evade reconstruction.

For these reasons, then, a degree of repression was still necessary on the part of the dominant group. In the 1870s horse racing was banned in the suburbs and 150 local fairs were suppressed by Act of Parliament. Other activities managed to

continue and although brutal sports declined they were replaced by what became the working class sports of pigeon and dog racing and pedestrianism, sports preferred to the organised bourgeois alternatives. Pubs remained the centres of such activities and alcohol consumption reached a peak in the 1870s despite the efforts of reformers. Bourgeois hegemony was not achieved therefore over the working class in this period although, as Hargreaves points out,

the nature of popular culture and especially the centrality of popular sports therein, afforded dominant groups opportunities to exploit it for political purposes and new ways of harnessing sports to politics were developed during this period under the stimulus of pressure for political change. (pp.53-4)

The figure of John Bull had strong sporting connections derived from popular sports culture and "Beer and Britannia" was often more than a match for rational recreation. As Hargreaves explains,

appeals in terms of the national good, often mixed with chauvinism, became an increasingly important element in the emergent pattern of hegemony; and sporting imagery and symbolism played a certain part in this kind of appeal.

This was to play an increasingly important role in the period up to World War II.

In cricket, the third quarter of the 19th century saw the height of popularity of the professional touring XIs but by 1870 this was declining, due as much to internal squabbling as to any conscious attempt on the part of cricket's authorities to gain control over them (Brookes, 1978). Hargreaves might argue, however, that the growth in importance of regional identities during this period may have helped speed up the decline in favour of the county game and it is certainly true that the professionals did themselves few favours by their arguments as



they only served to confirm to those in control of the game that restrictive measures would be needed in the future to keep the professionals in their place. This is where, for Hargreaves, the public schools were of importance.

Cricket, unlike rugby, did not depend on the public schools for its continued existence, although, as Hargreaves acknowledges, its role as one of the games reconstituted under the public schools games ethic was to be of great significance for the game in the future, especially for the professionals. It was in the public schools that the bourgeois formulated 'amateur ethos' began to evolve, and which achieved its greatest influence in the following era, 1870 - 1945.

To summarise, therefore, both Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves offer partial but not total explanations about the development of cricket up to 1870. The main problem with both theories is that they view the onset of 'industrialisation' as the 'prime mover' in the changes which occurred in society in the early 19th century and that it was out of these changes that the conditions arose which were conducive to the growth of modern sport. Neither writer is able to explain the fact that cricket was virtually a modern sport well before this process of industrialisation began.

Of the two, Dunning and Sheard's theory appears slightly weaker as it concentrates on the role played by the public schools and disregards the fact that cricket was almost fully developed by 1830. They are unable to explain the early codification of the game or why it resisted the attacks on popular culture that they describe.

Dunning and Sheard also fail to acknowledge the fact that cricket, in the form of the professional XIs was able to flourish as a popular pastime outside the public school system at a time when such pastimes were undergoing a concerted

attack. They are correct, however, in ascribing such importance to the public schools as it was here that the process of embourgeoisification resulted in the formulation of the 'amateur ethic' which was to transform the nature of sport, especially cricket, in the period 1870 to 1945.

Although Dunning and Sheard do not attempt to analyse the controversy that took place surrounding and the eventual acceptance of round and over arm bowling, it is possible to explain these events with reference to embourgeoisement. Whereas in the past the aristocracy had been happy to play cricket alongside the lower class, the up and coming middle class bourgeoisie that emerged with the Industrial Revolution were less status secure. These people, represented in increasing numbers in the M.C.C., were reluctant to accept the new bowling techniques advocated by the professionals because, it could be argued, they were perceived as a challenge to the authority of M.C.C. and a threat to the dominant role of the upper class amateurs. These reactions in a way can be seen as a forerunner to the attitudes which would change the role of the professional even more in the years to come as the amateur ethic was evolved.

As far as the civilising process is concerned, if an increasingly elaborate code of rules is taken to be a sign of the influence of this process, then cricket during this period does seem to conform to Dunning and Sheard's theory. However, when the rules are considered in detail it becomes apparent that, with the acceptance of round arm and over arm bowling, cricket actually became more rather than less confrontational during this period and the author has found only one example of a rule that actually prohibited rough play (1788 prohibiting barging an opponent). This raises one of the major problems that arise when attempting to apply Dunning and Sheard's theory to cricket in that it is not easily applicable to a non-contact sport and other criteria may have to be defined in order to discover the affect of the civilising process on non-contact

sports. In the long run it may be necessary to conclude that the theory of the civilising process can only be effectively applied to contact sports such as rugby where the incidence of 'rough play' is easily measured.

Hargreaves' analysis of the ongoing struggle of various groups to control and maintain hegemony is couched in terms that make it more applicable to cricket's unusual timetable. The declining influence of Puritan control allowed a boom in pre-industrial popular culture which was exploited by the landed aristocracy who patronised cricket as a means of laying a wager. Even at this early stage though, hegemonic control was stressed by the aristocracy monopolising the more popular positions.

Hargreaves is also more able to explain the survival of the game in the face of the attacks on popular culture. The organised working class that emerged in the years 1790-1850 threatened the security of the new industrial capitalists who responded by withdrawing their patronage from working class pastimes including cricket (Brookes, 1978). At this stage however, Hargreaves argues that, although popular sports suffered, total hegemony was not achieved by the bourgeoisie and so some pastimes survived and, in the case of cricket, flourished. This helps explain the popularity of the professional touring XIs and also gives some insight into the reason why the M.C.C. were so opposed to new bowling techniques advocated by the professionals and their supporters. With the upper class divided over their support for these new techniques, the professionals were able to continue the game successfully, even when the aristocracy withdrew to their country estates. Hargreaves' analysis of the increasing bourgeois hegemony in the 1870s also has some relevance to the game as the upper classes were now beginning to unite behind the banner of the 'gentleman amateur' and in the following years were able, aided initially by the professional's internal disputes, to gain control over the game and subordinate the professional players into inferior positions.

Therefore, although they advocate different reasons for these changes, Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves agree that by 1870 conditions were ripe for an era that was to totally change the face of sport, the era of the amateur ethic. Cricket was one of the best illustrations of these changes.

The years 1870 - 1945 were the era of amateur domination of sport in Britain, and of cricket in particular. This was constituted around the county game which achieved dominance in this period and replaced the professional touring XIs as the most popular game form. It was also the period when spectatorism became prominent especially for the working classes who, because of a rise in the standard of living and reduction of working hours, had both more time and money at their disposal (Clarke & Critcher, 1985, Cunningham, 1980). The interwar period, in particular, saw a growth in the expression of nationalism and regional identity around sport. This contributed to an increasingly professional attitude towards cricket, even on the part of the amateurs, and played a large part in the 'Bodyline' crisis, a crisis that is problematical because it is typical of the Post-War era. This will be considered in some detail. Five key developments; the county championship, professionalism, commercialism and spectatorism and internationalism, all emerged fully in cricket during this period and continued in a widening context in the Post-War period. Any theory on the development of sport during this period should include and be able to explain these characteristics.

a) The County Championship

In 1873 eight county sides first competed for the title of 'county champion', although it was not until 1894 that the counties managed to formulate an effective policy concerning rules and qualifications necessary for the championship to become a success (Brookes, 1978). M.C.C., on the whole, preferred to sit back and let the counties resolve their own differences, although they did help lay down the county

qualification rules. There was friction between the strictly amateur M.C.C. and the more commercially minded counties, but they were still able to maintain control over the professionals. Brookes (1978) suggests that this was because of the ability of the aristocracy to draw from the energies of the middle class rather than alienating them. As well as the middle classes being admitted as members to M.C.C., the aristocracy were being elected as patrons of the counties which further offset the likelihood of trouble. Brookes (1978) identifies two series of events which had important roles to play in the fusing of the County Championship and M.C.C.

The first was the economic and agricultural depression that disturbed the structure and stability of the aristocracy during the 1870s and '80s. This coincided with the emergence of a middle class 'business aristocracy'. They owned and lived on great estates but they travelled to work and their main aim was the pursuit of profit. Together with aristocratic businessmen they formed a new ruling coalition of which cricket was one of the major leisure activities. The number of these men who became members of the M.C.C. increased greatly between 1870 and 1900 and their influence had a decisive effect on the conduct of M.C.C. affairs. They brought, according to Brookes (1978),

a fresh vision and a new sense of purpose to its activities. Rather than closing their eyes to the County Championship and hoping it would disappear, the newcomers accepted the existence of the competition and sought instead to bring it within the club's jurisdiction. (p.135)

The second process at work was the increasing criticism of the M.C.C., not only by the press and public, but by members themselves. Games set up in opposition to the county matches had failed badly and crowds had declined as top players left the M.C.C. to join the counties. Calls were made for a conciliation with the counties and the M.C.C. was criticised for its attitude

towards professionalism. In 1876 a new secretary began to increase the membership of the club by admitting the business aristocrats and in 1877 the M.C.C. allowed Middlesex to play some of its matches at Lord's. In 1894 the counties, faced by organisational problems, requested help from the M.C.C. It was then that the reconciliation was made. It was a lasting success, with the county championship going from strength to strength. By 1902 it had become "the foundation of first class cricket in England". Brookes (1978) argues that

The counties needed to find a way of rationalising the Championship. The M.C.C. had finally come to terms with the idea of cricket as a 'national' game and was seeking a way of unifying the administration of all facets of the game. The new partnership put the County Championship on a sound organisational footing and secured its economic viability for years to come. (p.137)

#### (b) Professionalism

One of the most important questions that arose out of the formation of the County Championship concerned the status of the professionals who had moved from the touring XIs to the county clubs (Sissons, 1988). Some sports like tennis, cycling and golf actively excluded the working class. Thus an important question arises about why the reaffirmation of control by the middle and upper classes that took place after the disbandment of the professional XIs did not cause a split similar in cricket to that of rugby. This might well have been expected, given the popularity of the Professional XIs and the rise in status of cricket to that of a national sport. Brookes (1978) attempts to answer this question by arguing that, in a period of mounting class tension, the middle classes did not consider it appropriate that sport, a symbol of Victorian excellence, should be the product of the working class. The bourgeoisie therefore, through county cricket, sought to reaffirm the authority of the

amateur over professionals, a process which in cricket the professionals were not strong enough to resist. How then was the amateur ethos constructed through the development of county cricket in the late 19th century, and how did it produce what Brookes (1978) describes as "one of the greatest double-acts in sporting history"?

The separation of the professionals and amateurs, however, was closely linked to the emergence of the County Championship as a spectator attraction. Many at Lord's were suspicious of the increasing number of working class players and spectators and wished to avoid the kind of situation that had existed during the heyday of the professional XIs (Brookes, 1978). At a time when the labour force of England was first beginning to mount a challenge to traditional authority, inter class relationships were often openly hostile. In most spheres of life benevolent paternalism was replaced by more rigid and formal sanctions that reinforced class differences (Cunningham, 1980). It was considered unthinkable that county professionals should be able to command the popularity that had been showered upon the professional XIs in the past. Brookes (1978) argues that

the redefinition of the professional's role... had to embrace a return to something akin to the master-servant role of the eighteenth century whilst at the same time paying lip service to the demands of a free labour market and democracy. Once desirability of a return to the pre 1846 status quo had been established, it was but a short step to argue that it was the amateur who, as captain, was the best equipped to look after the interests of the game itself. (p.140)

Social standing and superiority replaced moral uprightness as the best attributes for an amateur captain. The separation of the amateurs and professionals was achieved by creating two roles, one reaffirming the rights and privileges of the gentleman, the other defining the duties and obligations of the artisan. In this way cricket could be 'popular' without losing its elitist traditions. Two distinct worlds were created with

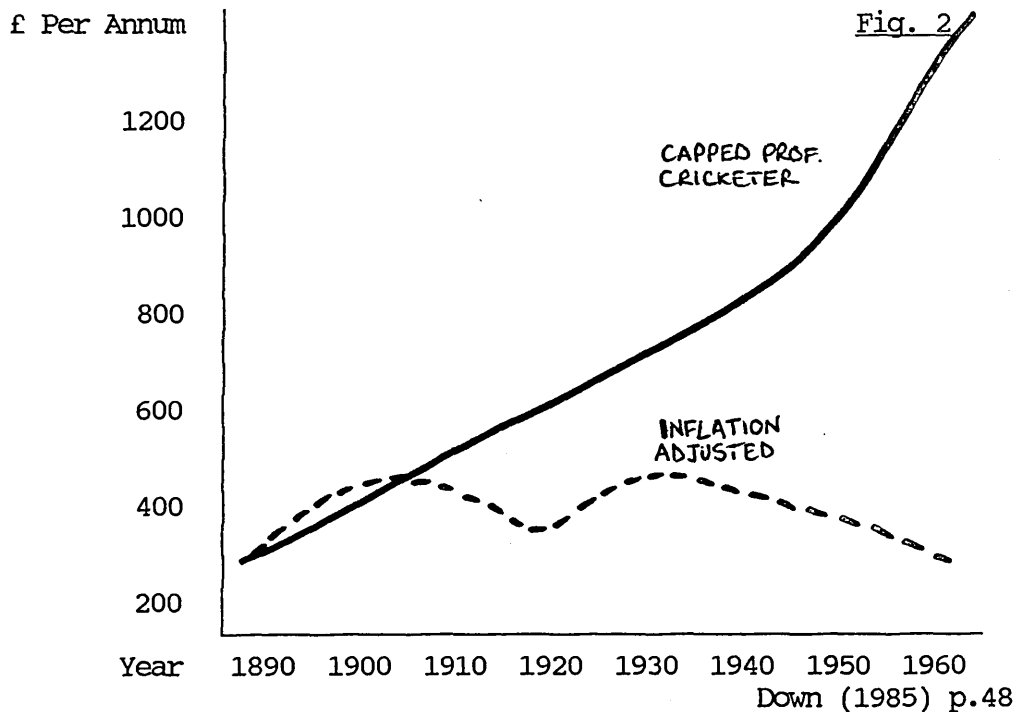


separate dressing rooms, dining rooms and gates out onto the field. Names were printed differently on scorecards and the professionals had to fulfil menial non-playing tasks around the ground. They were not considered suitable candidates for captaincy because of the pressure they were under to make a living from the game (Brookes, 1978, Dunning & Sheard, 1979, Hargreaves, 1986, Lewis, 1987).

County cricket continued to consolidate its successes, however. By the outbreak of World War I, the championship and professionals had been more or less accepted. For professionals, despite this complete turnabout in their status, employment could at least be guaranteed (Sissons, 1988, Down, 1985). With the exception of an uprising by the Nottinghamshire players in 1881 demanding a contract of employment, professionals continued to put up with their poor working conditions and rates of pay for nearly seventy years. From the professional's point of view, there were some compensations. Brookes (1978) argues that

his role in the game was now accepted, if not exactly welcomed, by most cricket lovers. This meant that the viability of a cricket career was finally established, and by this time jobs were more numerous and easy to discover. (p.118)

They gradually came to be seen as men who played merely for the love of the game and while this may not have helped them support a family, it was welcomed as it meant an end to the endless suspicions and mistrust they had received since the 1860s. The separation of the amateurs and professionals continued, more or less unchanged, until the 1960s, with little complaint from the professionals even during the inter-war years when some cricketers actually took a drop in wages (Down, 1985). The diagram below, from Down (1985), showing a long-term view of professional cricketers' salaries, illustrates this.



Brookes (1978) quotes Jack Hobbs (1935) who was under no illusion about the difficulties facing a professional character. He writes

There is no royal road to success in cricket. It is a rough, hard road and only a few can win through... Cricket is too precarious. It is alright if you can rise to the top and get the plums. Otherwise it is a bare living for a few years, with nothing at the end. (p.153)

Few players expressed these grievances whilst playing. Most were content to have the chance of achieving recognition in what was becoming an increasingly prestigious career.

The twenty years before the First World War became known as the 'Golden Years' of cricket. W.G. Grace became, according to Bowen (1970), England's first modern 'folk hero' and it was he who helped to prove the superiority of the gentleman amateur over the game.

During these years, the final stages of transition from folk game to organised sport were made. The first international 'Tests' were played during this period with the Imperial Cricket Conference being formed in 1909. In 1898 a Board of Control to administer home tests was set up, in 1895 the Minor Counties Cricket Association was formed, and in 1904 the Advisory County Cricket Committee was set up and lasted until 1969 (Bowen, 1970, Warner, 1956, Lewis, 1987).

In 1884 a completely revised code of laws were adopted by the M.C.C. which included the introduction of boundaries and six-ball overs and the clarification of follow on and new-ball laws (Rait Kerr, 1950). In 1892 the first instructions to umpires were issued and the purchase of a heavy roller at Lord's allowed for an improvement in pitch standards to such an extent that no period has seen more scores of over three hundred runs (Bowen, 1970). The amount of county cricket played doubled and under the approval of the M.C.C. the county game had become the basis of the first-class game in England. The M.C.C. were now firmly in control and the institutions they set up during these years were to remain for sixty years.

#### (c) Commercialism/Spectatorism

The commercialisation of leisure expanded tremendously during the 1880s. Walvin (1978) describes how

By the last quarter of the century many of the nation's major enjoyments were orchestrated by large commercial enterprises. Leisure had become an industry requiring heavy capital investment and astute management.

Clarke and Critcher (1985) argue that leisure during this period became highly institutionalised, highly specialised and segregated from the rest of life. Cricket, however, was not

commercialised in the usual sense. It was certainly highly specialised, drinking and gambling having been eliminated very early on, and it was rigidly segregated in terms of class and gender. Its unusual time setting, taking place in the middle of the week during working hours, however, differentiated it from many other leisure forms.

The main legacy of these processes was the amateur ideal which was fully evolved in this period in order to protect certain social groups from the perceived problems of spectatorism, organised competition and professionalism, trends which were to become more apparent after World War I.

Paradoxically, although the 1920s were a time of rising unemployment and poverty, it was also a period when the amount and variety of leisure opportunities expanded and, as Clarke and Critcher (1985) explain, leisure moved from a peripheral to a central position in the economy although of course not all enjoyed equal status as consumers. As Walvin (1978) points out, for the first time leisure was seen as a right of the people; even the poorest could afford the cinema or a day at a cricket match. Spectator interest increased dramatically. As Warner (1946) describes,

People flocked to the best county matches, and where in previous years seven or eight thousand spectators had been considered a good gate, we now found twenty, twenty five or even thirty thousand at Lord's. At the Oval it was much the same, and at Old Trafford in the Yorkshire vs Lancashire match all records were broken. (p.182)

At Lord's crowds were boosted by the unemployed who from 1925 could get covered seats for a shilling a day (Lewis, 1987). County cricket was consolidating as a popular profit-making business as sport became increasingly used as a vehicle for expressing a sense of identity and providing a cathartic release for the mass emotions that arose from living in urban areas.

Mass spectator sport existed before World War I but after 1918 its growth was facilitated by factors described by Walvin (1978) and Stevenson (1984) such as improvements in public transport, a gradually rising standard of living, paid holidays and the emergence of the popular press.

It is important to note that, while working class interest in cricket served to make it a popular spectator sport, opportunities for spectating were more available than those for taking part. This was true of most sports. Some advances were made in public provision. The C.C.P.R. and National Playing Fields Association were formed in 1925, but on the whole lack of public provision excluded the working classes from participation. This was compounded by the high cost of participation in many sports as well as the fact that, during the 1920s and '30s most governing bodies and clubs were run by amateurs and often actively excluded the working classes by enforcing amateur principles. Certainly in cricket, where county committees were largely composed of country gentlemen, professionals were looked upon as paid labourers (Brookes, 1978, Sissons, 1988).

#### (d) Internationalism

The growth of international cricket began in the last quarter of the 19th century. The first overseas tour to USA and Canada took place in 1859 and the first Test Match was played between England and Australia in 1877. The I.C.C. was formed in 1909 (Bowen, 1970). During the inter-war period, regional working class identities were mobilised by popular sports such as cricket and football. Inter-war crowds were extremely committed to their sides and intensely partisan. Winning a Test match assumed similar proportions as winning a battle had during World War I.

The game was being played more widely than ever before and by the mid 1920s was well established throughout the Empire. In 1926 New Zealand, India and the West Indies were admitted to the I.C.C. (Bowen, 1970). The number of test matches played during this era rose. The first hundred tests were played in the thirty one years between 1877 and 1908, two hundred had been played by 1931 (23 years) and it took only another seventeen years to complete three hundred tests. Taking into account the years lost through war, this was a tremendous increase.

The 1920s and '30s saw increased press coverage of the game and by 1930 tests were being broadcast on the radio. The popularity of the radio was an indication of the shift towards family-oriented, home-based leisure. By 1939 over 9.5 million people had radio licences compared with 2 million in 1926 and under 30,000 in 1922 (Crichton, lecture notes). The boom in popular interest in the game gave rise to a star system in which cricket personalities and Test matches were national news. Despite cries from some of a boring, relentless game, this was the era when players such as Hobbs, Bradman and Sutcliffe took the stage and captured the imagination of millions. During the 1930s Britain came to the forefront of sport and, although it never reached a national fervour as seen in Italy and Germany, it did provide a national identity for many as well as acting as a unifying force (Hargreaves, 1986). During World War II cricketers were even exempted military duties in order to act as entertainers to the troops (Lewis, 1987). This is interesting when it is remembered that during World War I all sporting activities were effectively halted as sporting enjoyment was not considered an appropriate pastime for a nation at war. By World War II, sport was increasingly being used as a means of uniting an otherwise divided nation, divided both regionally and along class and gender lines (Hargreaves, 1986).

As a result of the increasing popularity of cricket during the inter-war period there was no real lack of money in the game;

most counties flourished although a few of the less popular counties in the South and Midlands, hampered by the withdrawal of amateur gentlemen patronage, came close to bankruptcy (Down, 1985). Bowen (1970) actually suggests that the problems faced by Britain's economy may in fact have contributed to the popularity of cricket during these years, especially when it came to the flowering of professional talent. With unemployment so high, the chance of a cricketing career was readily seized upon by working class men.

By the 1920s the M.C.C. had become the administrative leader of the game. Lewis (1987) describes how, by this time,

The M.C.C. acted as a court of appeal to the whole cricket world, and as such was flooded with correspondence. It ran the County Championship, selected Test teams and organised the England tours abroad. It had formed governing bodies at home and an Imperial Conference to keep close connections throughout the Empire. Lord's was now an administrative club, with business spinning off into many sub-committees. (p.211)

As far as the administration of the game is concerned there is very little to record during this period and only a few law changes were made including an increase in the size of the wicket in order to help restore some of the losses made in bowling conditions due to improvements in the pitch. Indeed, it was the restoration of conditions between batsman and bowler that led to the major controversy and subsequent law changes of the period, 'The Bodyline Crisis', although it is also important to acknowledge that the series of events during 1932-33 had much to do with the other trends in the game previously described, especially the growing importance of international pride attached to the game in a period of economic depression.

## Bodyline

The problem was anticipated as early as 1928 when Lyttelton (1929) warned of the dangers threatening cricket in the face of the increase in the number of runs scored, and hence drawn matches. He pointed out that nothing realistic had been done to help the bowler since the legalisation of overarm bowling in 1864 and that the artificial preparation of wickets was unfair to the bowlers. This, together with an increase in the use of defensive pad play, safe in the knowledge that under the existing lbw law one could not be given out, made the bowler's job extremely difficult. It was therefore no surprise that many bowlers had, by this time, given up any attempt to hit the wicket and resorted to the negative tactic of bowling short of a length in the hope that the batsman would eventually get himself out. Lyttelton (1929) was convinced that a change in the lbw law was what was needed and "would establish the principle that the bat alone is the weapon to be used to prevent the ball hitting the wicket." This would not only help the bowler but would also improve the hitting, make scoring more attractive and reduce the number of drawn matches. Lyttelton (1929) added, rather prophetically, that

As there is some doubt as to the risk which may exist that... many short leg fields may be too difficult to play with the lbw law so altered, it may be wise to limit the law to the off-side only.

It was precisely this tactic that Douglas Jardine, the haughty amateur England captain, exploited on the 1932-33 tour of Australia to combat the run-getting talents of Don Bradman (LeQuesne, 1983, Docker, 1978, Fingleton, 1945). The tactic of setting a heavy leg-side field for the pace bowling of Nottinghamshire professional Harold Larwood caused a crisis of proportions that at one stage threatened the future of cricket between the two nations and was reputed to have been discussed by respective governments (Le Quesne, 1983, Stoddart, 1979).



In order to understand the controversy that arose, a description of events and personalities is necessary. More important, however, is how the origins and form of and reactions to 'Bodyline' reveal the historical development of cricket which has been illustrated partly with reference to the lbw law.

Leg-theory itself was not new. What was new was its use with a battery of fast bowlers pitching the ball short so that, given the Australians' habit of shuffling across the wicket, it was virtually impossible to play (Le Quesne, 1983). Batsmen were forced into merely defending their bodies. The incident in the third Test at Adelaide that brought the matter to a head occurred when Larwood, bowling to an orthodox field, hit the Australian captain Bill Woodfull above the heart. When Pelham Warner, the England team manager, went to enquire about the Australian captain's condition he was told, according to Fingleton (1946),

There are two teams out there on the Oval. One is playing cricket, the other is not. This game is too good to be spoilt. It is time some people got out of it. (p.2)

This story was leaked to the press and when the game resumed on Monday morning the crowd was at fever pitch. Robinson (1973) describes the Adelaide Oval as being like "a huge hornets' nest" and the anger reached a peak when Oldfield was hit by Larwood and Jardine responded by immediately setting his leg-field. Le Quesne (1983) argues that it was only the strict conventions of the day that kept the crowd from invading the pitch and maybe doing physical harm to the England players, especially Jardine, whom they despised for his aloof attitude and obvious distaste for the Australian way of life. Despite the rise of professionalism, cricket was nevertheless governed by an 'amateur code' which included a culture of restraint which extended to both players and spectators. Bodyline represents the first and probably most dramatic challenge to this whole

ethos particularly when linked with the fact that the Australian crowd had developed their own norms of behaviour under which 'barracking' was accepted, and at times could almost become violent even though it may have stopped short of physical interference with play. As Holt (1990) argues, the popularity of cricket in Australia had spread quickly with the Australian cricket team providing a major focus for cultural nationalism. It appealed to all classes of society. Holt (1990) explains that,

Cricket was able to satisfy the desire of the lower-class immigrant to beat England whilst appealing to the 'British' establishment in Australia as an Imperial sport. (p.233)

The Australian Board of Control, feeling pressurised by the strength of popular opinion, sent a rather hasty telegram to the M.C.C. which accused the England team of 'unsportsmanlike' behaviour, a threat which at the time would have incensed many Englishmen, proud of their cricketing heritage and tending to look down on their colonial counterparts. Holt (1990) argues that,

By implication the Australian cricket authorities and public were questioning the good faith of the British in the common morality that held them together. this was a very serious matter. (p.235)

The next eighteen months saw the exchange of a series of cables between the two nations as politicians in Whitehall and the Australian Prime Minister applied pressure for a compromise (Holt, 1990). At first the M.C.C. took a very firm stand and, outraged by the accusations of unsporting behaviour, offered to abandon the tour. There was never really any chance of the A.B.C. taking up this offer, however, as Australian cricket depended heavily on the revenue generated by such tours

(Stoddart, 1979). Also, as Holt (1990) argues, the British were reluctant to inflame Australian nationalism at a time when the economic balance between the two countries was precarious. It is almost certain that the M.C.C. Committee, many of whom had close links with the Conservative Party, understood these considerations. On the other hand, it was unthinkable that M.C.C. should stand down and accept the public humiliation of the accusation of being 'unsportsmanlike'. Therefore Holt (1990) argues, a compromise was struck. Jardine was allowed to stay on as captain for the remainder of the tour. But afterwards...

in the time honoured traditions of the British establishment Jardine was quietly ditched despite his success and Larwood was never selected for England again...The Empire was more important than the Ashes. (p.236)

The tour was completed without further incident, but with Jardine employing his leg-theory when he chose. In 1933, however, the West Indians employed Bodyline on their tour of England. The M.C.C. then began to appreciate just how dangerous it could be, especially in the hands of inexperienced, inaccurate bowlers. Thus in 1934, following a suggestion from the A.B.C. to amend Law 48, 'leg-theory' was effectively outlawed. Instructions were issued to umpires to prevent 'direct attack'. The lbw law was altered to allow a batsman to be given out if the ball pitched outside the stumps provided he was between the wickets. Thus, as Le Quesne (1983) observes, "did the two streams which had flowed parallel courses for many years at last come together." This in effect removed the need for tactics such as 'leg-theory' as it restored the balance between the batsman and bowler and meant that the bowler no longer had to go to such dangerous lengths in order to achieve a wicket.

Bodyline therefore can be viewed as a coming together of several key factors;

1. The more 'professional' attitudes which encroached upon codes of behaviour without actually breaking the letter of the law.
2. The growth of international cricket and the influence of nationalism with a siege mentality amongst touring teams.
3. The general frustration of bowlers trying to get batsmen out on dead pitches.
4. The ambiguous and outdated lbw law.

Bodyline was symptomatic of changes in the technique of sport within a specific social and economic context and occurred primarily because of the increase in professionalism in the game. Better prepared wickets, the increased use of pad play and Jardine's 'win at all costs' attitude were all due in part to a growing seriousness and relentlessness surrounding the game and it is in this aspect that the inter-war years are differentiated from the chivalry and adventure of the Golden Age, dominated by amateurs.

It was during this period that sport and entertainment began to be converted into a commodity (Hargreaves, 1986). Sport reached all levels of society and achieved the status of a major component of popular culture with football and cricket rivalling even the cinema, the most highly commercialised of new leisure forms, in popularity (Clarke and Critcher, 1985). Bodyline also illustrates the competing class definitions of the aims of those playing the game and is highlighted by the roles played by Jardine, the amateur, and Larwood, the professional. As Lewis (1987) explains, as far as the Australian crowd were concerned,

Larwood was only the captain's missile. Whereas Allen, an amateur, could refuse to bowl to order, Larwood, the professional, could not. Amateurs belonged to cricket's governing class... Joe Darling, the former Australian captain, said he had heard amateurs address professionals like dogs.  
(p.221)

Before World War I, cricket had been enjoyed as an aristocratic pastime, played solely for the enjoyment it afforded the participants who were under no external pressures or restraints. The war, however, changed many things, and from the 1920s onwards the 'amateur gentleman' control over the game was increasingly challenged by professionalism and the growing need, in a more professional society, for men to make their living and to make it out of the game. It was this increasingly professional attitude towards the game that was one of the main factors directly responsible for the development of Bodyline. In the end, the M.C.C. retained their power but only after making concessions, although at this stage the concessions were not enough to lay control of the game entirely in the hands of commercial interests.

As Le Quesne (1983) writes, "in 1932-33 the game was still run by an elite who could impose their own standards on it". (p.226) But for the first time in 1932 there were indications of the later trend in which cricket would become part of the entertainments industry run, not by an aristocratic elite, but determined by the wishes of the media, high finance and spectators - a trend that was also increasingly apparent in society as a whole (Clarke and Critcher, 1985, Down, 1985, Barnett, 1990).

With the outbreak of World War II all first-class cricket in England was suspended although, as mentioned before, Lord's was kept open and there was much good cricket to keep the public and troops entertained and their morale high (Lewis, 1987, Warner, 1946). Cricket was biding its time and waiting for the massive overhaul that was to occur after the war.

### The Theories

How then are the theories of Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves able to explain the development of cricket between 1870 and 1945

and its main features which have been identified as the growth of the County Championship, professionalism, spectatorism and internationalism?

There are also several questions arising from the Bodyline crisis which the theories of Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves should be able to explain, namely how the growing pressures of international competition along with the internal dynamics of the game (in this case the struggle between batsmen and bowlers) can produce a crisis centred around the interpretation of the rules. They should also be able to give some explanation of 'deviance' as an outcome of sport's development and consider whether the characteristics previously identified are indicators of this development.

#### Dunning and Sheard

Dunning and Sheard's analysis of rugby's development between 1870 and 1945 raises two points which might help explain cricket during this period. They are, firstly, the development of an 'amateur' ideology as a rationalisation of class domination, and secondly, a resolution of the 'professional' dilemma in ways which reflect the class composition and attitudes of the various protagonists. According to this view, during the 1870s rugby and soccer underwent the process of 'democratisation'. Soccer especially began to be played by middle and working class men who, with rising standards of living and shorter working hours, were able to find both the time and money to play and watch cricket. These factors also played a part in the growing number of working class spectators at cricket matches.

Initially there was little upper and middle class opposition to working class participation which was often encouraged especially where the team was attached to the local church or factory. This was part of the 'missionising zeal' of muscular

Christianity and in cricket is witnessed in the formation of the Leicester Schools Cricket Association in 1893 (Bowen, 1970).

Rugby, Dunning and Sheard argue, was more status exclusive than soccer, but in Yorkshire and Lancashire the working class were able to participate in the game through a network of 'open' clubs, many run by self-made men who had fewer objections to mixing with the working classes than their southern counterparts. In 1888 the formation of the Yorkshire R.F.U. broke the control of the status exclusive clubs in the north. As the clubs became more powerful they underwent the processes of 'bourgeoisification' and 'proletarianisation'. These together, Dunning and Sheard argue, resulted in rugby in the north emerging as a 'professional' sport placing increasing importance on cups and leagues and promoting the 'monetisation' of the game by charging admission, paying players and offering players monetary inducements to change sides. Stress was also placed on spectatorism with teams coming to represent localities. By 1880 the 'open' clubs had become 'gate-taking' clubs.

These developments can also be paralleled in cricket. Northern leagues became very popular during this period, providing excitement and a sense of local community for spectators (Holt, 1990). They can also be used to explain why the County Championship took on its importance during this period. Inter-county rivalry produced interest and excitement that could not be generated by the Professional XI teams. It also in part explains the growing interest in international matches, facilitated by developments in travel, in the early 20th century.

In rugby these developments were strongly resisted by the rugby establishment in the south who responded, Dunning and Sheard argue, by developing

a set of ideas by which they attempted to legitimise rugby as a 'purely amateur' sport... (and)... fight for the establishment of 'amateurism' as the major organisational goal of the R.F.U. (p.146)

The amateur ethos was not confined to rugby and gradually came to attain the status of a 'social fact' which legitimised a system of amateurism based considerably on class hostility. Sport was for the production of pleasure and should have no ulterior motive. Interestingly, Dunning and Sheard quote Arthur Budd, Chairman of the R.F.U. who in 1888 claimed that professionalism led to "corruptibility, disrepute and sometimes absolute decay." He went on to say however that this did not apply to cricket as amateurs were able to spend as much time playing the game as professionals and were therefore able to maintain the 'equality of play' and 'monopoly of government'. Dunning and Sheard qualify these remarks by explaining that

the occurrence of such a crisis is a function, not of the balance between amateurism and professionalism per se, but of relativities of time and skill... the virtually undisputed control that amateurs were then able to exercise over cricket depended basically on the existence of a class structure in which a few people inherited sufficient wealth to exempt them from the need to work. It was inherited wealth which enabled amateur cricketers to devote their summers to the game. (p.160)

This may also help to explain the increase in professional attitudes which occurred after World War I when fewer amateurs were able to spend all their time playing cricket (Down, 1985).

In 1895 these developments in rugby led, Dunning and Sheard argue, to a split in the game with the formation of the Northern R.F.U., later to become the Rugby League and this type of rugby became a fully professionalised sport.



The question here of pertinence to cricket is why, when all sports were faced with questions about professionalism, did only rugby fail to solve the problem? Dunning and Sheard point out that football was run by an aristocratic/gentry group, many of whom had attended top public schools and were sufficiently secure in identity and status not to see the professionals as a threat. Although they did not altogether like professionalism, they had no reason to stamp it out and therefore followed an 'open door' policy of encouraging working class teams to enter the F.A. Cup. The F.A., Dunning and Sheard suggest, were confident that they would be able to control professionalism and thereby guide the development of a combined pro/am game in the direction they wished. Also important is the fact that this process began in the 1870s, a time of relative inter-class harmony. Rugby, however, was dominated by a more bourgeois group who, in the 1890s when the question of professionalism began to arise in rugby, had reason to feel threatened by the working classes especially in the face of increasing class tension. The argument reached such a level in 1893 that the dissociation of the two camps became necessary and from this time on Rugby Union and Rugby League developed independently as amateur and professional games respectively. This process is well documented by Dunning and Sheard (1979).

In cricket, however, the question of professionalism created virtually no tension at all. Dunning and Sheard argue that this was because professional cricket emerged in the 18th century when professionals were engaged on the estates of the landed aristocracy, who patronised the game and were secure in their belief that there was no one to challenge their dominant position in society. This security meant that they had no need to fear contact with their social inferiors and therefore were happy to play alongside the professionals who knew their place. Indeed, the fact that a living could be earned from the game seemed to the aristocracy

the simple extension of a social order full of 'natural' inequalities in which fate had decreed that they should be socially superior to and rule over others. Under such conditions, in marked contrast to those which came to prevail by the end of the nineteenth century, professional sport was neither morally nor socially suspect. (p.177)

However, from the beginning of the 19th century the processes of industrialisation, urbanisation and embourgeoisement began to erode the foundations on which the landed aristocracy's dominance had rested. As a result of the increased bourgeois threat they began to experience status insecurity and their feeling of ease about mixing with other classes on the cricket field was replaced by a more class-exclusive pattern. The upper classes began to play country house cricket in seclusion while the professionals became part of very successful touring XIs. As a result of this Dunning and Sheard note that by the end of the 19th century professional cricket was facing criticisms similar to those levelled at rugby and football, although they never reached such a violent pitch; indeed, it was mostly the spirit in which the professional played the game rather than the actual presence of professionals which caused the problems and pro/am tensions were never intense enough to jeopardise the authority of the M.C.C. As Dunning and Sheard write,

hence there was no serious threat to the maintenance of unified structure of rules and organisation for the country as a whole. (p.179)

Dunning and Sheard argue that this is because, by the late 19th century professional cricket had existed for more than one hundred years and had become an accepted part of the English way of life. Professionals had an established career structure and, perhaps more importantly, unlike football and rugby, there were still many amateur cricketers able to afford the time and money to play a prominent part in the game. They certainly dominated the batting and this helped them maintain overall control of the game. At this stage it was still considered worthwhile for a

'gentleman' to spend his summers playing cricket. Dunning and Sheard also cite the number of aristocratic members of the M.C.C. whose numbers fluctuated between 6 and 15% of total membership between 1886 and 1915 as another reason why the issues of professionalism never reached crisis proportions. These figures reflect similar changes in social composition in society as a whole and are evidence of the process of embourgeoisement. Therefore they argue that, although the actual number of aristocrats in the M.C.C. remained reasonably small, they retained their influence, and they attribute this to the fact that the emergent ruling class, the bourgeoisie, continued to use the aristocracy as a reference group upon which to base their own standards. As Dunning and Sheard explain,

To the extent that this continued, the power and influence of the aristocracy were sustained and this meant, in turn, that the traditional aristocratic attitude of tolerance towards professionalism could still be meaningfully invoked in the councils of the M.C.C. (p.186)

The increasing number of bourgeois members of the M.C.C., however, as a result of the embourgeoisement process, may have adopted the values of the aristocracy but were still relatively insecure as regards social status. They therefore felt threatened by the number of professionals in cricket. It was for this reason, Dunning and Sheard argue, that it was felt that professionals should not be able to continue in cricket at the same status as the amateurs and new measures were taken to demarcate the two groups along more rigid lines of social status. Dunning and Sheard describe how

In county cricket this took the form of subjecting professional players to varieties of ritual and symbolic subordinations designed to exemplify and reinforce their social inferiority and, at the same time, to reduce the threat they posed to the dominant group. (p.181)

These distinctions seem to have been accepted with little or no argument probably because, as Dunning and Sheard point out, cricket did offer working class men the chance of fame, if not fortune, that they could not get from any other job. The distinction between the professionals and amateurs therefore

reflected the extent to which status insecurity had increased within the British ruling class by the end of the nineteenth century. Eighteenth century aristocrats had little need for devices of that kind, their social status was exceptionally secure and did not need continually bolstering artificially. However, even though by the end of the nineteenth century status insecurity had increased within the ruling class, its expression in cricket remained confined to the forms of ritual and symbolic subordination... It did not lead to significant opposition to professionalism as such or undermine the authority of the M.C.C. Hence that body was able to remain in control of a unified game which incorporated amateurs and professionals. (pp.181-2)

Dunning and Sheard's detailed argument therefore does appear to be an accurate analysis of the way in which the amateur ideology was developed as a rationalisation of class domination. It does not, however, consider the threat that the development of league cricket could have posed to the M.C.C. had the clubs organised themselves in such a way as to present a challenge. The emphasis on status insecurity as the reason behind the various resolutions of professionalism may in fact be overstated, and Dunning and Sheard therefore could be accused of overstating 'macro' factors at the expense of 'micro' ones.

How far though are Dunning and Sheard able to explain the four major developments that took place in cricket between 1870 and 1945; the County Championship, increased professionalism, increased commercialism and spectatorism and the growth of internationalism?

Their analysis of the process of 'bourgeoisification' and 'proletarianism' which resulted in rugby becoming more professional in outlook may have some relevance to cricket, in particular in explaining the growing popularity of the County Championship which in this era took over from the professional XIs as the most popular form of cricket. Inter county rivalry provided spectators with a point of interest often lacking in the professional games. With growing urbanisation it is also possible that the process Dunning and Sheard describe as 'mechanical solidarity' played a part in generating spectator interest in their local team or county. Grouped together in urban areas the need for identity is often best expressed through association with local sporting sides. The extreme popularity of the Yorkshire v Lancashire match in the interwar period is a very good example of this rivalry and can explain why spectatorism became such an important aspect of cricket during this period. It therefore follows that, as the perception of the importance of the game increases, for both players and spectators, the attitudes of the players will become more professional in outlook and the desire to win the game becomes increasingly important.

The ultimate expression of this allegiance is focused around international identity and the improvements in travel and communication during this period meant that it was a natural progression for international sides to meet on the cricket field. As most of the cricket playing countries were Imperial colonies of Britain matches took on an extra importance; the colonies striving to prove their independence from their imperial masters and England using success on the cricket field as an indication of her supremacy in all other matters.

During the interwar years this rivalry, especially between England and Australia, became intense and can be seen as one of the reasons for the Bodyline controversy.

How well then are Dunning and Sheard able to explain the Bodyline crisis which arose partly out of these trends and partly out of the internal dynamics of the game? They might perhaps argue that status insecurity may be able to explain the behaviour of Douglas Jardine. He was an amateur but not of the aristocracy. His father was a lawyer in the colonial service and Jardine himself earned his living as a lawyer (Le Quesne, 1983). It is possible therefore that it was feelings of status insecurity which, backed by intense nationalism and a professional attitude to the game, led him to devise tactics which would subdue the Australians, perceived by Jardine as colonial inferiors. He was helped in this task by working class professional bowlers over whom he had the power to demand obedience. The only player who publicly refused to bowl Bodyline was Gubby Allen, an amateur.

Dunning and Sheard would also stress the decline of amateurism and rise of professionalism as part of the process of embourgeoisification, as well as the increased seriousness and socio-centrality of sport. This all culminated in a show of 'instrumental violence' on the part of Jardine and his bowlers. At the same time, however, Dunning and Sheard would expect the influence of the civilising process to result in a condemnation and outlawing of this violence. This is in fact what happened, although not until the tactics had been witnessed on English soil. It is more difficult to explain why cricket experienced such an occurrence fifty years before such outbursts became commonplace, not only in cricket and rugby, but in sport as a whole. In this respect Bodyline was certainly more typical of the period after World War II and could be seen perhaps as a sign of things to come. Dunning and Sheard's theory therefore does appear to provide a good explanation of the growing trends in cricket during this period and how they culminated in Bodyline. The main criticism of Dunning and Sheard is that their analysis is a little too specific to rugby and once more they are unable to explain the early occurrence in cricket of an

episode of deviance which does not become apparent in other sport and rugby until after World War II.

### Hargreaves

Hargreaves describes the period 1870-1945 as one in which bourgeois hegemony was successfully achieved over all sections of the community. He concentrates mainly on how sport was used to achieve this.

The period 1880 to 1914 was one of increasing class tension as the working class expressed growing independence and homogeneity. The call for women's suffrage and Irish Home Rule produced the threat of political instability at home, and abroad the threat from foreign powers grew as rivalry between the great powers heightened. Hargreaves argues therefore that

the need to promote social harmony through policies of class reconciliation and to be prepared to face the foreign enemy became predominant themes in social and political commentary. (p.57)

This was the beginning of an era of mass politics in which the working classes, although participating in civil society, were integrated into a subordinate position, the emphasis being on accommodation rather than conflict.

Sports during this period, through the efforts of the rational recreationists, who promoted sport as a means of class conciliation, discipline and bourgeois norms of respectability, began to become mass entertainment forms with some, especially soccer, becoming a firm part of working class culture. This was partly facilitated by factors such as a heavier concentration of population in urban areas, increased income and leisure time, better transport and the growth of the national mass circulation press. At the same time sport was becoming increasingly

commercialised and both, Hargreaves argues,

exerted pertinent effects on the way working class people became involved in sports and on the overall character of the sports network, of significance for the achievement of hegemony. (p.65)

By winning the respectable working class over to sport the working class was effectively divided, making it easier for bourgeois hegemony to be achieved. The working class at this time was not yet powerful enough to provide alternative leisure forms and commercialised sport, which on the surface appeared to cater for working class demands, also served to consolidate the dominant ideology. At first viewed with suspicion, spectatorism came to be seen by politicians as a means of exercising influence and increasing their popularity and they proceeded to appropriate sporting symbols for their own purpose. Hargreaves gives the example of football, a commercialised entertainment,

whose rationale was ostensibly profit and enjoyment and not social control, (but) was made to function as a symbol of the necessity for tight discipline and control over working class people. What had become a major working class institution... had also in a sense become the occasion for weekly sermons on knowing one's place in society. (p.84)

The pro/am distinctions in cricket were another way of emphasising this. 1870 to 1900 saw the formation of many amateur sports clubs and governing bodies, a process overlaid by an increasing tendency towards commercialisation in order to cater for public demand. Football became increasingly central to working class culture and it was during this period that the majority of league clubs were founded, commercialised football league began and professional football emerged as an occupation to which young working class men could aspire. Cricket and horse racing experienced similar increases in popularity. This process differentiated the working class and bourgeoisie who formed different identities and conceptions about sport whose



differences were expressed through the amateur gentleman ethic and the way each sport dealt with the question of professionalism.

In cricket, Hargreaves argues, working class presence continued to be unobtrusive and the Northern leagues could pose no challenge to the Championship. Working class professionals were still important to the game and became technically superior but the game lacked soccer's working class loyalty so that its ethos remained Victorian and bourgeois. The reason for this was the non-violent nature of the game, its leisurely pace and conduciveness to standards of 'gentlemanly conduct' though where these standards originated he does not explain. Professionals were tolerated because those in charge of the game were confident of their status and not threatened by professionalism. When social change did occur, cricket reacted by emphasising the professional's servant status. Between 1891 and 1896 there were strikes over pay but this was exceptional and, on the whole,

cricket continued to symbolize a world of social harmony in which everyone knew their ascribed place, rather than functioning to accommodate working class elements and achieve hegemony over them. (p.71)

Hargreaves agrees with Dunning and Sheard that the resolution of professionalism was determined "to some extent by the general state of class conflict pertaining in society", but adds that the relative strength of working class presence in each was also important. He argues therefore that

Cricket in the relatively calm 1870s was almost completely dominated by those committed to the amateur-gentleman ideal and continued to be so in the absence of a strong working class challenge. As the working class grew more assertive in the 1880s concessions and compromises were made in association football by those in control; and with further increases in class tension in the 1890s, the amateur-gentleman felt more threatened, yet strong enough to cut off completely and to ostracize that side of the game in which the working class had established a foothold. (p.72)

This was also the era when the foundations for the international structure of sport were laid down and, prior to 1919, were largely a bourgeois concern when sports

came to represent the quintessential bourgeois English qualities that were felt to make the English superior to foreigners. The link between athleticism, chauvinism and imperialism was forged at its strongest at this time... and only manifested itself among the masses after this period. (p.75)

It was during this period that the first Test and international fixtures were played and the I.C.C. was formed.

Although the next turning point did not occur until after World War II Hargreaves argues that the inter-war years were very important for the sport-power relation in that the achievement of hegemony before the war was maintained and in some cases elaborated and expanded. Spectator sports continued to increase in popularity and in the 1920s new commercialised sports such as greyhound racing and speedway began to emerge and were especially popular with the working class.

During this period, therefore, sport reached all levels of society and achieved the status of a main component of popular culture. However the forces maintaining the sport-power relation remained intact through the retention of the amateur/gentleman hegemony despite increasing commercial interests. In some cases where governing bodies were amateur controlled, the working classes were actively excluded. The working class, Hargreaves argues, were also excluded from many sports because of expense and lack of public provision.

It was during the 1930s that Britain came to the forefront of international sport providing the nation with an identity in which sport came to be seen as a common reference point rather than an area of conflict for different social classes. It was

during this period also that, as Hargreaves explains,

the expansion of international sporting competition strengthened the association between elite level sport and nationalist sentiment... popular sports, like football and cricket, were increasingly coming to express a sense of national unity that was not confined to dominant groups.

It is this point which is of relevance when considering how Hargreaves' theory can explain the trends that took place in cricket that led to the Bodyline crisis.

Hargreaves theory therefore can be applied quite effectively in order to explain the institutional development of sport between 1870 and 1945 and from the analysis of his work it can be seen that he is able to explain such characteristics as the growth of commercialism, spectatorism, internationalism and the amateur response to professionalism.

Commercialised sport and the working class spectatorism that accompanied it were at first viewed with suspicion by the authorities but they soon realised that it could in fact be used to control working class beliefs and expectations. The amateur/professional distinctions that were evolved, and which were especially significant in cricket, emphasised the difference between the classes and the subordinate role of the professional cricketers and their working class counterparts in the crowd. Cricket, being so well established, did not lend itself so easily to the 'missionising zeal' of the rational recreationists towards forming clubs for the working class. The game was taken up by these groups, however, and bourgeois sporting norms were attached to it, a process which began in the public schools. The amateur/professional distinction in cricket was an excellent example of how the subordinate position of the working class professional was clearly defined and emphasised both on and off the field. At the same time, however, the tolerance of professional players ensured the working class

support for the game which in turn helped accommodate them to the hegemony.

The growing concern of the bourgeoisie to emphasise Britain's superiority over foreigners, Hargreaves argues, was the reason for the growth of international sport during this period. In cricket the desire to express domination was particularly pertinent as the game was played only in Britain's colonies where the need was particularly great to dominate and in some cases subdue the indigenous populations. In countries such as Australia and India cricket could be taught to the 'natives' as a way of promoting 'Englishness' thus maintaining the hegemony overseas. At the same time it was important that, on the field of play, the English side should be seen to be superior. By the 1930s the Australian side was well able to match the English cricketers and the rivalry between the countries was intense as Australia was at this time striving to establish a national identity of its own and to prove that it could thrive as an independent nation (Stoddart, 1979). It was for this reason, therefore that the controversy that arose over Bodyline was so intense with both countries believing that there was more at stake than merely victory on the cricket field.

It could be argued that Bodyline represented a challenge to the amateur/gentleman hegemony over cricket but it is not so easy to say by whom. It is unlikely to be Jardine who, as a member of that class, firmly believed in the amateur/gentleman ethic and all it embodied. It would be more accurate to argue that the challenge came, not so much from Jardine himself, but from the variety of factors; increased commercialisation, spectatorism and nationalism, which manifested themselves in Jardine's decision to take such extreme action to counter Bradman. Thus, it was a move towards professionalisation that challenged the hegemony. In the case of Bodyline, although the M.C.C. were forced to make concessions, the hegemony did not shift far enough at this stage to lay control of the game entirely in the

hands of commercial interests. This increasingly professional attitude was a reflection of the changes described by Hargreaves that began the process by which sport was converted into a commodity. It was to be developed fully after World War II. During the inter-war period the tendency to use sport as a means of national identity gave rise to the star system in which the personalities of the players were sometimes as important as the game itself. This is indicated by the way in which such sportsmen were exempted from military service in World War II in order to entertain the troops and keep up the morale of the British population. During World War I all cricket had stopped as it was considered inappropriate that enjoyable pastimes should be pursued during wartime. The change in society that had taken place by 1939 is clearly indicated by the way cricket was used during World War II to boost morale and remind people of how privileged they were to be British.

Both Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves therefore put forward theories on the development of sport between 1870 and 1945 which can be used to explain the trends which occur in cricket during this period. Hargreaves' theory concentrates on the growth of sport as an institution and, while he is able to explain the development of such phenomena as the growth of professionalism, spectatorism and internationalism, it is not always easy to extend this analysis to explain the internal dynamics of any particular sport. Dunning and Sheard's theory is better able to explain the events in cricket itself. Their argument about embourgeoisement enables them to explain the amateur response to professional sport and, even if only couched in terms of rugby, the growth of commercialism and spectatorism. This growing seriousness of sport can also help explain the Bodyline crisis and the civilising process can be used to explain the reaction to the crisis.

A major problem that arises with both theories is that both Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves, as with the previous period, are unable to explain why such 'deviance' should occur so early on in cricket. In most sports this kind of deviance does not occur until well into the post World War II period and is a manifestation of the continued development of many of the features of modern sport that emerged in the period 1870-1945 but which did not develop fully until after World War II.

Leisure in Post-War Britain

Clarke and Critcher (1985) identify six important trends in post-war society. They are;

- (i) rising standards of domestic consumption,
- (ii) increasing family centredness of leisure coupled with the decline of traditional public leisure forms,
- (iii) the emergence of youth culture,
- (iv) the establishment of ethnic leisure cultures,
- (v) increased state activity,
- (vi) the commercial domination of leisure.

Each of these has some bearing on the nature of post-war sport, although some, (i), (ii) and (vi) for example, are of particular relevance for the evolution of cricket during this period.

In 1945, in its publication 'Let's Face the Future', the first Labour government made a firm commitment to improving leisure facilities and the early post-war years were ones of expansion for leisure. During this period attendances at the cinema and soccer matches peaked and leisure became a part of national life which was regarded as a right (Walvin, 1978). Spectatorism remained the most popular way of experiencing sport but at the same time the trend towards family centred leisure was becoming more apparent. The 1938 Holiday with Pay Act, increased car ownership and the creation of the Welfare State were all conducive to people devising and taking part in active leisure pursuits (Clarke and Critcher, 1985). This was to become even more marked in the 1960s.

The increasing affluence of the 1960s produced sweeping and profound changes in society and unleashed, as Walvin (1978)

describes, "an unprecedented consumer power" which "reshaped the social face of Britain". Unemployment remained low and the new light electrical industries began to produce new consumer goods. Consumer spending doubled and interest was drawn away from traditional leisure pursuits towards an increasingly family oriented lifestyle. By 1968 90% of households owned a TV set and men began to spend more leisure time in the home (Critcher, lecture notes). Also an increasing number of young men, taking advantage of expanding leisure opportunities, began to take part in organised sport. At the same time cinema and sporting attendances declined sharply and several authors (Clarke and Critcher, 1985, Walvin, 1978, Jones, 1988) attribute this to the influence of television and the growth of home-based leisure.

By the 1960s and '70s overall post-war leisure trends had become apparent. Some leisure forms, such as the cinema, had experienced a marked decline, some, such as drinking and gambling, had continued more or less unchanged. Others, sport in particular, had experienced major transformations, brought about in the main by the influence of the mass media and commercial interests (Critcher, lecture notes).

These factors then; a decline in spectatorism, increased sports participation, home and family leisure orientation, the growing importance of the mass media and the increased commercialisation of sport, all played a major role in shaping leisure in post-war Britain. It follows therefore that they should also be the factors which have influenced the development of cricket during this period. An analysis will be made of the following periods in cricket's development;

- 1.- from the end of World War II until the mid 1950s,
- 2.- the mid 1950s to 1963,
- 3.- the changes of 1963 and beyond,
- 4.- the 1970s and 1980s.

Special account will be taken of the application of the trends



listed above to the development of the game in the post-war era. It will also be shown how cricket during this period is increasingly affected by economic, political and cultural factors rooted outside the game, and, in the final section, the analysis of the game will be concentrated under the headings of economic, political and cultural factors that have influenced the game's development. It will be argued that areas of crisis have arisen within each of these categories, namely the Packer Affair, the South Africa question and player behaviour. A special study will be made of the Packer Affair as it can be seen as representing a culmination of many of the trends flowing through both society and the game since the 1960s. Issues raised will include television and sponsorship, one-day cricket, overseas players, international cricket, the star system and increasingly professional attitudes towards the game.

#### 1. Cricket - mid 1940s to mid 1950s

Despite post-war austerity, cricket in the 1940s continued to experience growth when, as Walvin (1978) describes, "enjoyment became a national obsession" and, despite the limitations in opportunities for expansion, "the nation was keen to spectate in its moments of leisure". This is illustrated by the popularity of cricket in the immediate post-war years when crowds flocked to see the stars of the inter-war period, many of whom were now in their forties. This, however, affected the standard of play, and, together with the decline in availability of good amateurs, England began to lose Test matches. Sub-standard pitches, defensive bowling techniques and the growing number of fast bowlers increased the number of drawn matches (Down, 1985). Despite attempts by M.C.C. to ensure results and encourage spin bowlers, by 1951 attendances had begun to fall sharply as alternative leisure pursuits became available. This was highlighted by the Political and Economic Planning Group's (P.E.P.) report on the game (1956). In 1949 attendance at first

class matches peaked at 2,126,000. By 1954 this had fallen to 1,408,000.

On a more positive note, however, the post-war years saw a rapid advance in science and technology and cricket benefited from this especially in the advances made in travel and communication. In 1948 loud speakers were installed at Lord's, from 1953/54 teams travelled overseas by plane, and in 1955 the telephone Test match score service was set up (Bowen, 1970, Lewis, 1987). As early as 1951 it was suggested that umpires use light meters - a suggestion not seriously considered until the late 1970s (Down, 1985).

## 2. Cricket - mid 1950s to 1963

By the mid 1950s the trends towards home and consumer based leisure had led to a decline in traditional leisure forms especially spectator sports. Cricket was severely affected and the game faced a financial crisis.

In 1956 the P.E.P. report described the game as an industry

fighting a losing battle against a shortage of capital, shortage of income and shortage of the highly skilled labour that the game requires. (p.171)

and Down (1985) describes how,

Throughout most of the twentieth century... cricket was essentially a non-commercial, non-profit making undertaking. In the changing world after 1945, however, such a leisurely and haphazard approach to a professional entertainment... was hopelessly inappropriate. (p.40)

Until the mid 1950s, the three traditional sources of revenue, membership, gate money and a share of Test match profits, had kept the game afloat and in some cases there had even been

enough spare cash for ground improvements. The P.E.P. reported that in 1937 it was estimated that county cricket was losing around £30,000 a season although a large amount of this was being made up by wealthy club supporters. Although membership numbers were increasing this was accompanied by a decline in paying attendance figures and the counties, as a result of post-war complacency, were still underpricing both. By 1963 attendances had fallen by two thirds of the 1947 figure despite the fact that membership had doubled (Down, 1985).

Figure 3 below (from Down (1985) p.42) illustrates the total paying audience at county matches between 1947 and 1963 and shows a marked decline.

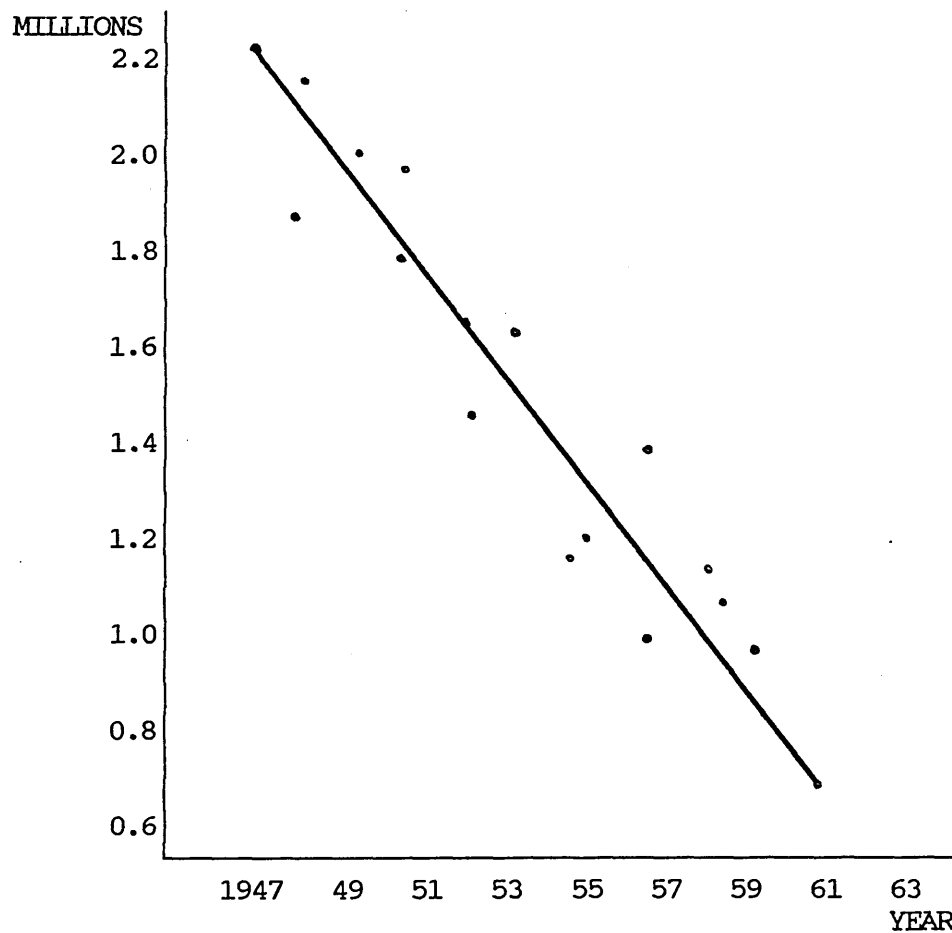


Fig. 3 : Paying Attendance at County Championship Matches

Counties were becoming increasingly dependent on Test match profits which, although they rose up to 1966, were not consistent. Many of the clubs found themselves deeply in debt. It was a time of growing inflation and, with the increasing number of professionals in the game, the amount having to be found in wages was rising. In 1952 the financial position of many clubs was so bad that they could not afford to pay the new Entertainment Tax and it was only after pressure from the M.C.C. that cricket was exempted. The P.E.P. (1956) wrote that

It seems, to say the least, an incongruous policy to base county cricket finances on a combination of profits from international cricket, football pools and whist drives. Two courses are open: to remove first-class cricket from the commercial sphere altogether...or to organise cricket more fully as an entertainment and to rely more heavily on gate money and ticket money. (p.169)

Down (1985), with the benefit of hindsight, agrees. He writes,

Clearly... something had to be done. The simple answers, and the ones which eventually led to a renaissance in cricket's fortunes, were Supporters' Clubs, sponsorship and the introduction of one-day limited-overs cricket. (p.52)

Supporters' clubs were initially extremely successful and some counties came to rely on this income. Sponsorship too was gradually increasing especially in the area of amateurs being sponsored by their employers. However, it wasn't until the Gillette Cup began in 1963 that sponsorship in its more familiar form became an established part of first-class cricket. Before this is discussed, however, it is necessary to examine the other factor that led to the institution of the one-day game; the call for 'brighter' cricket.

Poor quality county pitches were making for a very dull game.

Even Wisden (1952) called for more 'enterprise' and in 1954 warned that time wasting was ruining the game. The increasing professionalism and safety first consciousness of the players was linked with the decline of the amateur, although the criticism of these professionals could be seen as a sign of the class consciousness still prevalent in a supposedly 'classless society' (Down, 1985). The Press too joined in the call for 'brighter' cricket and produced charts and tables illustrating the decline in run rates and awarded trophies to the winners of the 'Brighter Cricket Table'. This scheme was instituted in the News Chronicle in 1952. Essex were the first winners. In 1956 the Altham Committee suggested that, in order to encourage amateurs, first class cricket should be played only at weekends. The County Secretaries, however, had the foresight to see that this would have destroyed county cricket by effectively putting an end to membership and so opposed the move. Other changes made to induce exciting play included the inclusion of time wasting under Law 16 on fair play, the introduction of 75 yard boundaries to encourage six-hitting, and a condemnation of slow pitches. Over the years several committees were set up to look into cricket's problems but, although they accepted that the game was in trouble, all rejected any real measures for change (Down, 1985). Sunday cricket, for example, was discussed and rejected as early as 1944 and the P.E.P. report's main recommendation which revolved around the institution of weekend only cricket was dismissed. The report says of M.C.C.,

(their) attitude is that financial strength should be based primarily on membership: the game should not be commercialised.

and it asks the important question,

How far is this tinged with social prejudice, and how much is due to an instinctive feeling that cricket and commercialisation do not mix?

It would be hoped that the theories of Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves would be able to answer this question.

The only committee to have any real effect was the Ashton Committee (1961), who finally realised that in order to bring back spectators the game had to offer something new and exciting that could rival alternative leisure pursuits. This resulted in the announcement of, in 1963, a knock-out competition sponsored by Gillette, a move which Down (1985) argues "made professional cricket an activity that fitted the modern England." (p.65)

This was accompanied, in 1962, by the abolition of the amateur status. The changing financial and social conditions in post-war England were eroding the amateurs' position in the game and by the 1950s amateurs were under the threat of extinction. Figure 4 below (from Down [1985] p.83) shows the percentage of amateurs among county cricketers between 1890 and 1962. After 1946 the decline was dramatic.

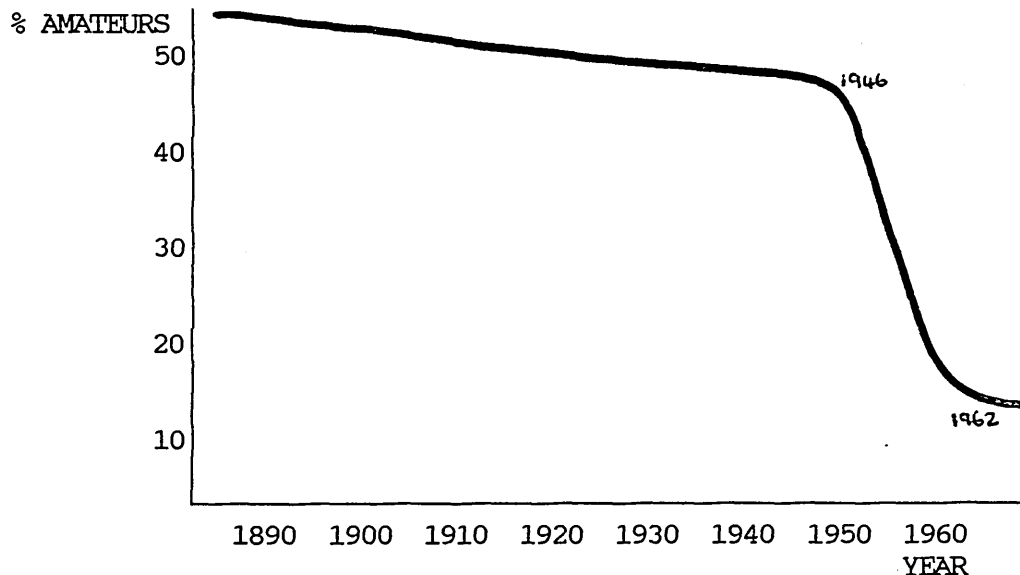


Fig. 4: Decline of the Amateur: County Matches 1890-1962

Lewis (1987) describes how

The amateur-professional relationship was akin to that of unpaid executives and paid servants of the

same organisation and, since the glorious 1890s, the amateur role had been a heroic one. So it was a shock to find that the Welfare State, Britain's taxation system and the post-war mixture of social adjustments now offered little scope for a young cricketer to concentrate on sport for five months a year, without monthly recompense and often at considerable cost. Some accepted jobs with time off from firms... others took administrative employment within the game, which gave them the freedom to play regularly. (p.306)

Professional cricketers, however, disliked this 'shamateurism' which to them amounted to not much less than commercial sponsorship. As Down (1985) points out, "99% of county cricketers were professional in the most important sense, namely attitude, long before 1962" and, as their professional status became more acceptable there was a growing resentment about professionals having to sacrifice their place in a team to an occasional amateur player who was likely to be much less talented. Since the 1950s professionals had been increasingly accepted by the game's administrators, encouraged a great deal by the popular press who saw the situation as one of "equality for the workers". Even the Times, in the winter of 1957/8, wrote that "no one doubts that the days of amateurism in the cold letter of the law are passed" (Down, 1985). From 1946 all players used the same gate and dressing room at Lord's, in 1947 Dollery of Warwickshire was appointed the first professional county captain, in 1948 the M.C.C. announced honorary life membership for a number of ex-professionals, in 1950 Les Ames became the first professional to sit on the Test selection committee and in 1952 Len Hutton became the first professional to captain England (Down, 1985). In 1962, after several years of debate, the Advisory County Committee finally voted in favour of Glamorgan's proposal that all players should be known as 'cricketers'. Lewis (1987) argues that

This was a commitment by a society which, since the war, had widened the channels of advancement, mainly by educational opportunity... The M.C.C. had

strongly urged... for the retention of the amateur.  
Not for the first time in its history had the club  
been dragged along by social change into a new life  
and style. (p.308)

The inauguration of one-day cricket and the abolition of amateur status were two events which were to prove to be an important watershed in the game's history. Down (1985) describes how, by 1963,

all of the developments which would rescue the game's finances were securely in place. One-day games, sponsorship, more Test matches and the rise of West Indian cricket were about to launch a far more prosperous era despite the continued erosion of grass roots attendances at county matches.  
(p.55)

So far as the one-day game was concerned, it is interesting to note how early these changes were brought about in cricket, a game traditionally associated with the intransigence of its administrators. A similar sense of crisis did not occur in soccer until the early 1970s thanks mainly to England's success in the 1966 World Cup which maintained public interest. When the crisis did occur, however, the solutions were similar. More cup competitions were introduced, greater reliance was placed on the income generated by TV coverage and sponsorship and foreign players were drafted into league clubs in order to increase the entertainment value of their teams. From the amateur/professional point of view, cricket actually led several sports in the abolition of the amateur status. Tennis made no decision on the matter until 1968 while athletics and rugby are still undecided and rife with the problems of 'shamateurism'.



### 3. Cricket - 1963 and beyond

In 1966 the Clark Report, set up to look into the future structure of the game, recommended;

- the reduction of three-day matches to allow for more one-day competitions,
- two separate championships (i) 16 three-day games  
(ii) 16 one-day games,
- sponsors for all competitions,
- amending the registration of overseas players.

The report concluded that,

the time is ripe for a change in the structure of county cricket. It is abundantly clear that the vast public which is interested in cricket is expecting change and will welcome it. The weight of public opinion is clearly on the side of change and it is felt that, if this does not take place, the long term effect on county cricket may well prove disastrous. (Wisden [1967] p.113)

The new structure recommended by this report led to the expansion of the one-day game with the introduction of the Players Sunday League in 1969, the Benson and Hedges Cup and Prudential Trophy in 1972 and the Prudential World Cup in 1975.

The final important change in the 1960s which was to affect the future of the game was made in 1968 when overseas players were allowed immediate county registration. Immediately after the war counties were often short of players (because of military service and work available elsewhere) and so the two year qualification period had often been waived. During the 1940s and 1950s many players, mostly Australian, came to play in the Lancashire League and some in the county game. During the 1950s

an increasing number of other nationalities came to play in England, but at this time they were rarely of a high enough standard to get into a county side at the expense of a young English player. In 1951 the qualification period was increased to three years. This effectively meant the end of the overseas player in England, but in 1960/61 the West Indian tour of Australia (led by Worrell, the first black captain leading a fully professional team) caused such a stir that three tourists were offered immediate qualification into the Sheffield Shield and did much to boost their side's finances. This appealed to the English County Secretaries, and from 1968 overseas players were allowed immediate qualification in England. The effect of overseas players on the development of indigenous talent soon became and remained a source of controversy (Down, 1985). The promotion of these players' talents along with a fully professionalised game and more exciting one-day competitions were all part of the move towards cricket becoming a highly commercialised entertainment. Brookes (1978), in summarising this phase of cricket's development, writes,

From the beginning, the organisation of county cricket had represented a subtle compromise between the forces of tradition and of business. Long before the first Gillette Cup match, it was evident that county cricket would have the utmost difficulty in surviving the rigours of the post-war economic climate. The simple truth was that tradition was no longer a marketable commodity and the advent of sponsorship was merely a recognition of this fact. After 1963 there was no longer any doubt where cricket's future lay: henceforth it would be organised and promoted as part of the entertainment industry. (p.156)

This transformation of cricket into a commercial entertainment is something which the theories of Dunning and Sheard, Hargreaves and Guttman should be able to explain.

#### 4. Cricket - the 1970s and 1980s

##### a) Economic factors affecting the game.

In the 1970s and '80s sport has been increasingly influenced by economic factors and has come to be seen as a potentially profitable area of leisure in which the sale of sports equipment has become big business and, as a result of its huge TV coverage, sport is regarded as a massive source of advertising. Walvin (1978) writes that

There are few clearer indications of the successful penetration of the recreation industries into western society than the way in which their products... have been absorbed into the mainstream of everyday life.

Indeed, unless a sport is economically viable, it is likely to experience a decline and it has already been illustrated how cricket was forced to adapt to these pressures in the early 1960s by accepting commercial sponsorship. Sponsorship gives rise to a star system which can be very lucrative for top players and their managers. Commercialisation, especially in cricket, is not new. What is new in the 1970s and '80s is the potential of that relationship and the power of economic interest to penetrate sport to a degree that was never approached before.

The success of the one-day game has managed to avert bankruptcy. It has also called into question the viability of the County Championship which remains unpopular despite attempts by the game's ruling bodies to promote 'exciting' cricket. Brookes (1978) argues that,

if cricket is supposed to be part of the entertainments industry, what justification can there be for retaining a competition that has largely lost its capacity to entertain.

There is a real conflict between the professional cricketers, many of whom dislike playing so much one-day cricket, and the demands for the more exciting game which attracts crowds and brings in much of the money that subsidises the county game. Despite these hand-outs some counties are still losing revenue. In 1982, for example, Lancashire lost £151,000, Glamorgan £84,000 and Gloucestershire £70,000. This makes the T.C.C.B. revenue (some 90% of T.C.C.B. income is distributed to the counties), local advertising and sponsorship money even more important (Martin-Jenkins, 1984). Since 1988 a number of four-day county matches have been played in an effort to encourage attacking play leading to a result. Martin-Jenkins (1984) makes several other suggestions which might make the County Championship more viable. These include offering higher financial inducements to players and maintaining spectator interest by including the touring side in the Championship.

Many new spectators have been drawn to the one-day game. It has already been mentioned how cricket is reliant on the revenue brought in by these competitions and the accompanying TV, advertising and sponsorship revenue. Indeed, cricket is one of the sports which in the past twenty years has been transformed by media, and more specifically television, coverage. Walvin (1978) describes how television, more than any other product, has revolutionised leisure patterns and has quickened the decline of traditional leisure forms by reestablishing home based leisure.

The first match to be televised was in 1938 although it wasn't until 1959 that extensive portions were first shown. As Martin-Jenkins (1984) points out, the power of the television cannot be overestimated. It played a large part in the Packer controversy, and one only has to look at the way it has transformed snooker and darts into mass spectator sports to see just how powerful it can be. Televising sport is relatively cheap, cricket being one of the more expensive forms, and a

quarter of all sport viewing hours on the B.B.C. are now devoted to it (Barnett, 1990).

With the growing trend towards home-based leisure, and the growing demand for 'instant' entertainment, it was perhaps inevitable that television would assume such importance, an importance which was increased with the advent of commercial TV. An exciting, fast moving game with guaranteed result, transmitted to the public in their own homes at the minimum of expense was bound to be more appealing than taking a day off work to sit in a damp, cold stadium to watch a game that might not reach a conclusion. Several questions have arisen about the effect television coverage has had on the game. These include the growth of an elite star system, the 'education' of the public into dominant modes of behaviour, innovative televising techniques and whether or not TV coverage has affected attendances. Down (1985) argues that,

Although it is true that television... stimulated interest in cricket, this influence really only fuelled the modern over-emphasis on Test match cricket to the exclusion of other forms. (p.43)

Regular test players now play up to twelve tests a year plus one-day internationals. Between October 1983 and May 1984, for example, twenty eight tests and thirty nine international one-day matches were played throughout the cricketing world (Wisden 1984/5/6). As a result of this, the sense of occasion for the spectators has lessened and, although at the moment TV has not affected Test and one-day attendances detrimentally, the cumulative effect of so much cricket may in fact prove to be self-destructive. Players become disinterested and so perform badly. This will eventually affect attendances and sponsorship deals. TV coverage of classic matches has gripped the public's imagination and inspired many youngsters to take up the game. The danger arises when TV exerts so much power that events are tailored to suit its needs. This has already happened with

athletics and certainly in Australia TV companies are exerting an influence over the Cricket Board's decisions (Barnett, 1990). The T.C.C.B. rely on the income generated by TV and would risk losing sponsors without coverage so it is important that agreements are reached that satisfy both parties (Martin-Jenkins 1984). As Walvin (1978) so rightly points out, the impact that TV has had on sport has been paradoxical:

While there has, for example, been a marked decline in live football attendances... many more people today watch matches on television... The spread of global television... has enabled hundreds of millions of people to watch major sporting events. World Cup Soccer and the Olympic Games are now watched by upwards of a quarter of the world's population. If television has undermined attendances at particular sporting events, it has beyond question provided some games with unimaginable audiences, creating in the process boundless commercial possibilities. Consequently, it is difficult to estimate the impact of television for while it has contributed substantially to the decline of cinema and theatre, it has stimulated other forms of leisure and in some cases has converted minority and rather expensive sports, such as showjumping and golf, into major spectator events.

The question of whether or not Television coverage adversely affects attendance at matches is one which has concerned sports administrators since the early 1950s when the B.B.C. first started to televise matches (Barnett, 1990).

Looking at the figures given for the early 1950s of sports attendances against television ownership it would be easy to conclude that the growth in the latter was responsible for the decline in the former. This crude cause and effect however is not so easy to prove. Indeed, as Barnett (1990) explains, opinions were divided some, such as the National Association of Broadcasters, claiming that the television exposure actually encouraged people to go and watch events first hand. This is

certainly what seems to have happened with high profile events such as the F.A. Cup Final or Test Matches where attendance remained remarkably stable. This was offset however by a sharp decline in attendance at minor events, especially when big matches were being televised. In 1950 the Sports Television Advisory Committee was set up to investigate the case of county cricket and concluded that, although insufficient time had lapsed to prove anything conclusively, it appeared that the televising of popular events had the greatest effect on smaller counties (Barnett, 1990). The evidence quoted earlier from the P.E.P. report seems to confirm this. Barnett (1990) in fact quotes evidence from the Target Index Group (a group who since 1969 have done yearly postal surveys to determine participation in, attendance at and popularity of sport on television) which shows that, unlike most other sports, the popularity of cricket at the top level has not only remained stable but has in fact increased in popularity climbing from 12th most popular sport in 1969 to 8th in 1989.

TV has become part of the now massive commercialisation of sport in which leisure constitutes a major industry whose main rationale is profit. An important element in this is sponsorship. The 1970s were a boom period for sponsorship in cricket although, as has already been illustrated, sponsorship in one form or another is as old as the game itself. This highlights the fact that it is not the presence of sponsorship and commercialisation but their extent and nature which are crucial.

It is important to note that companies are only prepared to inject cash into an event if they perceive that they too will benefit from the transaction. The first ever England tour of 1861/2 was sponsored by Spiers and Pond who emerged £11,000 richer from their investment (The Howell Report, 1983). These marketing objectives have changed little although they are now much more sophisticated and opportunities for sponsors have been

transformed by television. In 1977 Cornhill Insurance became the first company in the 20th century to sponsor a Test series. Barnett (1990) describes their experience as,

a vivid example of how a little known, and relatively small, financial institution can enhance both a reputation and profits through association with both an appropriate sport and a high level of television coverage. (p.117)

In 1977 when Cornhill entered into its agreement with the T.C.C.B. only 2% of the population recognised the company's name. In 1982 Cornhill claimed that public awareness had increased 17% and estimated that their increased annual premium income of £10 million could be attributed to their sponsorship of Test cricket (Howell Report, 1983). Barnett writes that

It is quite clear from conversations with corporate sponsors that decisions have, with very few exceptions, nothing to do with philanthropy and everything to do with hard-hearted commercial interests. (p.177)

The effect of sponsorship, however, does not always continue to work in the favour of the sponsor and, of course, when things go wrong it is cricket that suffers the loss of finance. Gillette decided in 1981 to discontinue their sponsorship of a major one-day competition as their research indicated that people associated Gillette with cricket rather than with its products. The company felt that they had gained all they could from the liaison and that they could no longer justify the £130,000 asked by the T.C.C.B. (Barnett, 1991). Schweppes in 1982 also withdrew their support from the County Championship as they felt they were not getting enough exposure (Down 1985).



Cricket is partly insulated from advertising pressure by the B.B.C. who exercise strict guidelines about exposure given to advertisers and sponsors (Down, 1985). Even so, in 1981, Cornhill calculated that from 140 hours of Ashes cricket they had been given 7,459 banner sightings, 234 verbal mentions on television, 1,784 references on radio, 659 mentions in the national press and 2,448 in the provincial press (Howell Report, 1983).

The Packer Affair is perhaps the best illustration of how the growing importance of TV, sponsorship and other post-war trends culminated to produce a serious challenge to the administrations of the game throughout the cricket-playing world.

In 1977 Australian TV magnate Kerry Packer attracted many of the world's top players into a professional cricketing circus under the name of World Series Cricket (WSC). Packer had formed WSC after being frustrated in his attempts to buy the TV rights to Test cricket in Australia (Blofeld, 1978, Martin-Jenkins, 1984, Barnett, 1990). Test players all over the world were beginning to compare their lot with the likes of professional footballers, golfers and tennis players who were living far more profitable, respected lives. Certainly in England the lot of the professional cricketer had hardly improved at all in the past twenty years. Figure 5 below, from Down (1985 p.49), illustrates how the ratio between the pay of a professional cricketer and unskilled labourer in 1903 differed little from the 1980s.

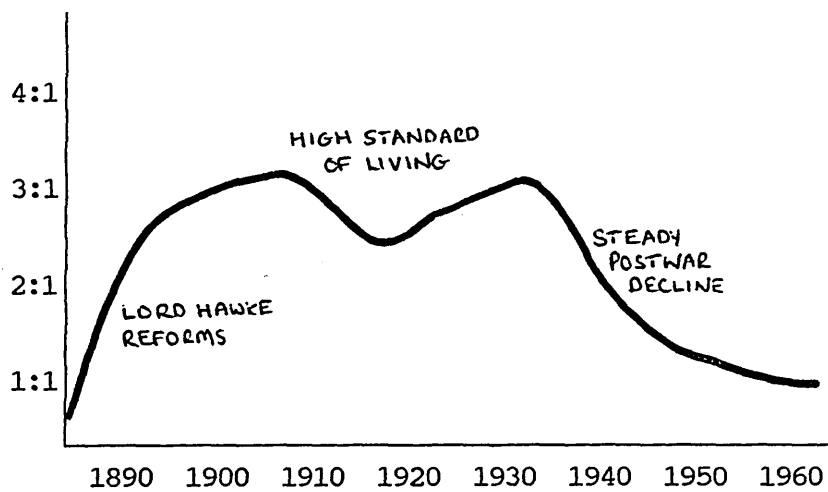


Fig. 5: The Professional Cricketer's salary relative to an Unskilled Labourer - long term view

There was certainly no doubting the poor pay of English county cricketers nor the uncertainty of their jobs. Tony Greig, the England captain and man chosen by Packer as his main advocate, was adamant that this was the reason why he had chosen to accept Packer's offer. He is cited by Blofeld (1978) as saying,

The plight of the modern cricketer is certainly not the best. Many who've been playing eight years or more are living on the breadline. In the winter they go abroad coaching, leaving their families behind. Test cricketers are also not paid what they are worth. As a result of this action cricket may in five or ten years come into line with tennis and golf. Thus, if a young man is faced with the decision of which game to play, he can choose cricket with confidence. People who give their lives to a game should be rewarded accordingly.  
(p.43)

The established cricket authorities reacted to Packer's proposals with horror and contempt. The I.C.C. passed a change in their rules which, as Lewis (1987) explains, served to "excommunicate players from the authorised version of cricket." (p.320) The new I.C.C. ruling effectively gave the players until 1st October 1977 to withdraw from their contracts with Packer or else face a ban from Test and county cricket. In attempting to retain a hold on the absolute authority that they

had always enjoyed the I.C.C. and T.C.C.B. made a grave error. Packer announced that he had applied for an injunction against them and on 27th September a High Court hearing began in which the I.C.C. and T.C.C.B. found themselves as defendants under charges of restraint of trade and inducement to breaches of contract. On 25th November Mr. Justice Slade returned his verdict and found overwhelmingly in favour of WSC and three individual players who were also awarded costs amounting to around £250,000. The game's authorities decided not to appeal. As Blofeld (1978) points out,

Looked at in the light of the final judgement the authorities' case and hopes appear based on little more than moral indignation. This is not enough with which to take on the rights of the individual in the law courts...(p.121)

The law's adherence to freedom of trade is the logic of capitalism and under this all are free to 'ply their trade'. Cricket's authorities, in attempting to impose a ban upon Packer's players were revealed as assuming feudal powers over players and competitions which could not be legally supported in an advance capitalist society. Down (1985) describes how

In a way this defeat in court was a key point in the development of modern cricket. It cleared the way, rightly or wrongly, for a new era of commercialisation of the game and freedom of movement for the players far more extreme than anything dreamt of in the fifties and sixties. In doing so cricket was suddenly dragged into the mainstream of the modern sports industry...(p.149)

The Packer Affair helped to break down the traditional stronghold that the game's administrators had over the players in terms of pay and freedom of movement. The Cricketer's Association became more involved in the running of the game and the balance of power, Down (1984) suggests, has shifted towards the players. In 1980 for example, Barry Wood announced his intention to leave Lancashire only forty eight hours after receiving his benefit cheque. The hard line initially taken by

the T.C.C.B. was modified after a threat of legal action if Wood was banned from playing (Down, 1984).

The first WSC series began in Australia in November 1977 in competition with an 'official' Test series and was, on the whole, disappointing; mainly, it was thought, because the public felt little attraction, after the initial interest, to games involving little or no national prestige. The following season, thanks to a reliance on one-day games promoted by a huge range of gimmicks, was more successful and by 1979 the Australian Cricket Board was ready to make an agreement with Packer. This granted Channel 9 exclusive rights to the promotion and televising of cricket provided that, with the exception of a new Benson and Hedges tournament, WSC ceased promoting games. The Board also agreed to ask India to postpone its 1979/80 tour in order for a more profitable visit from the West Indies and England. Thus the promotion of Australian cricket passed into the hands of a private company who had control over the programme, rules and clothing and seemingly already had enough influence to persuade the Board to postpone unprofitable tours. This capitulation was eventually accepted by the other Test playing countries and the 'traditional' game was once more allowed to resume normally (Lee, 1979, Barnett, 1990).

WSC represented the wholesale commercialisation of cricket and thus ended its artificial insulation, so long sustained by the M.C.C. and the amateur ethos, from commerce. In Australia in particular the game had been penetrated by a form of media-dependent commercialism which involved the contracting of players to a private, profit-making company, the institution of competitions backed by sponsorship, a television monopoly ultimately aimed at selling advertising space, the commercial promotion of the series and the players, higher salaries boosted by win bonuses, changes in the timing and duration of matches and rule changes introduced to encourage more spectacular play. This contrasts sharply with the 'traditional' game which, it

could be argued, is no longer suited to the needs of the average television sports viewer (Barnett, 1990).

Several of Packer's innovations, for example night cricket and fielding restrictions, have been retained and his initiative served to alert other companies to the commercial potential of the game (Martin-Jenkins, 1984). In 1978 Cornhill Insurance invested £200,000 in the game as sponsors of Test matches, and Bonus Plan Ltd in association with the Cricketer's Association introduced an incentive scheme. Indeed, one of the most positive outcomes of the Packer Affair has been the increased involvement of the Cricketer's Association in decision making along with a real improvement in the salaries of players. As early as 1978 the England tour fee had increased by 67% and the input of sponsorship was allowing counties to supplement the minimum salaries of county players. Individual players too are increasingly willing to take on the authorities over matters such as transferring counties (Down, 1985). As already mentioned, the T.C.C.B. are fully aware of the threat of legal action and a transfer system similar to that in soccer may become inevitable.

Packer's knowledge of public demand must not be underestimated. WSC in its one-day format gave the Australian public the kind of cricket they wanted; short, sharp and exciting. The English public too have reacted favourably to the one-day game. The danger is that, by relying too heavily on sponsorship and TV revenue, such money may become able to dictate the future development of the game. The T.C.C.B., however, appears to have this under control thanks perhaps to thoughtful sponsors, many of whom, despite their business associations, are older men brought up on the traditional game. In this situation, therefore, as a result of Packer the game and its players, as Brookes (1978) argues,

instead of finding themselves in another monopoly situation... now have the chance - through shrewd manipulation and hard bargaining - to reap the benefit of competition between potential sponsors.  
(p.188)

Barnett (1990) argues that one reason for this more reciprocal arrangement is because Test cricket is a listed event. This means that no channel can buy it exclusively. He also argues that most commercial companies are very dubious of the possibility of their being able to tempt cricket fans, usually quite conservative in their viewing habits, away from the well established, extremely professional and popular coverage offered by the B.B.C. The T.C.C.B., however, have applied to the Home Office for cricket to be removed from this list (personal source) and, with the advent of subscription satellite television in Britain, the situation may well change rapidly within the next few years as "sports chose to sell their major events to smaller audiences for more money" (Barnett, 1990 p.205).

It can be seen therefore that the challenge of Packer in fact initiated a considerable injection of sponsorship into English cricket, necessary in order to pay the increased Test fees and salaries required by players.

The Packer Affair therefore serves to illustrate several of the trends apparent in post-war leisure trends, especially those revolving around the commercialisation of leisure. The growth in home-based television orientated leisure and the demand for 'exciting' entertainment provided an audience for Packer's brand of one-day cricket and illustrated how powerful the medium of TV can be in controlling a game's destiny. Cricket itself initiated this process in 1963 when it began one-day competitions and TV and sponsorship money became increasingly important as the one-day game began to supersede the County Championship in popularity. The reliance on such revenue meant

that the potential for commercial exploitation was great. At the same time, players' dissatisfaction with pay and conditions made them amenable to change and the governing bodies found they were no longer able to wield their almost feudal power over their employees and were forced to bow to market pressures. The theories of Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves should be able to explain how these broader leisure trends, coupled with a system in cricket of badly paid professionals and reliance on TV revenue, can result in an occurrence like the Packer Affair.

#### b) Political Factors affecting the Game

Politics have become increasingly involved in sport and there are two main areas of political involvement. The first involves the work of government agencies such as the Sports Council, formed in 1964 to institute leisure policy as part of the Welfare State. The other main area, increasingly apparent since the 1960s, involves the use of sport by governments to make a political statement. Examples of this include the government's attempts to prevent the British team going to the 1980 Moscow Olympics and in cricket the long running saga of the South African question.

In 1969 direct control of the first-class game was removed from the M.C.C. and split three ways:-

- (i) amateur cricket under the National Cricket Association (NCA)
- (ii) professional cricket under the Test and County Cricket Board (TCCB)
- (iii) the M.C.C. who retained its guardianship of the Laws and did much of the T.C.C.B.'s paperwork.

These bodies all came under the Cricket Council, a blanket organisation which had its roots in the 1963 Wolfenden Report which confirmed that cricket needed a national body to

canalize views and promote the interests of all cricketers and above all to negotiate with government in such fields as taxation, grant assistance, rating and the extension of facilities for play.

This came about because the M.C.C. could no longer afford to play the role of cricket's financial benefactor and also because, under the rules of the Sports Council, grant aiding was not available for private clubs (Lewis, 1987).

In a multi racial society, cricket has become much more bound up with the state of national and international race relations. At home this is reflected in the growing racial tension apparent among the crowds at some international matches. On an international level the problem revolves mainly around South Africa and the question of whether sporting sanctions should be applied to a nation practising the policy of apartheid. Cricket has become caught up in an issue affecting many sports which is quite specific and limited to the unique instance of apartheid, so that, although a problem in the game, it is not in fact a problem of it. Although official cricketing links with South Africa were suspended in 1970 teams continued to tour until the mid 1970s when government pressure resulted in the signing in 1977 of the Gleneagles agreement (Wynne-Thomas, 1984, Martin-Jenkins, 1984). This was intended to unite commonwealth countries in a policy refraining from sporting competition with South Africa until it allowed multi racial sport at all levels. Despite this, unofficial tours continued and in 1981 the T.C.C.B. made a strong stand against growing calls to resume official cricketing ties when they banned a team of English players who had toured South Africa from Test cricket for three years. More recently this stand was reinforced when an England side, led by Mike Gatting, were banned from Test cricket for five years following their tour of South Africa in 1989. The opposition to this tour was so great that the second leg of the tour, due to be played in the winter of 1990, was cancelled



(Corbett, 1990). The main problem in Britain revolves around individual players' rights to play where they wish, as do tennis and golf players. The Guardian, 13th April 1988, reported that more than eighty county players regularly play and coach in South Africa during the winter. At the April 1988 meeting of the Cricketers Association the players voted 85 - 0 in favour of opposing a resolution to be put to the I.C.C. to exclude players with South African connections from Test cricket. The potential threat to Test cricket arising from this is that the black cricketing nations proposing the ban will refuse to play countries selecting players with South African connections, thus causing a split in the cricketing world which, financially, it may not be able to survive.

#### c) Cultural Factors affecting the Game

Cultural changes that have had an effect on sport since the war mainly revolve around the growing influence of the mass media and the power acquired over sports such as cricket by TV in particular. Largely as a result of this the 1970s and 1980s have been a crisis period for sport. At the institutional level sport has seen a series of crises among governing bodies, the Packer Affair being an excellent example of this. There has also been growing concern about the behavioural aspects of the game. This is a problem which seems to occur, as a result of an increasingly professional attitude, at the very top level of the game where the greatest material rewards and national prestige are at stake. The past twenty years have seen a steady stream of instances of players refusing to accept umpires' decisions, reacting hostilely towards them and even giving physical and verbal abuse to other players. Many of these instances had their origins in WSC which encouraged gamesmanship and playing to the gallery and failed to condemn shows of temper. Australian Channel 9, for example, in 1982-83 actually presented 'aggro awards' which openly condoned and rewarded such

behaviour (Martin-Jenkins, 1984). Inglis (1977) indeed blames money for the increase in bad behaviour, a trend shared with other sports. He writes,

The injection of all this money has caused the winning of games to be financially important; in these circumstances, the good loser naturally disappears. Tactics become fouler and fouler... the adjective 'professional', when it does not mean 'dull', means 'dirty'.

Down (1985) explains matters in terms of overall social trends;

After the war there was a gradual but distinct change in values; the old codes of behaviour were cast aside and a new era of permissiveness was ushered in. In concert with this came a move away from the traditional acceptance of authority. Protests, demonstrations, strikes and a certain amount of dissatisfaction were part and parcel of everyday life and these features were highlighted by a more definable generation gap and increased by media coverage. Cricket reflected these changes and many of the issues which brought the game into disrepute stemmed from the new attitude towards authority.

Since 1967 when the Cricketers Association was formed, players have no longer been prepared to accept restrictions or unreasonable shares of profits. They are more willing to make their point of view heard and make a stand if they've been unjustly treated. The most recent incident, which was hyped by the media and fuelled by intense nationalism, concerned the England captain whose verbal abuse towards an umpire caused a crisis of such proportions that at one stage the continuation of the tour was in jeopardy (Gatting, 1988, Corbett, 1990). This brought to a head a cluster of issues surrounding umpiring and dissent. Amidst all the explanations and solutions there arises a sociological problem, namely the emergence in cricket of dissent, previously absent from the game and associated more with soccer and tennis players. In reaction to this problem the T.C.C.B. at their spring 1988 meeting issued strict instructions to Test selectors that players who behave badly should be

excluded from the national side. Suggestions have been made that an independent panel of umpires should be used in Test matches or that a third umpire should be available for consultation if required. It has also been suggested that the question of appealing should be looked into. As the Laws stand, umpires are unable to give a batsman out unless an appeal is made. In recent years this has reached ridiculous proportions which puts an extremely unfair burden on the umpire who, being human, is sooner or later bound to make a mistake. This pressure is further increased by the modern trend for 'post mortems' and criticisms of umpires on TV. The removal of the player's right to appeal along with a more responsible attitude by TV would remove much of this pressure, umpires would make fewer mistakes and the players would have less cause to react badly (Martin-Jenkins, 1984).

Therefore, when considering the development of sport in the post-war era, the following economic, political and cultural issues have been raised. Sport's increasing penetration by economic influences includes the areas of TV coverage, sponsorship and advertising, and the ways that these influences actually alter the nature of a particular sport. Cricket initially welcomed these influences in the 1960s as they brought much needed revenue into the game, but, while the game itself prospered, the players did not, and these influences culminated in the 'Packer Affair'. This challenged both the governing bodies of cricket and the 'ideals' of many involved in the game and caused a radical rethink of the way that cricket and its players could benefit financially from sponsorship.

From a political viewpoint, the internal structure of the game has changed dramatically and cricket has, for almost thirty years, had to face continuing controversy surrounding the issue of South Africa.

From the cultural angle, the mass media has become increasingly

important and, arguably, has perpetuated, if not initiated, a series of 'crises' revolving around player behaviour.

These, then, are the developments which have taken place in sport since 1945. It follows that, unless cricket is wholly or partially an exception to sport as a whole, these are the developments which any model of the evolution of sport should be able to incorporate. The following section will consider how far the theories of Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves achieve this.

### The Theories

#### a) Dunning and Sheard

In their analysis of Rugby Union as a modern sport, Dunning and Sheard describe how the development of the game in the late 20th century has had several consequences that run counter to its amateur principles. Rugby Union has become more bureaucratically organised, developed a club hierarchy and become more financially dependent on gate-money. As a result of this, rule changes have made the game more spectator oriented, players have adopted a more serious approach to the game and are more achievement-motivated and there has been a growing pressure for competitions based on league or knock-out principles, all of which are indicative of a modern sport and are in fact key elements of professionalisation. Dunning and Sheard argue that the post-war period has witnessed an increased seriousness in sport together with a growth in its significance and cultural centrality. On a general level these factors certainly seem to apply to the development of cricket which certainly has become more serious during this period. Players are now fully professional as is the attitude of those who run and administer

the game increasingly along business lines. On the field, too, the improvements in fielding and tactics are indications that more thought is going into the conduct of the game. Dunning and Sheard suggest six interacting determinants which contribute to this increase in seriousness:-

1. The fact that sport is not linked to the division of labour means that its importance as a source of identity has grown.

2. The changing balance between work and leisure has resulted in leisure becoming more central in people's lives.

3. The growing secularisation of beliefs and social institutions has resulted in sport being seen as a means of collective identification, filling the gaps left by religion.

4. Sport functions as a source of mimetically generated excitement in a society that is 'routinized' and 'civilized' and where everyday life requires constraint and emotional control.

5. Sport has become a key enclave for the expression of masculine identity in a society which has lost many of its traditional 'masculine' work roles and where functional democracy has increased the perceived threat from women.

6. Modern sport, because of its 'oppositional' character which produces 'mechanical solidarity', is a means of social integration.

How, then, can these determinants help explain the economic, political and cultural factors that have been identified as having an influence on cricket's development since 1945?

#### (i) Economic Factors

Point 1. above is important when considering how Dunning and Sheard view the economic development of sport since 1945. Top cricketers, since Packer, now rank among the better paid sportsmen and, as a result of media attention, are treated as,

and live the lives of, top stars. Overall, Dunning and Sheard's discussion of professionalisation as a whole would appear to be of relevance to any analysis of the economic development of post-war cricket. While their theory is designed for a sport which claims to be 'amateur' in a way cricket no longer does, it nevertheless stands as a general account of the 'modernisation' of any sport. The key elements of professionalisation; bureaucracy, monetisation, hierarchy of clubs, competitions and spectator orientation have all been increasingly apparent in cricket since the 1960s. This can be illustrated by the introduction of one-day competitions and in the increasing number of Test matches played. Dunning and Sheard recognise that the growing reliance on attendance by increasingly spectator-oriented gate-taking clubs has been increased by the input of television and sponsorship money. However, they pay very little attention to the role played by the mass media in the development of sport in the past 30 years. Indeed, their virtual dismissal of its importance as a factor influencing sport is a very real limitation to their theory and their concentration on the civilising process as a means of control tends to overshadow any critical analysis of any economic changes that have taken place.

Dunning and Sheard also produce evidence which suggests that players born since 1945 are less likely to uphold Rugby Union's traditional amateur ethos and, in all respects except that they are not contractually bound, top players are very much 'professional' as in the organisation of the game. It was also the need to attract spectators back to the game in the 1960s that partly led to the changes made in cricket and from this time onwards commercial interests became increasingly important as television companies and sponsors became more willing to put money into the game. It is as a cumulation of these trends that Dunning and Sheard are able to explain the Packer Affair, although, as already mentioned, their analysis of the economic factors that may have contributed to this are limited.

## (ii) Political Factors

In point 3. above, Dunning and Sheard recognise the growing involvement of politics in sport and the way in which sport has become very much a secular religion, thereby providing a vehicle for society to impose its norms on its members. In cricket the increased importance of the game at Test match level since the war is an indication of this. In Australia certainly, and increasingly in England, Tests are promoted by the media as trials of strength between respective nations and the performance of the home team is seen to reflect the nation as a whole. The fact that the entire nation can be captivated by a classic match, or more recently, the way in which the decline of the England side has been portrayed as a national catastrophe, lends support to this theory.

Dunning and Sheard's theory is primarily about the internal dynamics of rugby union and therefore, just as they tend to overlook economic considerations, their theory of the civilising process has little relevance to either the political struggles surrounding South Africa or the way in which the game's governing bodies have developed during the past twenty years. Dunning and Sheard seem to regard the role of the state solely as a mechanism for violence control which, as Critcher, (1988) suggests, is "a highly selective view of its historical contestation." (p.203) The process of embourgeoisification may however be more useful for explaining the political development of sport in the 20th century. Certainly since 1945 the men running rugby clubs have come increasingly from the middle classes rather than the aristocracy or gentry, and the same is true of cricket, especially since the formation of the T.C.C.B. in 1969. The trend is now towards ex-cricketers becoming administrators and, as the game becomes more commercially aware, people are moving in from other commercial spheres to help market the game. Rugby, like many amateur sports, still relies heavily on ex-servicemen for its administrators and it is

interesting that cricket, unlike most other professional sports, is similar in this respect, a sign perhaps that the former trappings of the amateur-gentleman have not yet been totally discarded.

### (iii) Cultural Factors

Points 2., 4., 5. and 6. above all relate to the cultural changes which have taken place in post-war sport. Dunning and Sheard (1979) argue that,

the cultural significance of sport has grown simply by virtue of the fact that it is a leisure activity ie. an activity which is freely chosen or, more precisely, one in which the balance between freedom and compulsion is weighted more heavily towards the former than is the case with work. (p.280)

The growing number of people choosing to play cricket rather than watch it may well have contributed to the declining attendance figures in the 1950s. The changing pattern of work and leisure time since the war also had an effect in that people, traditionally 'amateur-gentlemen', could no longer afford the time to play or watch the midweek county game. The one-day game is far better suited to post-war work/leisure patterns which may help explain its popularity.

Sport's function as a source of mimetically generated enjoyment is socially controlled and limited, and Dunning and Sheard explain how "change is liable to occur when the excitement generated is perceived as either too high or too low according to current standards". This explains very well the call for 'brighter' cricket in the 1950s when the game was perceived as boring and led to the introduction of the more 'exciting' one-day game as well as other rule changes to encourage more exciting play in all types of game. It could also be argued that, although Packer's motives appear to have been entirely



economic, many of the changes wrought by WSC were accepted by the authorities primarily because they were perceived as making the game more exciting to the modern one-day viewer. The promotion of excitement, however, can have an adverse affect. The excitement generated can get so out of hand that the authorities have to step in and control it. This is what has happened with football hooliganism and the more recent incidents of similar unrest at cricket, especially in the one-day game, may be an indication that a similar thing is happening there. Dunning and Sheard also argue that football hooliganism is one of the results of 'mechanical solidarity' and this theory may also go some way to explaining the recent outbreaks of racial tension at cricket matches. It is possible that as cricket becomes more popular the violence will increase as it is "an almost inevitable concomitant of the meeting of groups characterised by mechanical solidarity" (Dunning and Sheard, 1979). Pitch invasions, for example, associated in England with football, have always been a feature of cricket in India, Pakistan and the West Indies, where those watching cricket are on the whole of a lower social group than their middle class spectating counterparts in England. It follows therefore that ethnic groups in this country, naturally attracted to the game and often experiencing social conditions little better than those they left overseas, will express similar emotions. The disturbance caused to 'traditional' fans by the combined effects of alcohol together with musical instruments and banners has prompted the M.C.C. to place restrictions on bringing such items onto the ground at Lord's and the sale of alcohol is strictly regulated. It is interesting to note, however, that there are no such restrictions on the amount of champagne consumed by members in the hospitality tents, their behaviour being condoned as high spirits. This could be cited as a clear example of class bias and double standards that can still be found in many sports which have traditionally been dominated by the amateur ethic.

Sport has, Dunning and Sheard argue, come to be seen as expressive of the traditional 'masculine' identities. Contact sports especially, with their stress on strength, toughness and physical courage, are perfect for this with rugby being a prime example. Cricket, being a non-contact sport, does not at first glance readily supply the means to such identities, although the modern cricketing hero, the all-rounder, personified by the likes of Botham, expresses many of these characteristics and may therefore act as a role model to those feeling a need to express masculine identity.

It is also important to consider how far these 'cultural' changes in post-war sport have any relevance to the reasons for, and changes wrought by, the Packer Affair. More specifically, is it possible to apply the theories of 'civilisation' and 'embourgeoisification' to the changes in post-war cricket that led to the events of 1977? Packer is not easy to explain in terms of Dunning and Sheard's discussion on deviance because of the lack of analysis of economic factors. His actions might be explained, however, by reference to the process of embourgeoisement. Packer did not challenge the existing written rules of the game but rather the norms of behaviour concerning loyalty to the game's authorities with which players were expected to comply. The eventual acceptance of these changing norms, however, can be seen as a further step in the process of embourgeoisification with the players receiving a larger share of profits and more freedom of contract. With the challenge of Packer the aristocratic control of the authorities was almost totally whittled away and the balance of power moved to the players and, more importantly, the interests of the media and sponsorship who are now providing the revenue necessary to keep the game alive. While the authorities were standing their ground against Packer there was the very real possibility of a split in the game similar to that which occurred in rugby, with the M.C.C. and T.C.C.B. upholding the traditional ideals of the game and attempting to retain their control over players on the

one side and the progressive media-based, spectator-oriented game on the other.

Dunning and Sheard argue that,

the trend towards the greater seriousness and cultural centrality of sports has led to an intensification of competition and hence to a real increase in violence and related behaviour on and off the field of play. (p.287)

Certainly we have seen how competition has increased dramatically, especially in terms of one-day games and Test matches since the early 1960s. Many do express a misgiving that one of the results of this is an increase in bad behaviour on the part of the players although cricket, being a non-contact sport, does not give the opportunity for actual physical violence as witnessed in Rugby Union. This illustrates one of the major weaknesses in Dunning and Sheard's theory. At the international level at least, violence in the form of intimidatory fast bowling seems to have increased, although this is difficult to say with certainty as standards have changed. As a result of the civilising process, what was normal in the past may be defined as unacceptable now. The difficulty arises in the fact that Dunning and Sheard's theory is designed for physical contact sports and it is difficult to generalise it to non-violent forms of deviance such as dissent. The stress on the increased seriousness of sport might be used to explain deviance but Dunning and Sheard do not present their argument in such a way as to enable this. As with the role of economics and politics, the fact that sport can be redefined through a series of contests of cultural power is overlooked in favour of the social-psychological explanation for deviance - the civilising process (Cricher, 1988).

It could be argued that Dunning and Sheard therefore provide a good account of the modernisation, increased seriousness and

socio-centrality of the game but are unable to explain many of the problems that arise out of these processes as their theory of deviance is not applicable to non-contact sports such as cricket and that either a more general model of 'deviance' or one that encompasses economic, political and cultural influences on collective behaviour may be needed for this. While it is relatively easy to explain how the increased cultural (as well as economic) importance of media interests has increased the seriousness and socio-centrality of sport in the past 30 years and consequently to explain deviance and sport-related violence as a direct result of the increased pressure placed upon participants, it is not so easy to explain this deviance simply by reference to the civilising process.

### Hargreaves

Hargreaves also argues that a turning point had been reached by the 1950s but, unlike Dunning and Sheard, he lays great emphasis on the importance of commercial interests as it is they that have now achieved hegemony, under which sports have become an integrated part of consumer culture.

#### (i) Economic Factors

Hargreaves identifies several ways in which sport can be related to capital. Cricket appears to fall between the two categories in which, firstly, sports are highly commercialised but whose main objectives are to remain financially viable and secondly, where secondary functions such as advertising and sponsorship are used to aid capital accumulation.

Cricket's financial problems in the 1950s and 1960s arose because costs were outstripping revenue. The reasons for this,

he argues, were largely social. Between 1949 and 1960 cricket lost 75% of its audience (P.E.P.Report, 1956, Down, 1985). Hargreaves, along with such authors as Clarke and Critcher (1985) and Down (1985) have argued that the most important factor contributing to these declining figures was the shift towards family centered leisure as increased income allowed for alternative leisure opportunities, especially television. As the previous discussion indicated, however, this theory of cause and effect is problematical and the evidence is somewhat inconclusive as to the effect of televised sport on attendance figures.

At the same time the patronage of the ruling groups, which cricket had enjoyed for so long, was diminishing as the economic and social influence of these groups declined. Since the game began to be codified right up to World War II cricket has been patronised, and in later years, subsidised, by wealthy local gentry. They had originally supported cricket as it had provided them with both a relatively safe pastime and a means of laying a wager as well as acting as a form of social control over their tenants. In the 19th century, when cricket played such an important part in the moulding of 'gentlemen' in the public schools, many boys went on to play as amateurs in the newly formed county sides. It was their support of these sides, along with membership fees, which largely kept the game afloat financially especially in the years after World War II when attendance began to decline. However, in the rapidly changing post-war society many of those who had patronised the game in the past found they could no longer afford either the money or, in the case of the players, the time that they had given to the game in the past with the result that county clubs were forced to rely even more heavily on Test Match profits and fund raising events. Local firms would only provide sponsorship if they were sure that the cause was a worthy one. This was compounded by the fact that most sports were administered by amateurs along non-business lines which meant that resources were used

ineffectually and opportunities to obtain alternative revenue were overlooked.

Hargreaves identifies three important factors; consumers, management and control, which have some relevance to cricket and his discussion of the game's development in post-war society details the move towards a more spectator-oriented, business-like enterprise financed mainly by TV revenue and sponsors who, in turn, expect some reciprocal control over the game. In the case of cricket, however, the shift does not as yet to be as obvious as he might expect. It is only necessary to look at the way the game has developed in Australia since 1977 to see how things may progress in England. That the process has started, and indeed, was started remarkably early for British sport in 1963, is without doubt. Whether or not it will reach the excesses witnessed in Australia and even more so in America, remains to be seen.

The key factor in this redevelopment of sport is, Hargreaves argues, the sponsorship/advertising/media axis. This axis encourages an uneven development across sport. It greatly aids those that are seen to be popular but can quicken the decline of those that are unpopular or not easily televised. Other problems can arise, for example, in tennis, where sponsorship money has not filtered through to the grass roots level, and Hargreaves recognises that sponsorship may actually amplify any decline. He cites the example of soccer where declining attendances stimulated increased demand for sponsorship and TV revenue which turned the game into a TV spectacle and thereby attendances declined still further. This vicious downward spiral could also be used to explain the poor state of the County Championship, although, as yet, it has not affected attendances at one-day games or some Tests.

Hargreaves also describes how in order to attract sponsors and television, sport has to adapt itself to their wishes -

cricket's one-day game being the best example of this. Sport therefore can never be entirely secure and the more reliant it becomes on the sponsor, the more it is under his power. This is certainly true of cricket in Australia where coverage is almost totally at the mercy of the Channel 9 TV company who have exclusive rights to broadcast the game (Barnett, 1990). In England the situation is more two-way as sponsorship money helps cricket while the televising of cricket helps sponsors to break the B.B.C.'s strict advertising regulations. Schweppes, however, did withdraw their support from the County Championship in 1982 as they felt they were not getting enough exposure (Barnett, 1990) and the example of Gillette discontinuing their sponsorship has already been discussed. Cricket is partly insulated from advertising pressure by the B.B.C. who exercise strict guidelines about exposure given to advertisers and sponsors (Down, 1985).

Hargreaves theory therefore gives an account of changes which can explain the reasons for cricket's financial decline in the 1950s, its subsequent reliance on sponsorship and TV revenue, and the increasing national importance of the game. How then can Hargreaves' analysis of the economic factors that have affected sport help to explain the Packer Affair?

Cricket, although it had been slowly becoming more commercialised since the 1960s, was given a massive push forward by Packer. As has already been explained, Packer represented a culmination of trends apparent in both sport and society of commercialism and 'Americanisation'. Cricket had been slower than many sports to adapt to these trends so it was hard hit by Packer's proposals. The challenge of Packer was a challenge to the traditional hegemony over the game of the T.C.C.B., M.C.C. and respective national cricketing boards which was often feudal in practice and, as Hargreaves explains,

The system of rules under which the governing bodies commonly operate often involve reliance on procedures which scarcely conform to the principles of natural justice. (p.124)

Packer's challenge was a strong one, and while the authorities were not prepared to make concessions, there remained a real danger that the established game might not survive, especially if other professional groups were set up in opposition to Packer. Eventually the authorities were forced to capitulate and reach a compromise in order to safeguard the financial future of the traditional game. The economist Sloane (1980) describes the final settlement in terms which help to explain the Packer Affair from Hargreaves' perspective;

Monopoly was restored to the product market. Yet the market may not be quite the same as before, since there will be more awareness of the threat of potential competition if the monopoly becomes too restrictive or fails to meet the changing taste of consumers.

The hegemony had shifted and it now appears that it is the sponsors, advertisers and media who have ultimate control over the future of the game, even though any changes still have to be made through official T.C.C.B. channels.

In summary, therefore, Hargreaves argues that,

These circumstances have rendered sports vulnerable to market forces and subject increasingly to a capitalist pattern of rationalisation. Relations have been transformed in the process: owners and controllers of sports organisations and the sports elite tend to treat the audience increasingly as consumers and see their task as one in which sales have to be maximised; modern business methods and management techniques are being introduced; and as more professional expertise is employed at all levels, power and control is passing out of the hands of the traditionalist amateur interests and into those of an efficiency and publicity conscious, more business-oriented group of sports administrators. (p.117)



## (ii) Political Factors

It is, Hargreaves argues, the mass media that does the most in the achievement of bourgeois hegemony and it promotes sport as a "skilled, exciting and above all entertaining activity" (p.138) that has nothing to do with power, politics and ideology except when "it gets pulled into issues over which political forces are mobilised already, such as South Africa...". (p.143) The media claims that it gives an impartial and realistic view of sports events when in fact what does get reported are only those items that are considered 'newsworthy' and those moments, often edited highlights, that are seen to be exciting, many of which have been shot from angles and at a range not available to actual spectators. Furthermore,

media sport often reads like a handbook of conventional wisdom on social order and control. There are homilies on good management, justice, the nature of the law, duty and obligation, correct attitudes to authority, the handling of disputes, what constitutes reasonable and civilised behaviour, on law and order and control, in the way conduct of participants in sports events and that of spectators is depicted. (p.145)

Hargreaves argues that the politics of the Sports Council are more an exercise in social control than provision for leisure. He suggests that, with its promotion of excellence schemes, the Sports Council has helped incorporate nationalist sentiment, as witnessed by the increased importance of Test Matches, to a greater level than ever before. National sporting events are used to convey a "national way of life"; stress is laid on the 'Britishness' of the competitors and such events

constitute conventional reference points signifying membership of a unique community, sharing a common, valued and specific way of life, which supersedes or takes preference over all other loyalties and identities. (p.154)

This is very exaggerated in the Australian media where cricket, especially against England, is marketed very aggressively against the visiting side, a trend which is growing in the popular press in England.

The media, Hargreaves argues, contrary to working class ideas, accepts ethnic minorities as members of national sides and presents their presence as a sign that progress is being made. However, what in fact emerges is a picture in which black people are successful only in sport which reinforces the the attitude that they are physically different and less intelligent. This is enforced by a media with virtually no black personnel. As Hargreaves explains,

The consequent ethnic stereotyping of black-British as well as black non-British nations that goes on is not very surprising. In cricket reporting, for example, West Indians and black cricket supporters are typically depicted in terms of their 'exuberance', their 'excitability' and their 'colourfulness'. The connotations of immaturity and indiscipline that such labelling has, is unlikely to be lost on a British audience, which has still not shaken off a good deal of its imperialist cultural heritage... (p.159)

Media sport also expresses the widespread view that sport brings people together, whereas in fact

the code of media sport is but one aspect of a multi-layered process, whereby an exclusionist sense of national identity is reproduced by the media. (p.160)

This explains very well the increased importance of Test matches since the 1960s, and can also help explain the racial problems that are increasingly apparent at matches as, in Hargreaves' words,

the key point is that the working class sense of national unity reproduced around sports is a conservative force... working class jingoism and racism thus expressed is the uglier face of national identity. (p.220)

Hargreaves explains that this fragmentation of groups within the working class further contributes to maintaining the bourgeois hegemony as, while it is thus divided, the working class is not able to provide a united front against that hegemony. As Hargreaves explains then,

the role of the state is now qualitatively different, in that it is now constantly interventionist. The expansion of the sports sphere, national and international, which affects all classes and groups, places it in an even more central position in the national popular culture and this, together with state intervention, has in some respects led to greater politicization. Inter-class and intra-class differentiation remains the hallmark of this domain: notably, sporting activity continues to divide and fragment the working class rather sharply. The role of sports as a source of divisive non-class identities has become relatively more important, especially in relation to gender, age and race.

### (iii) Cultural Factors

Sport has become part of the consumer culture although Hargreaves stresses that involvement in commercialised sport is not imposed but done by choice and that the behaviour of modern crowds is in fact anything but passive. He describes how the way sport is packaged raises the expectations of the spectators which alters their perceptions and evaluations of the sport and, in turn, creates tensions between the players and spectators which may erupt into confrontation. He cites the example of soccer which, the more it has become packaged as an up market 'family entertainment', the more it has experienced crowd disturbances. The same is true to some extent with other sports such as tennis and cricket where crowds are becoming more demonstrative.

This is a weak area of Hargreaves' theory as he concentrates solely on deviance on the part of spectators and, in doing so,

attributes them with a common consciousness rather than any individual motives. His theory might to some extent explain the role of soccer hooliganism or even the recent incidents at cricket matches, but it does not take into account the fact that all spectators do not react in the same manner. He also fails to analyse deviance on the part of individual players other than by saying that they react in a deviant manner as a result of an increasingly professional attitude towards the game which stresses victory at any cost. This is a rather general statement which may be true in some cases but it does not explain, for example, the dynamics of the game in which frustration may lead to rule infringements which in turn lead to modifications in the rules.

Hargreaves' insistence on revealing the 'ideology' of sport leads him to ignore problems of behaviour on the field. In cricket, for example, as much as the media sensationalises incidents of bad behaviour it is rarely condoned, unless of course a foreign umpire is involved, in which case the offending Englishman is depicted in the popular press as standing up for Britain against the infidel! Also, under the B.B.C.'s code of behaviour, sports commentators are free to comment on umpires' decisions and support them, but will rarely condemn a mistake. Unlike soccer, however, in cricket the umpire has no official means, other than by preventing a bowler bowling, of publicly punishing an offender. This is unusual in a team game where such means usually exist in the form of bookings, sendings off or sin bins.

Do Hargreaves' concepts of cultural changes in post-war sport help us, however, to explain the Packer Affair?

Changing social attitudes certainly had a part to play, especially in the decisions made by players who were no longer prepared to leave families behind during long winter tours (Blofeld, 1979). Hargreaves notes that modern cricket now draws

most of its players from the middle classes. These players are less likely to accept conditions formerly laid down for working class professionals. The challenge of Packer started a move towards greater influence over the game by the players. The formation of the Cricketers Association saw the beginning of a jockeying for power between the players and administrators, and since Packer the balance seems to have swung towards the players, as it has in other sports. As Down (1985) writes,

Freedom of movement from employer to employer has been the principal forum - indeed it was at the heart of the Packer affair as far as the players were concerned. (p.151)

As a result of this shift in hegemony, cricket has become, as Le Quesne (1983) explains, "part of the entertainments industry, which has to pay its way or founder, and the standards of the crowds and television dominate all!". (p.226)

Hargreaves also recognises the importance that television, especially the B.B.C., a state corporation, has had in transforming sport into part of the consumer culture. This is one of the ways in which the working class are integrated into this culture. The other way is through the formation of national identity. Hargreaves writes that,

The post-war expansion of sporting activity has made high-performance sport almost synonymous to the nation, and the chief mechanism in this process has been the media... Today, probably more than any other component of the national popular culture, sports have come to symbolise a national way of life, over which bourgeois hegemony has been achieved. (p.219)

Hargreaves, then, gives a very specific account of sport's development in terms of hegemony and is arguably therefore the most applicable account of cricket and society since 1945. He is able to explain the economic, political and cultural incorporation of cricket, although the relationships between hegemony, class, gender and nationalism, however, are couched in

very general terms which do not touch on the dynamics of the game. So therefore he is not so able to explain the problem in cricket of dissent and bad behaviour much of which, although there were incidents in the past, became far more common after 1977.

This concludes the analysis of the socio-historical development of professional cricket in England since 1800. The conclusion will provide a summary of the changes that have occurred in each of the three eras considered and also of the extent to which the theories of Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves can be used to explain these changes. The work of Guttmann will also be considered.

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Overarm bowling developed and was eventually accepted because it was felt that the batsmen were getting the upper hand. Bodyline also arose out of frustrations on the part of bowlers who were unable to bowl batsmen out on flat pitches under existing lbw laws. Bodyline was outlawed as unfair, but at the same time the lbw law was changed in order to restore the balance between batsman and bowler. More recent moves to restrict pad play and intimidatory bowling also illustrate this. Equality does not exist, however, in terms of opportunity to compete. In fact throughout the game's history opportunities for certain elements of the population have decreased. The folk game would have been played by all members of society, men and women, irrespective of class. The organised game that developed from the 18th century however immediately excluded the female population and the amateur/professional distinctions of the 19th century, while not excluding the working classes, limited them to a subordinate role. Although advances have been made, for example in women's cricket and ethnic participation, the game is still very much limited in Britain to white middle class men and will continue to be so if the number of state schools playing the game continues to fall. Guttman therefore makes a mistake in assuming that modern society is more equal than pre-industrial society.

### 3. Specialisation of Roles.

Role specialisation in cricket appeared very early on in the game's history and developed throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. The nature of the game demands that there are batsmen and bowlers but these roles became increasingly specialised as the gentlemen amateurs took over the batting and left the bowling to the professionals. Overarm bowling permitted the development of fast bowling techniques and the pitches of the interwar period allowed spin bowlers to flourish. Wicket keeping gloves were first used around 1820. More recently, however, the one-day game has handicapped specialisation, the more successful players being the 'all-rounders' who can both bat and bowl, and

a wicket keeper is more likely to be selected for a national squad on the basis of his batting rather than his keeping abilities.

#### 4. Rationalisation.

This also began to develop in cricket long before it became evident in other sports. Codes of rules exist from 1727 and were regularly updated until 1884 after which only minor changes were made. The first professionals were taken on at Lord's in 1825 and it was from this time that professionals were able to gain coaching positions at public schools. The first coaching manual by Boxall was published in 1801, 60 years before the first football rules were even formulated.

#### 5. Bureaucratic Organisation.

Again, this developed in cricket while other sports such as football were still at a low level of development. M.C.C., founded in 1787, took over control of the game from the Hambledon Club and ruled the game until the formation of the TCCB in 1969. This heralded an elaboration in cricket's bureaucracy with several organisations controlling different aspects of the game under the umbrella organisation, the Cricket Council. Internationally, cricket is more in line with other sports, the IOC being founded in 1926.

#### 6. Quantification.

Cricket, like baseball, contains great potential for quantification although, as yet, it has not developed to such an extent. The first stroke by stroke record of a match exists from 1769, the earliest known scorecard from 1776, and in 1791 the first annual of match scores was published. The first recorded seasonal batting averages were produced in 1793 and the first full bowling analysis was kept in the Yorkshire v Norfolk match of 1834. By 1849 cricketing annuals were being published which included averages, also popular with newspapers. The first volume of 'Scores and Biographies' was published in 1862, Wisden



first appeared in 1864. A comparison with baseball shows just how far quantification can be taken. Indeed, cricket statistics now provide a full time job or hobby for many and societies exist for statisticians interested in the facts and figures produced by the game.

#### 7. The Quest for Records.

Records are less important in a team sport like cricket than in athletic events. However, although there are no world and national records as such, records do exist in the form of best batting and bowling performances and career averages. Many of the records for the number of runs scored, for example, were set during the 'Golden' Age' of cricket and have yet to be equalled. Others are easily surpassed owing to the amount of cricket played nowadays.

Through the use of Guttman's model it is possible therefore to explain trends but, other than that they are a product of the scientific world view, it is not possible to explain any other factors that may have shaped the game's development. True, distinctions between amateurs and professionals resulted in a specialisation of roles, but Guttman does not attempt to explain the reasons why these roles were felt necessary. Again, with the major rule changes such as the legalisation of overarm bowling, there is no provision for explaining the dispute that arose over this change or the reason why M.C.C. finally capitulated. He has no concept of the roles of different classes in shaping the game, nor of the wider social and economic reasons why they felt disposed to behave in the way they did. His analysis does however raise one interesting point. It would appear that cricket in fact retains some features of a pre-industrial sport and, despite its early occurrence, does not possess all the characteristics Guttman would expect to find in a modern sport. Most of the characteristics are present but they are not so highly developed and, in some cases, appear to have regressed to the pre-industrial state. Guttman's analysis of

the nature of American baseball may help to explain this paradox. Guttman argues that the popularity of baseball is due to a large extent to its 'primitive' and 'pastoral' elements as well as its potential for quantification. Baseball, like cricket, is a seasonal summer game which can only be played in good weather, unlike other team sports. As Guttman argues, therefore,

The weather is a part of the folklore of the game in which one sits in the bleachers and hopes that the game will neither be rained out nor called because of darkness...These factors have been woven into the rhetoric of baseball. (p.101)

The beginning of the season in spring also recalls ancient religious symbolism and both baseball and cricket may well have originated from ancient fertility rites (Henderson, 1948). Both games also possess a kind of 'timeless' quality not evident in other sports organised by clock time. Games, even if they do not go on for ever, are very loosely bound by time. Guttman argues therefore that,

Baseball has retained something of the primitive connection between sports and the sacred. It is a secular activity with adumbrations of the mythic.

Guttman adds that it is the diminution of the pastoral element which, in recent years, has led to baseball's decline in popularity. It might, however, be argued that it is precisely the existence of these factors in cricket which help it to remain popular. Guttman in fact argues that,

Baseball's special attraction among team games, all of which combine individualism and cooperative effort, lies in its primitive-pastoral elements and, simultaneously, in its extraordinary modernity, in its closeness to the seasonal rhythms of nature and, at the same time, in the rarified realm of numbers...We have here not a contradiction but a complexity, a paradoxical situation in which the special, carefully bounded and regulated conditions of a

game enable us to have our cake and eat it too, to calculate the chances of a fastball or a successful bunt and, at the same time, to luxuriate in the warm sunshine of an April afternoon. (p.113-4)

This is a situation which must also apply to cricket and may therefore explain some of its appeal.

There are several other theories which are also of some use to cricket and are usually more able to explain individual behaviour, as we have seen, an element lacking in Dunning and Sheard's and Hargreaves' theories.

If Merton's (1968) model of responses to anomie is applied, the Packer Affair appears to be a good example of rebellion. The players were not satisfied with the goals offered them by the game and therefore, under the leadership of Packer, sought to change the institutionalised norms for achieving these goals. Merton writes that this form of response to anomie, where the norms no longer direct behaviour and deviance is encouraged, is

on a plane clearly different from that of the others. It represents a transitional response which seeks to institutionalise new procedures oriented towards revamped cultural goals shared by the members of the society. It thus involves efforts to change the existing structure rather than to perform accommodative actions within this structure.

Packer also complies very well with the image of those who organise rebellions as one who aims, in Merton's (1968) words,

to introduce a social structure in which the cultural standards of success would be strongly modified and provision would be made for a closer correspondence between merit, effort and reward.

Greig and his fellow players were led to believe that these changes were being sought in order not only to change the nature of several aspects of the game but to change the lot of the

cricketer. On closer inspection, however, it appears that Packer was only interested in gaining a TV monopoly and, as Martin-Jenkins (1980) argues,

the players whose standards of living he and his associates professed to be so concerned with were, in effect, mere pawns in his high powered business game.

Whatever the motives, however, the rebellion was eventually successful.

Merton's (1968) concept of 'innovation' by which the normative means of achieving success are rejected can also be used to explain the development of overarm bowling and Jardine's use of leg-theory in order to overcome the supremacy of the batsmen. It is important to note, however, that in both cases the actions taken were within the laws of the game and only infringed codes of behaviour.

Becker's (1963) labelling theory is also of some use in explaining Packer. His theory focuses on the responses of others to a deviant act and argues that an act is not deviant until it is labelled so by an outside agency. He writes,

Deviance is created by society...social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act that person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'. The deviant is one to whom the label has successfully been applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label.

At first the traditionalist cricket world reacted strongly to the news of Packer's proposals. The players were labelled as deviant by both the authorities and the press for deserting their countries and the authorities went so far as to try and

ban them from the game. WSC itself was labelled a 'circus' because its innovations were so far removed from the game as to appear farcical. By 1979, however, the mood had changed. The countries were desperate to get their star players back and an agreement was signed in which some of WSC's innovations were included in the game.

The increased popularity of the one-day game as a result of Packer, and its increased reliance on exciting play raises that question discussed by Stone (1955, 1957) concerning the problem of play versus display. He takes the symbolic interactionist view that social order is dependent on common meanings supplied by symbolic behaviour. Elements of play and display are balanced very precariously and once they are upset the whole character of sport may change. Spectator presence encourages the element of display and players respond to this by flaunting rules and increasing the spectator element of the game. As a result Stone (1957) writes,

We sense a loss of dignity and value in many sports, since the game is contrived with the audience in mind rather than the play.

This is what seems to have happened in cricket. It began in the 1960s with the one-day game and was rapidly accelerated by the innovations of Packer that were accepted into cricket as a whole. Players were encouraged to be more spectacular and it is the exciting players who became the heroes rather than the more steady players who are often actually seen as deviant by the media and spectators for not being exciting. Many of the disturbing incidents that have occurred since 1977 may therefore possibly be because of the increased spectator demand for display coupled with the increased prestige and prize money offered to players which encourages the 'win at all costs' attitude.

## CONCLUSION.

Having overviewed the socio-historical development of cricket since 1800, the conclusion will summarise each of the periods outlined in previous chapters and reconsider how far the theories of Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves are able to provide explanations for the way cricket has evolved during these periods.

At this point Guttman's theory will also be considered in depth in an attempt to ascertain how far his theory can contribute to the discussion on why cricket has evolved the way it has. Several other theories which appear to have some relevance to the game will also be discussed.

A return will then be made to the areas in each of the theories which the authors perceived as constituting the modern 'crisis' in sport. Consideration will be made of how far cricket can be seen to correspond to the factors that constitute these crises. This will lead into a discussion on how, if the theories of Dunning and Sheard, Hargreaves and Guttman are taken to their logical conclusion, sport could be seen to evolve in the future with the possible implications this might have for cricket.

The analysis will conclude with a discussion of the problems that arise when attempting to test the applicability of socio-historical theories derived from different sociological backgrounds to one particular case study and, finally, the question raised of the possibility of developing an eclectic theory as a solution to this.

### 1. Folk Beginnings to 1870.

During this period the game of cricket evolved from a rustic

folk game played by all members of society into a highly developed 'modern' sport with a written code of rules, a system, of professionalism and some degree of spectatorism and commercialisation. What is remarkable in the case of cricket is that this process of modernisation began remarkably early when compared to other sports, the first code of laws being published in 1744, over 100 years before the same process was to occur in soccer and rugby. This may have been due to the patronage given to cricket by upper class estate owners whose support and development of the game may have insulated it from the attacks mounted on many folk pastimes during the 1840s. In cricket the manifestations of this attack can be seen mainly in the argument that arose, ostensibly about the development of new bowling tactics, but which in reality were concerned with the role of professionals, on the whole bowlers, in the game. With the authorities unable to resolve this dispute there occurred a split in the game. The amateur gentlemen retreated into the relative seclusion of country house cricket while the professionals, led by William Clarke who in 1846 selected the first All England XI, toured the country entertaining thousands of spectators and making a great deal of money. By the 1870s however internal arguments together with the increasing popularity of County Championship matches led to the disbandment of the professional XIs and the professionals once again had to make their living under the patronage of others, this time those in charge of the county clubs. During the 1850s and 1860s the public schools had begun to take over the role of preserving, developing and promoting folk games as a means of character building for young gentlemen. Although the schools did not have the effect on cricket that they had on games such as rugby which was taken completely out of working class circulation and redeveloped as an upper class sport, the schools did provide the basis for the realisation of the amateur gentleman ethic which in the following era was to change completely the face of sport. Cricket was one of the best illustrations of these changes.

How far then are the theories of Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves able to explain the characteristics of this period which have been identified as the early occurrence of cricket as an organised sport, its codification and survival despite the decline of other folk games. How can they explain the changes that occurred in the mid 19th century which was characterised by the growing importance of the professionals and mass spectatorism and an increase in class exclusiveness, factors which culminated in the round arm bowling controversy? Finally how can they explain the decline of the professional XIs and the growing status exclusiveness of the Victorian bourgeoisie which led eventually to the formulation of the amateur ethic and the effect that this had on cricket?

Dunning and Sheard give a very detailed account of rugby's transformation from a folk game to a modern sport which took place at Rugby School from the mid 19th century. The reasons given for this revolve around the influence of the civilising process and the process of embourgeoisement which produced conditions at Rugby school conducive to the development of the game, a process which was outlined in detail in Chapter 2.

How far however do these processes apply to cricket which, as has been illustrated, already exhibited the main features listed by Dunning and Sheard as typical of a modern sport? Dunning and Sheard acknowledge this fact but give no explanation as to why this was so or why cricket was able to resist the attacks mounted on popular culture in the late 18th century. Their assumption that all games existed at similar levels of development at the same time is one of the weakness in their theory which on the whole is a fine analysis of the stages of the transition from folk games to modern sport.

Hargreaves also acknowledges the advanced development of cricket and hints that its popularity with the aristocracy may have been



due to its capacity to involve all members of society without putting the aristocracy at risk either physically or socially. Unlike football, even the earliest form of cricket involved a certain degree of role specialisation and from early in the game's written history a system evolved where the upper classes monopolised the more popular positions, preferring to bat whilst leaving the bowling to their social inferiors. This may have been one of the reasons why cricket was able to resist the attacks mounted on popular sports in the early 19th century.

Hargreaves therefore does give some explanation as to why cricket appealed to upper class patrons and how it was able to resist pressure to reform. He does not totally explain, however, why it was cricket that became codified rather than any of the other pastimes that received patronage nor does he offer any real explanation why this codification occurred so early on. Hargreaves, like Dunning and Sheard, sees industrialisation as the prime mover behind modernisation and the unique case of cricket's early codification is one example of how theories that are bound by sociological constraints are unable to provide explanations for any exceptions that may arise.

Dunning and Sheard's analysis of the civilising process has limited relevance to cricket during this period. The civilising process results in a progressive pacification of sport through increasingly elaborate rules. The rules of cricket certainly did become more complex during this period although, in the case of cricket, it is rather more difficult to pinpoint the civilising effect especially as the major rule changes of the period, namely the legalisation of round and over arm bowling, actually legitimised more confrontational styles of play. This highlights what is perhaps the biggest problem that arises with Dunning and Sheard's theory. Designed to explain the evolution of a physical contact sport such as rugby where a certain degree of violence is institutionalised the theory does not transfer readily to non-contact sports such as cricket where actual bodily contact,

and hence the capacity for violence, has always been minimal.

Dunning and Sheard's analysis of embourgeoisement is more useful as an analysis of cricket's development prior to 1870 especially when attempting to analyse the controversy that arose about new bowling techniques. Dunning and Sheard describe how the more rigid class barriers that emerged out of industrialisation resulted in the withdrawal of patronage and the growth of class exclusive leisure pursuits. This trend is certainly apparent in cricket in the mid 19th century as the upper class increasingly withdrew their patronage in favour of a more socially exclusive game. This could certainly account for the reluctance of M.C.C., faced with pressure for working class bowlers for reform, to accept the new bowling techniques and why this intransigence led to a split in the game between the upper class amateurs and working class professionals who formed the All England XIs. What Dunning and Sheard fail to explain however is why, in the face of such opposition, many popular pastimes survived and, in the case of cricket, actually flourished despite the withdrawal of patronage. They give no account of the rise in professionalism at this time nor the rise of mass spectatorism which accompanied the success of the XIs. Dunning and Sheard also pay little attention to the role that popular interest played in the development of modern sport perhaps because, in the case of rugby, this role was not great. Popular football, Dunning and Sheard argue, was virtually wiped out by various government legislation and oppressive measures and its early development therefore passed solely into the hands of the public schools. This was not the case with cricket which survived and in fact developed as a pastime for all classes of society during the first half of the 19th century.

Hargreaves theory of hegemony is also able to explain the withdrawal from the game of upper class patronage in the years 1790 to 1850 - a period of great change which saw the rise of the industrial capitalists and a new, more combative, working

class. The upper class felt threatened by this social change and increasingly withdrew their patronage from working class pastimes. At the same time middle class reformers were increasing their attempts to provide the working class with 'respectable' alternatives. However, because at this stage no group was able to gain overall control, the working class were able, in many cases, to resist any attempt at reform. This is illustrated in cricket where the gentry maintained control over the governing bodies but did not have the power to stop men with commercial interests, like William Clarke, taking advantage of the popularity of the game among the working class. With his analysis of the disunity of the upper and middle classes during this period therefore, Hargreaves is able to offer a good explanation of cricket's substantial development and growth in the first half of the 19th century despite attacks made on popular sports as a whole. It also explains the popularity of the Professional XIs which, had they not succumbed to internal arguments, may well have been able to mount a serious challenge to the fragile hegemony of M.C.C.

By the 1860s and 70s the bourgeoisie had achieved hegemony over the aristocracy and thereby unity in the ruling classes. Like Dunning and Sheard, Hargreaves stresses the role of the public schools in this process who promoted sports as a means of uniting and mending divisions between classes. Sections of the working class showed an interest in these reconstituted sports and in doing so absorbed many of the upper class values that accompanied them. Other sections of the working class however continued to resist attempts at reform and, although they were no longer able to take part in their traditional brutal sports such as dog fighting, many preferred the working class alternatives of pigeon racing and pedestrianism to the bourgeois offerings. The upper classes however, began to realise the political power of sport, especially when harnessed to patriotic figure such as John Bull, and it could be argued that it was the growth in importance of regional identities during this

period that helped speed the decline of the professional XIs in favour of the county sides. This, together with the upper class beginning to unite behind the banner of the 'gentleman amateur', meant that once again the upper classes were able to gain control over the game and, in years to come, would succeed in subordinating the professional players into inferior positions. Both Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves agree that the role played by the public schools in the formation of the ideology that was to achieve this was very great indeed.

## 2.1870 to 1945.

The years 1870 to 1945 were the years of amateur domination of cricket during which time the county game replaced the Professional XIs as the most popular game form. Five key developments in the game; the County Championship, professionalism, commercialism, spectatorism and internationalism all emerged fully during this period and, it was argued, contributed to the 'Bodyline' crisis. Bodyline itself was a legitimate tactic devised by England captain Douglas Jardine to counter the prodigious run-scoring talent of Australian Don Bradman on England's 1932/3 tour of Australia. These tactics however challenged the norms of fair play and the crisis reached such proportions that at one stage diplomatic relations between the two nations were threatened. Bodyline was symptomatic of changes in the technique of sport within a specific social and economic context and occurred primarily because of the increase in professionalism and internationalism in the game.

How then are Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves able to explain the previously identified developments that took place in cricket during this period and what reasons can they give for the overwhelming success of the amateur ideology in the

professional game? Also, with respect to Bodyline, Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves should be able to explain how the growing pressures of international competition along with the internal dynamics of the game could produce a crisis centred around the interpretation of the rules. They should also be able to explain how sport's development can result in such incidents of 'deviance' and how far the characteristics previously identified are indicators of this.

Dunning and Sheard's detailed analysis of the development of an amateur ideology as a rationalisation of class domination does appear to be an accurate account of what happened in cricket. In the case of rugby this process, along with the process of 'democratization' led to a split in the game between the amateur dominated RFU and the newly formed, fully professional Rugby League. Cricket too experienced a certain degree of democratization especially in the North where, at this time, a number of leagues were formed. These leagues were extremely popular providing excitement and a sense of local community for spectators and, had these clubs organised themselves, it is possible that they may have been able to present a challenge to M.C.C. The question of pertinence for Dunning and Sheard therefore is why was cricket able, not only to avoid the problems experienced by rugby, but in fact experienced virtually no tension at all regarding the question of professionalism? Dunning and Sheard answer this question with reference to the status security of various groups involved in the game. When professional cricket emerged in the 18th century the game's upper class patrons faced no challenge from any other group in society and therefore had no need to fear contact with their social inferiors. From the beginning of the 19th century industrialism, urbanisation and embourgeoisement began to erode this dominance and a more class exclusive pattern of participation did emerge with the upper class retreating to the seclusion of their country estates to play the game. By the end of the 19th century the professionals in cricket were facing the

same criticisms as in other sports although tensions in the game were never intense enough to jeopardise the authority of M.C.C. Dunning and Sheard argue that this was because of the established career structure for professionals who had at this stage existed in cricket for over 100 years and had become accepted as part of English life. There were also many gentlemen amateurs who could still afford the time and money to play a prominent role in the game. At the same time, the number of bourgeois members of M.C.C. increased. While they looked to the upper classes as a reference group they were not inclined to outlaw professionalism totally but they were unsure enough of their status to advocate measures to demarcate the amateurs and professionals along more rigid lines of social status, subjecting the professionals to a variety of subordinations which emphasised their social inferiority whilst at the same time reducing any threat they might pose to the dominant group. Dunning and Sheard argue that these distinctions were accepted by the professionals as the game offered the working class a chance of fame.

Therefore Dunning and Sheard's theory of embourgeoisement enables them to give a good explanation of the amateur response in cricket to professionalism. What do they say however about the major developments which took place in the game between 1870 and 1945? Their analysis of bourgeoisification and proletarianisation can to some extent explain the growing popularity of the County Championship during this period, intercounty rivalry providing a greater source of interest than the Professional XI games. This local rivalry meant that the perceived importance of the game, for both players and spectators, increased and can explain therefore both the increased spectatorism during this period and the growth in importance of international matches which provided the opportunity for the ultimate expression of allegiance. In the interwar period this rivalry became intense and, it could be argued, was one of the reasons for the Bodyline controversy.

Dunning and Sheard would argue that the decline of amateurism and the rise of professionalism in the interwar years led to an increased seriousness and socio-centrality of sport which culminated in a show of 'instrumental violence' on the part of Jardine's bowlers. Dunning and Sheard would expect the influence of the civilising process to condemn these tactics and this did in fact happen with Bodyline eventually being made illegal. Dunning and Sheard are less able to explain why all this happened 50 years before such occurrences became more commonplace. Therefore, once again, although Dunning and Sheard do appear able to give an explanation of the growing trends in cricket at this time they are unable to explain the early occurrence of Bodyline.

This is a problem which is also encountered by Hargreaves. He describes how in the period 1870 to 1945 sport was used to help the bourgeoisie achieve hegemony over all sections of the community and he concentrates on the growth of sport as an institution. He describes the efforts of the rational recreation movement who won members of the respectable working class over to the reconstituted sports which promoted sports as a means of class conciliation, discipline and respectability. At the same time politicians recognised the potential of spectatorism for increasing their influence and began to appropriate sporting symbols for their own purpose. The pro/am distinctions in cricket were a way of emphasising the differences between the classes. Hargreaves agrees with Dunning and Sheard that the amateur ethic, the solution to the problem of professionalism, was determined by the level of class conflict in society at that time. Unlike Dunning and Sheard, however, Hargreaves does consider the extent of any working class opposition to the status quo. He argues that, on the whole, working class presence in sport continued to be unobtrusive and, though popular, the Northern leagues were not strong enough to pose any threat to the establishment. Working class professionals became technically superior but, because cricket lacked the sort of

working class loyalty afforded to soccer, its ethos remained largely bourgeois. The professionals were tolerated because those in charge were confident of their status. When social change did occur they reacted by emphasising the servant status of the professional.

Hargreaves' theory can be applied quite effectively in order to explain the institutional development of sport between 1870 to 1945 which includes such characteristics as the growth of commercialism, spectatorism and internationalism. Commercialised sport and its accompanying working class spectatorism was, Hargreaves argues, used by the authorities to control working class beliefs and expectations, a good example of this being the pro/am distinctions in cricket. The subordinate position of the working class professionals was emphasised strongly but, at the same time, the games' tolerance of their existence ensured working class support for cricket which helped accommodate them to the bourgeois hegemony.

The foundations for the international structure of sport was also laid down during this era and sport came to be seen as representative of the qualities which made the English superior to foreigners. Prior to 1919 international sport was largely a bourgeois concern. It was only in the 1930s, when Britain came to the forefront of international sport, that these ideas filtered down to the working class and sport came to be seen as providing a common reference point, providing the nation with a sense of identity.

Hargreaves argues that in cricket the desire to express dominance was especially strong as the game was only played in the colonies where it was felt necessary to dominate, and in some cases subdue, the indigenous population. A sense of Englishness could be promoted via cricket which, it was believed, would help maintain the hegemony overseas. For this purpose it was necessary that the English team be superior on



the field. By the 1930s, however, the Australian side was well able to match the England cricketers. Combined with Australia's growing sense of nationalism, this may well have been one of the factors that contributed to the Bodyline crisis. Hargreaves' theory suggests that it was a combination of a variety of factors; increased commercialism, spectatorism and nationalism, that prompted a move towards greater professionalism that moved Jardine to devise leg-theory and that it was these factors, rather than Jardine himself, who on this occasion challenged the bourgeois hegemony over sport. At this time, although the hegemony shifted slightly, M.C.C. still retained control and it wasn't until after World War II that the hegemony shifted, more or less totally, into the hands of commercial interests.

Both Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves therefore put forward theories that can be used to explain the development of sport between 1870 and 1945. Hargreaves' theory is the strongest for explaining the growth of sport as an institution but he is not so able to explain individual acts of deviance, such as that displayed by Jardine, and it is not always easy to extend his analysis to explain the internal dynamics of any particular sport. For example, the changes in the law made partly in response to the Bodyline crisis cannot be explained in terms of hegemony and class relations. Bodyline itself is also difficult to explain in these terms and Hargreaves' theory can only suggest that it occurred because of the growing seriousness of sport during the interwar period, a seriousness which prompted Jardine to adopt a more professional attitude towards the game than had previously been expected of an amateur. Individual action has little place in Hargreaves' theory.

Dunning and Sheard's analysis of the development of the amateur ethic is more able to explain the actual events which took place in cricket itself and their theory of embourgeoisement also has relevance to the growth of commercialism and spectatorism although this is limited as they only give the example of rugby.

The civilising process can be used to explain the reaction to the Bodyline crisis which, it could be argued, was one of the rare cases in cricket of actual violence being used by a bowler. Both Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves, however, are less able to explain the early occurrence in cricket of such an incident which, in other sports, did not begin to occur until well after World War II.

### 3. The Post-War Period.

The following factors; a decline in spectatorism, increased sports participation, home and family leisure orientation, the growing importance of the mass media and the increased commercialisation of sport, all played an important role in shaping sport and leisure in post-war Britain.

The early years after World War II were a boom period for spectator sport, cricket especially, but by 1951 attendances had begun to fall sharply. By the mid 1950s the trend towards home and consumer based leisure had precipitated a decline in most traditional leisure forms, spectator sports suffering especially badly. In cricket by 1963 attendances had fallen by two thirds. Many county cricket clubs were plunged deep into debt as the traditional sources of revenue; gate money and donations from wealthy patrons, began to decline. Encouraged by the media, who had, since the early 1950s, been calling for 'brighter cricket', M.C.C. realised that, in order to bring supporters back to the game, something new and exciting would have to be offered. In 1963 a sponsored knock-out competition, the Gillette Cup, was inaugurated which, together with the move that year to abolish amateur status, proved to be an important watershed in the game's history. In 1966 the Clark Report recommended that the number of three-day matches be reduced to allow for more one-day competitions, all of which should be sponsored. M.C.C. also amended the registration rules which enabled overseas players to

obtain immediate county registration. Therefore the promotion of these players' talents, along with a fully professional game and more exciting one-day competitions, all helped move cricket towards becoming part of a highly commercialised entertainments industry. In the 1970s and 80s cricket became increasingly influenced by economic factors concerned mainly with advertising and sponsorship. The influence of the media was also very important, cricket being one of the sports transformed by TV coverage. The success of the one-day game has led to the growth of an elite star system and has greatly increased the perceived importance of international matches, so much so that regular Test players now play up to 12 Tests a year plus one-day internationals. Cricket itself relies on the revenue generated by these games but several questions have been raised concerning the nature of modern cricket which include whether or not TV has contributed to declining audiences at county games and the important consideration of how far the game is willing to change in order to meet the wishes of advertisers and sponsors. The 1977 Packer Affair was an important illustration of how the growing importance of TV, sponsorship and other post-war trends culminated in a serious challenge to the game throughout the cricket playing world. The Packer Affair helped increase the lot of the players in terms of pay and freedom of movement and the game in England benefited from a massive injection of cash from new sponsorship deals. At the same time it removed the last vestiges of cricket's previous semi-isolation from the world of commerce and, from the mid 1970s onwards, the game has been forced to confront the issues of TV coverage and sponsorship in order to remain viable in an increasingly competitive market.

The growing influence of the mass media has also led to cultural changes which have affected sport and during the 1970s and 80s various crises have arisen as a result of these changes, most of which are concerned with the question of player behaviour. This problem seems to occur mostly at the top level where the greatest material rewards and national prestige are at stake.

Politics have also become increasingly involved in sport and issues that have been discussed include the work of government agencies such as the Sports Council to promote leisure as part of the Welfare State and, of more relevance to cricket, attempts by governments to use sport to make a political statement. In cricket this is illustrated by the long-running saga of the South African question and arguments revolve mainly around players freedom to work where they wish.

How do the theories of Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves explain these developments which have taken place in cricket since 1945? Dunning and Sheard argue that sport since World War II has become increasingly serious and this has led to a growth in its significance and cultural centrality. Cricket, now fully professional and run along business lines, has certainly become more serious, both on and off the field.

Certainly Dunning and Sheard's discussion of professionalisation, although designed for the amateur sport of rugby, does appear to be of relevance to an analysis of the economic development of cricket since World War II. The key elements of this professionalisation; bureaucracy, monetisation, hierarchy of clubs, competitions and spectator orientation, have all been increasingly apparent in cricket since the 1960s. Dunning and Sheard do not, however, consider the important role played in this process by the mass media, a factor which severely limits their theory. It is as a culmination of the above trends that Dunning and Sheard are able to explain the Packer Affair although their concentration on the civilising process as a means of control does overshadow any critical analysis of the economic changes that have occurred.

Dunning and Sheard do recognise the growing involvement of politics in sport and the way it has become a secular religion, providing a means for society to impose its norms on members. The great increase in the perceived importance of international

cricket lends support to this theory. Again, however, Dunning and Sheard's concentration on how the civilising process affects the internal dynamics of rugby union, means that they have little to say about either the South African question or how cricket's governing bodies have developed in the past 20 years. They regard the role of the state merely as a means of violence control which severely limits their analysis. Embourgeoisification may be a more useful measure especially when used to explain the class composition of sports administrators. In cricket the trend does appear to be towards ex-cricketers and businessmen although, unlike most other professional sports, the still heavy reliance on ex-servicemen indicates that the former trappings of the amateur ethic have not been totally discarded.

Factors described by Dunning and Sheard which relate to the cultural changes that have taken place in post-war sport include the changing balance of work and leisure time, the capacity of sport to provide excitement in an increasingly routine and frustrating society, sports role in providing a means of expression of masculine identity and its function as a means of social control through the process of 'mechanical solidarity'.

In cricket the increasing number of people choosing to play the game may have contributed to the decline in attendance figures since the 1950s. The popularity of the one-day game may be because it is far better suited to post-war work/leisure patterns.

Sports' function as a source of mimetically generated excitement is socially controlled and change occurs when the excitement generated is perceived to be either too high or too low. This may explain the call for brighter cricket in the 1950s as well as the changes made in the one-day game, all of which were thought to make cricket more exciting to the modern spectator. The promotion of excitement, however, can have an adverse effect

and recent examples of unrest among the crowd at cricket matches indicates that this may be happening. 'Mechanical solidarity' may also have contributed to the incidence of racial violence at some matches and it is possible that these occurrences will become more common as the game becomes increasingly popular with groups in society who are normally associated with mechanical solidarity. These groups are also more likely to adhere to traditional 'masculine' identities. Cricket is a non-contact sport which does not readily supply the means to such identities although the all rounder, the modern cricketing hero, may act as a role model for young males.

It is in this area of cultural change that Dunning and Sheard are more able to explain the Packer Affair. Packer's actions challenged the norms of behaviour concerning loyalty to the game's authorities with which the players were expected to comply. The eventual acceptance of some of the changes made by WSC and the increase in player autonomy could be seen as a further step in the process of embourgeoisification. For a while it looked as if there was a real possibility of a split in the game like that experienced by rugby 100 years before but eventually the authorities capitulated giving the players a larger share of the profit and freedom of contract.

Dunning and Sheard therefore provide a good general account of the modernisation, increased seriousness and socio-centrality of the game but are less able to explain many of the problems that arise as a result of these processes in a non-contact sport such as cricket. A more general model of deviance that encompasses economic, political and cultural influences on collective behaviour may be needed.

Hargreaves gives greater emphasis to the importance of commercial interests and argues that it is these which have achieved hegemony, sport becoming incorporated into consumer culture. His analysis of the way sport has become incorporated

into economic, political and cultural life appears to have considerable relevance to cricket.

Hargreaves argues that the reasons for cricket's financial problems in the 1950s and 1960s were largely social and attributes cricket's declining audience to the shift towards family centred leisure. Also, with the decline of patronage from wealthy supporters, clubs were forced to rely even more heavily on Test Match profits and fund raising. Opportunities to increase revenue were often missed because those running the game were not business men.

The main factor in the redevelopment of sport, Hargreaves argues, is the sponsorship/advertising/media axis and his discussion of cricket's development since World War II details the move towards a more spectator oriented, business like enterprise financed mainly by TV and sponsorship. He also describes the problems of control over the game that these business deals raise. Cricket's one-day game is a good example of how rule changes have been made in order to make the product more acceptable to TV and sponsors. The more sport is reliant on the sponsor the greater the power of that sponsor. Examples have been given of instances in both England and Australia where sponsors have withdrawn their support if they no longer feel they are gaining any benefit from the deal.

Hargreaves theory therefore gives an account of changes which can explain cricket's financial decline in the 1950s and its subsequent reliance on sponsorship and TV revenue. How can this be extended to explain the Packer Affair?

The challenge of Packer could be seen as a challenge to the traditional hegemony over the game of the TCCB and other national cricketing boards who's control was often feudal in nature. The authorities were eventually forced to capitulate and reach a compromise in order to safeguard the financial future of

the game. As a result the hegemony shifted firmly into the hands of the sponsors, advertisers and media who, it could be argued, now have control over the future of the game. The sports audience are now viewed as consumers and modern business methods and management techniques are used in order to maximise profits.

From a political point of view Hargreaves argues that it is the media who play the most important role of maintaining bourgeois hegemony by promoting the myth that sport has nothing to do with power, politics and ideology. Instead, Hargreaves argues, that, led by the Sports Council, sports are largely an exercise in social control which help incorporate nationalist sentiment. This helps explain the increased importance of Test Matches since the 1960s.

Media sport also expresses the widespread view that sport brings people together whereas, Hargreaves argues, it actually only reinforces stereotypes especially about ethnic minorities. At the same time the promotion of nationalism is especially appealing to working class groups whose expression of national unity tends to be jingoistic and racist. This, Hargreaves argues, actually contributes to the bourgeois hegemony because, while the working class is divided, it is not able to challenge that hegemony.

Sport has become part of consumer culture and Hargreaves describes how the packaging of modern sport has raised the expectations of spectators whose perceptions and evaluations of sport, as a result, has changed. This creates tensions between the players and spectators which may erupt into confrontation. He gives the example of football which, the more it has been packaged as family entertainment, the more it has experienced crowd disturbances. Two problems arise with this part of Hargreaves' theory. Firstly, by attributing sports crowds with a common consciousness, he ignores the fact that not all people react in the same manner. Also, other than making a very general



statement that players react in a deviant manner because of an increasingly serious attitude towards sport, Hargreaves fails to analyse deviance on the field of play. This stress on victory at all costs may explain some incidents but does not explain how, for example, the dynamics of the process whereby frustration may lead to rule infringements which in turn result in a modification of the rules.

What can Hargreaves' analysis of cultural changes in post-war sport tell us about the Packer Affair? Changing social attitudes certainly played a part, especially in the decision of players to no longer accept the harsh working conditions imposed upon them. Hargreaves notes that cricket now draws its players largely from the middle class and these players are less likely than their working class counterparts to accept such conditions. The challenge of Packer began a move which gave the players greater contractual freedom.

Hargreaves also recognises the role played by TV in transforming sport into part of the consumer culture, one of the ways in which the working class is integrated. The other way is through the formation of national identity.

Therefore, Hargreaves general account of the economic, political and cultural incorporation of sport since World War II is able to provide an analysis of the changes that have taken place in cricket during this period. The main problem with his theory is that his analysis of the relationships between hegemony, class, gender and nationalism is couched in very general terms which do not touch on the dynamics of the game and therefore cannot fully explain the incidence of deviance, especially dissent, which has become more prevalent in cricket since 1977.

Overall therefore, how can the theories of Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves help facilitate an understanding of the development of modern sport?

Dunning and Sheard's analysis of rugby makes an attempt to explain the development of high level, physical contact, male sport which has become so important in the leisure of modern Britain. This concern with contact sports is a weakness because, as Critcher (1988) describes,

Any claim to be developing a sociology of sport evaporates when we consider just a few of the modern sports which are left out of this consistently narrow selection; track and field athletics...golf, tennis, perhaps even that most quintessentially English game of cricket. (p.202)

If this limitation is accepted, however, then Dunning and Sheard make several pertinent observations.

In their analysis of sport as a form of 'mimetic excitement' Dunning and Sheard go some way to answering the question 'what is sport?' Their typology of the transition of sports from folk games to modern sports is extremely well documented as is their analysis of the process whereby rugby developed into a modern sport able to fulfil the role mentioned above. Also their analysis of how sport, especially violence in sport, is regulated by the civilising process does, in the case of rugby, appear to be historically accurate, although it is not so easily applied to other sports.

From the point of view of cricket Dunning and Sheard's main strength lies in their analysis of the middle class reconstruction of sport around the amateur ethos in the second half of the 19th century in response to perceived threats from working class professionals. Their theory of the civilising process can help explain the condemnation of Bodyline but cannot explain the move in the mid 19th century to more confrontational bowling techniques nor the trend in the past decade towards intimidatory bowling, although efforts made to control this may be attributed to the civilising process. Again, it must be stressed that the main weakness lies in the difficulty of

applying a theory designed to explain violence in a physical contact game to a non-contact game such as cricket. Dunning and Sheard may be more able than Hargreaves to explain individual behaviour but this is often at the expense of larger trends. The process of embourgeoisement does have some relevance especially when applied to the withdrawal of upper class patronage in the early 19th century, the successful incorporation of professionalism and the institution of the amateur ethic from the mid 19th century and the rise of professionalism from the early 20th century. Their analysis of the key elements of professionalism in the late 20th century is applicable to cricket but on the whole their analysis of the causes and effects of these factors is limited.

Critcher (1988) argues that it is their reliance on the theory of the civilising process that restricts their understanding of sport as a whole and reduces sport to crude functionalist interpretation. As has already been mentioned, because of this, Dunning and Sheard view the state merely as a means of violence control and from this perspective politics, economics and culture are all marginalised by this emphasis on the civilising process. They also overlook the idea that sport can be and is affected by contestations of cultural power.

It is this last point which is considered by Hargreaves for whom the history of sport is a continual struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie who succeed in achieving cultural hegemony. Hargreaves describes how the classes are integrated into a national culture which overrides all other differences. He goes on to describe how, in recent years, the effects of commercialisation, the mass media and state intervention on modern sport has quickened the process and helped integrate the working class further. From the point of view of a Marxist perspective on sport Critcher (1988) argues that Hargreaves has provided a very good analysis of commercial and media influences and the institutional practices of the Sports Council. There are

problems with his theory however. Hargreaves tends to overrate the 'relative autonomy' of sport and rather overlooks the capacity of groups in both society and sport for self-determination. He fails to actually provide any solutions to how sport can escape from being a form of social control. Finally, Critcher (1988) suggests that Hargreaves' preoccupation with class as the most significant division affecting the development of sport overlooks other crucial determinants such as gender. He writes, "the class framework is both the great strength and the great weakness of Hargreaves' approach." (p.206) The history of sport is probably best understood as a class process. However, Hargreaves exaggerates sport's importance as a means of integrating the working class politically as well as culturally.

Hargreaves, from the point of view of cricket, gives a very detailed analysis of post-war trends and his theory is of the greatest use when considering post-war commercial developments in cricket. He is less good at explaining individual behaviour such as dissent. His analysis of the earlier periods is of use when considering general developments in sport as a whole which are reflected in cricket but again is unable to adequately explain reasons for individual action such as Bodyline and the way that such behaviour challenges and changes the dynamics of the game. General trends in cricket can be used to illustrate his theory of hegemony but, in the earlier periods in particular, are very vague and ignore factors such as the withdrawal of aristocratic patronage and the presence of northern leagues. Both Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves, especially in their early analyses of sport's development, fail to provide an adequate explanation for cricket's early occurrence, organisation and codification. Dunning and Sheard tend to assume that all sports in the early 19th century had pre-industrial characteristics and both they and Hargreaves in their analysis of the attacks on popular culture fail to explain why cricket survived these attacks so successfully.

The similarities between the work of Dunning and Sheard and Hargreaves has been detailed in previous chapters. They both agree that the development of sport can only be explained through the use of historical sociology. They agree about what constitutes crucial phases in sport's development and, as in the case of the amateur ethic, often agree about the basic facts. The differences in interpretation arise because of their different theoretical models, Dunning and Sheard using sport as a case study to prove the effect of the civilising process, Hargreaves using sport in order to prove the neo-marxist theory of hegemony.

How then might Guttman's theory be used to explain cricket's development in the past two hundred years? The main problem with Guttman is that his argument is so generalised that it is difficult to pin down to any one period. His analysis of characteristics of pre and post-industrial sports can, however, be applied, albeit loosely, to cricket:-

### 1. Secularism

Certainly by the early 19th century cricket was far removed from any religious folk roots it may have had. It could perhaps be argued, however, that cricket possesses a 'sacred' character that no other modern sport has which revolves around the traditional acceptance in the game of the umpire's decision and standards of 'gentlemanly conduct' which are now being challenged by professional attitudes towards sport. It has also been suggested that sport constitutes a modern secular religion in which cricket provides its audience with a sense of identification and set of beliefs as well as the figure for worship.

### 2. Equality

As far as the rules of the game are concerned, steady progress has been made throughout the game's history to equalise the conditions of competition between the batsman and bowler.

Overarm bowling developed and was eventually accepted because it was felt that the batsmen were getting the upper hand. Bodyline also arose out of frustrations on the part of bowlers who were unable to bowl batsmen out on flat pitches under existing lbw laws. Bodyline was outlawed as unfair, but at the same time the lbw law was changed in order to restore the balance between batsman and bowler. More recent moves to restrict pad play and intimidatory bowling also illustrate this. Equality does not exist, however, in terms of opportunity to compete. In fact throughout the game's history opportunities for certain elements of the population have decreased. The folk game would have been played by all members of society, men and women, irrespective of class. The organised game that developed from the 18th century however immediately excluded the female population and the amateur/professional distinctions of the 19th century, while not excluding the working classes, limited them to a subordinate role. Although advances have been made, for example in women's cricket and ethnic participation, the game is still very much limited in Britain to white middle class men and will continue to be so if the number of state schools playing the game continues to fall. Guttman therefore makes a mistake in assuming that modern society is more equal than pre-industrial society.

### 3. Specialisation of Roles.

Role specialisation in cricket appeared very early on in the game's history and developed throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. The nature of the game demands that there are batsmen and bowlers but these roles became increasingly specialised as the gentlemen amateurs took over the batting and left the bowling to the professionals. Overarm bowling permitted the development of fast bowling techniques and the pitches of the interwar period allowed spin bowlers to flourish. Wicket keeping gloves were first used around 1820. More recently, however, the one-day game has handicapped specialisation, the more successful players being the 'all-rounders' who can both bat and bowl, and

a wicket keeper is more likely to be selected for a national squad on the basis of his batting rather than his keeping abilities.

#### 4. Rationalisation.

This also began to develop in cricket long before it became evident in other sports. Codes of rules exist from 1727 and were regularly updated until 1884 after which only minor changes were made. The first professionals were taken on at Lord's in 1825 and it was from this time that professionals were able to gain coaching positions at public schools. The first coaching manual by Boxall was published in 1801, 60 years before the first football rules were even formulated.

#### 5. Bureaucratic Organisation.

Again, this developed in cricket while other sports such as football were still at a low level of development. M.C.C., founded in 1787, took over control of the game from the Hambledon Club and ruled the game until the formation of the TCCB in 1969. This heralded an elaboration in cricket's bureaucracy with several organisations controlling different aspects of the game under the umbrella organisation, the Cricket Council. Internationally, cricket is more in line with other sports, the ICC being founded in 1926.

#### 6. Quantification.

Cricket, like baseball, contains great potential for quantification although, as yet, it has not developed to such an extent. The first stroke by stroke record of a match exists from 1769, the earliest known scorecard from 1776, and in 1791 the first annual of match scores was published. The first recorded seasonal batting averages were produced in 1793 and the first full bowling analysis was kept in the Yorkshire v Norfolk match of 1834. By 1849 cricketing annuals were being published which included averages, also popular with newspapers. The first volume of 'Scores and Biographies' was published in 1862, Wisden

first appeared in 1864. A comparison with baseball shows just how far quantification can be taken. Indeed, cricket statistics now provide a full time job or hobby for many and societies exist for statisticians interested in the facts and figures produced by the game.

#### 7. The Quest for Records.

Records are less important in a team sport like cricket than in athletic events. However, although there are no world and national records as such, records do exist in the form of best batting and bowling performances and career averages. Many of the records for the number of runs scored, for example, were set during the 'Golden' Age' of cricket and have yet to be equalled. Others are easily surpassed owing to the amount of cricket played nowadays.

Through the use of Guttman's model it is possible therefore to explain trends but, other than that they are a product of the scientific world view, it is not possible to explain any other factors that may have shaped the game's development. True, distinctions between amateurs and professionals resulted in a specialisation of roles, but Guttman does not attempt to explain the reasons why these roles were felt necessary. Again, with the major rule changes such as the legalisation of overarm bowling, there is no provision for explaining the dispute that arose over this change or the reason why M.C.C. finally capitulated. He has no concept of the roles of different classes in shaping the game, nor of the wider social and economic reasons why they felt disposed to behave in the way they did. His analysis does however raise one interesting point. It would appear that cricket in fact retains some features of a pre-industrial sport and, despite its early occurrence, does not possess all the characteristics Guttman would expect to find in a modern sport. Most of the characteristics are present but they are not so highly developed and, in some cases, appear to have regressed to the pre-industrial state. Guttman's analysis of



the nature of American baseball may help to explain this paradox. Guttman argues that the popularity of baseball is due to a large extent to its 'primitive' and 'pastoral' elements as well as its potential for quantification. Baseball, like cricket, is a seasonal summer game which can only be played in good weather, unlike other team sports. As Guttman argues, therefore,

The weather is a part of the folklore of the game in which one sits in the bleachers and hopes that the game will neither be rained out nor called because of darkness...These factors have been woven into the rhetoric of baseball. (p.101)

The beginning of the season in spring also recalls ancient religious symbolism and both baseball and cricket may well have originated from ancient fertility rites. (Henderson [1948]) Both games also possess a kind of 'timeless' quality not evident in other sports organised by clock time. Games, even if they do not go on for ever, are very loosely bound by time. Guttman argues therefore that,

Baseball has retained something of the primitive connection between sports and the sacred. It is a secular activity with adumbrations of the mythic.

Guttman adds that it is the diminution of the pastoral element which, in recent years, has led to baseball's decline in popularity. It might, however, be argued that it is precisely the existence of these factors in cricket which help it to remain popular. Guttman in fact argues that,

Baseball's special attraction among team games, all of which combine individualism and cooperative effort, lies in its primitive-pastoral elements and, simultaneously, in its extraordinary modernity, in its closeness to the seasonal rhythms of nature and, at the same time, in the rarified realm of numbers...We have here not a contradiction but a complexity, a paradoxical situation in which the special, carefully bounded and regulated conditions of a

game enable us to have our cake and eat it too, to calculate the chances of a fastball or a successful bunt and, at the same time, to luxuriate in the warm sunshine of an April afternoon. (p.113-4)

This is a situation which must also apply to cricket and may therefore explain some of its appeal.

There are several other theories which are also of some use to cricket and are usually more able to explain individual behaviour, as we have seen, an element lacking in Dunning and Sheard's and Hargreaves' theories.

If Merton's (1968) model of responses to anomie is applied, the Packer Affair appears to be a good example of rebellion. The players were not satisfied with the goals offered them by the game and therefore, under the leadership of Packer, sought to change the institutionalised norms for achieving these goals. Merton writes that this form of response to anomie, where the norms no longer direct behaviour and deviance is encouraged, is

on a plane clearly different from that of the others. It represents a transitional response which seeks to institutionalise new procedures oriented towards revamped cultural goals shared by the members of the society. It thus involves efforts to change the existing structure rather than to perform accommodative actions within this structure.

Packer also complies very well with the image of those who organise rebellions as one who aims, in Merton's (1968) words,

to introduce a social structure in which the cultural standards of success would be strongly modified and provision would be made for a closer correspondence between merit, effort and reward.

Greig and his fellow players were led to believe that these changes were being sought in order not only to change the nature of several aspects of the game but to change the lot of the

cricketer. On closer inspection, however, it appears that Packer was only interested in gaining a TV monopoly and, as Martin-Jenkins (1980) argues,

the players whose standards of living he and his associates professed to be so concerned with were, in effect, mere pawns in his high powered business game.

Whatever the motives, however, the rebellion was eventually successful.

Merton's (1968) concept of 'innovation' by which the normative means of achieving success are rejected can also be used to explain the development of overarm bowling and Jardine's use of leg-theory in order to overcome the supremacy of the batsmen. It is important to note, however, that in both cases the actions taken were within the laws of the game and only infringed codes of behaviour.

Becker's (1963) labelling theory is also of some use in explaining Packer. His theory focuses on the responses of others to a deviant act and argues that an act is not deviant until it is labelled so by an outside agency. He writes,

Deviance is created by society...social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders. From this point of view, deviance is not a quality of the act that person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'. The deviant is one to whom the label has successfully been applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label.

At first the traditionalist cricket world reacted strongly to the news of Packer's proposals. The players were labelled as deviant by both the authorities and the press for deserting their countries and the authorities went so far as to try and

ban them from the game. WSC itself was labelled a 'circus' because its innovations were so far removed from the game as to appear farcical. By 1979, however, the mood had changed. The countries were desperate to get their star players back and an agreement was signed in which some of WSC's innovations were included in the game.

The increased popularity of the one-day game as a result of Packer, and its increased reliance on exciting play raises that question discussed by Stone (1955, 1957) concerning the problem of play versus display. He takes the symbolic interactionist view that social order is dependent on common meanings supplied by symbolic behaviour. Elements of play and display are balanced very precariously and once they are upset the whole character of sport may change. Spectator presence encourages the element of display and players respond to this by flaunting rules and increasing the spectator element of the game. As a result Stone (1957) writes,

We sense a loss of dignity and value in many sports, since the game is contrived with the audience in mind rather than the play.

This is what seems to have happened in cricket. It began in the 1960s with the one-day game and was rapidly accelerated by the innovations of Packer that were accepted into cricket as a whole. Players were encouraged to be more spectacular and it is the exciting players who became the heroes rather than the more steady players who are often actually seen as deviant by the media and spectators for not being exciting. Many of the disturbing incidents that have occurred since 1977 may therefore possibly be because of the increased spectator demand for display coupled with the increased prestige and prize money offered to players which encourages the 'win at all costs' attitude.

What then does Dunning and Sheard, Hargreaves and Guttman perceive as constituting the 'crisis' in modern sport and how does this relate to cricket?

Dunning and Sheard list three components which constitute Britain's modern 'sporting crisis'. The first arises out of the discrepancy between expectation and performance that has arisen as other sporting nations have caught up and overtaken Britain. In 1882, when Australia first beat England at cricket on English soil, the defeat was portrayed as a national disaster, the death of English cricket was mourned and the 'Ashes' taken to Australia. This was the origin of what is probably the world's most famous sporting trophy. Over 100 years later defeat at the hands of Australia is, if not accepted, at least tolerated. Not so if the victorious team is one of the more recent arrivals to Test cricket. The West Indies, who have been the strongest cricketing nation for the past 15 years, are constantly being accused of using unsportsmanlike tactics and, if England should be beaten by New Zealand, Pakistan or India, the media portray the defeat solely from the point of view of the failings of the England team. No credit is given to the winners. The English do seem to have problems accepting defeat at the hands of its former colonies to whom 'we' taught the game. It will be interesting to see the response when the newest Test nation, Sri Lanka, gain their first Test victory.

The second component involves the alleged increase in violence, both on and off the field. At first glance this increase appears to refute Elias' theory of the civilising process. Dunning and Sheard argue, however, that the reason why violent behaviour is perceived to be on the increase is precisely because of the civilising process which has raised standards and expectations of self control. Therefore, behaviour which was once accepted is now defined as violent. In modern society with its strict control over behaviour sport is one of the few areas where a degree of violent behaviour is socially sanctioned.

Dunning and Sheard also argue, however, that if a sport which is perceived as violent has shifted does not deny that there has been some increase in actual sport related violence. They attribute this to the increasing cultural centrality of sport which has laid greater emphasis on defeat which in turn increases the incidence of violent behaviour. Both these trends, the civilising process and cultural centrality are part of what Elias called 'functional democratisation'. How does cricket respond to this part of Dunning and Sheard's theory? The problems of applying the civilising process to a non-contact sport such as cricket have already been discussed. In a sport which does not readily provide the opportunity for violent behaviour, the best indicator of whether the civilising process has had an effect is to look at the development and control of fast bowling techniques. An early example of the civilising process at work was seen during the Bodyline crisis of 1932-33, the leg-theory technique devised by Jardine being outlawed as dangerous and unfair. Since World War II there has been a steady stream of bowlers who could bowl extremely quickly and, on occasions, injuries to batsman did occur. However, it was not until the mid 1970s, when the West Indies began to produce a battery of fast bowlers who were able to bowl quickly all day, that questions were asked about the safety and fairness of fast bowling. Whether this concern was a result of perceived or actual violence is hard to say but the civilising process can certainly be seen to be working in the rule changes made by the TCCB restricting the number of 'bouncers' a bowler is permitted to bowl in any one over. The interpretation of intimidatory bowling is, at the moment, solely in the hands of individual umpires but recent calls to actually restrict the number of fast bowlers in a side may be an indication that the civilising process is again at work.

The final component of Dunning and Sheard's crisis revolves around the amateur/professional conflict. Dunning and Sheard argue that, as a result of increasing industrialisation,

urbanisation and a complex and impersonal society, the ideals of the amateur ethic are no longer easy to uphold. Top sportsmen are expected to satisfy the controllers and consumers of sport and, as representatives of cities and countries, they face additional pressures. In modern sport, high-achievement motivation, long-term planning, self-control and renunciation of short-term gratification are necessary to succeed. This makes it difficult to uphold the amateur ethos and places constraints on immediate short-term enjoyment with the contest as an end in itself. Cricketers, as full professionals, do not experience the dilemmas experienced by many rugby players regarding the amateur ethos. Cricket, however, has certainly become much more serious since World War II and the increased pressures asserted by the increase in prize money in the last 15 years has made the competition even greater, and it is this it could be argued, which leads to disturbances both on and off the field of play.

Dunning and Sheard end by suggesting that the civilising process is curvilinear and that it is only in the early stages that functional democratisation is civilising. After this it produces effects that lead to conflict and it may be that such a level has been reached in sport in Britain.

Hargreaves describes two ways in which sport is becoming problematic. The first concerns the way in which the alienated population of the inner cities view leisure. Many young working class males view leisure as another area of deprivation and New Conservatism which has restricted leisure provision has only served to polarise working class groups rather than accommodate them. This is illustrated by the way the demand for sport in black communities is focused around the assertion of separate identity and is seen as a means of resisting subordination by developing sport as a source of pride and dignity. In cricket, the success of the West Indies team has provided a source of identity for many young black cricketers and the English national side is beginning to benefit from this as these young

men become old enough to represent their country. However, there is also an example in cricket which illustrates the racial tensions which Hargreaves describes. In Yorkshire the Asian community has formed its own cricket league in response to what they perceive to be the racist policies of both Yorkshire C.C.C. and other local clubs. The Asian league has thrived and produced many fine cricketers. However, they remain isolated from the white cricketing authorities and, as yet, no Asian player has gone on to represent either Yorkshire or England.

Hargreaves' second problematic area concerns the dichotomy that arises between attempts to subject sport to a capitalist pattern of rationalisation and the nature of sport as an autonomous means of expression. The commercialised sporting spectacle tends to raise public expectation to such an extent that it runs the risk of alienating that audience. Ruthless sporting competition is not necessarily the most exciting and the rule breaking and violence now so common does little to uphold the social order. Modern audiences are now well used to breakdowns in this order such as hooliganism. Cricket, perhaps because of its non-contact nature, has not as yet been greatly affected by the disturbances that arise out of the discrepancy between expectation and performance. There have been incidents of discontent both on and off the field but, in England, they have been the exception rather than the rule. One of the major criticisms levelled at the West Indies, however, is that their battery of fast bowlers makes for relentless, boring cricket which upsets the balance between batsmen and bowlers. It is possible that if this trend continues cricket will also begin to fail the expectations of its followers.

Guttmann shares neither Dunning and Sheard's nor Hargreaves' sense of crisis in sport and therefore will not be considered here.



What then might be the future for sport if each of the theories are taken to their logical conclusion and what effects might this have on cricket?

Dunning and Sheard's main concern is with the curvilinear nature of the civilising process. They suggest that the point has been reached where the effect of functional democratisation is disruptive rather than civilising and this is illustrated with the example of football hooliganism. This is a major obstacle to both sport and society as a whole and Dunning and Sheard argue that until the disruptive elements are eradicated it will be impossible for British sport to regain its superior position. One of Dunning and Sheard's solutions to this problem of football hooliganism is to make the hooligans play rugby. This, Dunning and Sheard argue, would institutionalise the violence while at the same time raising the standards of the game by spreading it to a group whose norms and values are entirely suited to it. It is not easy to relate this to cricket which has not yet reached the degree of crisis experienced in soccer. It may be that the civilising process has not yet reached the peak of its effect and there may still be room for changes in the laws controlling intimidatory bowling that will restore the balance in the game and thereby the level of excitement, which will satisfy cricket's audience for some time to come. It is also to be hoped that, as the increasing popularity of the one-day game together with embourgeoisement which leads to the game being played more widely by all sections of the community, players may emerge who will help restore the fortunes of the England side and put England on a par with other Test playing nations whose youth policies until now have been far more egalitarian.

From Hargreaves' point of view the future development of sport will continue to be determined by the struggle that is taking place over the working class. In the immediate future he

forsees that these problems will mainly be ones of race and gender. There are two possible outcomes, either sport continues its role as a means of social control and these groups are incorporated into the hegemony or the struggles will continue as working class groups begin to devise their own alternative ideals about sport. In this case the future of sport is uncertain but it is possible that, if the more serious nature of professional sport grows increasingly unattractive to spectators, they could turn to these alternatives. If they do not then sports such as cricket and rugby may well begin to experience the problems of soccer where the audience has become so alienated from the game that their discontent is expressed by violence.

Guttmann would argue that as sport develops in the future each of the seven characteristics identified previously would become more pronounced. Thus sport will continue to become more secular, more equal, more specialised, rationalised and bureaucratically controlled, more quantified and the quest for records would continue. The previous analysis of Guttmann's theory's applicability to cricket showed that all these factors have been present at some time during the game's development but it was noted that, in several cases, cricket actually appeared to be returning to the pre-modern state. again it is not easy to predict what the future for the game might be although the example of Australian and American sport may be an indication of where the future of British sport may lie.

This study has analysed therefore the ways that three different authors; Dunning and Sheard, Hargreaves and Guttmann have attempted to explain the socio-historical development of sport. Their analyses are often similar in focus but the way the outcome of conflicts are resolved depend entirely on their respective theoretical perspectives. To a certain extent this is necessary as any analysis is only possible if it has a sound theoretical basis. Dunning and Sheard concentrate on the

controlling effect of the civilising process, Hargreaves on the bourgeois struggle for hegemony and Guttmann on the effect of the scientific world view. It has been shown that these preoccupations provide both the strengths and weaknesses of their respective models. Indeed, Dunning and Sheard acknowledge that their theory may not be generalisable beyond the case of rugby. This in itself is not necessarily a weakness. It would be useful, however, to have a theory that was able to encompass all the relevant parts of different theories and to devise an eclectic theory that was generalisable to all sports. This is possible. As Holt (1990) explains,

The writer of a historical synthesis is not out to champion one theory or another. What may seem conceptually confused and unacceptable to the theorist may be appropriate and right for the historian drawing on different theories to illuminate different aspects of what is in reality not a single phenomenon but a set of loosely related activities shifting their forms and meanings over time.

Provided it was reasoned and critical it would be possible to devise such an eclectic theory to explain the development of sport. It is this which constitutes work for the future. It may well then be possible to take the relevant aspects of the works of authors such as Dunning and Sheard, Hargreaves and Guttmann to devise a comprehensive theory on the socio-historical development of sport in Britain.

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## APPENDIX 1.

In an attempt to arrive at a definition for the term "sport", a study of the British Museum Catalogue (British Library Subject Index) and various editions of dictionaries dating from Samuel Johnson's first edition (1755) revealed that popular usage of the term has changed considerably during the past 200 years. Johnson, for example, lists two main categories, the first referring to the play element of sport as an idle diversion, the second describing field sports, such as hunting; pastimes commonly associated with the gentry of the day. These are also the only sports listed in the early editions of the British Museum Catalogue. Other early sporting pastimes such as cricket and golf can be found under "Games", or in a section of their own. In the 1931-35 catalogue, however, sport is cross referred to in the games section, and by 1946-50 sports such as hunting are referred to separately as "field sports", the main bulk of the catalogue being given over to a large selection of sports and games as well as biographies, biomechanics, coaching and teaching manuals. The 1956-60 catalogue even includes a section on "game theory", which clearly indicates how the role of sport in society has shifted since the late 18th century.

The definition of sport then would appear to have been historically evolved. A study carried out on the amount of sport covered in editions of "The Times" (1850, 1900, 1950, 1985) and "The Daily Mail" (1900, 1950, 1985) also suggest that it is closely linked to class participation.\* It can be seen

**\*Note:** In order to obtain the statistics quoted in this section, a study was carried out in the British Museum Newspaper Library at Colindale, which involved counting the column inches of sports reported in every issue of "The Times" and "Daily Mail" for the years 1850, 1900, 1950 and 1985. "The Times" and "Daily Mail" were chosen as their readerships are drawn from different classes in society. It was expected that "The Times" would report many of the sports of the upper classes, whereas "The Daily Mail" would reflect the leisure interests of the working classes.



that in "The Times", 1850, 77.26 % of total column inches was devoted to horse racing, with hunting and cricket following at 10.92 and 8.18 % respectively. Only ten sports were referred to throughout the year, and without exception were sports dominated by the upper classes. By 1900 the number of sports reported had increased to forty, although the majority were still those dominated by the middle and upper classes, reflected in the considerable coverage given to yachting, rowing, shooting and hunting. In contrast, "The Daily Mail" of 1900 devoted a total of 15.36 % to soccer (only 3.16 % in "The Times"), illustrating the growing importance of the game among the paper's lower middle and working class readership. By 1950 the popularity of soccer was also reflected in "The Times" (9.8 % total column inches) and, although horse racing remained the most important sport (31.8 %), it is interesting to note that traditional field sports had almost totally disappeared, replaced by activities such as squash, motor racing, canoeing and ice hockey. In contrast to this, "The Daily Mail" of 1950 devoted 6.216 % of its coverage to greyhound racing and 4.9 % to the football pools, neither of which are mentioned once in "The Times" of that year. By 1985, a total of 127 separate sports and sporting issues were covered in "The Times", 123 in "The Daily Mail". In "The Times" 43,539 column inches were devoted to sport compared to 1652.5 in 1850, and included reports of sports psychology, politics, medicine and TV coverage as well as issues such as hooliganism and drug abuse. The most popular sports in both "The Times" and "Daily Mail" were horse racing, soccer, cricket, rugby union, tennis, golf, athletics and boxing. In "The Times" these were followed by yachting, hockey and equestrianism as opposed to greyhound racing and the pools in "The Daily Mail", which again indicates the different interests in the papers' readerships.

Table 1 below gives a summary of the number and amount of sport covered by these newspapers during the years studied, and

Tables 2 and 3 show a breakdown of figures for sports occurring in all periods ("Times" only) and those which have either disappeared or emerged since 1850 ("Times" only). This newspaper survey revealed therefore that what is reported as sport has changed a great deal since 1850 and shows a gradual shift from sport controlled by the aristocracy in 1850 to 1985 where these have been replaced by a whole range of activities available not only to the upper classes, but seemingly to society as a whole. What the survey cannot show, however, are the causes of, and reasons for, both the decline of sport controlled by the aristocracy and the growing democratisation of others, a question which the following study will attempt to answer.

Table 1. Amount of Sport Covered.

	1850		1900		1950		1985	
	Times	Mail	Times	Mail	Times	Mail	Times	Mail
No. of Sports Reported	10	-	40	65	70	65	127	123
Total No. of Column Inches	2,139	-	12,496.5	27,567.5	37,000	41,143	144,345.5	120,856.5

Table 2. Sports Occurring Since 1850. "The Times".

	1850		1900		1950		1985	
	No. column inches	% total	No. column inches	% total	No. column inches	% total	No. column inches	% total
Horse racing	1,652.5	77.26	4,538.5	36.31	11,777.5	38.1	43,539	30.16
Cricket	175	8.18	3,225.5	25.81	6,438	17.4	18,027.5	12.48
Yachting	16.5	0.77	764.5	6.12	750	2.02	2,442.5	1.69
Rowing	23.5	1.1	587	4.7	988	2.67	1,313	0.91

Table 3. The Changing Face of Sports Coverage 1850-1985. "The Times"

	1850		1900		1950		1985	
	No. column inches	% total	No. column inches	% total	No. column inches	% total	No. column inches	% total
Hunting	233.5	10.92	190	1.5	-	-	-	-
Staghounds	1	0.05	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grouse	-	-	8	0.06	-	-	-	-
shooting	12	0.56	5.5	0.04	12	0.03	-	-
Game hunting	20.5	0.96	71.5	0.6	12.5	0.03	-	-
Coursing	-	-	394.5	3.16	3,629.5	9.8	25,312.5	17.23
Soccer	-	-	333.5	2.67	3,241.5	8.76	10,206.5	7.07
Rugby Union	-	-	82	0.7	1,763	4.77	7,870	5.45
Tennis	-	-	984.5	7.88	2,613.5	7.06	5,887	4.07
Golf	-	-	1.64	1.3	1,063	2.87	4,939	3.42
Athletics	-	-	-	-	109	0.29	1,942	1.32
Rugby League	-	-	-	-	544.5	1.77	940	0.65
Squash	-	-	-	-	47	0.12	635	0.44
Ice Hockey	-	-	-	-	13.5	0.03	337.5	0.23
Table Tennis	-	-	-	-	-	-	960	0.66
Basketball	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Powerboat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
racing	-	-	-	-	-	-	131.5	0.09
Handball	-	-	-	-	-	-	100	0.07
Orienteering	-	-	-	-	-	-	17.5	0.01
Windsurfing	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	0.009

Chronology of Growth of Laws of Cricket  
up to last Major Revision of 1947

- |            |  |
|------------|--|
| 1744       | - size of team not stated.                         |
| Code       | - scoring by 'notches' cut on sticks.              |
|            | - 4 ball overs, bowler allowed to change end once. |
|            | - byes and leg byes implied, wides not mentioned.  |
|            | - no ball called if bowler overstepped crease.     |
|            | - seven ways of being out.                         |
|            | - out given only on appeal.                        |
| 1771       | - width of bat limited to 4 1/2".                  |
| 1774       | - subs allowed by consent.                         |
| Revision   | - weight of ball established.                      |
|            | - bowling crease defined.                          |
|            | - 'short runs' referred to.                        |
|            | - first specific LBW law introduced.               |
|            | - 3 stump wicket introduced.                       |
| 1788       | - first law providing for watering, rolling,       |
| (first MCC | covering and mowing of pitch.                      |
| code)      | - LBW law restricted.                              |
|            | - no run allowed if striker caught or run out.     |
|            | - new ball allowed for each innings.               |
|            | - size of wicket increased.                        |
|            | - 5 run penalty if ball fielded with hat.          |
|            | - 'lost ball' introduced.                          |

- Before 1811    - term 'run' first used instead of 'notch'.
- ball to be bowled underarm.
- law for wides appear.
  
- Before 1817    - no ball law modified to include round-arm bowling.
  
- Before 1821    - size of wicket increased.
- size of popping crease increased.
  
- Before 1823    - subs not allowed to bowl, keep wicket or field close in unless agreed.
- selection of pitch left to umpires.
- LBW law altered.
  
- Before 1825    - size of wicket and thickness of stumps increased.
  
- Before 1829    - penalty for no ball introduced.
  
- 1835            - no ball law altered to legalise round-arm bowling.
- Revision
- umpires prohibited from batting.
- length of bat limited to 38".
- first follow-on law.
  
- 1838            - size of ball specified.
- trial balls no longer allowed.
  
- 1845            - 'wide' carefully defined.
- 1854            - opposing captain's permission required for substitutes.
- runners allowed.
  
- 1860            - rolling of pitch between innings allowed.
- 1863            - LBW law altered.
- 1870            - bowler allowed to change ends twice in an innings.

- 1884           - first reference to number of players, innings
- Revision       and methods of run scoring, assessment of match,
- boundaries, selection of umpire.
- byes and leg byes specifically defined.
- over increased to 5 balls.
- bowler allowed to change ends as often as he
- liked.
- declarations allowed on last day of match.
  
- 1900           - over increased to 6 balls.
  
- 1910           - declaration allowed any time on 2nd day of 3 day
- match.
  
- 1912           - striker can't be stumped off no ball but can be
- run out.
  
- 1931           - stumps heightened and widened.
  
- 1935           - trial given to new LBW proposal.
- 1937           - LBW law altered.
  
- 1947           - LBW law more closely defined.
- Revision       - batting captain may say where substitute may not
- field.
- no ball law revised.
- incommoding the striker brought within the
- unfair play rule.

from Rait Kerr (1950)  
 Bowen (1970)  
 Warner (1946)  
 Green (1982)

Chronological Series of Important Events  
in Cricket's Development

- c. 1550 - Cricket played at the 'Free-School', Guildford.
- c. 1610 - 'Cricketing' between Weald & Upland vs. Chalkhill near Chevening, Kent.
- 1622 - Six parishioners prosecuted at Boxgrove, Sussex, for playing on a Sunday.
- 1646 - First recorded cricket match at Coxheath, Kent.
- 1654 - 7 parishioners of Eltham fined for playing cricket on a Sunday.
- 1658 - Cricket balls first mentioned.
- 1668 - Decision by JPs at Maidstone concerning sale of beer at a 'kriceting' indicating that cricket is already a spectator sport on an appreciable scale.
- 1676 - First certain reference to cricket being played abroad - by an Englishman on holiday in Aleppo.
- 1697 - A 'great' cricket match played somewhere in Sussex, reported in London newspaper.
- 1706 - First full description of a match in Goldwin's poem 'In Certamen Pilae'.
- 1709 - First county match; Kent vs. Surrey at Dartford.
- 1710 - First mention of cricket at Cambridge University.
- 1727 - Drawing up of 'Articles of Agreement' governing conduct of matches between the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Broderick.
- 1729 - Date of earliest surviving bat.
- 1744 - First great match for which full score card preserved. Kent vs. All England on the Artillery Ground. Charge for admission - 2d.



- First known issue of Laws of Cricket by the London Club.
- 1755 - Laws revised by Star & Garter Club from which sprang players who played on White Conduit Fields and eventually became the MCC.
- c. 1767 - Formation of the Hambledon Club.
- 1769 - First recorded century partnership.
- 1774 - First known score of over 300.
- 1776 - Earliest known scorecard printed by T. Pratt, scorer, Sevenoaks.
- 1787 - First mention of MCC.
- 1788 - MCC issue revision of Laws.
- 1791 - Publication of first annual record of match scores by Samuel Britcher.
- 1793 - First recorded seasonal batting averages.
- 1794 - First recorded school match - Charterhouse vs. Westminster.
- 1795 - First recorded LBW dismissal.
- c.1800 - Leg guards first used by R. Robinson of Surrey. Another generation passed before they became generally used.
- 1801 - First instructional cricket book by Boxall.
- 1805 - First Eton vs. Harrow match.
- 1806 - First Gentlemen vs. Players match.
- 1827 - Round-arm bowling introduced.
- First Oxford vs. Cambridge match.
- c. 1830 - Spliced bats first appear.
- 1846 - All England XI organised by William Clarke.
- 1852 - United All England XI formed by Wisden & Dean.
- 1853 - First mention of a champion county - Notts.
- 1864 - Overarm bowling legalised.
- Wisden Cricketers Almanac founded.
- 1865 - Lillywhite's Cricketers Companion founded.
- 1866 - New Lord's Tavern erected; comforts of the Press considered for the first time.

- c. 1860 - Sprung bats first appear.
- 1867 - First MCC tour abroad - to Paris.
- 1870 - First county championship averages published.
- 1871 - Turnstiles first used at Lord's.
- 1872 - Lillywhite's Cricketers Annual founded.
- 1873 - County qualification rules approved by MCC.
- 1876 - First tour to Australia.
- Cricket and Football Times founded.
- MCC define amateur status.
- 1878 - First Australian tour to England.
- 1880 - First England vs. Australia Test.
- 1882 - Australia beat England in England resulting in 'The Ashes'.
- Weekly magazine 'Cricket' established.
- 1884 - New code of Laws adopted by MCC.
- 1887 - Cricket Council established.
- 1888 - Birmingham League founded - first English league.
- First tour to South Africa.
- 1890 - Lord's Pavilion built.
- 1893 - Leicester Schools Cricket Association formed - first such body.
- 1894 - First South African tour to England.
- First England tour to West Indies.
- 1895 - Minor Counties Cricket Association formed and Championship instituted.
- 1898 - Board of Control established.
- 1899 - First 5-match Test series vs. Australia.
- Selection Committee set up by Board of Control.
- 1903-04 - First MCC tour to Australia.
- 1904 - Advisory County Cricket Committee set up by MCC.
- 1905-06 - First MCC tour to South Africa.
- 1906-07 - First MCC tour to New Zealand.
- 1909 - Imperial Cricket Conference formed. Founder members England, Australia and South Africa.
- 1910-11 - First MCC tour to West Indies.

- 1911 - First tour to England by All India.
- 1911-12 - First MCC tour to South America.
- 1914 - Outbreak of war. No first class cricket played in England until 1919 though several of the Northern Leagues continued.
- 1921 - Glamorgan admitted to County Championship.  
- Foundation of 'Cricketer' magazine - oldest surviving magazine.
- 1926 - India, West Indies and New Zealand admitted to ICC.
- 1927 - First New Zealand tour to England.  
- First radio commentary - New Zealand vs. Essex.
- 1928 - First Test England vs. West Indies.
- 1930 - Four day Tests approved for England vs. Australia series.
- 1931 - First Test England vs. New Zealand.
- 1932 - First Test England vs. India.
- 1934-35 - First England women's tour - to Australia and New Zealand
- 1938 - First televised Test - England vs. Australia.
- 1939 - H.M. Martineau's team first to travel by air to Egypt.  
- West Indian tour cut short owing to imminence of hostilities.
- 1945 - Society of Cricket Statisticians formed.
- 1948 - 5 day Tests first played in England.
- 1951-52 - First English visit to Pakistan.
- 1952 - First tour of England by Pakistan.
- 1961 - South Africa, on leaving the Commonwealth, cease to be members of ICC.
- 1963 - Amateur/professional distinction abolished.  
- Gillette Knock-Out Cup inaugurated.
- 1965 - Imperial Cricket Conference becomes International Cricket Conference.
- 1969 - First meeting of Cricket Council.  
- Inauguration of Sunday League.

- 1970 - After prolonged demonstration, the English tour of South Africa is abandoned.
- 1977 - The Packer Affair.
- 1978 - Cornhill begin sponsorship of Test matches in England.
- 1980 - Gillette ceased their sponsorship of one-day cricket.
- 1981 - English players banned from international cricket for 3 years after touring South Africa.
- 1982 - Sri Lanka played first Test Match.
- 1984-6 - England lose 10 Tests in a row against West Indies.
- 1988 - The Oval is renamed the 'Foster's Oval' after receiving sponsorship from the Australian brewery firm.
- 1989 - Trial series of four-day county matches began.
- 1989/90 - English players banned from international cricket for 5 years following tour of South Africa.
- 1991 - Durham elevated to first class status.

Adapted from Rait Kerr (1950)  
 Warner (1956)  
 Bowen (1970)  
 Green (1982)