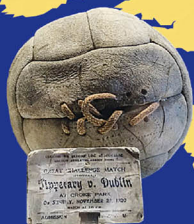


A HISTORY OF SPORT IN EUROPE IN 100 OBJECTS



Daphné Bolz & Michael Krüger (Eds.)

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Preface

Christopher Young

Sport is harder to write about than it seems. The simplest of leisure pursuits, the most common of collective passions, it often proves elusive to the touch. The larger the canvass, the harder it becomes too. A decade and a half ago, with the help of a grant from the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council, I set out with two senior colleagues – sociologist Alan Tomlinson and historian Richard Holt – to explore the history of sport in modern Europe. Drawing on experts from many nations and disciplines, we were far from unsuccessful. Discussions flowed, and publications followed. Seeking to move beyond the donor-recipient model of Britain and the rest, we sketched out significant different models of sporting practice. We learned to respect the intricacies of thorny issues (e.g. amateurism versus professionalism) in distinctive national settings. And we grew to appreciate the rich and complex age of media that took hold in the 1920s, forty years before the spread of television to living rooms across the continent. We made a good start. But my lasting impression of our work is that it was – and could only be – a beginning.



Europe and sport – to borrow a resonant phrase from philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein – are ‘terms with unclear borders’ (Begriffe mit verschwommenen Rändern). There is certainly no single way of defining them or pressing their story into an overarching narrative. Taking objects as a starting point (or rather as a set of multiple starting points), as the book you are holding does, is a particularly apt and productive way of opening up the many different histories of sport in Europe. Objects are wonderful things. They are a very tangible link to the past. They set the imagination running. And – most importantly of all – they pose questions we would not otherwise consider when seeking to grasp the bigger picture ourselves. Objects are a lens onto that picture as well as onto other ones we have not yet conceived. It is hardly surprising that collection-based research has become a priority of late with funding bodies in Europe, and rightly so.

Preface

In drawing together over a hundred authors from nearly forty countries, Daphné Bolz and Michael Krüger have done a fine job in presenting sport in its rich variety. In doing so, they have made an eloquent case for the study of sport through material culture. The objects – central, excentric and occasionally downright quirky – offered in this beautifully illustrated volume speak to both the commonalities and diversity of sport in Europe. At a time of unusual tension in our continent, they deliver a potent reminder of a past that respects common values and cherishes difference. Sport is a shared experience – and this volume shows the multiplicity of ways in which that sharing occurs and resonates with millions of fans, spectators and participants across the world.

I hope that this fascinating book finds the many readers it deserves in Europe and beyond.

Introduction

Daphné Bolz & Michael Krüger

A TRIBUTE TO DIVERSITY

While sport has long conquered both Europe and the world, and the history of sport in Europe is now a mature academic field, it is impossible to provide a generally accepted definition of sport, even less so an international one. Sport does not include the same activities everywhere. It varies according to country, language and historical period. Physical training, games and play may be considered sport in some parts of the



world, but not in others. But does it matter? Wouldn't it be restrictive and methodologically incorrect if historians drew clear lines? In fact, one central dimension of historical work is to identify connections between facts, objects and people, which are sometimes remote from each other.

At its core, sport is understood in this book as body exercises and physical games which are practiced for a variety of reasons: for fun and leisure, to socialise and feel part of a team, to challenge others, seek victory and feel proud. Sport enables exercising the body for fitness, health and beauty, to overcome inactivity and to express emotions. While nowadays almost any activity can be called a sport, historians are interested in the origins of 'sport' and its numerous expressions over time. Modern sport originated in Europe. During the age of Enlightenment, gymnastics and athletics from Antiquity were rediscovered and became part of a renewed education, and the industrialisation of Britain and Europe introduced organisational patterns that gave 'sport' not only a name, but a structure, characterised by institutions, rules and the quest for performance. Sports, games and physical education participated in this process and contributed to the understanding of European culture and civilisation. The alliance of culture and the principles of sport was most successfully theorised by the Olympic movement. In modern societies, sport has become established worldwide as a new field of social communication. However, the evolution and expansion of sport is not synonymous with any specific notion of progress. Sport is an activity that emerged and has experienced success in specific social and political configurations (Elias, and Dunning, *Quest*). Therefore, this

book is an attempt to emphasise the international framework of sport, and while each object is indeed specific and sometimes strongly anchored regionally, all are embedded in the global history of sport (Conrad, *Global History*).

EXPLAINING OBJECTS

The 100 objects that are collected in this book are both material artefacts and instruments of communication. When used they enabled training, performing or celebrating, now they are testimonies of the past. Explaining the world or parts of it by telling stories about selected objects is a popular concept that is increasingly used by publishers, teachers and scholars (Singaravélou, and Venayre). Neil MacGregor's bestseller *A History of the World in 100 Objects* (2011) can certainly be considered as a model. In his book, the director of the British Museum in London presents a selection of objects of various origins to tell 'a' history of the world. Objects don't speak for themselves, they remain silent. Their significance is revealed by experts who have researched and studied them and who are able to contextualize them. To make sense of things in the context of a book and teach the reader about history, each object must represent more than itself. It must realize the basic principle of 'exemplary education' (Klafki, *Neue Studien*), that is, one object must be an exemplary case that helps explain the totality (Harman, *Ontology*). When the idea of our book on European sports history came up, Michael Krüger already had the experience of his recent German sports history in 100 objects (Krüger, *Sportgeschichte*), while Daphné Bolz contributed her knowledge of European sports historiography.

To practice sport, we need objects like shoes and clothes, hoops and balls. To be sure, humans are able to run fast, jump high and fight strongly even without spikes and jerseys, but the quest for performance and record requires these items. In addition to objects of utility, sport generates numerous symbolic objects like medals, badges, flags, photos, buildings, etc. They stand for the age of sport as an organised cultural activity. Sport as a global institution and a 'universal cultural pattern' (Bausinger, *Sportkultur*) is represented in numerous objects. Sports objects tell stories about humans, societies, cultures, politics, while remaining objects made of leather like balls, of wood like rackets, of cotton like jerseys or many other materials and forms. Sports objects are regularly presented in publications, but usually with a focus on their technical and symbolic character, more than on their historical significance (Delamare, and Fages, *Objets*). What is more, there are some objects which are not used directly for physical activity, but are nevertheless closely linked to the world of sport.

Sports culture has generated many objects and is engraved in the memories of sport-people and spectators. Also, institutionalised or informal museums (The Olympic Museum, national sports museums, private collections, halls of fames, etc.) display the

numerous ‘lieux de mémoires’ (Nora, *Les Lieux*) related to sport. However, there is still no European sports museum, so that our book acts as a pioneering contribution to bring them together to reveal a memory of sport in Europe for the first time.

EUROPEAN SPORTS HISTORY IN OBJECTS

Showing the bigger picture of European sport is the aim of this book. It brings to the fore the diversity of objects, places, organisations, values and languages. However, this diversity has some coherence, which as sports historians, we wish to make visible. European sport is an organised field in time and place. The portfolio of the book produces a common understanding of what constitutes sport in Europe, where it came from and how a European sports culture generated commonality through diversity in Europe. Unity seems more important than singularities. In fact, even the regional variations of physical games are shared characteristics of European sport. For historians like us, it is the cultural dimension that explains transnational exchanges and the international dissemination of sport. National identity in sport makes sense in the context of international contacts and challenges. In fact, it has even been claimed that sport has a geography of its own (Coubertin, *Olympism*). Consequently, and while we deliberately avoid a book structure based on national lines, we are delighted and proud that – with very few exceptions – entries cover the entire territory of Europe, from Cyprus to Estonia, from Portugal to Russia, from Iceland to the Ukraine.

The inclusive approach we adopted with regard to physical activity also required considering an extensive time span. The focus of the objects and their (hi-)stories is on modernity since European Enlightenment when a new concept of European identity began to prevail. However, a few contributions look back to the earliest European traditions of body culture like the fresco of the boxer of Akrotiri from 1000 B.C., while others address very contemporary issues, like active top athletes. In order to provide a balanced vision of the history of European sport, we chose to structure the book according to topics that characterise the dimensions of European physical activities and sport:

- Play and education
- Training and performance
- Collaboration and exclusion, peace and conflict
- Organisation and power
- Representation and identity
- Media, arts and celebration

This structure, which may seem arbitrary, in fact serves an analytical purpose and every sports object acquires relevance both in itself and from its social, cultural and political context. What is more, all objects certainly address some of the indicated dimensions,

but we left it entirely to the authors to approach their object from the angle they considered most suitable.

A CULTURAL CHALLENGE TAKEN UP BY AN INTERNATIONAL TEAM

This book is the result of true international collaboration. The project emerged from the awareness that there was a lack of transnational research in sports history, and all participants helped to build this first attempt to write ‘a’ history of European sport. As editors, we much enjoyed the experience of international work and are extremely satisfied with the result. We thank the 110 authors from 39 countries in Europe and beyond. Like us, they were enthusiastic and rightly committed to being part of a European project bound together through a shared interest in sports history. The practical conditions were facilitated by the Department for Sports Pedagogy and Sports History headed by Prof. Dr. Michael Krüger at the University of Münster (Germany) and by the Marie Skłodowska Curie Fellowship from the European Union held by Daphné Bolz at this Department for the duration of the project.

Our special gratitude goes to Stefan Nielsen who supported the project both competently and passionately, to Brian Bloch for editing the English of many of the entries, and to our publisher Christian Becker for his patience and constructive cooperation.

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1

Play and Education

Stones for the Greek Throwing Game 'Lithobolia'

Evangelos Albanidis

These three elliptical stones dating from the 1930s are exhibited in the Library of the Department of Physical Education and Sports in Komotini and were donated by the National Stadium of Didymoteicho. Their shape is elongated cylindrical with their edges ending in a hemispherical shape. Two of the three stones weigh 6.4 kg and have a circumference of 40 cm, while the smaller one weighs 5 kg and has a circumference of 35 cm. Stone throwing was performed exclusively by men and adolescents, and combined running and throwing. After a fast run, the athlete threw the stone forward just before the throwing limit, continuing his way with a follow through until he stopped.

In the nineteenth century, the Greek state aimed at the construction of a unified past, and following the romantic movement, promoted traditional games and combined them with the activities of 'klephts' (bandits), who were insurgents and fighters for Greek freedom during the Ottoman rule. The 1897 Greek defeat by the Ottomans fostered recalls to the heroic past of the 'klephts' and the Greek revolution. This contributed to the 'athletisation' of the 'klephts' and the stimulation of national morale (Koulouri, "From Antiquity", 2033). Stone throwing was one of the promoted activities.

Historians, folklorists and ethnographers, using folksongs as a source, have found frequent references to competitions in sword, wrestling, jumping and stone throwing in Greece at the turn of the nineteenth century. All these traditional activities were considered both military and athletic and as a means of enhancing masculinity, bravery and strength. Stone throwing ('lithobolia') was widely known as a traditional event and was included in a plethora of religious festivals.

In institutional terms, stone throwing was first integrated into the programme of the Fourth Zappan Olympiad in 1889 by Ioannis Fokianos (1845–1896), where it was carried out with a raw stone, irregular in shape, weighing 10 okadas (12.82 kg). It was absent from the 1st Olympic Games of 1896, but found its place in the lyrics of the Olympic Hymn by Kostis Palamas: 'At running and at wrestling and at (stone) throwing...' Stone throwing was then included in the 1st Soteria Games ('Savior' Games) in 1899.

Ioannis Chrysafis (1873–1932), who had participated in gymnastics at the 1896 Olympic Games and was a pioneer physical education teacher in Greece, took part in the discussion for revising the programme of the Greek track and field events. He proposed the first regulations of games for the 'Syndesmos ton Ellinikon Athlitikon kai Gymnas-

Stones for the Greek Throwing Game 'Lithobolia'



Stones for the Greek throwing game 'lithobolia'

Photo: Library of the Department of Physical Education and Sports in Komotini, Democritus University of Thrace

tion Sotation' (Union of Greek Athletic and Gymnastic Clubs [SEAGS]) and considered that 'it was necessary to give the programme of the games a much bigger place in all the ancient as well as the modern Greek sports (... [like] the stone throwing after a run ...)' (Chrysafis, *Oi sygchronoi*, 480). For this reason, he wanted to include stone throwing as a part of heavyweight pentathlon (Chrysafis, *Oi sygchronoi*, 482). Although not fully accepted for 1901 by the SEAGS due to the intense controversy about the programme of the games, this proposal provided the opportunity for stone throwing to emerge in the debate. It was, after all, a competitive activity widely known through the religious festivals of that time, even covered with a national cloak, which facilitated the generalized effort for popularizing athletics with the inclusion of traditional events. Stone throwing eventually joined the programme of Greek track and field events. An important milestone was the admission of stone throwing as an autonomous event in the 2nd Pan-Hellenic Games in 1901, where it was held after a run with a stone weighing 5 okadas (6.435 kg). At the future Pan-Hellenic Games, stone throwing was practiced continuously until 1957 and then sporadically until 1977.

Stone throwing was also part of regional and local games as well as of expatriate games outside the Greek territory such as the Pancyprian Games (from 1900 to 1974), the Panionian Games that were held in Smyrna of Asia Minor (from 1904 to 1921), the Pan-Egyptian Games (from 1910 to 1925) and at the Constantinopolitan Games (from 1910 to 1920). This had emerged from the fact that the ties of the Greek expatriate clubs with the SEAGS were particularly close. This also justified the participation of clubs from Greece in the above games.

However, stone throwing never acquired international approval. An exception is its addition to the Intercalated (Intermediate) Olympic Games of Athens (1906), games which were invested with a strong national character and in which Ioannis Chrysafis again played an important role in shaping the programme. After the Intercalated Games and despite the insistence of the powerful 'Panellinios Gymnastikos Syllogos' (Pan-Hellenic Gymnastic Club) in 1907, the 'Epitropi Olimpiakon Agonon' (Committee of the Olympic Games [EOA]) of Greece never raised the issue of acceptance of stone throwing at the Olympic Games. It did not engage in any discussion at the International Olympic Committee (IOC) Congresses, probably considering the activity a non-evolving event due to its strong local character. On the contrary, the EOA claimed the international acceptance of the Greek discus throwing (i. e. the throwing of the disc in the 'ancient Greek way' by a sloping throwing board, but without succeeding in obtaining a positive approval for the issue (Manitakis, *100 chronia*, 209, 507).

Obedying the pursuit of promoting the concept of continuity and the popularization of athletics, stone throwing was introduced firstly in the Fourth Zappan Olympiad (1889) and in the 1st Soteria Games (1899). However, the institutionalization and spread of this

event was achieved in the 2nd Pan-Hellenic Games (1901) with the support of the SEAGS, at a time when the defeat of 1897 by the Ottomans led to nostalgic recalls to the heroic past of the ‘klephts’ and the Greek revolution. Stone throwing was never part of international competitions except for the Intercalated Olympic Games of 1906. After the 2nd World War it was abandoned from the Greek programmes, as competitive track and field events followed those of the International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF). Nevertheless, stone throwing is nowadays still included as an event in some traditional festivals.

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Gorodki – a Traditional Russian Outdoor Sport Game

Irina Bykhovskaya

Active leisure and outdoor games have always been an important component of physical education. Every nation has such games and entertainments that have passed through the centuries and become an important part of the cultural heritage. In Russia, this applies fully to a sports game called ‘Gorodki’ (‘townlets’). With a history of at least two centuries, and having contributed considerably to the physical development and outdoor pleasure of both commoners and aristocrats, this game is becoming more and more popular today – as a leisure activity and as a serious grass-roots competitive sport.

‘GORODKI: WHAT IS IT EXACTLY?’

To play this game we need: 5 small wooden blocks/ cylindrical pins / skittles (another name is ‘riukha’), about 15–20 cm long and some long wooden sticks (bats) about 80–90 cm. Using 5 cylinders, the players build 15 figures inside a square called ‘gorod’ (‘town’). One after another, the participants throw a bat from a certain distance, trying not only to knock down the figures, but also to knock out all the pins outside the square zone. Whoever does it with the least number of throws is the winner.

‘GORODKI IN RUSSIAN HISTORY’

Gorodki as a folk game was first mentioned at the beginning of the 19th century, originally in the form of sketches and descriptions by foreigners who visited Russia at that time. Accordingly, English painters John A. Atkinson and Walker James, who lived for some time in Russia and later published (1803–1804) 100 engravings titled ‘A picturesque representation of the manners, costumes and amusements of the Russians’ in London, depicted some commoners playing ‘gorodki’ (Derevenskiy, “history”). The German painter Christian G. H. Geißler, who traveled around Russia for several years, published a small album ‘Spiele und Belustigungen der Russen aus den niederen Ständen’ (Games and Amusements of Russians from the Lower Classes) (Leipzig, 1805), where he presented not only a picture of the game, but also gave his vivid impression of it: ‘Gorodki. This game is known, strictly speaking, only in Russia, since it requires consid-



“Koltushi. Celebrating the 75th Anniversary of Ivan Petrovich Pavlov” – I. P. Pavlov and his team of the Institute of Physiology of the Academy of Sciences in Ryazan (1924)

Photo: Pavlov’s Museum in Ryazan. Photographer unknown.

erable strength. Therefore, it is played only by strong and powerful people who, by the will of fate, live in this harsh country' (Derevenskiy, "history").

Gorodki, which originated as a game of the common people – judging by the sources – gradually became popular among people of various social and cultural strata, from uneducated village boys to aristocrats and highly regarded intellectuals.

The first Russian Nobel Prize winner (1904), the outstanding physiologist Ivan Petrovich Pavlov (1849–1936) was one of the most famous fans of this game. He played gorodki all his life – starting from childhood and retaining this hobby into his 80s. Pavlov gathered a team not only during his summer vacations, but also organized competitions in the places of his professional activity. One of these playgrounds was created in Koltushi (10 km from Petrograd) where the Physiological Department of the Institute of Experimental Medicine was created in 1924. Later it was renamed – first as the BioStation, then as the I. P. Pavlov Institute of Physiology of the Academy of Sciences. There are some photos of this place in the Pavlov's Museum exposition in Ryazan city, where the scientist was born. The photo dated 1924 shows the team of employees of the scientific center headed by the academician himself (third from the right). The photographer is unknown. The caption under the photo 'Koltushi. Celebrating the 75th Anniversary of Ivan Petrovich Pavlov' also contains the names of the team members, including the first director of the BioStation, S. N. Vyrzhikovskii (5th from left), future academician A. D. Speranskii (6th from the left), the laboratory staff of M. K. Petrova (far right) and L. O. Zewald (4th from the left).

From the very beginning of the Soviet period, 'gorodki' not only retained its attractiveness in Russia, it even became an important component of leisure sports. After all, this game was so relevant for the young Soviet government which proclaimed the creation of its own, proletarian (as opposed to bourgeois) physical culture as one of its goals. As a true folk sport, gorodki became a part of physical education for children and adults in the 1920s and 1930s. Vladimir Martz, the founder of the Scientific Research Institute of Games and Holiday Events (1921–22), who created the games classification, included 'gorodki' in the group of games which have the great importance for social development of children. This time, 'gorodki' acquired the status of a mass competitive sport with fixed and clear rules (while maintaining the position of a game of leisure), and it opened the path to including this game in the program of the 1st All-Union Spartakiada (1928), a great sports forum organized in the USSR as a counterbalance to the 'bourgeois' Olympic Games. Taking into account the huge scale of this Forum (more than seven thousand participants), one can imagine the scale of distribution of this game during the first decades of the Soviet state. Up to 1950s and 1960s, it was quite popular too (and competed in the USSR with other mass sports – football and volleyball), but gradually its popularity declined, like other traditional outdoor games.

Playing gorodki is indeed a good way to counter the otherwise prevalent lack of physical activity, an efficient way to develop movement coordination, to improve visual acuity, psychological stability, physical and psychological characteristics, all of which we need so much in any epoch, and especially in the era of digitalization and mediatization.

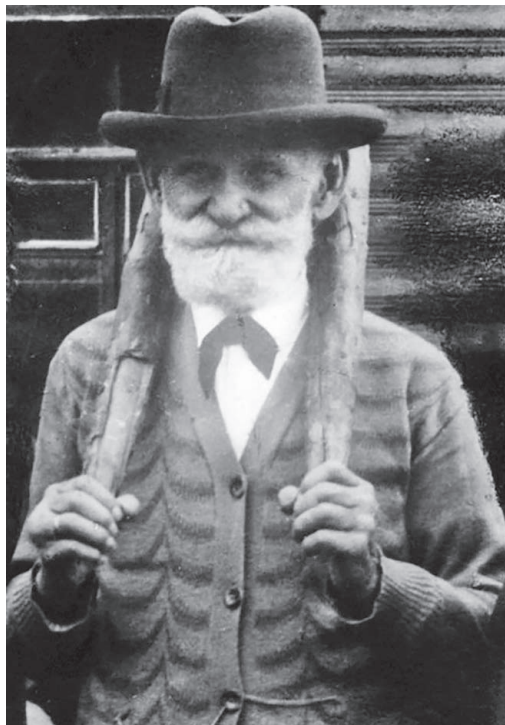
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Section of “Koltushi. Celebrating the 75th Anniversary of Ivan Petrovich Pavlov” – I. P. Pavlov and his team of the Institute of Physiology of the Academy of Sciences in Ryazan (1924)

Photo: Pavlov’s Museum in Ryazan. Photographer unknown.

Tom Brown's School Days by Thomas Hughes (1857)

Tony Collins

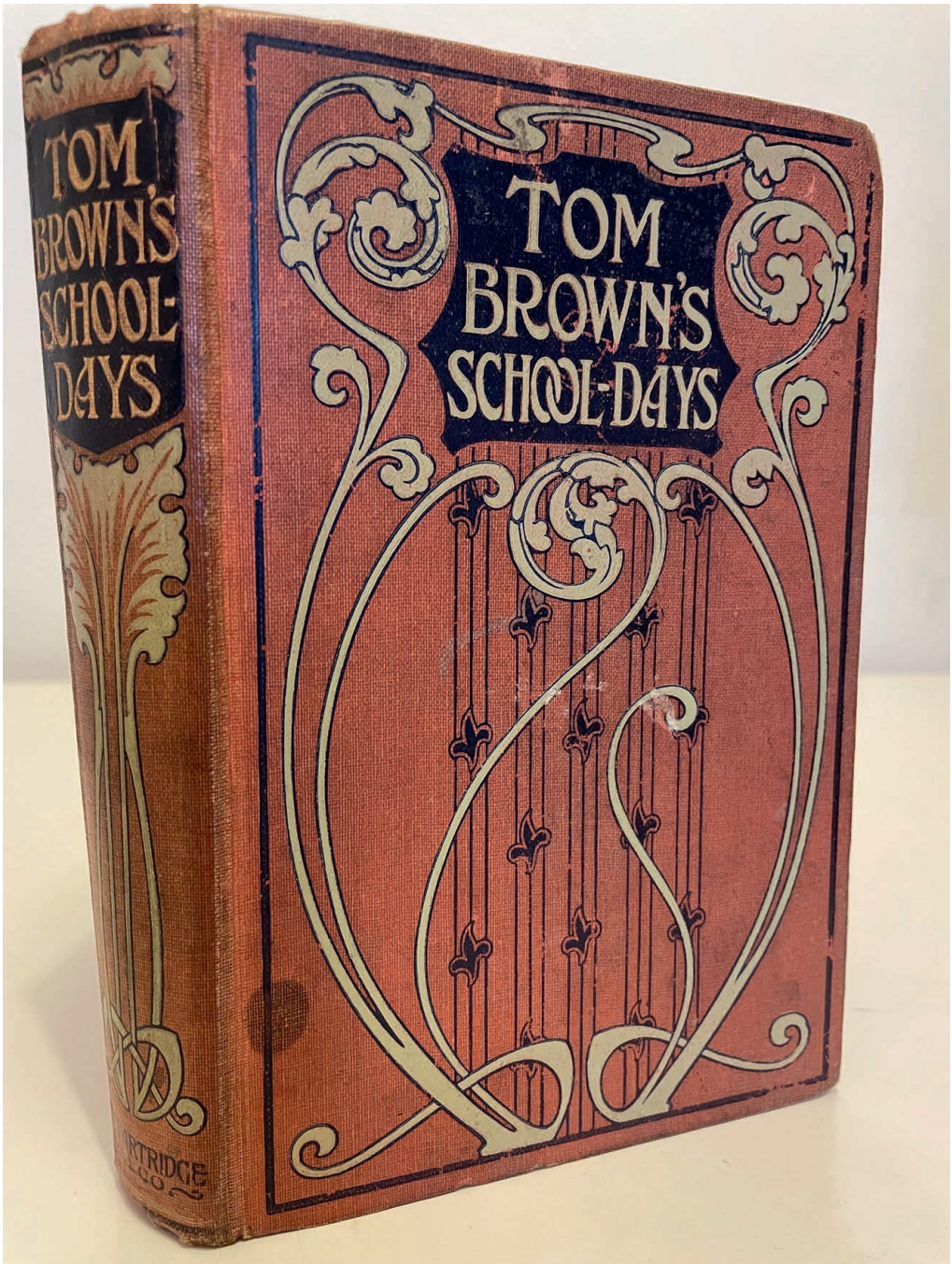
'Tom Brown's School Days' was written by Thomas Hughes and first published in London on 24 April 1857. The photograph shows a 1907 illustrated edition published by S. W. Partridge & Co., one of many editions published around the world following the expiry of copyright in 1906. Its art nouveau cover has little to do with its contents but is an attempt to give the book contemporary relevance and attractiveness. By the time this version was published, 'Tom Brown' was an essential volume on the bookshelves of almost all English-speaking middle-class families and, in translation, of many sport-loving Anglophile families around the world.

It tells the story of Tom Brown, a pupil at Rugby School, and how he learns the values of fair play, manliness, and team spirit as he matures into a model English middle-class gentleman. 'The Times' review called it a book 'every English father might well wish to see in the hands of his son'. In its first year it sold eleven thousand copies and went on to be reprinted fifty times by the end of the century. It has subsequently been reprinted many hundreds of times with many different covers.

Based on Hughes' own experiences as a pupil at Rugby, the book depicts the school under the leadership of headmaster Thomas Arnold, and outlines his Muscular Christian educational principles. Rugby football and cricket feature heavily in the book, because for Hughes, Muscular Christianity meant sport was not merely a recreation but had a higher moral and educative purpose. Thus 'Tom Brown's School Days' codified the value system that is at the heart of modern sport today.

It also provided the template for private education in Britain, a framework which was unapologetically conformist and masculine. When he arrives at Rugby Tom is advised that someone with 'nothing odd about him' will easily fit in with school life. He is also told that 'it's no joke playing-up in a [Rugby] match, I can tell you ... Why, there's been two collar-bones broken this half [of the term], and a dozen fellows lamed. And last year a fellow had his leg broken.' A recurrent theme is the danger of effeminacy: 'Don't you ever talk about home, or your mother and sisters,' Tom tells one boy, while the narrator says new pupils sometimes were 'called Molly, or Jenny, or some derogatory feminine name'.

For the first edition, Hughes used the pseudonym 'An Old Boy' but its popularity led to his name appearing on all editions after 1857. For the sixth reprint in February 1858 he added a preface, and in 1869 Arthur Hughes and Sydney Prior Hall provided 57 drawings depicting various scenes for an illustrated edition, which are still used in modern



A 1907 illustrated edition 'Tom Brown's School Days' published by S.W. Partridge & Co. of London.

Photo: Tony Collins

editions. So popular was the book that in 1891 Pitman & Sons even published a version written in shorthand.

'Tom Brown' quickly became a handbook of Muscular Christian principles and was hugely popular throughout the white settler colonies of the British Empire: Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa. The 'Sydney Morning Herald' declared the book to be 'so hearty, its good sense so strong and so thoroughly national, its morality so high' that it would have 'an extended and permanent popularity'.

When the first recorded football match in South Africa took place in Cape Town in 1862, the *Cape Argus* noted it had the 'strength and science worthy of "Tom Brown's Schooldays"'. In Canada, the book became a fixture in the children's sections of public and church libraries. The first American edition was published in 1861 as 'School Days at Rugby' in Boston by Ticknor and Fields, selling 225,000 copies. Most famously, Teddy Roosevelt, the 26th US president, called 'Tom Brown's Schooldays' one of two books everyone should read. Indeed, the book's popularity helps to explain the hegemony of oval-ball football codes in America, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and South Africa.

In the colonies of the British Empire 'Tom Brown' became a vital part of the curricula of schools founded to educate a pro-British elite among colonial peoples. After the 1857 Rebellion in India many private schools and colleges were created on the Rugby School model. The most prestigious was Rajkumar College, founded in 1868, at which the book was read to pupils by the headmaster himself.

The book also aroused considerable interest beyond the British Empire and the Anglophone world. In his 1872 'Notes sur l'Angleterre', Hippolyte Taine used it as the source for his chapter on the British educational system. Three years later, Jules Girardin translated 'Tom Brown' for the weekly 'Journal de la Jeunesse', where it was read by Pierre de Coubertin, inspiring him with a love of British sports and starting a journey which would lead him to create the modern Olympics. In 1888 Hachette published the translation in book format, and 'Tom Brown' helped to promote the growth of rugby in France in the 1890s.

Taine and Coubertin's fascination with the book was part of the national reassessment undertaken the French upper classes after the twin shocks of defeat by Prussia in 1870 and the insurrection of the Paris Commune in 1871. In Japan, the Meiji Restoration of 1868 led to the importation of Western industrial and educational systems, during which 'Tom Brown' became the most popular high-school English text book. Sections were translated into Japanese in 1899 and a complete translation appeared in 1947. The book's Muscular Christian principles shared much with Japanese ideals of 'bushido' and 'shitsujitsu go-ken' (upright manliness), and offered a common cultural reference point for the growth of rugby and baseball.

In Germany, Tauchnitz in Leipzig published 'Tom Brown' in English in 1858 but it wasn't until 1887 that the same publishers brought out the first German translation, perhaps

reflecting the differing concerns of the winners of the Franco-Prussian war. A Russian translation was published in 1874 as a supplement to the weekly 'Grazhdanin' ('The Citizen') in St Petersburg, edited by Fyodor Dostoevsky. For the Russian elite, the book offered an educational model which, like Dostoevsky's work, was deeply rooted in Christianity, and suggested a method of educational reform which did not threaten the conservatism of Tsarist Russia. This conservatism may also explain why the publication of 'Tom Brown' did not inspire the growth of modern sport in Russia.

For modern readers, the style, tone, and crude didacticism of 'Tom Brown' make it a difficult book to read. Yet the influence of the book is all around us today: in the professed ideals of the Olympic Games, in appeals for 'fair play' in soccer, rugby and the other football codes, in the quest for purity and drug-free 'clean' sport, in calls for 'manly' behaviour from athletes, and on almost every other occasion when sport asserts its morality.

That should not surprise us. For it was 'Tom Brown's School Days' which first articulated the moral certainty, the worship of physical prowess, and the conformist imperative which continue to underpin the ideology of modern sport.

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