This paper makes a further contribution to the so-called ‘Origins of Football’ debate by responding to the eminent sports historian Tony Collins, and the duo of football historians, Graham Curry and Eric Dunning, who have had similar critiques of parts of what has become known as the ‘revisionist’ side in that debate. Collins’ main complaint seems to be that two ‘revisionists’ in particular, Roy Hay and myself, have followed on from the work of John Goulstone and Adrian Harvey but have ‘changed the axis’ of the debate by not ‘claiming that the rules and organization of early football matches were the direct antecedents of the game that would be played by the F.A. and its clubs’, as Harvey and Goulstone did, but that ‘the sheer number of ‘football matches’ that took place before 1860 proves that there was a broad, tenacious and visible footballing culture throughout nineteenth-century Britain’. Indeed, the evidence presented in a number of papers and added to by this one, does suggest that, which then, inevitably, does ‘change the axis’. This, however, is not a devious process to be complained about and criticised, with the underlying inference that something deceitful or dishonest is going on, but ought to be seen for what it is - an honest attempt to present previously unrecorded evidence of football playing amongst the working classes in mid-century, unpretentiously reporting what newspapers of the day recorded in an effort to further our understanding of the history of football. Indeed, is this not what meaningful empirical evidence does - move the debate on in a relatively simple dialectic?

What it is definitely not about, however, is one of ‘presenting a wealth of material’ that will lead to the agreement that their preferred position is the right one’ as one historian has recently claimed. Actually, it is the converse - what is erroneously referred to as the ‘preferred position’ has come about as a result of the wealth of evidence uncovered by searches in digitized newspaper archives evidencing football playing outside of the influence of public schools and public schoolboys. This ‘revisionist’ stance is, however, not one of direct opposition to the so-called ‘orthodox’ or ‘traditional’ view but in addition to it, moving the debate on. Hopefully, all historians move their positions and perspectives according to new empirical evidence, piecing together a cogent narrative despite evidence always being incomplete and always limited, with ‘history’ seemingly being an expanding universe of particular events about which an infinite number of facts or true statements can be discovered. That’s what makes it intellectually exciting for many. It is, then, not a ‘preferred position’ but one taken in the light of new and compelling evidence. Furthermore, the history of ‘football’ is rather more complex than some historians would have us believe, being much more ‘ragged’, multifaceted and complex in the midst of indeterminacy, fragmentation, chaos and pluralities. Methodologies therefore need to eschew the use of ‘grand narratives’ or unsophisticated approaches such as bipolar opposites that are not always the appropriate conceptual schemata in understanding the development and diffusion of the game. Simple models of developmental and linear teleologies also need to be avoided to reflect the complexity, contextualization, and patterned process in the midst of seeming chaos that gives an account of the seeming cultural continuity of ‘football’, in the nineteenth century, against the immense backdrop of the ‘Industrial Revolution’. That history still needs to be written.

In addition, Collins thinks that ‘revisionist’ evidence somehow ‘conflates what was an informal leisure practice or folk custom with the ‘highly organized commercial sport of the
late Victorian era’. No such ‘conflation’ has ever been attempted or contemplated. However, the evidence in mid-century suggests an ongoing football culture in which different forms of football were being played, outside of the public schools and influence of public schoolboys, across the country on church outings; works outings; school outings; at rural fetes and galas; as forms of street football; casual football in meadows/fields/greens; as part of celebrations; or formal games where challenges were issued. Included in that mix, would have been relatively small sided games as well as mass folk football played to a variety of rules and so, when Football Association Rules came to Lancashire, codified by former public schoolboys but heavily influenced by Sheffield and introduced into the County by the expanding lower middle class not local elites, working class players then had no difficulty in adapting to and adopting those rules. Association football then diffused across the Red Rose County from the Bolton-Darwen-Blackburn triangle and, later, morphed into the professional game, unaided and unassisted by public schools or schoolboys. Undeniably, such professionalism would have been anathema to their ongoing ideology of amateurism in all sports.

Surprisingly, Collins goes on to commit one of the ‘methodological errors’ he charges others with, as he demands we view the past through the lens of the present by rejecting large numbers of reported small-sided games of football as an ‘informal leisure practice or folk custom’ and by so doing seeks to rely solely on what might be termed ‘formal matches’, as though early to mid-century football games were of a similar form to those of today, and are the only measure of a footballing culture. This is not just ‘arguing over minor mentions of the word football’ as one historian suggests, but how contemporary historians present ‘history’ through their categorisations. Indeed, ‘historical method has its roots in philology’ and ‘questions of semantics and signification have preoccupied historians for generations’. Curry and Dunning also make the same methodological error as Collins by reclassifying reported football games into what many would consider to be the contemptible and derisory phrase of ‘kickabouts’. Significantly, many small-sided games were reported in the press across the nation at the time as ‘football’ or ‘foot-ball’ and not some ‘informal leisure practice or folk custom’ or ‘kickabouts’. These are labels accredited to those small-sided games by Collins and by Curry and Dunning, and although we all may rely, in our work, on making conceptual summations of the past, to change the classifications of what nineteenth century authors label ‘football’ into ‘leisure practices or folk customs’ or ‘kickabouts’ is, surely, unwarranted and unnecessary. Furthermore, reliance on seeking only formal games that are to count as ‘football’ is an approach I have been self-critical of in print, as well as critical of Goulstone and Harvey whilst acknowledging their difficulties in relying, in the main, on one source for football research - Bell’s Life in London. With his exclusion of anything other than ‘legal, organised matches’ to count as evidence of a footballing culture Collins is then able to claim that the ‘revisionist’ attempts to quantify the extent of the ‘football culture’ that they claim existed in the first decades of Victorian Britain have also proven to be problematic. It is, however, somewhat less ‘problematic’ without the unwarranted re-classification of reported ‘football’ and ‘foot-ball’ games into differing categories. Curry and Dunning’s categorisation of football games as ‘kickabouts’ is a further attempt to re-classify history with the obvious purpose of them then being able to dismiss that evidence as ‘insignificant’. Furthermore, their reluctance to accept accumulating and
compulsive evidence of a deep-seated football culture across the century outside of the public schools, added to on a near daily basis as the digitisation of local newspapers carries on apace, but dismiss that evidence as the pursuit of ‘quantity’ rather than ‘quality’ is a thoroughly inadequate response. It is significant, though, that they have moved quickly away from their initial criticism of ‘revisionist’ evidence as ‘sparse and misleading’ to one about ‘quantity’ rather than ‘quality’. Their turnabout then increasingly looks like a fairly crude attempt to shore up their position, which increasingly looks like ‘a steady regression to nowhere – fast’. 18

Furthermore, their categorising of the ongoing working class football culture as being played by ‘participants of minimal influence’ suggests, despite previous denials, a Whig theory of history19 and an elitist view of the historiography of football.20 Be that as it may, it is surely unreasonable and indefensible to consider football matches played in the public schools and universities as evidence of a football culture there, but to dismiss evidence of organised games in Industrial or Ragged schools or Sunday schools, played across the country, as ‘insignificant’ in the history of football. Furthermore, to call such evidence presented as ‘inconsequential data’ which are nothing more than ‘ad hoc arrangements by a publican seeking to increase his takings by instigating “pub football” match with some scanty organisation’ is disappointing as not one of the newspaper reports of football being played, presented in a number of my papers covering the period 1818-1860, mentions pub football or publicans.21 Nor are there any references to ‘pub football’ or ‘publicans’ in further evidence presented below. This then suggests one of two things, either Curry and Dunning’s scholarship is of the inept, incompetent and inaccurate kind they erroneously and intemperately accuse Adrian Harvey as having,22 or a deliberate attempt to mislead readers. For outstanding scholars, like Curry and Dunning, the latter is surely not the case.

More evidence of an ongoing Football culture: 1861.

The Sheffield Football Club opened 1861 with ‘an exciting match’ and another victory, this time against Hallam and Stumperlow ‘the club having obtained two goals, their opponents not having scored’.23 The match was repeated in March ‘at East bank… the goals, three, were all obtained by the Hallam men’.24 In Wales, heavy drifts of snow made many roads impassable and yet in the neighbourhood of Corwen, in the county of Denbighshire, the Cynwyd Sunday School and the boys and girls of the from the Corwen House of Industry were invited to ‘Plass Issa’ where ‘they partook of dinner’ after which they ‘went out into the pen-air, where some kicked the foot-ball, others played bandy, &c.’.25 Similarly, ‘the Juvenile Band of the 11th Shropshire Rifle Corps were kindly invited by Mrs Wickstead of Shakenhurst-hall’, which lies on the Worcestershire border, ‘to an excellent dinner of “Christmas fare”, after which they amused themselves in front of the hall, by foot-ball and other games’.26

Rather less enjoyment would have been had, though, at the court of the Queen’s Bench where Mr. Justice Wightmen, Mr. Justice Crompton and Mr. Justice Hill sat in judgement on the appellants, who were labourers and residents of the parish of Steeple-Bumpstead. These men
had been convicted at the Magistrates Court on the information provided by John Dare, a farmer in the same parish. Apparently, in that Court, it had been proved that on the afternoon of the 22nd of March the appellants were playing at foot-ball on the public playground of the parish, a piece of ground known as “the Camping Close”, which separated from some pasture land, claimed to belong to the respondent, by a dry ditch, and in which was a manure heap or clamp, the property of the respondent, and whilst so engaged at foot-ball the appellants were charged with having trespassed on the respondent’s pasture and trodden down the respondents manure’. The case rested eventually on case law from 1849 when the boundaries of the close had been agreed. In that case John Snape, a tenant of the farm, gave evidence that the inhabitants of the parish had constantly, before and after the action for trespass in 1849, played at various games on the piece of pasture ground in question since ‘time immemorial’. The Court held therefore that the decision of the Magistrates, to fine the appellants for playing football and destroying the manure mound, to be wrong. Meanwhile in Alnwick, the annual Shrove Tuesday match was played although this time ‘by permission of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, in the spacious park called the North Demense’. Interestingly, the ‘ground for the players had been marked out, and two goals twelve feet high and three feet wide, decorated with heaths and evergreens had been erected’. The games went off without incident. Over in Derbyshire, though, the annual battle over their Shrovetide football continued and ‘in spite of warnings issued by the police, and in spite of former conflicts with these stern ministers of the law, the Ashborne people last week celebrated with more than usual ardour the time honoured custom of playing at football’. Indeed it was noted that ‘27 persons were fined by the Ashbourne magistrates for playing at foot-ball in the public streets’ It was argued, though, that ‘the people are very reluctant to be thus interfered with, and a long fight will have to be maintained between the magistrates and the inhabitants before the latter give in’. An altercation with the law on the Isle of Wight, as related in a letter to the local press, was somewhat more peaceful, though, when ‘several clerks, apprentices, and long-legged boys’ who possessed the ‘desire for exercise’ resorted to ‘a game of football’. They claimed that there being no public playground for the purpose, we determined that the game should take place in an unfrequented spot on the Esplanade on Tuesday evening last, at the hour of 8 o’clock. Now it appears, that Sergeant King happened to stroll that way, and thinking it a favourable opportunity to stretch his legs and exercise his ingenuity, commenced running at good pace towards the unsuspecting players, which caused them to decamp without the word of command at double quick time, leaving Sergeant King in possession of the stores and baggage. The demand by the letter writer was for somewhere to play football where ‘we should be the least likely to disturb the Queens lieges’. No such demands were made in the market town of Hinckley, in southwest Leicestershire, where, despite ‘the police trying to stop their enjoyment, … during the afternoon various kinds of amusement were sought for many of the inhabitants, principally young people; the sport indulged in most was foot-ball kicking in the street’. Unlike Hinckley, the residents of Birkenhead near Liverpool evidently did have somewhere to play the game other than the street as the ‘Road and Improvement Committee’ were informed, after ‘a number of sheep had been destroyed by dogs in the park’ and notices put up that ‘all dogs found in the park would be destroyed’, that ‘orders were also given to
discontinue the game of football in the grounds’. This was contested by Members of the Committee on the grounds that ‘it was exceedingly wrong to prevent men enjoying themselves’ and that it was ‘a serious matter to stop parties enjoying themselves. The centre of the park was intended for the amusement of the people, and they ought to facilitate those amusements’. Not quite the same outcome came about, however, when a letter was sent from the ‘Early Rising Club’ to the Property Committee of Dundee Town Council. They asked if they could be ‘allowed to play at football in the Barrack Park from six to eight in the morning’. Unfortunately, the Committee took the view ‘that such games might be dangerous to parties frequenting the park’ and so turned down the request. Nevertheless, it is indicative that football was still being played in the country, well away from any influence of public schools or public schoolboys. Even the Military played the game, as evidenced when the men of the ‘First Devon Militia’ had ‘three weeks drill at the Topsham Barracks’. There, ‘a number of men enjoyed a kick at the football, ale was served round, and the band occasionally played some lively airs’. And at Headingly in Yorkshire, ‘Two Grand Galas’ were organised over Whitsuntide, the 20th and 21st of May at which ‘a football contest’ was advertised. And ‘Foot-ball’ was also advertised as one of the attractions to ‘A Grand Rural Fete’ in aid of the funds of the ‘Market Rasen Choral Society’ that was held in the ‘Park, Baytons Manor,… on Thursday, the 6th June next’. It is perhaps worth noting here that no advert for people to participate in an ‘informal leisure pursuit’, ‘folk custom’ or ‘kickabout’ have been found in any 19th century newspaper.

Elsewhere though, there were some men who must have wished they hadn’t ‘left their carriages to kick at football’. They were the donkey carriage drivers John Davies, Richard Davies, William Mathews and Jon Davies as they were all fined 10s. each, and 9s 3d costs by the Police Court in Rhyl as they had committed an offence by leaving their carriage to play the game. ‘Joseph Davies’ was given a caution. Similarly in Aberdeen, ‘George Minty, shoemaker, and William Dick, plasterer, were charged with a contravention of the statute by playing at foot-ball on the turnpike at Turriff. They were convicted in absence, and fined 5s, with expenses amounting to £3 3s 9d each.’

In the early 1860s James Horsfall, a wire drawer from Digbeth, invented high tensile wire which he manufactured at Hay Mill, a village just to the East of Birmingham. Having built the factory he also decided to provide a school which opened in May, 1861. At the opening, ‘300 in number, sat down to a sumptuous luncheon’ after which ‘the party then adjourned to dancing to the music of an excellent band, football, archery and other outdoor games’. And, in Duddleston at the Ellesmere Union Workhouse Schools in Shropshire, ‘200 met last week….. to partake of tea and its concomitants, and to enjoy themselves with games, such as cricket, football and others suited to their age and sex’. Up in Scotland, in Hamilton, the ‘annual birthday trip by the boys of the Buchanan Institution took place’. They went into the ‘deer park’ at Chatelherault and ‘a match at cricket was played out between the two classes of workmen, and the younger boys were assisted in the game of football, at intervals, by all their seniors’. Down in England, in Colchester, the ‘male members of the Birch Temperance Society sat down to a substantial dinner at Birch Hall’ and ‘after dinner the visitors proceeded to the grounds adjoining the mansion, where they amused themselves with cricket, foot-ball,
and other games’. Further north, in the Red Rose County of Lancashire, where Association football was to become so popular from the mid-1870s onwards, ‘scholars, numbering between 14,000 and 15,000 met at the school room’ of St. Georges, in Chorley. They then proceeded to the top of Park-road, and then retracing their steps, went to a field on Chorley Moor, which had been kindly lent for the occasion by Mr. William Yates, where the children were regaled with coffee and buns; after which they enjoyed cricket, football, &c., until eight and nine o’clock, when all the parties separated, highly pleased with the afternoon’s recreation….. we understand that, with the scholars and their friends, there were upwards of 2,000 persons in the field’. Of course, Curry and Dunning may think these were ‘insignificant’ actors in the history of football but these would have been the putative parents of children in the 1870s and 80s whose place in the history of football is undeniable.

Lancashire featured again in the report of a fete held in connection with the presentation of Band Instruments to the 74th Lancashire Volunteer Rifle Corps. After the presentation and ‘after doing the honour to the toast of “The Ladies,”’ the party left the tent, and found ample recreation in playing at football, running races, and other healthful and invigorating sports’. Other games conformed to the pattern of football previously identified as being played at ‘celebrations’. So, for example, in Portsmouth, ‘the anniversary of the Coronation of Her Majesty was observed as a close holiday’. As part of that celebration two trains were despatched to Ford Station, near Arundel, with about 1500 persons, the attraction being the annual fete of the Portsmouth, Chichester, and Arundel members of the Manchester Unity of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. The fete took place in Arundel-park, by kind permission of Her Grace the Duchess of Norfolk. On arriving at the Arundel station a procession was formed and marched to Arundel Pak, and the band of the 2nd Hants Artillery was in attendance. A variety of amusements took place in the park, including dancing, cricket, football, &c.’.

A similar celebration took place in Scotland, where ‘the employees of Messrs James Spence and Company’s Drapery Establishment’ has their annual excursion to celebrate the Queen’s birthday. At Kinnaird Castle ‘a substantial luncheon was served on the cricket ground in front of the Priory. The programme of the day’s proceedings was then gone into with spirit. These consisted of games of cricket, quoits, foot-ball, bowling, putting the stone, throwing the hammer, sack races, bell races, singing, reciting, vaulting, and numerous gymnastic feats and exercises’. Similarly, the Isle of Wight Observer reported on ‘The Gathering at Newport’ of the ‘Foresters’ on Coronation day that ‘will live long in the memory of the hundreds and hundreds who flocked to see it’. The newspaper went on to claim that throughout the afternoon, and up to sunset, the out-door amusement seekers practised a variety of games, the most popular apparently being the very exciting romp of “kiss in the ring.” Archery, cricketing, quoits, football, &c., were also indulged in, and probably the beautiful bowling green of old Carisbrooke never contained a happier, merrier, or more buoyant party’.

Back to the Isle of Wight, and ‘about 120 members of the East Medina Lodge of Oddfellows (Manchester Unity) assembled in front of their lodge, the Star Inn, High Street’ in Ryde. They then formed a procession to Ryde House Park and, after dinner, ‘the company
proceeded to amuse themselves out-of-doors with such games as quoits, football, cricket, dancing, the chase of “Kiss in the ring,” &c. In similar fashion, the Annual Festival of the Bath Temperance Association took place in Prior Park where ‘a large concourse of people assembled… for whose refreshment plenty of non-intoxicating beverages were found, and for whose recreation the usual outdoor amusements – cricket, football &c., beside singing and dancing were indulged in’. And another Temperance Society held a fete, this time in Bilston situated to the south-east of Wolverhampton, ‘in the pretty grounds of Mr. Mathew Frost’. A procession of ‘between 800-900 teetotallers was formed’ and ‘after the meeting, the bands were distributed in various parts of the grounds, and dancing, football, and the like, became the order of the day’. Similarly, a ‘Temperance Fete’ was held at Repton in South Derbyshire on the cricket ground of Repton School. ‘About three o’clock the grounds were thrown open to visitors at a small charge, and in less than an hour all were in high glee, especially the youthful portion of the assembly, for whom sports and amusements had been provided, consisting of cricket, football, foot-racing, wheelbarrow races &c.’. Likewise, in Darlington ‘the North of Rugland Temperance League held their annual gala in the extensive and beautiful grounds of John Harris Esq., Woodside, kindly granted for the occasion…. During the afternoon, amusements, consisting of archery, cricket, football &c., were indulged in to a considerable extent’. Continuing the theme of ‘Temperance Fetes’ at Chauntry, near Ipswich one was held ‘through the kindness of Sir Fitzroy Kelly’. Here, ‘in the park several large marquees were erected for supplying refreshments and as cloakrooms: and in the large space around, cricket, foot-ball, and “kissing in the ring,” were carried on’. The ‘Annual Fete’ of Southampton Polytechnic Institute was held at Broadlands, the seat of Lord Palmerston, with the South Western Railway Company bringing people from Romsey, Southampton, Salisbury and Winchester. ‘About 5000 persons entered the park during the day. The amusements consisted of cricket, football, dancing, running, boat-racing, and fireworks’. Football was obviously just one of a number of sports and games practised in celebrations and at fetes, although the enduring popularity of the game may be indicated in a letter to the local press in Edinburgh when a correspondent complained about the closure of West Park Meadows to the young tradesmen of the town. Now, he said, they ‘flock in great numbers to the East Park to recreate themselves after their daily toil with cricket, football and other suitable games’. The ‘annual treat’ featured again in reports of football, this time at St. Peter’s Schools in Bristol. Here, the pupils had the resources of Mr. Eades Farm ‘on Ashley Down, at their disposal’ and despite ‘showers falling throughout the afternoon’ there were ‘games of cricket and football, which the boys enjoyed most thoroughly’. And, the village of Morecambe on the Lancashire coast was enlivened by a tea party given to about 400 ‘scholars in the National School who then marched through the village ‘to a large field on the hill near the North Western Hotel, where they disported themselves playing at football and other games for the space of two hours’. In Honiton in East Devon the foundation stone of the new National schools was laid by the Earl of Devon. Accordingly, ‘the children of the Union were invited to share the holiday. Football, prisoners’ base, and games of all kinds were continued until late in the hour, when the exhibition of a balloon closed the festivities of the day that will be long remembered by all who shared its enjoyments’. The sheer size of the operation in some areas is extraordinary. So, for example the children attending Christ
Church schools St. Georges East in London were taken ‘in a special train of 36 carriages, to Loughton, in Essex, for their annual excursion. The number present was about 1,700. For this large party about a ton of solid and 100 gallons of liquid food had been provided’ and ‘though the weather in the early part of the day was somewhat unpropitious the children enjoyed themselves very much, the afternoon and evening being spent in racing, football, hopping matches, and other similar amusements’.\textsuperscript{61} Some, though, seemed a bit more modest. It was reported that in Hampshire ‘on Wednesday the children belonging to St. James’s Sunday and Day Schools had their annual fete. They were conveyed to the Common, where they appeared to enjoy the usual amusements, tea and cake and afterwards races, football and other games. Yesterday the St. Lukes School children had a similar fete at Bannisters Park and tea in the schoolroom’.\textsuperscript{62} And the same newspaper noted the ‘treat to the school children of Wherwell’ at Wherwell Priory, ‘the seat of Mr. William Iremonger, who with liberal hospitality provided a good tea for the children and a cold collation for the visitors present. …Tea being over all hands piped for fun and mischief – cricket, running matches, football, swings, and the merry dance with the music of the Andover Rifle Corps band’.\textsuperscript{63} Sometimes, though, the ‘treat’ for school children was part of a larger celebration. So, for example, Holt Castle near Wrexham in Wales held a festival that had ‘now become one of the regular summer attractions’. At this festival 61 boarders from ‘Mr. Armstrong’s… large and respectable boarding school’ were marched from ‘Frandon to Holt Castle…. On their arrival the whole sat down to tea in capacious tent, after which they proceeded to amuse themselves by playing at football, leaping, or shooting for nuts’.\textsuperscript{64}

Football was still being played all over the country and was very much a part of the nation’s culture although its status was obviously not at the level that came to define the Association game in the last quarter of the century. Nevertheless, it was broadly based, visible and tenacious with children playing small-sided games of football in the 1860s. Indeed, these may well have been the adult players and spectators of the Association game in the1870s and 80s. Certainly, some of those children may have come from the Trinity Church in Ipswich who were ‘assembled at the church at half past 8 in the morning’ and were taken by ‘one of Mr. Dorling’s “Alma” steamer’ s, specially engaged for the occasion to Harwich’ where they disembarked. They then ‘went in procession through the streets, to the grounds of Cliff House, Dovercourt’ where they ‘amused themselves during the day in various games, such as cricket, football, racing, and dancing’.\textsuperscript{65}

Even the poorest in society seemed to have been part of the sporting culture through the patronage of wealthy individuals. For each of the past twenty years in Wraxall, North Somerset, William Gibbs, whose huge fortune came from guano used as fertilizer, entertained ‘the whole of the pauper inmates of Bedminster Union to dinner and tea on the extensive lawn and grounds surrounding his mansion at Tyntesfield’. In 1861, ‘upwards of 200 inmates’ sat down there to ‘a liberal fare of roast beef and plum pudding, with a plentiful supply of home-brewed ale’. After which, ‘the happy party then assembled on the lawn, where games of football, swings, climbing the greasy pole, &c., were provided’.\textsuperscript{66} Meanwhile, down off the South Coast, Ryde, on the Isle of Wight, saw its ‘annual demonstration of the 2,283 Court Astraea Order of Foresters’ at which in ‘the afternoon and
evening the brethren and their friends had several games of cricket, football, quoits, skittles, &c.

And, as if to illustrate the ubiquity of football across Britain, the ‘Band of Hope Festival’ took place at Adwy’r-Clawdd in Wales where ‘the extraordinary number of 1500 sat down to tea’ and ‘meantime, those who had the good fortune to be first served, amused themselves in a large field with football, kite flying, chasing the company with a large rope, and entwining them in its folds’. Across in York, the Band of Hope Gala ‘took place in a field adjoining the Glassworks, in Fishergate’. The juvenile members of the society were admitted free whilst the adult visitors paid a trifling charge … some used the swings, which had been put up, and others played at football, kiss in the ring, and other innocent games’. Back to Wales and ‘the pupils and teachers of Tymaen Presbyterian Church Sabbath School, at Park Villa, Ruabon, the residence of Mr. Charles Pullar’ held a juvenile festival at which ‘the boy and girls might be seen enjoying the favourite games of cricket, football &c.’

In industrial Lancashire in Manchester, in the ‘shock city of the age’ that was undergoing the most radical migrationary movements, 30,000 people descended on Belle Vue Gardens for the annual brass band contest. In addition, some attractions were added which included ‘some old English holiday sports, such as football and dancing round the Maypole’. Interestingly, even in Alnwick, in Northumberland, the site of an annual Shrovetide mob game, celebrations took place at the Jubilee of the establishment of the National School Society in September with ‘the whole of the children attending the schools in the rural parishes of the deanery’ being invited to take part. As an element of these celebrations, ‘several games of cricket were played by rival schools; games at football and even ‘Aunt Sally’ had votaries; while in secluded nooks the more refined pastime of “Les Graces” were practised by the more fastidious pleasure’. It therefore noteworthy that that the people of Alnwick, at this time, would have been quite aware that football could be played in relatively small sided games as well as the ‘traditional’ mob form. Other small-sided games would have also been played when 400 members of the Crewe Band of Hope held their annual fete in ‘the field of Lord Crewe’s’. There, ‘all kinds of games appropriate to the season were indulged in. There was cricket and football, and the usual playing of rings’.

In more rural settings in Cadland and Fawley, in Hampshire near the new Forest, Wednesday ‘was set apart for the thanks-giving, rejoicing, and festivities on account of the abundant harvest just terminated’. The celebration was held at ‘Mr Drummond’s farmstead’ and ‘near this place provision was made for archery, for football a prolific source of fun and enjoyment, cricket (the Cadlands cricketers being in their picturesque dress), throwing for snuff boxes, “Aunt Sally”, running for dresses, ribands, &c., And another ‘harvest home’ festival was held in Pavenham, Essex which, having been reported, drew the criticism of a correspondent ‘with a name well-known and honoured in this county’. He complained that ‘we did not, as in the case described by one of your correspondents, leave any of the men to drink and smoke as they pleased. Music under the tent, football, fruit, and flower shows, the beautiful gardens where rich and poor mingled freely together, left no room even for the desire after sensual gratifications’.
Even at a mundane ‘Cottager’s Flower and Vegetable Show’ the game was still being played, the show being organised by the Bloxwich Floral and Horticultural Society near Walsall in the West Midlands. There, ‘during the afternoon the Bloxwich Band attended on the ground, and played some very nice selections of music in an admirable manner; while cricket, football, and other games were being carried on to the delight of a very numerous assemblage’.  

And, continuing the identified theme of the game being played at Galas, the one organised by the Tyne and Derwent Volunteer Corps given in ‘Stella Park’ the home of Joseph Cowen, the son of the newspaper and coal millionaire Sir Joseph Cowen included ‘cricket, quoits, football &..’ Rather more formally, though, the members of the York Cricket Club, which only commenced play in June, 1861, and already had 386 members decided at ‘the close of the cricketing season’ to form ‘a football club, which already numbers 50 members’. Their opening game was then advertised to take place against the Sheffield Football Club on Thursday, November 7, 1861 at the Endcliffe Cricket Ground. What type of football is being played is difficult to judge particularly when some adverts noted the uneven numbers between competing teams. Indeed, one game took place ‘on the Sheffield between three of the most celebrated players of the Sheffield Football Club, and six of the Norton Club.

Similarly, The Fourth West York Artillery Volunteers played the First West York Engineers Volunteers in a 'Grand Volunteer Football Match' ay Hyde Park on Thursday, the 28th of November, 1861. Interestingly, there was an admission charge of sixpence to the ground. It is also interesting to note that John Lilywhite’s Cricket Warehouse in London thought there was sufficient interest in football in this period in the regions to advertise ‘footballs’, amongst its other sporting goods, in the local press, as did E. Crew in Portsmouth. Meanwhile over in Birkenhead, near Liverpool, the ‘Road and Improvement Committee’ were debating whether to allow football to take place in the park as ‘a number of rough boys crossing from Liverpool on Sunday’ to play the game had been ‘immediately stopped by the police’. Some members objected to a prohibition order contending that ‘they ought to encourage these athletic games, and not discourage them’. Eventually, it was decided to refer the matter ‘back to committee to consider whether football could not be allowed in the park under certain regulations’. Either way, what is important to note is that small-side games of football were not ‘dead’, the games in question being undoubtedly not part of folk or mob football, neither was there any influence whatsoever of public schools or public schoolboys.

Once again, some evidence of football playing only comes to light ‘tangentially’ which probably otherwise would have gone unreported. In this case, ‘Charles King was taken before W. Smith, Esq., Mayor, on Thursday last, charged with stealing a watch, value £50., the property of Mr. Walter Moore, son of G. Moore, Esq., solicitor of this town’. It appeared that ‘the prosecutor had been playing, at football on the Cricket Field, on the 30th of October last, and put his coat on the rail, one of the pockets of which contained the watch in question. Suspicion fell on the prisoner. Who was apprehended on Wednesday’. This raises the obvious question of how many other people were playing football on that Wednesday, without any incident arising, that, consequently, went unreported. Obviously, this is an unanswerable question although it is reasonable to assume many more would have taken
place. One that certainly did take place was near the end of 1861 between the Sheffield and Hallam Football Clubs at Hyde Park, ‘won by the Hallam players’.\textsuperscript{87} The final game, though, seems to have been a ‘Great Football Match at Sheffield’ between the same two sides ‘the proceedings of which was to benefit that admirable institution the Sheffield public Hospital and Dispensary. The game, which was played by fourteen on each side, took place at Hyde Park on Saturday’. Apparently, the game was a draw. 1-1, the spectators numbered between 600 to 7000, and the receipts amounted to £15 which was ‘handed over to the public Hospital and Dispensary’.\textsuperscript{88}

And yet more: 1862.

Not for the first time the weather in Scotland in January, 1862 was bleak. A correspondent of the \textit{Scotsman} wrote from Kelso that ‘the rivers are nearly all ice-bound’. And yet, ‘large numbers of people daily enjoy themselves on the glassy surface of the Tweed in skating, curling, sliding and football’.\textsuperscript{89} Down in Yorkshire, however, the weather was obviously not quite so inclement, and a football match was advertised in the local paper to take place on Tuesday afternoon at 2.00 p.m. on the Endcliffe Ground, featuring the Pittsmoor Club against the York Club.\textsuperscript{90} A ‘Volunteer Football match’ was also advertised on a Monday\textsuperscript{91} and played on the same afternoon on the York Cricket Ground between eleven members of the Engineer Volunteer Corps and eight members of the Artillery Volunteer Corps. The kick-off was at two o’clock, play continuing until a quarter to five o’clock. The Engineers won the first two goals, after which the artillery men had two successes. The fifth was won by the Engineers, and the sixth by their antagonists. The bell announced the conclusion of play at this time, and the match was declared to be a tie.\textsuperscript{92}

And in the same newspaper a football match was reported to have taken place ‘on Saturday last’ between ‘four picked players of the Sheffield Club against six of the Norton Club. The kick-off was at half-past two, in the grounds of F.W. Bagshawe, Esq.’ and ‘after two hours’ play, the result was 5 goals won by the Sheffield men; Norton O.’.\textsuperscript{93} It is noteworthy that these games are small-sided and were not part of the Shrovetide folk football tradition, neither are they within the control or influence of the public schools or public schoolboys. It is perhaps illustrative of the popularity of the game of football amongst youngsters that, at the beginning of 1862, a new illustrated magazine for boys was launched. Amongst its contents, which comprised 64 pages, was ‘Football by George Forrest’ and advertised extensively in the press across the country. Apparently, it set out ‘the seasonable mysteries of the best of cold-weather games’ including football which was ‘unfolded in a paper which illustrates by sketches the way of making and managing the balls, and the erection of the goals, while setting forth with comment on the rules of the game’\textsuperscript{94} Meanwhile, a return match was played between ‘eight of Willougby’, a small village in Nottinghamshire, and ‘thirteen of Ancaster’. It was reported that ‘although Willougby again won by four goals to three, it was far better contested and more spirited match than the former, as shown by the number of goals obtained by their respective sides’.\textsuperscript{95} And in an account of an accident, football is mentioned in what has previously been referred to as reporting the game ‘tangentially’.\textsuperscript{96} At Honiton, in, Devon a youth was apparently ‘passing along a street with a loaded gun. He was
met by a party of boys returning from football’. Needless to say, the gun was discharged and ‘struck the face of a youth named Donald Farquharson’. Without the accident no report of football would have been mentioned, begging the question of, how many other games were being played that involved no incident or accident and therefore went unreported?

Adrian Harvey, in particular, has drawn attention to the thriving football culture surrounding Sheffield and its centrality to the survival of the Football Association in the 1860s and in a more recent article, this evidence is restated more succinctly. It is of no surprise, therefore, to note that Sheffield Football Club, formed in 1857, held their Annual Meeting at the Falcon Inn, Flat Street on Monday, January 30th, 1862 where ‘several alterations to the old rules were made, and new rules were adopted with a view to enlivening and increasing the interest in the game’. Additionally, the following Saturday afternoon was to be the site of a match ‘to be played opposite Stumperlow Hall…. between fourteen gentlemen and fourteen players of the Hallam club’ which was ‘exciting some interest on account of the rivalry which exists between the “gentlemen” and “players.”’ Most of the gentlemen are members of the Sheffield as well as of the Hallam club. The friends of both sides are equally confident of success. Confident they both might have been but during the game it was ‘evident from the first that the players had no chance whatever against their more active opponents. After two hours and a half of first rate play, the gentlemen obtained three goals: players, 0’. And the return match between the Hallam and Pitsmoor Clubs was played ‘on a Saturday at Pitsmoor, resulting in the former club’s victory, gaining two goals against Pitsmoor 0. Fourteen players on each side’. That number were, however, not present in the return match between as the match was held with ‘four of the Sheffield and six of the Norton Clubs’ and ‘took place on the grounds of the East bank, on Monday. Sheffield won 3 goals against two of their opponents, although the Norton side claimed a third which was not allowed by the rules of the game’. Again, it is noteworthy that these are small-sided games being played to rules that were not part of the mass football tradition usually played at Shrovetide, nor was it a game being played to the rules of any public school game.

On the 21st of April the rifle volunteers, comprising the 3rd Kent Administrative Battalion assembled on Chatham Lines for the purpose of battalion drill after which the whole of the troops were ‘released from duty’ and ‘engaged in cricket, football, &c.’. This was obviously a ‘one-off’ game but a number of matches are suggested in the report in the Leicester Chronicle when ‘the Mayor and Governors of Christ’s Hospital, Lincoln’ presented ‘the boys of the institution with a supply of cricket bats and balls, and also a football for the coming season’. Meanwhile, in the sports rich culture of Sheffield, the Football Club there had their annual sports competition at the ‘cricket-ground, Bramhall lane’. The local newspaper thought it noteworthy that ‘the day of these sports has become recognised as an occasion when the elite of the town keep holiday, and no annual outdoor event within the limits of Hallamshire is graced by so large and so fashionable an assemblage’ and ‘scarcely a family of note in this town and neighbourhood were unrepresented. Apparently, there were ‘upwards of 4,000 persons’ in attendance.
Back up in Scotland the ‘directors of the Abstainers Union’ had taken over ‘Gilmorehill grounds - which are forty acres in extent – with the intention of providing daily, and especially on Saturdays, during the Summer months, recreations and amusements amongst the people’. Evidently, various parts of the grounds were set aside for specific amusements including quoiting, ‘skittles, throwing the ball, Aunt Sally, running, leaping, football, swinging, &c.’. Similarly, the societies and the Bands of Hope of Tipton, Sedgley, Coseley, and neighbourhood held a ‘demonstration on the Wrens Nest Hill in Dudley, near Birmingham, where ‘the attendance was large and a rational day’s amusement followed…. the entertainments being diversified at times by archery, football, Mongolfier balloons, speeches, addresses, songs, &c.’. And in nearby Hagley Park about ‘6,000 persons in the grounds’ were entertained by ‘D’Alberte’s rope walking performances’ alongside ‘foot races, archery, football, and other minor amusements’. The same newspaper also reported the ‘close on 500’ children from ‘the Carr’s Lane, St. George’s and Circus Bands of Hope spent a pleasant afternoon together in a field in Wheeley’s Toad, kindly lent for the occasion by Mrs. Sturge’. The amusements provided for them included ‘three fire balloons’ as well as ‘cricket, football and other sports’. And children in Henbury, a village in Gloucestershire, also played numerous sports at a ‘gala day’ that took place to celebrate the christening of the ‘infant son of the esteemed vicar of the parish, the Rev. John H. Way’. At this ‘rural fete’ 400 children indulged in games of all kinds, ‘football, jumping in sacks, and running matches were the favourite sports of the boys’. Up in Lancashire, in the ‘usually quite village of Sefton’, children of the parish were ‘regaled with buns &c.’ after attending the rectory to congratulate the Rev. Rothwell on the marriage of his nephew, the Marquess De Rothwell, in London. After ‘performing various pieces of vocal and instrumental music’ the children ‘finished their day’s enjoyment with the sports of football, running races, & c.’. Marriage festivities, this time in the ‘quiet and retired village’ of South Scarle in Nottinghamshire, also included ‘football and dancing afterwards’.

The school treat was the site of many games of football across the country in this period and it is worth remembering that they would have been small-sided games and, therefore, would have been the sort of games that were closest to Association football when their rules were formulated from October, 1863 onwards. Indeed, ‘the boys of the Red-cross British school, to the number of 400’ had just such a treat when they were taken to a ‘pleasant rural spot, near the Duchess’s Woods, at Stapleton, near Bristol. There ‘the games of cricket, rounders, football, all-catchers, and other sports were freely indulged in, and kept up with much spirit till about five o’clock’. Similarly, ‘the Union Children had their annual-treat at East Hants Cricket-ground, Southsea. Cricket, football, climbing the pole, and other amusements were indulged in’. And in Hagbourn, a village about eleven miles south of Oxford, ‘the annual club feast was held at the ‘Fleur de Lis Inn’ and ‘after dinner had been partaken of, about 700 persons congregated in a meadow adjacent to the clubhouse, where football, cricket, quoits, and other manly sports were indulged in’. Meanwhile, the children of the Bengeworth National School received their annual school treat at the Mansion House, Bengeworth at Evesham in Worcestershire when ‘upwards of 400 were present, including friends…… cricket, foot-ball, trap, racing, jumping, swinging, and many other games passed away the time very pleasantly’.
It is unbelievable that these children would only play these games at a ‘treat’. How would they possibly know the rules of football that enabled them to play the game if this was the case? It is perfectly reasonable then to assume that they would already have that had that knowledge, gained from regular playing of the game, enabling them to participate in organized games as part of their ‘annual treat’. Even ‘a hundred patients of the Sussex Lunatic Asylum left the house at Hayward’s-heath’ to play the game. Apparently, ‘they left the asylum at 10.00a.m., arrived at Ditchling-common at 11.30, and then had lunch, consisting of bread, cheese, and homebrewed beer. They then commenced to play at cricket, football, trapball, &c., till 1.30, when they had a capital dinner’.\textsuperscript{120}

Annual Fetes have also been identified as events where football was played throughout the nineteenth century. Indeed, The Literary and Scientific Institution held their annual festival ‘on the grounds attached to Dudmaston Hall’ near Bridgnorth in Shropshire. ‘About 1,000 persons were conveyed to Dudmaston via the Severn Valley Railway, and about 500 or 600 more proceeded there in vehicles and on foot’. Once they got there, ‘the band of the 4th Shropshire was in attendance, and after tea numerous quadrille parties were formed. There were also archery and cricket matches, quoits, football, swinging, leaping, running, and the never-failing game of “kiss-in-the-ring”. The sports were kept up with good spirits till about nine o’clock’.\textsuperscript{121}

Overall, football was being played at all levels of society in the early 1860s, including small-sided games, prior to the codification of Association Football Rules, helping explain why working class players took so easily to the game in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Changing rules and codes was part of the football culture of the day and one more change was seen as ‘no big deal’.\textsuperscript{122} Finally, ‘Football’ or ‘Foot-ball’ games and matches were reported as such across the country in local newspapers and the re-classification of such nomenclatures by present day historians is totally unwarranted and can only be seen for what it is – an attempt to bolster a diminishing former dominant paradigm – and yet, aspects of this, still deserve to be retained and further refined into a new, yet fluid, account of the history of football in nineteenth century England. This ought then to be the basis of an ongoing revisionist history in which all can join, piecing together fragments of knowledge into an escalating but still partial quirt of ‘history’ that underscores the ongoing difficulty engendered in understanding the complexity of human cultural behaviour and the rich sporting cultural practices of ordinary people in the nineteenth century.
Notes

1 Collins, ‘Early Football’.


3 Collins, ‘Early Football’, 8.


5 James, Historical, 2.

6 The use of the term ‘football’ as opposed to ‘association football’ is deliberate and the historical influence and inter-relationship of one on the other is interesting and yet to be adequately understood.

7 James, Historical, 1-23 seems such a proposed ‘Grand Narrative’ and would be subject to the usual Marxist and Post-Modernist critiques.


9 Ibid.


11 Swain, ‘Early Football’.

12 James, Historical, 2.

13 Marwick, 11.

14 Swain, ‘Football and Cultural Continuity’, 14-15


17 Ibid, 8.

18 From ‘The Lesson for Yesterday’, Fischer, *Historians Fallacies*,130, which in full reads:-

Historians, rather like primitive moles,
Live purposeless lives in particular holes,
Which they dig with their noses, or else with their toeses,
(A few have invented small shovels and hoses),
They’re burrowing blindly in Byzantine tunnels
Constructed like sinuous serpentine funnels;
They’re burrowing busily, back to the past;
A steady regression to nowhere – fast.

19 Curry, Dunning and Sheard have previously challenged the idea that the Whig Theory of History can be applied to so-called figurational sociologists in 'Sociological versus Empiricist', 110–23.

20 ‘History from below’, exemplified by E.P. Thompson’s seminal work ‘The Making’ seems to have passed Curry and Dunning by.

21 Even in their own book Curry and Dunning, Association Football, 171, list some of the matches recorded up to 2014 from my article and none relate to pub football or publicans. Only my first article published in 2008, entitled ‘Cultural Continuity’, mentions publicans.

22 Curry, ‘Comments on Adrian Harvey’s Historiography’.

23 Sheffield & Rotherham Independent, Saturday, January 05, 1861, 5.

24 Sheffield & Rotherham Independent, Saturday, March 23, 1861, 6.

25 North Wales Chronicle, Saturday, January 5, 1861.

26 Berrow’s Worcester Journal, Saturday, January 12, 1861, 7.

27 Morning Post, Thursday, January 24, 1861, 7; Morning Chronicle, Thursday, January 24, 1861.

28 For an account of the Snape Case see the Essex Standard, and General Advertiser for the Eastern Counties, Friday, July 20, 1849.

29 Newcastle Courant etc., Friday, February 15, 1861.

30 Derby Mercury, Wednesday, February 20, 1861.

31 Sheffield & Rotherham Independent, Saturday, March 9, 1861, 6.

32 Isle of Wight Observer, Saturday, March 16, 1861.

33 Leicester Chronicle: or ,Commercial and Agricultural Advertiser, Saturday, February 16, 1861, 4.

34 Liverpool Mercury etc., Wednesday, April 3, 1861.

35 Dundee Courier and Daily Argus, Friday, April 26, 1861.
36 *Trewman’s Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*, Wednesday, May 8, 1861.

37 *Leeds Mercury*, Saturday, May 18, 1861.


39 *North Wales Chronicle*, Saturday, June 22, 1861.

40 *Aberdeen Journal*, Wednesday, June 19, 1861.

41 *Birmingham Daily Post*, Wednesday, May 22, 1861.

42 *Wrexham and Denbighshire Advertiser, and Cheshire, Shropshire and North Wales Register*, Saturday, June 1, 1861.

43 *Glasgow Herald*, Thursday, June 27, 1861.

44 *Essex Standard, and General Advertiser for the Eastern Counties*, Friday, May 24, 1861.

45 *Preston Guardian etc*, Wednesday, July 17, 1861.

46 *Liverpool Mercury etc*, Tuesday, July 23, 1861.

47 *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc*, Saturday, June 29, 1861.

48 *Dundee Courier and Daily Argus*, Friday, May 24, 1861.

49 *Isle of Wight Observer*, Saturday, June 29, 1861.


51 *Bristol Mercury*, Saturday, Saturday, July 27, 1861.

52 *Birmingham Daily Post*, Wednesday, July 31, 1861.

53 *Derby Mercury*, Wednesday, Wednesday, July 31, 1861.

54 *York Herald*, Saturday, August 03, 1861, 5.


56 *Daily News*, Friday, August 2, 1861.

57 *Caledonian Mercury*, Wednesday, July 17, 1861.

58 *Bristol Mercury*, Saturday, July 27, 1861.
59 *Lancaster Gazette, and General Advertiser for Lancashire, Westmoreland, Yorkshire & c*, Saturday, August 03, 1861, 5.

60 *Trewman’s Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser*, Wednesday, August 7, 1861.

61 *Daily News*, Saturday, August 10, 1861.

62 *Hampshire Advertiser*, Saturday, August 10, 1861, 2.

63 Ibid, 3.

64 *Wrexham and Denbighshire Advertiser, and Cheshire, Shropshire and North Wales Register*, Saturday, August 10, 1861.

65 *Ipswich Journal*, Saturday, August 17, 1861.

66 *Bristol Mercury*, Saturday, August 24, 1861.

67 *Isle of Wight Observer*, Saturday, August 24, 1861.

68 *Wrexham and Denbighshire Advertiser, and Cheshire, Shropshire and North Wales Register*, Saturday, Friday, Saturday, August 24, 1861.

69 *York Herald*, Saturday, August 24, 1861.

70 *Wrexham and Denbighshire Advertiser, and Cheshire, Shropshire and North Wales Register*, Saturday, Saturday, August 31, 1861.

71 Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, 56.

72 *Manchester Times*, Saturday, September 7, 1861.

73 *Newcastle Courant etc.*, Friday, September 13, 1861.

74 *Cheshire Observer and general Advertiser: for Cheshire and North Wales*, Saturday, September 14, 1861, 4.

75 *Hampshire Advertiser*, Saturday, September 21, 1861, 2.

76 *Essex Standard, and General Advertiser for the Eastern Counties*, Wednesday, October 2, 1861.

77 *Birmingham Daily Post*, Tuesday, September 24, 1861.

78 *Newcastle Courant etc.*, Friday, September 27, 1861.

79 *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, Friday, October 4, 1861, 3.
Sheffield & Rotherham Independent, Tuesday, November 5, 1861, 1.

Sheffield & Rotherham Independent, Saturday, November 23, 1861, 1. Sheffield Football Club advertised their match against the Norton Club as 12 of their players against 18 from the opposition.

Sheffield & Rotherham Independent, Saturday, December 5, 1861. The game took 2 hours to complete and Norton won 4-0.

Nottinghamshire Guardian, Thursday, October 24, 1861, 8.

Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc., Saturday, May 18, 1861.

Liverpool Mercury, Wednesday, November 6, 1861.

Birmingham Daily Post, Saturday, November 30, 1861.

Sheffield & Rotherham Independent, Saturday, December 30, 1861.

Nottinghamshire Guardian, Tuesday, December 31, 1861, 8.

Sheffield & Rotherham Independent, Wednesday, January 1, 1862, .See also The Penny Illustrated Paper, Saturday, 04, 1862, 6.

Sheffield & Rotherham Independent, Monday, January 06, 1862; 1,3.

Sheffield & Rotherham Independent, Monday January 13, 1862, 3.

Sheffield & Rotherham Independent, Tuesday, January 14, 1862.


Examiner, Saturday, January 25, 1862.

Nottinghamshire Guardian, Tuesday, January 21, 1862, 5.

Swain, ‘Continuing Demise’, 2213.

Trewman’s Exeter Flying Post or Plymouth and Cornish Advertiser, Wednesday, January 29, 1862.

Harvey, Football. Swain and Harvey, ‘On Bosworth’.
References


