

Boys at Play: Football in Elementary Schools

by Colm Kerrigan (dsj@ioe.ac.uk)

Contextualisation

For the first 35 years after the UK Education Act of 1870, which empowered locally-elected school boards to make provision for elementary-school places for all children who needed them, outdoor games did not officially form part of the elementary-school curriculum, despite their prevalence in preparatory, public and grammar schools. A recent book has explained in detail how drill was established and promoted in elementary schools and how this in turn was supplemented by various forms of physical exercises (Penn, 1999). Towards the end of the nineteenth century the value of outdoor games for elementary-school pupils was acknowledged and in 1898 the Education Department published a 'Special Report' on the voluntary work of teachers who were organizing games as extra-curricular activities in elementary schools. It was not until 1906 that football, cricket, hockey and other team games officially became an optional part of the elementary-school curriculum (McIntosh, 1979, p 147). From as early as the 1880s, however, many boys in London elementary schools *did* have opportunities to play outdoor games, albeit after school hours. These games were organized by teachers through voluntary elementary-school sports associations, of which those for association football were the most prominent. The main findings of my research into these voluntary associations relates to the efforts and motivations of teachers, the relevance of the associations' work to scholars and schools, the influence of the associations in having games eventually established as part of the elementary-school curriculum, the contribution of the associations to the development of amateur and professional football in the London area and to the role of teachers in promoting association football as the national game.

Abstract: *This article focuses on the contribution of schoolboy football to three aspects of elementary education in late nineteenth and early twentieth century London schools. These are its benefits individually and collectively to scholars who played it, its role in promoting improved relationships between scholars and teachers in elementary schools and the role of football in identifying these schools as educational institutions that were to become focal points of local communities. Sources investigated include the records of schoolboy football associations, school log books, newspaper reports, published autobiographies of players and a 'Special Report' by the Education Department on the voluntary work of teachers in promoting games as extra-curricular activities in elementary schools. While the benefits to health, character training and social development of the boys who played football at their elementary schools are difficult to assess a century later, it is concluded that the value of learning football skills at an early age was important for their proficiency at the game. The extent of the improved relationships between teacher and taught that followed the introduction of football, although exaggerated by some games advocates, was nevertheless likely to have been significant. Finally, by the time of World War One, elementary-school football had helped identify the elementary school as an established and recognised part of the local community.*

Introduction

The earliest schoolboy football association (SFA) of which we have any knowledge was that formed through the initiative of W.J. Wilson, headteacher of Oldridge Road School, Balham, in 1885. This was the South London Schools' Football Association (SLSFA), which still exists today. Its early minutes have been examined and show that membership of the Association

was open to Board and Voluntary elementary schools in the area on payment of a fee of five shillings, that an inter-schools football competition under Football Association (FA) rules was to be held annually between affiliated schools, that only boys on the school role were permitted to take part and that 'no Paid Monitor, Candidate or Pupil Teacher will be eligible to play in any match whatsoever'. Wilson was elected secretary, a local vicar became president and an organising committee was formed from representatives of affiliated schools (Min SLSFA, 20 Oct 1885). Fifteen schools took part in the inaugural competition, the final of which was played on Tooting Common early in 1886. A challenge trophy, paid for by voluntary subscriptions from schools, was presented to the winning team and medals were awarded to the winners and runners up (Min SLSFA, 5 Feb 1886).

The Tower Hamlets SFA was founded in 1888 and, with a larger number of affiliated schools than South London, felt confident enough to challenge the latter to what became the first inter-association match (Min SLSFA, 18 Dec 1888). Several other schoolboy football associations were founded in London over the next few years, including West Ham (1890), West London and Hackney (both 1891). As disputes about the application of FA rules to schoolboy matches often arose when schools from different associations played each other, Wilson organized a meeting of teachers in 1892 to try to standardize the way schoolboy matches were conducted throughout London. This led to the formation of the London SFA (LSFA) as an umbrella organization to which nearly all schoolboy football associations in or near London affiliated (Min LSFA, 11 Oct 1892). The standardization of rules was easily accomplished and the LSFA then directed its attention to the possibility of associations competing against each other (Min LSFA, 4 July 1893). A trophy was donated by the strictly amateur Corinthian Football Club for an inter-association competition (the Corinthian Shield) that began in the 1893-4 season and Sherif Dewar presented a shield for a London-wide inter-schools' competition that began in 1898-9 (the Dewar Shield). Both trophies are still contested today.

By the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there were around 20 schoolboy football associations affiliated to the LSFA, all with their own league or cup competitions, many of them graded to account for schools of different sizes and different standards of play. While the exact number of elementary schools taking part in every association is not known, an estimate based on those for which figures are known suggests that about 300 elementary schools throughout London were taking part in competitions, many of them having two teams and some of them three. Newspaper reports of matches and entries in the minutes of the SLSFA confirm that good sportsmanship and high standards were demanded from players. When a complaint about the rudeness of a boy playing in one of their matches was received, the SLSFA committee agreed to send a letter to all affiliated schools 'asking them to caution their boys as to their behaviour during any match' (Min SLSFA, 30 Nov 1887).

The often ambiguous attitude of school boards and Her Majesty's Inspectors (HMIs) to the teachers' voluntary efforts to promote football among elementary-school pupils cannot be examined here, except to say that both were influenced not so much by any disapproval of games as such, but by concerns over the daunting financial implications of making provision for all scholars in cities to play them. Nor can the motives of teachers taking teams be considered in detail, although it may be noted that many of them had attended training colleges where there was an emphasis on the value of games similar to that which prevailed in public schools, some had themselves been football players of a good standard, several were referees or amateur football club officials and many were influenced by ideas about the value of healthy exercise in the fresh air as an effective countermeasure to 'physical deterioration'. Most were members of the National Union of Elementary Teachers (NUET, which became the NUT in 1889) and some of them were active in the Union's Benevolent Purposes Committee. Profits made on high-profile schoolboy matches were donated to the Teachers' Benevolent Fund, that between London and Sheffield in 1892, for example, benefiting the Fund by the then

considerable sum of £100 (Sm, 8 Oct 1892). The indefatigable Wilson was involved in an unsuccessful attempt to found a national organization to promote elementary-school football in the 1890s and when a successful attempt was made the following decade, it was initiated by another teacher who had gained his experience of schoolboy football in London while secretary of the Tottenham SFA (FS, 5 Dec 1903). This was T.J. Thomas, at this time a teacher in the National School, Llanrwst, North Wales and national secretary of the NUT's Benevolent Purposes Committee, the local secretaries of which helped him locate all existing schoolboy football associations in the country. The English Schools' Football Association (ESFA) was formed by representatives of these local associations in 1904 (Min ESFA, 9 Jul, 5 Nov 1904). The ESFA organized a national inter-association championship the following year for a trophy presented by the Benevolent Purposes Committee. It was contested by 19 associations, including Sheffield and Manchester (both founded 1889), Nottingham (1891) and Sunderland (1893). The first final of the English Schools' Shield, as the new competition became known, was played during the NUT's annual conference at Llandudno on Easter Monday, 1905 (Sm, 29 Apr 1905). With the exception of the years of World War Two, it has been contested every season since, although the Shield was replaced by a new trophy in 1938 (Min ESFA, 12 Jun 1937).

Benefits to Boys in Elementary Schools

Wilson, in his submission to the Department of Education's 'Special Report' on games in elementary-schools in 1898, claimed to have noticed the 'difference in the physique' of scholars who had played football and those who had not (Quoted in Sharples, 1898, p 164). The earliest handbooks of the SLSFA have not survived but an extract from one of them in the *Football 'Sun'* in 1899 suggests that the physical benefits boys derived from playing football in the open air were so apparent as not to need justification. As certain as the physical benefits, the extract continued, were 'the lessons of courage, self-reliance, decision and unselfishness, which must have made an impression on the 10,000 scholars' (FS, 14 Oct 1899). How well the 10,000 boys who had played in the first 14 years of the Association's competitions had learnt these lessons cannot be verified a century later, but it is of interest to note that the moral purpose of games formed an element in the South London SFA's aspirations and was resonant of public-school attitudes towards the value of games. Boys' clubs associated with public-school missions and university settlements in working-class areas of London had in fact preceded the work of elementary-school teachers in trying to transform the street football of the boys into the rule-regulated game of association football, played in a spirit of fair play, on marked-out pitches in appropriate kit (Pilkington, 1896, pp 82-3, 114-15).

Most of the boys in these clubs had already left school and in any case their number was minute compared to the vast number of scholars in the elementary schools. A school with a football team, therefore, could offer boys their first opportunity to train for and play the game under FA rules. How well they were taught the game varied from school to school, but there is evidence that many of the teachers who trained teams were highly competent and knowledgeable. Harry Earle, a teacher at Godwin Road School in Forest Gate, was a founder-member of the West Ham SFA and trainer of many successful school and district teams. As well as being good enough a goalkeeper to play with Notts County in the Football League, he was the author of a booklet on how to run a junior team. John Schumacher, who trained teams at Wilton Road School in Dalston that were prominent in Hackney SFA and London SFA competitions for many years, was chosen as referee for the 1912 FA Cup final. The schoolboy football associations encouraged high standards of training and offered guidance to teachers who needed it. A.J. Sargeant, chairman of the SLSFA, for example, read a paper to teachers on 'How to manage a School Football Club' (Min SLSFA, 21 Nov 1888).

A reading of football reports in the *Stratford Express* in the early years of the twentieth century confirms that the football training given by teachers was seen as being of crucial importance to

the boys' development as players. Over and over again, when a player made a breakthrough into a higher level of football or when a written profile of a successful player appeared in its pages, there was a reference to the player's elementary-school football career. The 1909 profile of Herbert Pearce, then an outstanding amateur with Leytonstone and later a professional with Fulham, pointed out that he had learnt the game 'under the able tuition of that all-round sportsman, Corney Beal' who had been his teacher at Park School, West Ham (SE, 4 Sep 1909).

Some players later acknowledged their debt to the elementary-school teacher who had trained them. Sunderland, Arsenal and England player Charles Bucan, for example, recorded in his autobiography how he was taught to head the ball correctly by his teacher in Bloomfield Road Higher Grade School, for which he had played in Woolwich SFA competitions (Buchan, 1955, p 10). Harold Hardinge, one of the small number of players to represent England at both football and cricket, later paid a tribute to the teachers who trained the teams in which he played at Blackheath Road School that won the Greenwich SFA competitions. The masters he wrote, were 'men who had played the game themselves and knew how to get the best out of a boy, both in his lessons and in the sports of the school' (Hardinge, 1914-15, p 202).

When Old Etonian and prospective parliamentary candidate Herbert Robertson visited London Fields School in 1892 he 'presented the (school) Football Club with jerseys and a new ball' (LF, 19 Jan 1892). More usual was the case of boys in school football clubs having to raise funds themselves to cover kit and travel costs. In their engagement with fund-raising events like magic-lantern shows, the boys seem to have enjoyed a degree of independence and discretion within a school system that was highly regulated and directed from above. At an individual level, a boy with ability at football could have his successful mastery of the game acknowledged within the context of his education at an elementary school, rather like Siegfried Sassoon's talent at cricket was allowed expression in his preparatory school (Wilson, 1999, p 87).

The status conferred on a boy by playing for his school or district was further enhanced by reports of matches on the sports pages of local newspapers. In addition, schoolboy football offered the most promising boys, through its inter-association competition, the opportunity to be seen playing at a level that was acknowledged and noticed by influential figures in football. During the Christmas holidays at the end of 1903, the London SFA arranged a match between Tottenham SFA and the rest of London in order to pick a team to represent London against Edinburgh in an inter-city schoolboy match. The *Football 'Sun'* reported that all the directors of Tottenham Hotspur, on whose pitch the match was played, had attended the game, 'looking out for talent perhaps' (FS, 2 Jan 1904). Commenting on the game, the local paper noticed the talent of a 'tall West Ham youth' named Charlie Rance, at that time aged 13 (TEWH, 8 Jan 1904). Six years later Rance signed for Tottenham and played for the club with distinction for many years.

Football training at dinnertime or after school like that at Ruckholt Road School, Leyton, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, was often a school's only extra-curricular activity (RR, 17 Oct 1898). Matches against other schools became regular Saturday morning events throughout the winter months and the available evidence indicates that the boys enjoyed them. A journalist from a football newspaper visited Victoria Park to see schoolboy matches one Saturday morning in 1899, and found it 'alive with boy players, and everyone seemed happy' (FS, 14 Oct 1899). The boys were also prepared to make sacrifices to attend them. When boys from Poplar schools had to play their matches in Victoria Park in 1887, they walked there and back, a journey of two miles each way (EEN, 11 Jun 1887).

Relations between teachers and scholars

Matches between schools, the treasurer of the Hackney SFA wrote, enabled teachers 'to stimulate friendly rivalry among the boys' (HG, 21 Mar 1892). This was a way of directing into acceptable channels the spirit of rivalry between schools, especially those in close proximity to each other, which often took the form of stone-throwing or worse. Football was also seen as a means of harnessing the energy of troublesome pupils. Canning Town Boys, under the control of the West Ham School Board, was a particularly difficult school, where order was maintained by the liberal use of the cane. When a new headteacher was appointed in 1893, the visiting HMI, J. Rankine, felt confident the school would move forward under his leadership, adding that the 'successful establishment of a Football Club is already a step in the right direction'. (CT, 12 Apr 1893)

The potential of a school football club as an aid in maintaining discipline has led John Hargreaves to suggest that schoolboy football associations were promoted by teachers,

who took upon themselves the role of youth workers, as a strategy for controlling their pupils' free time, with the objective of making them more amenable to school discipline. In 1885 teachers were thus responsible for the South London Football League and by 1890 there were highly competitive school leagues up and down the country. (Hargreaves, 1987, p 62)

The surviving records of the South London SFA and the pronouncements of its officers do not support this interpretation of the intentions of the teachers who trained teams and organized matches. The early minutes make no reference at all to discipline, except that which relates to the behaviour of boys while playing inter-school matches. All discussions recorded relate almost entirely to the arrangements for matches on available pitches and the resolution of disputes in a fair and amicable manner. When, at schoolboy football association events like presentation evenings or annual general meetings, attempts were made to evaluate the benefits for boys, these were usually defined in terms of improvements to health or character. In an address at the presentation evening of the Tower Hamlets SFA, Lionel Hammond, MP, claimed that football gave the boys,

a whiff of the health and vigour of country life which no other sport could do in the crowded metropolis. It stimulated both the mental and physical faculties ...made them better citizens, and it developed pluck' endurance and skill of the first rank, preparing them for the roughs and tumbles of after life, ... (EEN, 8 May 1897)

The extract from the South London SFA handbook, to which reference was made above, mentioned the pride the Association had taken in bringing about through its competitions 'more cordial relations between school and school, and between teachers and taught'. A newspaper article on Wilson's Oldridge Road School preceded its remarks on the football and cricket teams there with the observation that the teachers 'always tried to make the children like the school'. (SLP, 25 Apr 1885)

When football was considered in the context of school discipline teachers were careful to emphasize that, while discipline may have improved following the introduction of football into a school, such improvement was the product of the better relationships between scholars and teachers rather than of playing the game as such. Interviewed in the South London Press, Tom Haydock, Wilson's successor as secretary of the South London SFA, pointed out that the improved discipline was the product of better relationships. For, he said,

the introduction of football has perceptively improved the physical and general bearing of the boys. It has created such a splendid feeling between teachers and taught that the tone and discipline of the school can scarcely be surpassed. (SLP, 10 Apr 1897)

George Sharples, founder of the Manchester SFA and author of the 'Special Report' of 1898, noted that many masters, besides those in charge of teams, attended schoolboy matches on Saturday mornings, adding that 'the masters and pupils are thus brought into close contact with each other out of school on the field of play, and a spirit of comradeship and mutual respect, aye, and of deep affection is created, fostered and encouraged' (Sharples, 1898, p 160). At a function to celebrate 21 years of its work at the beginning of 1912, the secretary of the West Ham SFA went even further than Sharples in his example of how football had brought about 'a better feeling between the teachers and the boys'. When he first came to West Ham, he said,

it was a case of 'Old so and so' and perhaps a brick after him, but now, even in the poorest parts, a lad would lift his cap to his teacher. Football had done that. The boys looked upon their teachers as their friends, and he believed that the good tone existing in the schools was due to that good comradeship between teachers and boys on the football pitch. (SE, 3 Feb 1912)

A log book entry in a Hackney school suggested that successful school teams were the product of good relationships between teachers and scholars:

The excellent spirit existing between the staff and the boys is exemplified by the results obtained in swimming, football and cricket, the junior cup for the latter having been obtained this year. (BR, 32 Aug 1906)

Competition between schools was necessary to maintain enthusiasm, according to T.C. Pear, secretary of the London SFA in his submission to the 'Special Report', and Sharples felt that pride in a school's achievements, in the context of good relationships between teacher and taught, was only one step away from 'the cultivation of pride in every branch of the school work'. (Sharples, 1898 pp 161, 166) The submission from Leicester SFA affirmed that boys who played in teams 'try better with their lessons than was formally the case'. (Quoted in Sharples, 1898, p 165)

Elementary-schools and local communities

The 'Special Report' drew attention to the support of parents of boys who played in school football matches, especially when the proceeds were directed towards charitable purposes (Sharples, 1898, p 163). Another way that football helped bring school and local community closer together was the formation of elementary-school 'old-boy' football clubs. These were first formed in the 1890s and consisted of the past pupils of elementary schools where the boys wished to continue playing football together after leaving school. Teachers were often involved in the founding and running of these clubs. A.S. Orford, the founder of Old Newportonians FC in 1896, for example, was the teacher in charge of the team at Newport Road School, Leyton. A speaker at the AGM of Page Green Old Boys FC in 1903, attended by the headteacher and the teacher who trained the football team at Page Green School, pointed out the benefits of the experience gained by members of the Club committee - all youths who had recently left the school - in working together and in acquiring 'a truer and better idea of what business meant'. (TEWH, 13 Nov 1903)

These 'old boy' teams, clearly an imitation of the public-school 'old boy' teams which were prominent in amateur football competitions at the time, helped forge links between present and past scholars and between the world of school and the world of work long before the advent of parent-teacher associations and careers' advisory services. Reports of 'old boy' matches in the local press often appeared on the same pages as those of the school the players had attended. Some reports even made comparisons between the style of players in an 'old boy' team and their style when they had played for their school team. (TEWH, 19 Feb 1904)

How much these links between school and community helped raise the profile of the Victorian and Edwardian elementary school is difficult to quantify, but there is evidence that by the time of World War One the elementary school had become recognised as a respected feature of local communities and that football had played a part in this recognition. A regular practice in reporting fatalities, woundings or awards for outstanding bravery in the *Stratford Express* from the first weeks of World War One was the identification of the young servicemen by the elementary schools they had attended. Sometimes the contribution to the war of a particular school was highlighted, as when two of the estimated 300 past scholars of St Anthony's RC School, Forest Gate, serving in the forces, were awarded military medals for bravery in the same week (SE, 25 Mar 1915). News of the achievements of individual servicemen was sometimes accompanied by an appraisal of their character by their 'old' headteacher or by reference to their accomplishments while at school. When Private H.S. Woodruffe was wounded by a shell near La Basse at the end of 1915, it was noted that he had been a scholar at Godwin Road School, Forest Gate, and that he had 'played football under Mr Harry Earle for the school' (SE, 22 Jan 1916). When 21-year-old Thomas Claydon was killed in action the following year, it was recorded that he had attended Newport Road School, Leyton, and that while there he had been good enough a footballer to have been selected for the London SFA representative side that played Glasgow (SE, 4 Nov 1916).

There is evidence also that school sport was a subject that formed a significant link for many servicemen between life at the front and their former lives in peacetime. A letter from a Private Johnstone, who was serving at the front in 1915, thanked his 'old' headteacher for the players he had trained as boys who were now helping Johnstone's battalion win matches behind the lines (SLP, 3 Sep 1915). When future Clapton Orient and England player John Townrow was selected for the England schoolboy team to play Wales in 1915, he received a letter from a past scholar of his school, Pelly Memorial, West Ham, where the teacher who trained the team was A.H. Mann, quoted earlier in this article. The writer of the letter was serving in France and, having congratulated Townrow on the honour he had brought to the school, he concluded as follows: 'In the trenches out here I often think of West Ham schoolboy football, and wish I was back seeing a match between Pelly and Credon. Remember me kindly to Mr Mann' (SE, 1 May 1915).

Pride in the achievements of the school football team seems to have served as a link between Central Park Road School, East Ham and past scholars serving at the front. The school was prominent in East Ham SFA and London SFA competitions both before and during the war. An article on the school in the local paper in 1917 included the following:

Many of the letters Mr Cook (the headteacher) receives from those of his old boys on service – and he has had no less than 123 – are inspired by a wish to congratulate the school on the maintenance of its sporting traditions. After the winning of the Dewar Shield last year letters of congratulation came in from young soldiers wherever the British Army are to be found. (WHH, 11 May 1917)

How much football and other elementary-school games may have contributed to the war effort is difficult to determine, but they were certainly believed by their advocates to have been significant. In its annual report for 1916-17 the ESFA justified the continuation of its programme throughout the war on the grounds that it contributed to the physical and moral development of the young and that there was evidence that soldiers who had played outdoor games recovered quicker from their wounds than those who did not.

Conclusions

The actual extent of the physical benefits that boys derived from outdoor games is impossible to verify a century later, but it is of interest that the HMI responsible for eventually having them formally included as acceptable options on the elementary-school curriculum based his arguments in their favour largely on the measured physical improvements to boys in a school which had taken an active part in South London Schools' football cricket and athletics competitions (Graves, 1904, pp 895-6). The early training of the boys in football skills and their participation in inter-school matches not only contributed to their raised self esteem but offered them the only chance available at the time to learn those skills at an age which is now known to be the optimal one for their efficient mastery. So much is this the case that the FA has, since 1997, taken over the football education of the better players in this age group and placed it in the hands of professional coaches at Football Academies and Schools of Excellence attached to professional clubs.

While there is evidence that the introduction of football into schools contributed to a better relationship between teacher and taught, some claims, like that of A.H. Mann, who attributed improved respect for teachers *solely* to football, need to be treated with circumspection. Many other factors were at work to create the conditions for improved relationships within the elementary school. New ideas on the role of the school in the provision of child welfare led to the introduction of school meals and medical services, for example. Many teachers are known to have been involved in promoting these services, both practically within the school and outside by involvement with political parties that supported them (Williams, Iven and Morse, 2001, pp 39-40; Lawn, 1987, p 9). This direct engagement in children's welfare inevitably helped break down barriers between teachers and taught. Some teachers went beyond the provision of welfare services to bring 'a missionary zeal to the civilizing task' of the elementary school (Davin, 1996, p 141). More directly related to the classroom was the abolition of payment by results and the reduction of the strain on teachers and scholars alike. Lawson and Silver correctly identify the introduction of games as a factor in the gradual improvements to the elementary-school curriculum at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Lawson and Silver, 1973, p 381). They attribute their introduction, however, to the growth of municipal amenities, which undoubtedly helped, rather than to the voluntary work of teachers, as identified in this article.

More evidence from other areas would be needed to establish fully the part that games may have played in having the elementary school recognised as a distinctive part of the community it served by the time of World War One. Further research on issues relating to the role of games in the elementary-school before and during World War One might also prove of value. Did the games that servicemen played in their elementary schools, for example, help them relate to their officers, so many of whom had a background in public-school games? Such research could not only improve our understanding of the elementary school but also help us to assess its contribution to the conduct and winning of the war, a contribution that contemporaries believed was a significant one. At a function to commemorate the memory of John Cornwell, the boy hero of the Battle of Jutland, an address was given by the Rt Hon Dr Macnamara, Minister of War, who had himself been an elementary-school teacher (Betts, 1999, pp 14-20). Among other things, he said that the teachers at Walton Road Council School, East Ham, 'had taught the young Cornwell to learn the British lesson and to be filled with the British spirit' (SE, 16 Sep 1916). The president of the East Ham Branch of the NUT, referring to General French's praise for the men under his command, emphasised that the men concerned were products of the elementary-school system (SE, 30 Jan 1915). As with improved relationships between teachers and scholars and the recognition of the elementary school as a significant part of the local community, many other factors besides games were involved in the elementary-school contribution to the war. This article suggests that in any

detailed study of this contribution, the games factor is one that could no longer be lightly dismissed.

References

Books and Articles

Betts, R. (1999) *Dr Macnamara 1861-1931*. Liverpool: University Press.

Buchan, C. (1955) *A Lifetime in Football*. London: Phoenix House.

Davin, A. (1996) *Growing Up Poor: Home, School and Street in London 1870-1914*. London: Rivers Oram Press.

Graves, A. P. (1904) Physical Education in primary schools. *The Contemporary Review*, 85.

Hardinge, H. (1914-5) How Football Stands Today. *The Boys Own Annual*, 37.

Hargreaves, J. (1987) *Sport, Power and Culture*. London: Polity Press.

Lawn, M. (1987) *Servants of the State: The Contested Control of Teaching 1900-1930*. Lewes: Falmer Press.

Lawson, J. and Silver, H. (1973) *A Social History of Education in England*. London: Methuen.

McIntosh, P. (1979) *Physical Education in England Since 1800*. London: Bell and Hyman.

Penn, A. (1999) *Targeting Schools: Drill, Militarism and Imperialism*. London: Woburn Press.

Pilkington, E. M. S. (1896) *An Eton Playing Field: A Reminiscence of Happy Days Spent at the Eton Mission*. London: Arnold.

Sharples, G. (1898) The organisation of games out of school hours for the children attending public elementary schools in the large industrial centres, as voluntarily undertaken by the teachers. *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, 2. Parliamentary Papers XXIV.

Williams, A. S., Ivin, P. and Morse, C. (2001) *The Children of London: Attendance And Welfare at School 1870-1990*. London: Institute of Education.

Wilson, J. M. (1999) *Siegfried Sassoon: The Making of a War Poet: A Biography 1886-1918*. London: Duckworth.

Newspapers

East End News (EEN)
Football 'Sun' (FS)
Hackney Gazette (HG)
Schoolmaster (Sm)
South London Press (SLP)
Stratford Express (SE)
Tottenham and Edmonton Weekly Herald (TEWH)
West Ham Herald (WHH)

Other sources

School Log Books

London Metropolitan Archives: Berkshire Road (BR), London Fields (LF)
Newham Archives and Social Studies Library: Canning Town (CT)
Vestry House Museum: Ruckholt Road (RR)

Records of Schoolboy Football Associations

English Schools' Football Association, Minutes (Min ESFA)
London Schools' Football Association, Minutes (Min LSFA)
South London Schools' Football Association, Minutes (Min SLSFA)

I am grateful to Malcolm Berry, Reg Winters and Terry Richards of the ESFA, LSFA and SLSFA respectively for permission to examine their associations' records.