



The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America: A Mainly English Middle-Class Inspiration?

J A Mangan

To cite this article: J A Mangan (2011) The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America: A Mainly English Middle-Class Inspiration?, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 18:3, 9-42, DOI: [10.1080/714001585](https://doi.org/10.1080/714001585)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/714001585>



Published online: 08 Sep 2010.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 314



View related articles [↗](#)

The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America: A Mainly English Middle-Class Inspiration?

J.A. MANGAN

To begin in a sense at the end with three significant quotations:

The Consequences of the 'Expansion of Europe'

The rise and fall of the modern colonial empires have changed dramatically the human geography of the planet. The 'expansion of Europe' which began in the late fifteenth century ... led, sometimes intentionally sometimes not, to the destruction of entire peoples who had been born and reared in colonies and whose futures, and sense of identity, were markedly divergent from those of either the European invaders or the societies of the Aboriginal populations. In its final phase it also created new states, and new political forms, or renewed and transformed versions of older political types, one of which – democratic republicanism – was to become the dominant ideology of the modern industrialised world.¹

And;

From European Hegemony to American Hegemony

In the nineteenth century [there] was the Industrial Revolution, of which Great Britain was the driving force. She effortlessly displaced Spain and Portugal in South America in order to sell her industrial products and to control the commercial networks. The new states ran into debt to acquire the marvels of British production and the British were satisfied with simply doing business. Thus a sort of new colonial pact got under way: it linked the interests of European industrialists to the local leading classes. But soon the former had gained control over the economy of the

10

Sport in Latin American Society

country. Great Britain was actually the ruling power in Peru and in Argentina; German capitalists secured the coffee trade in Guatemala; American companies took possession of the sugar-cane lands in Cuba.²

And;

Aspects and Effects of the Unification of the World

One of the leading features of colonization was to set in motion the process of the unification of the world.³

One further quotation of significance:

An Absence of Moral Hegemony

In 'Latin' America the British had not imparted a moral or ideological tone to their economic domination. Granted, they averred they were acting in the name of civilization in Africa or elsewhere, but not in 'Latin' America. Here they conducted business, as usual, and they were satisfied with concrete advantages ... on the contrary, the Americans wanted to export their original puritanism ... The 'Yankees' wanted to lead the South Americans to a 'healthy' management of their business ... what to the South Americans appeared like hypocritical cunning, designed to control their budget and their country, was actually something more than a mere tactic. It was a real strategy ... educational moralism was used to justify very evident material advantages, but its main goal was to perpetuate a relationship of domination.⁴

Now statements on colonialism of insight, clarity and shrewdness:

Colonialism was neither monolithic nor unchanging through history ... It is tempting but wrong to ascribe either intentionality or systematicity to a congerie of activities and a conjunction of outcomes that, though related and at times coordinated, were usually diffuse, disorganized, and even contradictory.⁵

And;

... in certain important ways, *culture* [emphasis added] was what colonialism was all about. Cultural forms in newly classified 'traditional' societies were reconstructed and transformed by and through colonial technologies of conquest and rule, which created

The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America 11

new categories and oppositions between colonizers and colonized, European and Asian, modern and traditional, West and East, even male and female.⁶

And;

... many ... now believe that colonialism is what culture is all about. And if this is so, there are grounds to suggest that the interdisciplinary study of colonial histories and societies provides the basis for major theoretical advances in the elaboration of a new, critical 'historical anthropology'.⁷

This essay is a study in 'historical anthropology' linking man, history, culture, sport as culture and cultural imperialism, cultural hegemony and cultural emulation.⁸ Of course cultural influence frequently, if not invariably, goes hand in hand with political or commercial dominance. As has been noted of Latin America:

Cultural export through political dominance was achieved partially within Latin America's various colonial empires, but cultural export ... through commercial competition and dominance has become more the case over the last century, as new technologies, monopolistic structures, and power imbalances have given rise to 'general processes of cultural dominance and then of cultural dependence'.⁹

Three books on imperialism and colonialism pregnant with imaginative possibilities for the cultural analyst justifiably intrigued, startled and even mesmerized by the power of modern sport¹⁰ to induce global rapture, to engage innumerable national societies, to intoxicate or enrage countless communities large and small, have provided the introductory insights set out earlier: *Lords of all the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c.1500–c.1800* by Anthony Pagden, *Colonization: A Global History* by Mark Ferro and *Colonialism and Culture* edited by Nicholas B. Dirks.

THE ROLE OF THE ENGLISH MIDDLE CLASS

A preliminary remark of some importance – Allen Guttman, a profoundly thoughtful analyst of the significance of modern sport, has striven laudably to provide a mature analytical model that explains the phenomenon of modern 'Ludic diffusion'. He offers three concepts: cultural imperialism, cultural hegemony and cultural emulation.¹¹ All

three play a part in what follows.¹² They must be used with prudence, they are not discreet and further, different weight might usefully be given to each term as circumstances demand. It is a sophisticated analytical trio.

At the onset, it is helpful to be reminded that Latin America:

is physically and culturally most complex. Among some 30 countries, populations reach from Caribbean micro-states of 100,000 to Brazil's nearly 140 million. Economic activities encompass primitive subsistence agriculture, extensive commercialised farming and sophisticated mechanized industry. Similarly, standards of living range from Venezuela's oil-financed \$4000 annual per capita gross national product to Haiti's impoverished £320. Argentina, Cuba and Costa Rica boast of literacy rates of 90 per cent or higher, while a dozen countries or more struggle to stay above 50–60 per cent. The majority of Latin Americans speak Spanish but Brazil's legions communicate in Portuguese and significant minorities speak French, Dutch, English and various Amerindian languages such as Quechua, Aymara, Guarani and distinct Mayan dialects. Political systems cover the spectrum from open democracies [Costa Rica, Venezuela, and more] through dictatorships [Paraguay] to the socialist states of Cuba and Nicaragua.¹³

Before taking up the paint brush to sketch in the beginnings of modern sport in Latin America, or more specifically Argentina, it might be helpful to make it quite clear that late nineteenth and twentieth century imperialism has been more associated with financial capital and cultural creations than conquest and conquistadors and that these modern forms of imperialism can be influential even in situations of political independence. This situation constitutes imperialism without colonization and, it has been suggested, has been developed 'in its purer form in Latin America'.¹⁴

I shall paint in one small historical part of this complex canvas – the early role of the English middle class¹⁵ in the diffusion of modern sport in Latin America. It is a relatively neglected part, this role of the English middle class in the evolution of modern sport – in England and beyond England, in Empire and beyond Empire in, for example, Latin America.

Regarding Latin America, there is at least one paradox; namely 'the efforts of Latin Americans to employ basically European cultural forms

The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America 13

[including sports] to implement a fundamentally European construct – the construction of a nation state ... all for the purpose of differentiating themselves from Europeans, North Americans and perhaps each other.’¹⁶ I shall point up a further paradox – namely, that while the Anglo-Saxon *Homo Ludens Imperiosus* considered games as part of the imperial civilising process,¹⁷ in Latin America such a powerful belief is far less evident. Indeed, in one location where the English public school was most admiringly recreated, Argentina, which has been called ‘The Forgotten Colony’, apparently it was mostly non-existent.

For the English, modern games in Argentina were a means of fashioning a cultural umbilical cord to their mother country. For the English these games were initiated mostly by themselves and for themselves, energetically pursued and had no wider major purpose. They had, however, an important serendipitous cultural outcome. This too will receive brief attention. It may have been the desire of some intellectuals, educators and politicians such as the Argentines Domingo F. Sarmiento and Juan Baptista Alberdi (who ‘considered English “the language of liberty, industry and order” and wanted it taught in all Argentine schools’¹⁸) to advance civilized behaviour in Latin America by means of the espousal of European political, social, cultural and educational practices, including for some, the sports mainly of the English middle classes but that was certainly not the intention of the English, or other Britons, in Argentina to the extent that it was in Empire.

In the brief space at my disposal, I will concentrate on the English middle class and its indirect influence on, and purpose in, Latin America with close and specific reference to Argentina. This chapter will demonstrate briefly how this influence was perhaps surprisingly out of step with its influence and purpose within the British Empire.

ADAPTION, ADJUSTMENT, RECONSTRUCTION
AND REINTERPRETATION

Paul Henderson has summed up as neatly as anyone the pre-1914 relationship between Great Britain and Latin America:

For much of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth, Britain was, economically, the dominant foreign power in Latin America. Though British influence was evident in the eighteenth century and the independence period, it reached its peak in the years 1870–1914. In the major countries of the region

that influence appeared unassailable. Yet World War I ushered in a period of decline and by 1945 Latin America, now facing the hegemony of the United States, possessed little real significance for the British government and business interests.¹⁹

He goes on to remark that the issue of British informal imperialism and Latin American consequent dependency²⁰ looms large in any consideration of this relationship. In short, 'most of Latin America, in its relations with the metropolitan countries of the North Atlantic, found itself in an increasing state of economic and cultural dependence with these two dimensions being functionally intertwined'.²¹ Some write predominantly of economics; I speak essentially of culture in order to recognize the fact that 'there is no shortage of analyses by which both British and Argentine scholars, many of a collaborative nature, exploring the economic aspects of the relationship, but the cultural dimension with its wider social implications has gone largely uncharted ... but even commercial relations have cultural implications.'²²

Within this setting and with regard to sport as a cultural phenomenon of no mean significance, it has been correctly stated that 'for Latin America, as with the rest of the world, the center of modern sport innovation was principally England and secondarily France and the United States'.²³ To recognize this is not to suggest slavish imitation, inflexible obeisance and fawning reproduction. The need for careful and thorough consideration of indigenous adaptation, adjustment, reconstruction and reinterpretation has been made in various quarters and is fully acknowledged.²⁴ Furthermore, there is always the danger of Edward Said's 'possessive exclusivism' and while there should rightly be an exploration of a global trajectory of modernization, there should be no failure to continue to study 'the fragmentary, the local and the subjugated'.²⁵ Nevertheless, recognition of England's role in modern 'Ludic diffusion' in Latin America will permit the recording of the reality of the early moments of an eventual and extraordinary indigenous cultural manifestation – modern sport itself in Latin America – and at the same time it will allow a study of cultural diffusion, assimilation and adjustment, as well as continuity and change, and purposes and functions in response to specific external and internal needs, inclinations and desires.²⁶ One important aspect of this continually adjusting and adapting state of affairs in the specific setting of Latin America has been described as follows:

The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America 15

even sports introduced by dominant and/or imperialist forces, including corporate-sponsored mass institutions, can be manipulated by elements within the recipient society to forge, if not a truly residual or emergent subculture, at least an enclave which permits the fulfilment of needs or the expression of values at variance with some of the hegemonic structure ... But ... it is usually the hegemonic culture that defines the limits and terms within which these variants can ... develop.²⁷

The reason has been explained as follows: 'Among the factors determining the [diffusion] process, the most important is the relative, economic and the cultural power of the nations involved'.²⁸ In short, a nation that exercises political or economic power often, although not always, intentionally and unintentionally, also exercises cultural power.²⁹

Now to concentrate on the early spread of modern sport and English middle-class culture as its inspiration. To set the scene, first three sweeping comments which, for all that, throw a penetrating beam of light on the contribution of the English middle class as the pre-eminent early international innovator – for the most part, the Scots, Welsh and Irish followed in its wake, certainly at home and often abroad³⁰ – and its lasting relationship to the global evolution of much of modern sport:

By 1900, [in England] games, ... had become more highly organized and team-oriented than at any time in the past. The main authors of this development were the urban middle class who were guided and inspired by public-school practices, so that sport was seen to have crucially important social and moral attributes.³¹

And;

China is to hold its first university boat race, three decades after the fledgling sport of college rowing was wiped out by the Cultural Revolution. A leading Chinese sports official yesterday outlined his dream of promoting scientific 'urban' rowing, invented by the public schoolboys and undergraduates of Victorian Britain,* over the rural Chinese tradition of dragon boat racing. [He] hailed Western-style rowing as 'the fruit of industrial civilisation', as opposed to dragon boat racing, which he described as 'agricultural'.³²

[*The main centres were in England – namely Henley, Oxford, Cambridge, Durham and London.]

And;

‘We must thank the English people because they invented all modern sports’.³³

Such statements, whether or not appreciatively exaggerated, spotlight a widely accepted fact that, as Allen Guttman put it in an admittedly hyperbolic statement, ‘From the British Isles, modern sports went forth to conquer the world.’³⁴ Guttman has also stated that ‘from the eighteenth century until the middle of the twentieth, Great Britain’s role in the development of modern sports was more important than any other nation’.³⁵ Of course, he would be even closer to the truth if he had replaced ‘Great Britain’ with ‘England’. What is missing from these unquestionably accurate observations is that not wholly but inconsiderable measure, this development was a late nineteenth century metropole middle-class phenomenon in which the English schools of the privileged had a large, if not exclusive, part to play.³⁶ It is worth repeating that middle-class motives were complex and diverse, accidental and deliberate. As this consideration of Latin America reveals, the consequences were both intended and unintended. Furthermore, motives and outcomes were both predictable and unpredictable as well as various, hence the value of a triadic analysis involving the concepts of cultural imperialism, cultural hegemony and cultural emulation in addition to a consideration of the role of politics and economics and the power of the ‘powerless’ (who are never wholly powerless) to reinvent and reconstruct original imported phenomena in their own image.

THE EARLY SPREAD OF MODERN SPORT

Ian Bradley has remarked that

The persistent fascination with the class system in England, and the persistence of the system itself, have produced a large number of books on the working classes but comparatively few on the middle classes. Somehow bank managers and school teachers do not have the same romantic appeal to historians and sociologists as miners and railwaymen.³⁷

However, among cultural historians interested in an accurate record of evolution of modern sport as a major manifestation in modern world cultures, perhaps the time of the middle class has finally come! These are

The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America 17

'tell-tale' signs. In a series of observations, Mike Huggins makes the case for a timely re-evaluation of the role of the English middle class in the evolution of modern sport:

From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards English middle-class sport increasingly functioned as a powerful cultural bond, moral metaphor, and political symbol. It had a major impact on recreational culture, career access and the formation of class cultures and relationships. Yet, as J.A. Mangan has pointedly remarked, discussion of the huge contribution of the middle classes 'to national and world sport as a political, cultural and social entity' and, more broadly 'to British, imperial and global culture' is, with a few notable exceptions, either consciously neglected, or inappropriately unfashionable. Currently their contribution is inexcusably undervalued and under-appreciated. Its manifestations constantly receive ritual reference yet frequently are not carefully considered or enterprisingly explored. *All of us should know better* [emphasis added].³⁸

Huggins has a serious and sensible request:

It is high time that sports historians began to put the Victorian middle classes under the same detailed scrutiny to which working-class participation in sport has been subjected. Cultural historians, particularly the influential and prolific J.A. Mangan, have performed this task in the context of middle-class education, investigating the origins of manliness, the games ethic in the public schools, its diffusion into other areas of education in Britain and abroad, and the links with imperialism and militarism. Education, of course, lay at the heart of British culture and the athleticism of the Victorian and Edwardian public school has fully merited the close scrutiny it has received. But the task of exploring middle-class sporting culture still needs to be addressed more completely in the field of post-education.³⁹

Others have also had their say on the subject:

Jeffrey Richards, the distinguished cultural historian, has remarked that in recent years that, 'while the working classes have received close attention, the middle classes, their values and life styles have been comparatively neglected.' It has been further suggested by J.A. Mangan that the middle classes and the middle-

class mythical heroes of the playing field are firmly out of fashion, and that it is salutary, therefore, that they have, at least, one recorder 'to ensure historical balance, to rescue from conscious neglect a section of society which contributed hugely to national and world sport as a political, cultural and social entity.' Indeed, a recorder may be even more salutary in order to avoid future justifiable accusations of contemporary 'inverted snobbery'! It is for this reason that: 'In a period in which it is modish to embrace anti-elitism and eschew elitism, it is important in the interests of historical completeness that the middle-class athletic hero is not written out of cultural history.'⁴⁰

What of the English middle class in Latin America? Georges Clemenceau, the distinguished French politician, travelled throughout South America in the first decade of the twentieth century and, rather curiously given his intense chauvinism, recorded his impressions in an English language publication, *South America Today*, published in 1911 by T. Fisher Unwin. Unabashed by this exegetical oddity, Clemenceau wrote off 'the Northern races' as incidental to South American Latinism. He wrote with Gallic self-flattery and ready self-belief:

In the Argentine ..., the Northern races prove merely a useful element of methodical intelligence and tenacity, which is in time engulfed by the great Latin wave. There are important German colonies in Brazil, and even in the Argentine. Both English and North Americans have prosperous manufactories there. Yet in a race that has preserved integrally its Latinity, all this is of but secondary interest, and the tendency remains to travel steadily in the track of people of Latin stock, among whom it may without presumption be said that the French exert the most powerful influence.⁴¹

To some degree, the fact that he required an English publisher arguably gives the lie to his bold assertion. Equally, when Clemenceau wrote of sport, for example, it was Argentine game shooting on the pampas, that excited him. Everything else, including soccer, failed to attract his attention. In view of the limitations of his analysis of the relative significance of European cultural diffusionists, perhaps this is just as well!⁴²

Happily, as has been noted, rather more precisely and presciently:

Even before the mid-1800s, British technology, capital, personnel and culture were penetrating the urban areas on both sides of the Rio

The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America 19

de la Plata estuary, a process which would intensify and geographically spread as the British played an ever greater role in the region's import-export economy, in its banking and transportation sectors, and in its emerging educational system, and in its evolving recreational and leisure activities. Above all through the founding of schools and of athletic and social clubs, the British introduced those sports which back home had become rationalised and popularised as part of the larger pattern of industrialization: cricket, rugby, soccer [association football], polo, horse racing [clock-wise on grass], fencing, rowing, cycling, gymnastics and track and field.⁴³

In his valuable if, in certain respects, somewhat irritatingly limited article in *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* in 1994, Richard McGehee, writing of the early evolution of sport in Guatemala and Mexico, included a throw-away sentence claiming that:

The earliest ... activity took place in social and sports clubs whose members were young men of the higher social classes, and in some cases, entirely [composed of] foreigners.⁴⁴

The reasons are obvious: they had leisure, they had money for facilities and equipment, they had opportunities to travel and to observe, participate and imitate. One of the eventual results was that that the Buenos Aires *Herald* (one of two English-language city newspapers) in May 1900, celebrated the fact that 'English sports and pastimes have taken root in Argentine soil, and become the favourite outdoor amusements of Argentines of *all* [emphasis added] ranks and ages.'⁴⁵ However, it is equally clear from the attendance at association football matches, not to mention polo and rugby events, that, at least at this time, these events attracted the *crème de la crème* of society. The President of the Republic, together with an escort of Lancers, attended one match between Alumni (the English High School team) and a visiting English professional club in 1904, while a similar match the following year attracted many of the best known families and ladies were well represented.⁴⁶ The 'higher social classes' led the way.

There is every reason to believe that McGehee's comment on the infancy of modern sport in two of its nations is relevant to much, if not indeed the whole, of Latin America. Joseph L. Arbena has written of the introduction of European, initially at least substantially English, modern sports, that:

By 1900 Buenos Aires ... and corresponding environs were the sites of frequent sporting competitions among national populations, resident foreign communities and visiting European athletes at the same time that at least the upper echelons of these South American areas were adopting broader European economic processes: the first geographically outward, the second socially downward. In *most* cases these sports entered Latin American countries through a capital or major port city and via middle to upper class foreigners or locals who had travelled in Europe or the United States.⁴⁷

This is a perceptive comment and it would be both fascinating and valuable to locate and discuss these foreigners and locals more fully than has been done. For example, it might be illuminating to trace the possible influence of Argentines who attended the Catholic English public schools of Ampleforth, Downside and Stonyhurst⁴⁸ in the second half of the nineteenth century, at that time these schools were coming under the influence of the then rampant English public school athleticism (games cult).⁴⁹

There is a pressing need in Latin American cultural studies of sport, it is suggested, since 'history is the child of narrative',⁵⁰ for 'the construction of a narrative that has a *beginning* [emphasis added] middle and end, and which is structured around a sequence of events that take place over time'.⁵¹ There is no reason, it is further suggested, that this involves rejection of dialogue with other disciplines, regulation of traditional biographical approaches, dismissal of consideration of the mentalities of past societies. These can, and should, be woven into the narrative. Total history may be a challenging, even an impossible task but the thoughtful effort at woven approaches could enrich the understanding of the Latin American past with regard to the introduction, as well as the assimilation and consolidation of modern sport.

The absence of an adequate discussion of 'infancy' by McGehee, despite the clear value of his research and reflection, is certainly a source of exasperation. Future cultural historians of Latin American and its sport could, and should, learn from this omission. In attempting to repair this omission, Latin American historians should not ignore the historic role of the middle classes, nor marginalize them, nor minimize their role in the growth of one of the most powerful, influential and

The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America 21

significant components of contemporary Latin American and international culture – modern sport.⁵² Myopic tendencies referred to earlier, adopted in academia in the ‘birthplace of modern sport’, should be resisted in the interest of academic completeness, integrity, balance and accuracy.⁵³ Middle-class Latin American innovators, and others from beyond Latin America, should be tracked down, their sources of inspiration and action beyond their own shores should be documented and their actions on Latin American shores should be traced and described. Rediscovery is both a historical element and agent of identity. The historian of sport, as much as other historians, is a cartographer of culture. Equally, cultural history is as much about the diffusion, assimilation, adaptation of, and resistance to, sport in ‘infancy’ as it is about intermediate ‘adolescent’ consolidation⁵⁴ or later, independent ‘maturity’. To say this in no way implies a desire to wilfully neglect other classes or indeed any dimension of the evolution of modern sport. It merely makes clear the need for balance in the interests of a completeness of analysis and understanding.

AN INFORMAL BRITISH EMPIRE

There was, it seems, a British Informal Empire in Argentina between 1806 and 1914,⁵⁵ but it differed markedly from the formal Dominions of Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa. Anglo-Argentine relations ‘were primarily economic market relationships from which political power was absent’.⁵⁶ The Argentine economic connection with Great Britain between 1880 and 1914 was for the latter of greater importance than its connection with Egypt or China and, perhaps, even greater than with India as a source of foodstuffs and raw materials, a market and a place for the investment of capital.⁵⁷ Regarding Great Britain, it has been further noted that ‘until the Great Depression of the 1930s, Argentina can be classed with Australia, Canada and the United States (and also with New Zealand and South Africa) as a frontier of enterprise, a source of raw materials and foodstuffs, a market for capital and consumer goods, and an area of investment opportunities which yielded profits from enterprises and rents from property holding’.⁵⁸ However, in one vital respect Argentina differed from Australia, Canada and the United States: Argentina never received British immigrants on a scale capable of seriously modifying the Latin character of the community, nor of its political culture.⁵⁹ This is a point of some importance.

It must be made quite clear that as early as 1806, Britain had attempted both direct and indirect, military control. It failed: 'a very small and most incompetently-led British expedition at the beginning of the nineteenth century only just missed turning the country into a British colony.'⁶⁰ In the end, Britain settled for economic and financial control, advantageous to investors, entrepreneurs and consumers. Thus in 'a very real sense Argentina was the first community, substantially dependent economically on Great Britain, to achieve Dominion status'⁶¹ – informally, of course. This state of affairs, it is argued, lasted from 1806 until 1914. After 1806 the next date of significance in Argentine-British relations was 1862 when, following the final unification of Argentina by General Mitre, the Congress 'laid the legislative basis for the influence of foreign merchandise and capital.'⁶² The details are not important here.⁶³ What is important is the fact that confidence in London investors was won and 'within 10 years at least £23,000,000 had been raised in the London market for investment in Argentina'.⁶⁴ By 1890, British investment stood at £174,000,000 and the Argentine economy was 'in the position to substantially influence the entire structure and course of the affairs of Great Britain'.⁶⁵ And as illustrated earlier, eventually it did.

With investment came middle-class entrepreneurs, merchants and technicians and their culture. Early evidence suggests that they were predominantly English although they did include a number of Scots, Irish and Welsh.⁶⁶ Apropos of this fact, it has been suggested in Latin America, perfectly reasonably, that the early English connection with association football's growth was strong but it has also been suggested that any associated cultural influence on Latin America by way of the spread of most of modern sport is more difficult to measure.⁶⁷ This is a curious statement in that, if anything, with regard to the early spread of much of modern sport, not merely soccer, the influence of the English (and to a lesser extent the other British) was clear, specific and lasting in the sense that many modern sports came via them or those they had influenced. Times changed, circumstances changed and sport changed but the initial influence of the English, and others from Britain, is clearly obvious and in terms of the historical record, lasting, in its way. In the early moments of the spread of modern sport throughout Latin America it was mostly their sports that were played. However much these sports have changed, for better or worse, they were a mainly English legacy. This much is clear, as is the fact that the consequences for countless millions in Latin America have been quite remarkable.

The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America 23

It would be surprising if there had been no associated cultural relationship parallel to the economic and financial Anglo-Argentine relationship in the second half of the nineteenth century. The economic and financial relationship was not an impersonal one involving simply paperwork, shares and capital. It involved human beings. In the case of the construction of the Argentine railway system, for example, 'Great Britain supplied most of the capital, technicians and equipment, and the fuel was British coal'.⁶⁸ These middle-class technicians, along with others, bankers, businessmen, educationalists and the like brought their culture with them and surrounded themselves with it. However, many did not stay. It should always be remembered that the British were among the smallest of the immigrant communities. 'In 1914, out of a population of nearly eight million, Britains numbered fewer than 28,000 in a registered foreign-born population of 2.3 million. Many of these were from the lower middle and working class, which included a large proportion of Irish immigrants.' However, even more important in political terms is the fact that 'The British were visitors ... only a minority assimilated.'⁶⁹

As Sir David Kelly recorded 'Young English immigrants came in without impediment ... and if they wished, retired to England, either with their whole capital, or with the (as it seemed then) certainty of having their incomes or pensions remitted to them as though they had merely moved from Birmingham to London'.⁷⁰ It was the middle and upper middle classes who were frequently 'transient'. Once wealth was acquired, it was taken home. When the wealth and its holders departed 'it was a community of managers, not of proprietors that remained'⁷¹ along with a few missionaries and a few teachers; no soldiers or administrators were among them. Thus the British played little part in politics. Their eyes were on home and since their opinion of Argentine politics was low, they kept their distance.⁷² Profit not politics was their concern.

Where they had influence, in view of urban capitalist trends and associated technological and cultural developments in the birthplace of the industrial revolution, logically, therefore, was in commerce, transportation, education and sport. The massive British investment, mentioned earlier, had to be supervised, monitored and protected, with the result that 'with the British railways, British shipping, British meat-packing companies, British-owned farms, British wheat brokers, British importers, British exporters, British banks, British public services, British insurance, British schools, the British community in Argentina

was the most numerous outside the physical boundaries of the Empire'.⁷³ There is some truth in the assertion that Argentina was an unclaimed colony. This community was never too concerned with cerebral pursuits.⁷⁴ In this it had much in common with the community of compatriot middle-class public school products remaining at home. It is, therefore, perhaps no surprise that it 'introduced most sports to the Argentines'⁷⁵ but had little lasting intellectual influence.

AN UNCLAIMED COLONY

In May 1841 British and North American businessmen in Buenos Aires formed the Society of Foreign Residents. The British comprised the strongest national group.

The Society was the forerunner of [the] Strangers' Club, the oldest social club in South America, renowned for many years for having the town's most influential merchants among its members. With the Society, the life and business, social calendar and sporting fixtures of Buenos Aires were all decided by members who used their marriages, churches, Masonic lodges, clubs and European trading houses to compete for an ever increasing share of Argentina. Out of the Society grew a business organisation: a fraternity of stockbrokers formed early in the 1850s. So proud of their power were they that they called the group 'El Camoati', which is a South American wasp with a fierce sting. The sporting world was an extension of the Society and members started the Foreign Amateurs Race Sporting Society – which had its earliest meetings in 1849 – that became the predecessor of Argentina's elite Jockey Club.⁷⁶

Andrew Graham-Yooll puts the situation crisply:

The British took their sports wherever they went, primarily for their own enjoyment, although they did teach the natives the secrets of their forms of amusement. Some sports were assimilated whilst others remained specifically British. Cricket remains a British community activity, although with enough interest in Argentina to make two divisions. Soccer is a national sport in Argentina. Rugby has five divisions in Buenos Aires, in addition to a schools division and several provincial leagues. British sports

The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America 25

became an important part of national life and the only aspect of the British community that put Britons in close social and cultural contact with Argentines. Nevertheless even in teaching all the sports to Argentines, the Briton kept to himself.⁷⁷

Some sports came early, others came late. 'The first to be taken to Argentina, by a wide margin of several decades, was cricket. Officers who were captured in the invasion of 1806 played the game, it appears, for the first time in Argentina in the neighbourhood of San Antonio de Areco.'⁷⁸ In 1831 the first cricket club was established by English residents. It survived until 1839. In the early 1850s there was a permanent pitch at Palermo de San Benito on the north side of the city by the river. It was the home of the club that succeeded the first, called the Anglo-Potemo Club and, in its way, 'a sacred place: the area was to become the cradle of Argentine sport'.⁷⁹ In the late 1850s a third club was founded. It survives to this day as the Buenos Aires Cricket and Rugby Club on the fashionable Alvear Avenue. Other early clubs were the Flores Cricket Club and the Buenos Aires Zingari Cricket, Athletic, Sport Club, both established in the late 1870s. In time, clubs were set up in the provinces. These clubs were inward-looking; they were for the pleasure of the ex-patriot members. They were initially mostly exclusive to these members. Only a few North Americans, Europeans and prominent Argentines were welcome as players and members although the wider population was welcome to watch!

In 1874 the English language newspaper *The Standard* contained the first description of polo at the estancia of one David Anderson Shennan. Polo, it appears, prospered in all farming districts 'where English-speakers were influential'.⁸⁰ In 1854 a polo match between teams from Bahia Blanca and Buenos Aires took place at the Buenos Aires Polo Club. The other and smaller Argentine English-language newspaper, *The Herald*, recorded the event.

Soccer was played in the city somewhat earlier. *The Standard* announced the creation of the Buenos Aires Football Club in May 1867. Pablo Alabarces has described the event attractively:

Football was born in Argentina on 20th June 1867 ... the newspaper, the Standard, published in English by members of a community on the up (quantitatively as well as qualitatively ...) had announced a football game for May 25th, 'Birthday of the Fatherland'. The rain forced suspension until the next holiday,

June 20th, 'Day of the Flag' ... the Brothers Thomas and James Hogg ... wanted to play football, but players were lacking. Finally, the first game was played with eight a side on the cricket field of Palermo Cricket Club. The sixteen protagonists were, of course, British.⁸¹

In this way Argentine soccer began. It grew steadily due to the influence of ex-patriot schools, their social and sports clubs and their company clubs.⁸² Within a few years there were numerous clubs and a league was established in 1891.⁸³ As mentioned above, the innovators of 1867 included Thomas and James Hogg, prominent young members of the middle class.⁸⁴ Their father, the Yorkshireman Thomas Hogg, was a key figure in the introduction of modern sport to Argentina. Overall, his contribution was far more significant than the Scot Alexander Watson Hutton, discussed below. Hogg may quite reasonably be called the 'father of modern Argentine sport'. He founded a cricket club in Buenos Aires in 1819 (and a British Library, College and commercial centre) while his son, also named Thomas, founded a swimming club, and with his brother James created the Buenos Aires Athletic Club (its first meeting was on 30 May 1867) took part in the first rugby match played in Buenos Aires in May 1874. Furthermore, it appears that he initiated the first golf club in Latin America.⁸⁵

The Argentine Football League was formed in 1893. Its first president was an Edinburgh University educated Scot, Alexander Watson Hutton. He is known as the 'Father of Argentine Soccer' and was headmaster of the prestigious Buenos Aires English High School which for a number of years fielded a highly successful team known as the 'Alumni'.

Buenos Aires English High School was opened in 1884. Hutton came to Argentina initially as headmaster of St. Andrew's Scots School, the oldest English-language school in Buenos Aires (founded in 1838). Hutton brought current Anglo-Saxon practices with him: 'Not the least of these was the introduction of sports into the curriculum. This was to be one of the most important aspects of Hutton's own High School, which had a gymnasium and a tennis court. The school formed the Alumni soccer club which dominated the association football championships for several years. It is still referred to as a model in Argentine soccer history.'⁸⁶ Other 'English' schools elsewhere in Argentina also formed soccer clubs.⁸⁷ Incidentally, St. Andrew's Scots

The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America 27

College has retained its tradition of English games. The present headmaster, A.G.T. Fisher, has written recently: 'Here at St. Andrew's we follow a very traditional English style of sporting activities linked to games, most importantly including rugby, hockey, athletics, cross-country running, swimming, soccer and the recent reintroduction of cricket.'⁸⁸

In June 1873, rugby was first played in Argentina. Later a committee with the British Consul in the chair and including Thomas Hogg formally adopted the rules of Rugby Union. Initially the game was more popular than soccer but the Argentine government banned it in 1875 due to the excessive casualties. Rugby was reintroduced in 1886. One typical team founded in 1902 was the San Isidor Athletic Club – made up initially of English railway employees of the Buenos Aires – Rosario line – which in the second half of the twentieth century has gained a reputation for excellence.

Rowing made an early appearance in the 1860s and there was certainly an English Boat Club in 1870 although the official birthday of rowing in Argentina is accepted as the date of the first regatta on the River Lujan in February 1871. The next major regatta attracted the President of Argentina, an admirer of Anglo-Saxon sports, and the ubiquitous British Consul, Ronald Bridgett, as well as the British Minister, Lionel Sackville-West. Sackville-West, a keen rowing enthusiast, was the first president of the Buenos Aires Rowing Club, while Bridgett was the club's captain.

Tennis, it seems, first appeared in 1881. The Buenos Aires Lawn Tennis Club, the most famous of the Argentine tennis clubs, was formed some ten years later and was ultimately responsible for the River Plate Championship which, in time, would become one of the major tennis events in South America.

Golf had its first course at the famous Hurlingham Club in 1892. Athletics was introduced by Dr Andrew Dick of the British Hospital and boxing was part of the activities of the Anglo-Saxon inspired athletics clubs. Hockey at club level entered the capital city in 1911 by means of the Buenos Aires Hockey Club. It had been introduced to Argentina by an English man, Herbert Brookhouse, in 1905, who was responsible for the organization of a league championship in 1908. Women's hockey began at St. Catherine's School in 1907.

There is no need to continue to offer a possibly tedious list of people, dates, venues and occasions associated with the coming of modern sport

to Argentina in the second half of the nineteenth century. The purpose has been to simply provide unequivocal evidence of the mostly English middle class nature of the innovations and innovators and to lay emphasis again on the self-absorbed non-missionary purpose of the founders, organizers and participants. The record surely has now been established. The reasons for it were rehearsed earlier; they do not require repetition. What has been revealed above is a rich and innovative cultural lode. The veins of an essentially English, in its origins and its introduction, middle-class cultural influence that has lasted to the present are threaded throughout the Argentine. Latin America has added its own cultural veins, to produce a rich mine of the fused non-indigenous and indigenous.

To provide a splash of colour to an academic text; few things could bring home more vividly the extent of the existence of self-absorbed English middle-class sport in Argentina than this record of a competition between two 'all-rounders' of the Hurlingham Club recorded in W.H. Kroebel's *Argentina: Past and Present*:

GREAT SPORTING EVENT
ON
1st November 1892

BETWEEN TWO MEMBERS OF THE
HURLINGHAM CLUB
TO COMMENCE AT 9.30 A.M.

1. Bat Fives – best of 3 games.
2. Racquets – best of 3 games.
3. Lawn Tennis – best of 3 sets.
4. Foot Race – one round, cinder track.
5. Pony Race – one round, race-course.
6. Boxing – 5 rounds, 3 minutes; 1 minute time.
7. Fencing – best of 3 points.
8. Cricket – single wicket.
9. Quoits – best of 3 games of 15.
10. Golf – 9 holes.
11. Shooting – 7 pigeons.
12. Billiards – best of 3 games of 100.

'The competition', Kroebel records, 'was faithfully carried out, and each event closely contested.'⁸⁹

The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America 29

ST. GEORGE'S COLLEGE

There remains one further task and that is to establish a further and unequivocal dimension to English middle-class innovation by means of a consideration of St. George's College, Quilmes. St. George's was modelled exactly on the English public school – indeed it was ‘a complete replica of a typical English Public School’⁹⁰ – initially self-contained, self-confident and self-absorbed in its maintenance of its essentially English culture. It has been claimed that:

British schools in Argentina (and in Latin America) are fundamental in transmitting British ideas and attitudes but still no adequate study of them exists, nor a comparative study assessing their importance vis-à-vis other foreign schools. Were French Lycées the most prestigious academically? Were British schools admired more for their character building qualities than for academic achievement? Once in the ‘tram-lines’ of a particular national mode of thought it is difficult to break away. This aspect of the sociology of knowledge merits closer attention than it has received. Universities in Britain have more influence today on Argentines whereas up to the 1930's public schools would have been more important.⁹¹

To what extent is this true? Again inquiries would be invaluable to determine the full nature and extent of any influence.

The minds of the young are relatively malleable. All societies and cultures devote much time and effort to create educational systems to ensure the perpetuation of desirable social and cultural values. Educational institutions endorsed by the state or an elite are, therefore, significant agents of indoctrination into pre-eminent and prevailing beliefs, values and actions. All this is surely incontrovertible.

If this is so, it is illuminating to examine an English school in Buenos Aires to see to what extent it was a self-supporting, self-proclaiming, self-assured instrument of Englishness and to what extent it was an incidental, even accidental, instrument of Argentine cultural change. Self-evidently, at this temporal remove, this is not exactly an easy task but despite the difficulties, it is worthwhile in the pursuit of an understanding of the complex nature of the cultural diffusion, assimilation and adaptation of modern sport in a variety of locations, as well as an understanding of attempts at the construction of a secure, self-reliant identity in an alien place.

St. George's College, Quilmes, Argentina was founded in 1898. Its origins lay in confident patriotism – the belief in a system of education which had 'a hallmark essentially its own'.⁹² The school's historian wrote, in the opening page of its history that in 'our English Public Schools there is a secret which other nations envy and that is the training of character, to which is due our national success'.⁹³ It was this 'secret' that was responsible for the foundation of the school.

St. George's was established with the capital of English residents in Buenos Aires. England's patron saint was chosen as its patron. The school was widely known as 'Little England' and was open to all 'English-speaking boys in the Argentine and neighbouring republics'⁹⁴ to provide 'a first-class education on the same basis as that given at an English public school'.⁹⁵ The headmaster was obliged to be a priest of the Anglican church, a common requirement of English public schools at the time.⁹⁶

St. George's struggled financially for a good ten years but held a healthy portfolio of assets: a chapel, continually extended games fields, a feeder preparatory school, a prize for the finest Christian gentleman, a house system, eventually an Officer Training Corps and a dining hall in which were to be found martial, patriotic paintings⁹⁷ – the 'Roll Call' recalling an episode at the Battle of Inkerman and 'The Fight for the Standard' recalling an action at the Battle of Waterloo, donated by John Miller, one of the founders, 'a fine type of robust manhood, a thorough patriot and a grand old English gentleman'.⁹⁸

The 'Englishness' of St. George's was much admired by the English themselves. When the Rt Revd Edward Francis Evey of Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, newly Bishop of the Falkland Isles, made a visit to the school, he expressed pleasure at seeing 'such a fine English-looking set of boys'.⁹⁹ He became a strong supporter of the school and its Official Visitor. The visits of Her Majesty's Ministers and later His Majesty's Ambassadors to distribute prizes for sport and work were a regular feature of school life.¹⁰⁰ In 1903 the Minister, Sir William Haggard, distributed the school prizes and expressed his pleasure at coming to the College as 'it seemed to him quite a part of England with the green trees, English voices and faces'.¹⁰¹ In 1909 the Minister, Sir Walter Townley, distributed the Sports prizes and remarked on the strong relationship of the Old Boys with the school, which demonstrated, in his view, 'that indefinable bond called *esprit de corps*, which was such a noticeable thing in English Public Schools'.¹⁰²

The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America 31

Central to the institutional life of an English Public School is the chapel. It is therefore no surprise that the school historian devoted an entire chapter of his work to St. George's Chapel and began with a statement that 'The school chapel and all that it stands for and implies, has been, through all English history, down to our own time, an essential part of an English Public School.'¹⁰³ Within the Chapel, St. George's had an obligatory commemorative marble tablet celebrating the imperial self-sacrificial subaltern: 'The Reredos was erected by his parents and sisters to the Glory of God and in ever loving memory of Phillip Noel Stevenson, only son of Canon and Mrs. J.T. Stevenson, and Lieutenant in the Bombay 1/109th Infantry, Indian Army, who, while leading his company at Asa Khan, North-West Frontier, was killed in action on January 14, 1920: aged 19. "Greater Love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends."¹⁰⁴

All the early masters 'were chosen from England'.¹⁰⁵ Regrettably some created unspecified problems and provided 'the greatest difficulty'¹⁰⁶ in the early life of the college; they are not named in the school history. Those mentioned in the history were, invariably and inevitably, praised for their enthusiasm for, and involvement in, sport. Indeed in the climate of the time it would have been hard for masters to be appointed without it.¹⁰⁷ There was also the obligatory games-master – the first, T. Knight-Adkin, was 'always very breezy, a keen sportsman and a good friend to the boys'.¹⁰⁸ A number of the staff came from, or returned to English public and preparatory schools and links with England and English elite education were in this way continually being renewed and strengthened. Several of the staff became headmasters of the 'English' schools in Argentina¹⁰⁹ and helped spread English public school games, manners and practices throughout Argentina. Clearly a study of these peripatetic diffusionists would be of some interest and importance in tracing the English middle-class influence on Argentine secondary education and on society, both in the capital and the interior.

In all probability, the boys themselves were equally significant as diffusionists. They came from six South American republics – Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay. Also of significance in this regard was the fact that initially, many of the pupils at St. George's 'proceeded to the Public Schools and Universities of England'. Some of these certainly returned to Argentina with their enthusiasm for sport reinforced.¹¹⁰ Others too, such as the Argentine gilded youths, the Etonian sons of Don Miguel Alfredo Martines de

Hoz, played their part.¹¹¹ It was not simply passing sailors and visiting businessmen who spread 'the gospel of games' and English pastimes. Following English practice, St. George's had its preparatory school, formed in the image of the senior school in which, in consequence, game-playing masters were greatly in evidence.¹¹² Thus the cult of games, or athleticism at it was known at the time, invigorated by moral purpose, was assimilated at an early age by the pupils. Unsurprisingly the school history in its coverage of distinguished Old Boys makes frequent mention of their athletic ability, clearly inferring that character acquired on playing fields played its part in their later success in life.

One hundred and forty Old Boys of St. George's volunteered for service during the Great War; fourteen died in uniform. The school considered itself one with the Public Schools across the Atlantic in the need to do its patriotic duty. At the unveiling of the Roll of Honour in the Peace Memorial Gymnasium after the war, the Minister, Ronald Macleay, stated in his address that the names on the memorial tablet constituted 'a record of duty nobly done and a tribute to the traditions of loyalty and patriotism and to the high ideals of manliness and courage inculcated in this English School'¹¹³ as well as an 'overmastering affection for the land of their origin'.¹¹⁴ He requested that when the 'young Georgians' glanced up at the Tablet they would say to themselves 'I will play games hard and practice in this gym' in order to be ready for enterprises requiring the strength and health.¹¹⁵

Armistice Day was celebrated with an English public school ceremonial: 'A whole day cricket match against the Old Georgian Club'.¹¹⁶ Through such rituals the school demonstrated that it was wholly convinced that it stood virtuously apart. It considered these manifestations of masculinity English rather than Latin American and with confident ethnocentricity, it was convinced that its masculinity in its subscription to 'fair play', was quintessentially English. In this way continuity of values was confirmed. This conviction suggests that a comparison of Latin American and English masculinities and the role of sport in their definition and determination, has much to recommend it.¹¹⁷

On the anniversary of the Armistice, it became the practice 'to read in Chapel the Roll of those who made the supreme sacrifice, and to place above the memorial tablet a crown of flowers, and to drape it with the St. George's flag'¹¹⁸ linking school with England in perpetuity. Other symbolic gestures were made such as on the Coronation of Edward VII

The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America 33

on 9 August 1902 which was celebrated with a service at St. John's Anglican Church sports in the city at the Hippic Club, a bonfire and a display of fireworks. The Coronation of George V on 22 June 1911 was similarly celebrated with equal enthusiasm. The school history records complacently state that the Argentine, like all South American Republics, is proverbial for numerous fiestas, but the College has been content to observe only May 25 its Day of Independence in 1810.¹¹⁹ St. George's was an English Protestant school in a Latin American Catholic country and its cultural accommodation would only go so far. The Englishness of St. George's remained unadulterated until at least the retirement of the founding headmaster Rev. Canon J.T. Stevenson (author of the school history) in February 1935. He was praised by Mr H. Taylor, Honorary Treasurer of the College Company in the following words: 'You in only six years of loving labour, have built a great edifice of which every Englishman in this country may well be proud.'¹²⁰ In his farewell speech Stevenson produced sincere and decent platitudes wholly typical of the English public school headmaster: 'your greatest capital in life is your character ... never ask a favour of yourself in sport, but if another ask it of you, given it him with courtesy and chivalry. It is always a joy to me when I hear that Old Georgians play the game in business and sport ... I am jealous that this excellent tradition should be ever and fully maintained.'¹²¹ Within three months of his retirement Stevenson was awarded the CBE for his services to education.

Among other things, the Chapel sermon in the English public school system was an opportunity for reminders of the special nature of the public school and public schoolboy by convinced eulogists of 'Anglo-Saxonism'. It was no different at St. George's. Those published in the school history make reference to 'the best traditions of our old English Public Schools', 'the happy features of English Public Schools life', 'the [English] Public School tradition ... of clean honour and unselfish service', the fact that St. George's College ranked equality with 'the great English Public Schools which ... still play a great part in the next English life' and the business of the school in a foreign country was described as 'to turn out boys of the English Public school type' with the result that the boys were, in fact, 'wonderfully English'.

The confident insularity of St. George's College in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries comes through clearly in everything set out above. Convinced of its special superiority, it stood

removed from the Latin American community. One visitor to the school wrote: 'You have a really magnificent school. Not only does the number of boys testify to its position in the estimation of the British community but I hear on all sides that its greatest achievement has been to create among the boys the true English Public school spirit and to give them ideals hard to acquire in a Latin-American country.'¹²² This aloofness was shared by their adult compatriots, who eschewed living 'in centrally located ornate palaces, preferring the dullness – and coolness – of the suburbs, Hurlingham and Temperley, relieved by the playing of the games they introduced – polo, tennis, golf, soccer and rugby'.¹²³ In Edward Said's term, these English possessed in their self-chosen isolation, 'an essentialist representation' of the Latin American. However, for the Argentine, this ethnocentric self-confidence was arguably not without its power to impress and attract.¹²⁴

St. George's existed in itself for itself. It had no imperial, moral, cultural or political mission – either direct or indirect. Yet despite this, and in a sense because of this, it proved one of the agents of cultural transmission which brought the English Games Cult to, and spread it throughout, Argentina and other countries of Latin America. Of course, the full extent of this still remains for the historian to discover. Unquestionably, the school's confidence in itself and its athletic activities and their value engendered a degree of admiration and certainly emulation among Argentines.¹²⁵ To a degree, St. George's assured aloofness was its attraction. Together with English middle-class merchants, bankers, technicians and others from Britain and those of the Latin American middle classes who were educated in England, who travelled in England, who lived for a time in England, as well as elsewhere in Britain, the school was an early source and a fine illustration of Shakespearian 'strange eventual history' of an extraordinary and peaceful Latin American revolution – modern sport for recreation, health and education. It has been wisely observed that 'It is essential ... to avoid facile assumptions about unidirectionality'.¹²⁶ It is also sensible to appreciate that stimuli may not only be confusingly diverse but sometimes unintentional.

THE ARRIVAL OF MODERN SPORT

In the twentieth century, Latin America, like too many other areas of the world, has been a place of diplomatic turmoil, social inequality, political

The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America 35

paranoia, capitalist exploitation and class conflict.¹²⁷ However, it may be stated factually and without sentimentality, that it has also been a place where, despite all this and through all this, people have survived and even thrived, worked, loved and played. Modern sport has brought to their play, as well as a measure of disillusion and disappointment, marvellous opportunities for illusion and pleasure. In its absence no doubt traditional activities, indigenous or otherwise, would have provided distraction but fortunately there has been no void and they have not. That is the reality whatever the causes or consequences. Modern sport, with its warts and beauty spots, is the reality – and on the balance sheet, while there are things to criticize, there are also many things to applaud. The English middle class, with others, have played a not insignificant part in its arrival.

It has been written that while the Imperialists have left India, they have left behind mental, as well as physical traces of their occupation, ‘mind tracks’ as well as train tracks.¹²⁸ Should the same be said of the Anglo Saxon in Latin America? Should it be said similarly of Argentina? Soccer seduced the masses *and* the middle classes; other sports remained middle-class but all these initially novel sports were embraced by one level of society or another; a massive cultural transformation occurred. It was to be supplemented substantially by North American cultural influences but that is another story.¹²⁹

In any consideration of cultural diffusion, to adapt and to correct one commentator, what matters is not only what happens to a cultural form when it arrives, but that it arrives.¹³⁰ It has been observed that the reception of foreign movements and tendencies has been an integral part of Argentine culture and instead of interrupting the purity of improbable autonomous developments, this receptivity has added a dynamic element to the development of artistic creation.¹³¹ This statement is extremely apt in the case of sport. It is not a matter of sets of cultural alternatives with associations of superiority and inferiority. The reality is more subtle than that. It is a matter of advantaged cultural hybridity. Furthermore, it is not unreasonable to suggest the same is true of the other nations of Latin America or indeed the world. The point has been made, ‘with epigrammatic forcefulness’, that ‘the history of all cultures is the history of cultural borrowing’.¹³² In Argentina the absorption and adaptation of those modern sports established and developed mainly in England and the other nations of Britain in the late nineteenth century, is clearly an illustration of this

receptivity: 'Culture is never just a matter of ownership, of borrowing and lending with absolute debtors and creditors, but rather of appropriations, common experiences, and inter-dependency of all kinds.'¹³³

It scarcely needs to be stated that the sometimes substantial variation between Latin American nations and their different enthusiasms for various kinds of sport, perhaps with the exception of soccer, makes generalizations regarding the 'infancy', 'adolescence' and 'maturity' of their sport difficult to achieve. However, perhaps the safest generalization is that the route modern sport took was via the middle classes of (mainly) England and the other nations of Britain and Latin America. It is hoped that future Latin American analysts and their inquiries will determine how far this is true.

It has been argued with good sense that 'the next generation of analysts of Latin American sport must dig deeper into untouched archives and other sources'¹³⁴ in order to reveal new areas of inquiry, to explore ways in which sport can illuminate cultural migration and emigration, indigenous assimilation and adaptation and to investigate sport as an indicator and reflector of cultural change. There is good reason for this, namely to understand the origins of assuredly one of the most significant, far-reaching and influential of twentieth-century cultural innovations – the coming of modern sport.

A. Hennessy and J. King expressed the hope that their book would 'open up a neglected field of [cultural] study – even among professional Latin Americans – and make some contribution towards increasing mutual understanding'.¹³⁵ This chapter has the same ambitions. In the specific area of the Argentine, Richard Graham's sober appraisal of the influence of the British in Brazil seems most apposite: 'By 1914 Brazil had begun to move toward a modern society. The British had done a lot to bring about this onset of modernization, although they had also given some support to those forces that opposed it. Acting neither with altruism nor with malice but driven by the ambitions and desires instilled in them by their own modernizing society, the British played a large part in initiating change in Brazil.'¹³⁶ Perhaps it is worth recalling that even Edward Said appears to appreciate the balanced view of C.L.R. James, lover of cricket, 'whose early formation in British colonial schools brought forth a wonderful appreciation of English culture, as well as serious disagreements with it'.¹³⁷ An understanding of the roots of the present buried in the past, consolidates and confirms identity. In this

The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America 37

regard there is still much for the Latin American historian interested in the history of sport embedded in culture to discover about its origins and those responsible. This is a far from unimportant task. For one thing is unequivocally clear that 'Modern sport [has] – for better and for worse – become the heritage of humankind.'¹³⁸

AN APPROPRIATE CODA

To add a final daub of colour from my brush – regarding the rejection of a facile assumption of diffusional unidirectionality¹³⁹ – there is a world class Argentinean rugby player who plays in Europe at club level in France and at international level for Italy: Diego Dominguez. His genius has enhanced European sport; he is an outstanding illustration of the 'back and forth' diffusion of modern sport.¹⁴⁰

NOTES

1. Anthony Pagden, *Lords of All The World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c.1500–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p.1.
2. Mark Ferro, *Colonization: A Global History* (London: Routledge, 1997), p.350.
3. *Ibid.*, p.345.
4. *Ibid.*, p.346.
5. Nicholas B. Dirks, *Colonialism and Culture* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1992), p.3.
6. *Ibid.*, p.7.
7. *Ibid.*, p.11.
8. See Allen Guttman, *Games and Empires: Modern Sports and Cultural Imperialism* (New York: University of Columbia Press, 1994), pp.6–10. With this book Guttman has made a major contribution to cultural inquiries into modern sport and its global diffusion.
9. Joseph Arbena, 'Sport and Social Change in Latin America', unpublished paper, 14.
10. For a detailed definition of modern sport, see Guttman, *Games and Empires*, pp.2–3.
11. *Ibid.*, pp.178–9.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Arbena, 'Sport and Social Change in Latin America', 1.
14. Ferro, *Colonialization*, p.9.
15. The term 'English middle class' is used here as a generic term embracing the lower middle, middle and upper middle classes.
16. See Joseph Arbena, 'Nationalism and Sport in Latin America, 1850–1990: The Paradox of Promoting and Reforming "European" Sports', in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *Tribal Identities: Nationalism, Europe and Sport* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1995), p.230, for an elaboration of this argument.
17. See J.A. Mangan (ed.), *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1992), pp.1–2.
18. John King, 'The Influence of British Culture in Argentina' in Alistair Hennessy and John King (eds.), *The Land That England Lost* (London: British Academic Press, 1992), pp.159–60.
19. Paul Henderson makes this point in a review of Rory Miller, *Britain and Latin America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (London: Longman, 1993) in *Bulletin of Latin American Research Review*, 14, 2 (1995), 88.
20. The full extent of this dependency is under scrutiny and a source of academic contention, see

- especially Miller, *Britain and Latin America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, pp.274–5 and 238–44.
21. Arbena, 'Nationalism and Sport in Latin America', p.15.
 22. Hennessy and King (eds.), *The Land that England Lost*, p.2.
 23. Ibid.
 24. See, for example, the discussion in J.A. Mangan's Prologue to *The Cultural Bond*, pp.7–9.
 25. Partha Chatter, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), p.xi, quoted in Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, 'Postcolonial Perspectives', in *The Houses of History* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p.281.
 26. In his review essay 'Sport and Colonialism in Latin America and the Caribbean' (*Studies in Latin American Popular Culture*, 10 [1991], 257–71), Alan Klein lays considerable stress on the unquestionably important topic of colonial sport as cultural resistance. However, while he takes Brian Stoddart to task for an over-emphasis on cricket as cultural hegemony in his West Indian studies, he himself displays a clear tendency to lean too far in the other direction in his preoccupation with sport as cultural resistance. The reality, of course, is that sport can be a sophisticated manifestation of cultural involvement. It can be as much a force for cultural integration as a face for cultural polarization. For discussions of these two faces of cultural involvement, see, for example, J.A. Mangan 'Braveheart Betrayed? Cultural Cloning for Colonial Careers', *Immigrants and Minorities*, 173, 1 (March 1998), 189–208, which deals with the Scottish middle class's eager adoption of the English public school games ethic as a castemark, ensuring imperial careers, and J.A. Mangan and Nam Gil Ha, 'Confucianism, Imperialism and Nationalism: Ideology, Modern Sport and Korean Society 1876–1945' in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *Europe, Sport, World: Shaping Global Societies* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2000), which provides evidence on the part of Koreans of the extensive use of sport in the early twentieth century in an effort to resist Japanese attempts to destroy a separate Korean cultural identity. The coin has two faces.
 27. Arbena, 'Nationalism and Sport in Latin America', 23.
 28. Guttmann, *Games and Empires*, p.177.
 29. Ibid.
 30. For a good example, see Mangan, 'Braveheart Betrayed? Cultural Cloning for Colonial Careers'.
 31. Harry Hendrick, *Images of Youth* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p.137.
 32. *Daily Telegraph*, 20 July 1999, 5.
 33. Juan Antonio Samaranch, quoted by Mihir Bose in 'Inside Sport', *Daily Telegraph*, 11 Dec. 1999, S6.
 34. Guttmann, *Games and Empires*, p.2.
 35. Ibid., p.2.
 36. See J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981; Falmer: Falmer Press, 1986; London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2000).
 37. Ian Bradley, *The English Middle Classes Are Alive and Kicking* (London: Collins, 1982), p.11.
 38. Mike Huggins, 'Second Class Citizens? English Middle-Class Culture and Sport 1850–1910: A Reconsideration', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 17, 2 (March 2000), 1.
 39. Ibid., 2.
 40. J.A. Mangan, 'Regression and Progression', Introduction to the 2000 edition of *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2000), p.33.
 41. Georges Clemenceau, *South America Today* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1911), pp.81–2.
 42. Ibid., pp.180–84. This is not to overlook the impact and popularity of French culture (see King, 'The Influence of British Culture', 162–3) but to make it clear that the English influence was underestimated by Clemenceau!
 43. Arbena, 'Nationalism and Sport in Latin America', 17.
 44. Richard McGehee, 'Sports and Recreational Activities in Guatemala and Mexico, Late 1800s to 1926', *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture*, 13 (1994), 22.
 45. See T. Mason, *Passion of the People: Football of the People* (London: Verso, 1995), pp.16–17.
 46. Ibid.

The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America

39

47. Arbena, 'Nationalism and Sport in Latin America', 16.
48. See King, 'The Influence of British Culture', 162.
49. See Mangan, *Athleticism*, and especially the discussion of Stonyhurst, pp.59–67 and passim.
50. The term is that of Francois Furet, 'From Narrative History to Problem-orientated History' in *In the Workshop of History*, trans. Jonathan Mandelbaum (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), p.54.
51. Green and Troup, 'The Question of Narrative' in *The Houses of History*, p.204.
52. For an early discussion in the English language of their role in this regard see J.A. Mangan and Victor de Melo, 'A Web of the Wealthy: Modern Sport in the Nineteenth-Century Culture of Rio de Janeiro', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 14, 1 (April 1997), 168–73.
53. See Huggins, *Second Class Citizens*, also J.A. Mangan, '“Muscular, Militaristic and Manly”': The British Middle-Class Hero as Moral Messenger', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 13, 1 (1996), 44.
54. See Mason, *Passion of the People*, pp.24–5. Mason concentrates on 'adolescence' at the expense of 'infancy'. 'Infancy' is an important and relevant part of the story too.
55. H.S. Ferns, 'Britain's Informal Empire in Argentina, 1806–1914', *Past and Present*, 1, 4 (1953), 60.
56. H.S. Ferns, 'Argentina: Part of an Informal Empire?' in Hennessy and King (eds.), *The Land that England Lost*, p.50.
57. Ferns, 'Britain's Informal Empire', 60.
58. Ferns, 'Argentina; Part of an Informal Empire?', 49.
59. *Ibid.*
60. Sir David Kelly, *The Ruling Few* (London: Hollis and Carter, 1952), p.110.
61. Ferns, 'Britain's Informal Empire', 63.
62. *Ibid.*, 70.
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.*, 71.
66. Some significant modern sports, for example, rugby, cricket and athletics, owe much, if not everything, to the games cult and games systems of the late Victorian and Edwardian English public schools – wholly middle-class institutions. Irish, Scottish and Welsh schools followed in their footsteps with time. Irish, Scottish and Welsh schools certainly adopted the games system later than many English public schools and they were, of course, far fewer since the English middle class was very much larger than those of Ireland, Scotland and Wales. It is wholly reasonable to suggest that the English middle class as a group moved overseas in larger numbers, had greater capital, more establishment roles and more influence, both culturally, politically and economically, than those of Ireland, Scotland and Wales. At a time when the nations of Britain are increasingly asserting their separateness, there could well be a case for separating the role and influence of the English middle-class 'imperialism' – formal and informal – from the Irish, Scots and Welsh. This article is a step in that direction in academic anticipation of things to come. Hennessy and King, incidentally, made a related point as early as 1992: 'At a time when the United Kingdom may be becoming more disunited, analysis needs to focus on those strains and tensions which have always existed between the English, Irish, Scots and Welsh'. They added that 'In studies of the British diaspora insufficient attention has perhaps been paid to the different experiences and responses of Britain's major ethnic groups'. This is my point exactly with regard to the English! In passing, it should also be remembered that many of the Irish, Scots and Welsh middle class, especially the upper middle class, attended English public schools and universities and their members were often greatly influenced by their experiences. Nor should it be forgotten that universities, as well as schools, in these countries took up some of the general 'recreational' practices of the English public schools and Oxford and Cambridge and established their own modern games, clubs, facilities, playing fields and teams of one kind or another. Regarding early evidence of English middle-class involvement in Argentina, while research is certainly incomplete, Hennessy has written that 'The 1825 Treaty permitted the building of an Anglican church which came to be attended by respectable merchants, the majority of whom were English' (p.19) and again 'Many English came as merchants and stayed as landowners'(p.21).

67. Mason, *Passion of the People*, p.25.
68. George Pendle, *Argentina* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1961), p.57.
69. Andrew Graham-Yooll, *The Forgotten Colony* (London: Hutchinson, 1981), p.16.
70. Kelly, *The Ruling Few*, p.111.
71. Graham-Yooll, *The Forgotten Colony*, p.17.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid., p.18.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid., p.19.
76. Ibid., p.115.
77. Ibid., p.188.
78. Ibid., p.189.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid., p.193.
81. Pablo Alabarces, 'Argentine National Identity and Football: 'the Creole English' – Adventures of a Scot on the River Plate', Conference paper delivered at the British Society of Sports History, Brighton: 2–3 June 1999.
82. Ibid., 4.
83. See Alabarces, 'Argentine National Identity and Football', passim.
84. Members of a family of Yorkshire textile merchants.
85. See Guttman, *Games and Empires*, pp.57–8. Incidentally, Graham-Yooll puts the date of the first rugby match in Argentina a year earlier.
86. Graham-Yooll, *The Forgotten Colony*, p.130.
87. Ibid., pp.194–5.
88. Letter to J.A. Mangan dated 26 April 2000. This information, as well as helpful additional material, including an attractive and useful published school history, was greatly appreciated. Information on St. Alban's College, founded by the Rev. G.H. Knight-Clarke, as Quilmes Grammar School in 1907 was also generously supplied by the present headmaster, John R. Vibert. A printed note from Mr Vibert on Knight-Clarke records that 'Possessed of a very strong character indeed, it was he who laid down the ethical, moral, academic and sporting bases that made St. Albans such a positive influence in Argentine Education through the years'.
89. W.H. Kroeber, *Argentina: Past and Present* (London: Paul, Trench and Trubner, 1910), p.163.
90. Kelly, *The Ruling Few*, p.110.
91. Hennessy and King (eds.), *The Land that England Lost*, p.44.
92. J.T. Stevenson, *The History of St. George's College, Quilmes, Argentina 1898–1935* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1936), p.1.
93. Ibid., p.2.
94. Ibid., p.7.
95. Ibid.
96. It is generally accepted that Frank Fletcher was the first lay headmaster of an English public school. He was appointed headmaster of Marlborough in 1903, see Mangan, *Athleticism*, Epilogue.
97. The English public schools, as public schools elsewhere in Britain, imbued their pupils with strong martial, patriotic and imperial values which helped promote the late Victorian militaristic attitude of many of the middle class. Despite the curious protestations to the contrary of at least one English sports historian, this reality is now surely beyond dispute and succinctly summarized by, for example, Robert H. MacDonald in *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism, 1880–1918* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), p.2: 'By the 1890s, it is clear, British society was saturated with nationalistic and militaristic ideas. The Queen and the army moved to the centre of the imperial stage, a cult of heroes and a heroic national history was celebrated in popular literature and had infiltrated school text books, the music halls exploited patriotic sentiments in song and tableaux.' Those who appear to dispute this, at least in part, simply have not read widely and deeply enough in the relevant literature. For a comment on this state of affairs, see especially Mangan, 'Regression and Progression', Introduction to the 2000 edition of *Athleticism*, and also J.A. Mangan, 'The Nordic World and Other Worlds' in H. Meinander and J.A. Mangan (eds.), *The Nordic World: Sport in Society* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1998), pp.184–90. For evidence of public school martial indoctrination, for which

The Early Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America 41

there are now a number of sources, see especially J.A. Mangan, 'Play Up and Play the Game: the Rhetoric of Cohesion, Identity, Patriotism and Morality' in *Athleticism*, pp.179–203; J.A. Mangan, 'Concepts of Duty and Propsects of Adventure: Images of Empire for Public Schoolboys', in *The Games Ethic and Imperialism*, pp.44–70; J.A. Mangan, 'Moralists, Metaphysicians and Mythologists: The 'Signifiers' of a Victorian and Edwardian Sub-culture' in Susan J-Bandy (ed.), *Coroebus Triumphs: The Alliance of Sport and the Arts* (San Diego: University of San Diego Press, 1988), pp.141–62; J.A. Mangan, 'Noble Specimens of Manhood: Schoolboy Literature and the Creation of a Colonial Chivalric Code' in Jeffrey Richards (ed.), *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp.173–94; J.A. Mangan, 'The Grit of our Forefathers: Invented Traditions, Propaganda and Imperialism' in John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), pp.113–39; J.A. Mangan "'Duty unto Death": English Masculinity and Militarism in the Age of the New Imperialism', in J.A. Mangan (ed.) *Tribal Identities: Nationalism, Sport, Europe* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1996), pp.10–38; J.A. Mangan, 'Muscular, Militaristic and Manly: The British Middle Class Hero as Moral Messenger' in Richard Holt, J.A. Mangan and Pierre Lanfranchi (eds.), *European Heroes: Myth, Identity, Sport* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1996), pp.28–47; J.A. Mangan 'Gamesfield and Battlefield: A Romantic Alliance in Verse and the Creation of Militaristic Masculinity' in J. Nauright and J. Chandler (eds.), *Making Men* (London and Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 1998), pp.141–57. For the wider cultural and educational context in which these articles and chapters are set, see Mangan, *Athleticism*; Mangan, *The Games Ethic*; and also J.A. Mangan (ed.), *Benefits Bestowed?: Education and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); J.A. Mangan (ed.), *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990); and J.A. Mangan (ed.), *The Imperial Curriculum: Racial Images and Education in the British Colonial Experience* (London: Routledge, 1993).

98. Stevenson, *A History of St. George's College*, p.35.
99. Ibid.
100. Britain had a legation with a Minister in Buenos Aires until 1927 when it was raised to an Embassy.
101. Stevenson, *A History of St. George's College*, p.165.
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid., p.41.
104. Ibid., p.48.
105. Ibid., p.67. In fact some came from other parts of Britain. See, for example, pp.69 and 70.
106. Ibid.
107. See Mangan, *Athleticism*, Ch.5.
108. Stevenson, p.7. Knight-Adkin abandoned scholastic life for commerce and eventually owned an estancia.
109. For example, J.E. Green, A.S. Cuff, G. Thomas and J. Cavendish, all of whom, except Cavendish, were applauded in the school history for their keenness for games.
110. One example is F. Dickinson (1899) who left to attend Shrewsbury School (as did his brother A. Dickinson) and returned to own citrus plantations in Misiones. He was a successful athlete in both schools (see Stevenson, p.83).
111. Kelly, *The Ruling Few*, p.122.
112. There was one difference: Miss Gwendoline Stevenson, educated at The Ladies' College, Cheltenham, taught the smaller boys (see Stevenson, p.78).
113. Stevenson, *A History of St. George's College*, p.97.
114. Ibid.
115. Ibid.
116. Ibid., p.99.
117. For regional interpretations – British and Argentine respectively – of the role of sport in defining and determining masculinity see J.A. Mangan, 'Social Darwinism and Upper-class Education in the late Victorian and Edwardian England' in J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800–1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp.135–59; and J.A. Mangan, 'Duty unto Death: English Masculinity and Militarism in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *Tribal Identities: Nationalism, Europe, Sport*, pp.10–38; and E.P. Archetti, 'Playing Styles and Masculine

- Virtues in Argentine Football'; M. Melhuis and K.A. Stolen (eds.), *Machos, Mistresses, Madonnas: Contesting the Power of Latin American Imagery* (London: Verso, 1996), passim; and E.P. Archetti, 'The Moralities of Argentinian Football' in S. Howell (ed.), *The Ethnography of Moralities* (London: Routledge, 1997a), pp.98–123.
118. Stevenson, *A History of St. George's College*, p.101.
 119. Ibid., p.153.
 120. Ibid., p.230.
 121. Ibid., p.229.
 122. Ibid., p.210.
 123. Hennessy and King, *The Land that England Lost*, pp.4–5.
 124. See Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), p.1.
 125. The school was officially inspected by Argentine schoolmasters. Some were greatly impressed and clearly wished the school be widely imitated.
 126. Guttman, *Sports and Empires*, p.117.
 127. No one has made this point more forcefully than E. Bradford Burns, in *Latin America: A Concise Interpretative History* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1986). He writes of the recent past, for example, 'The majority of Latin Americans are undernourished, underemployed, undereducated, and underpaid'. See also Stanley J. Stein and Barbara Stein, *The Colonial Heritage of Latin America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), and Eric R. Wolf and Edward C. Hanse, *The Human Condition in Latin America* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972).
 128. Green and Troup, 'Postcolonial Perspectives', *The Houses of History*, p.279.
 129. Joseph Maguire in *Global Sport: Identities, Societies, Civilizations* (London: Polity Press, 1999), states quite correctly that 'England is viewed as the 'cradle' of modern sport' (p.56) and goes on to remark that 'People in different societies have proved to be remarkably receptive to and emulating of 'English' customs and pastimes!' (p.56). However, he also makes the pertinent remark that: 'Sports such as association football, golf and tennis are examples of these processes at work. There are, however, two qualifications to be made to this argument. The sports mentioned also highlight the "European" influence on the development of 'English' sports, that is the development of golf, for example, was strongly influenced by events in the Netherlands and Scotland. The role of the French in the development of tennis also cannot be underestimated. Indeed, some of the technical terms associated with tennis are derived from French. In addition, if consideration is also given to sports such as basketball and volleyball, which spread across the globe at a later stage in the sportization process, account has to be taken of the Americanization of sporting terms' (pp.57–8). His comment, however, does raise the questions of how 'modern' is 'modern' and when does 'modernity' begin.
 130. See Allen Guttman, *Games and Empires*, p.187.
 131. King, 'The Influence of British Culture in Argentina', 170.
 132. Quoted in Guttman, *Games and Empires*, p.184.
 133. Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993), p.262.
 134. Robert M. Levine, 'Sport as Dramaturgy – for Society: A Concluding Chapter' in Joseph L. Arben (ed.), *Sport and Society in Latin America: Diffusion, Dependency and the Rise of Mass Culture* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), p.145.
 135. Hennessy and King, *The Land that England Lost*, p.6.
 136. Richard Graham, *Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil: 1850–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), p.324.
 137. Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p.295.
 138. The expression is Allen Guttman's – see *Games and Empires*, p.187. I have amended sports (an American expression) to sport in this quotation.
 139. Again the expression is Allen Guttman's – see *Games and Empires*, p.174.
 140. Once again the expression is Allen Guttman's – see Guttman, *Games and Empires*, p.173. Guttman is unquestionably one of the most stimulating, as well as pellucid, of commentators on modern sport in contemporary cultures and his *Games and Empires* is an essential source for all those who wish to explore the fascinating and significant topic of the global diffusion of modern sport. He has the odd critic (see, for example, the Epilogue of this volume) but also many admirers.