

Singing Identities: Expressing British Identities in Sporting Song from the Late Victorian Era to the Eve of the First World War

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Abstract

This paper will analyse popular songs which contain sporting themes and/or were sung in sporting environments. The focus of the analysis will be the expression of national and regional British identities. The paper will begin by briefly describing the developments in popular song during the period, followed by a discussion of the interrelationships between popular song and sport. Examples of sporting music hall song of Northern England will then be presented, showing how regional identity was expressed through the feats and virtues of local sporting heroes. After explaining the decline of this type of sporting song, the paper will look at the parallel emergence of crowd singing in sporting environments and how this replaced music hall song as a context for the expression of local loyalties and affinities. It will then be argued that through processes of cultural mobility, the practice of crowd singing spread throughout the country in the first decade of the twentieth century. Finally, it will be suggested that similar cultural processes were promoting the expression of national allegiance in the same period.

Keywords

sporting song, music hall, crowd singing, football song, regional identity, national identity

1. Introduction

The following paper forms part of a wider project to trace the history of British sporting song and analyse certain cultural themes present in the texts of the songs. It is the author's view that any study of the culture of English speaking countries should focus at least as much on popular culture as on the more traditional areas of high culture. Many university courses in British culture do indeed focus on popular culture but tend to take the post-war period as their starting point. The first aim of this paper is to show that Britain, in the period under discussion, had a vital popular culture, which was especially evident in the realms of sport and music. In the areas where these two realms intersected, whether via sport in music or music in sport, the genre of the sporting song was a key outlet for popular cultural expression and the construction of identities. More specifically, the sporting music hall song of the mid-nineteenth century to the 1880's was an important element in the construction of regional identities,

particularly in the North of England. Such songs only occasionally expressed national identity. From the 1880's, however, as the nature of music hall song evolved, this form of regional expression ebbed away. The author's main thesis is to show that the construction and expression of regional identities through sporting song moved from the music hall to the sports stadium and its environs. It was here, through music in sport, that people (in the main, working class men) could express their identification with place, most often industrial towns. The author will argue that via processes of cultural mobility, these initially local practices were subsequently employed in similar patterns across Britain. Further, they had started to express some of the national identities that existed within the country by the first decade of the twentieth century. Indeed, it can be said that the sporting arena, both physically and metaphorically, was an example of a cultural contact zone.

The paper will first discuss some of the methodological problems involved with using sporting music hall songs as a source and then outline the methodological tools used for analysis of stadium singing. Examples of sporting music hall song which expressed identification with place, locality and towns will then be presented. This will be followed by a discussion of how music hall evolved in the 1880's and 1890's and how this affected regional sporting songs. The paper will then describe the emergence of mass sports and how these sports were particularly conducive to the expression of regional identity. The first examples of crowd singing and football and rugby terrace songs and chants will then be outlined. The final section of the paper will present the results of the author's research into local newspaper reports of the period, describing crowd singing in different areas of the country. This will be accompanied by an analysis of the songs to show some of the cultural processes involved and identities which were being expressed.

2. Methodological considerations

The first point which needs to be made here is that music hall song presents a number of problems when used as a textual source for research. Firstly, the songs were performed live and accompanied by music, which adds layers of potential meaning which are impossible to analyse alongside the texts. Further, as Gregson (1983) has noted, there is no way of knowing the context in which the songs were performed and how they were perceived and received by audiences. Music hall singers often punctuated the songs with patter and varied the lyrics to fit in with a particular audience (Russell, 1997). And as we have no way of knowing how popular a particular song was, any choice of songs for study is essentially random. Nevertheless, music hall songs are a genre with much to communicate in a direct and powerful way to the large and possibly impressionable proportion of

the population who would have heard them. Gregson and Huggins, in their analysis of northern songs of the nineteenth century, are in no doubt of their value:

"...the discursive analysis of such songs, cultural texts consumed by large audiences, which often contained tropes of individual treatment, achievement, competition and rivalry, triumph and disaster, has much to tell us about the complex ways in which song portrayals of sporting heroes underpinned a collective consciousness of pride in people and place" (Gregson & Huggins, 2007, p. 142).

The discussion of music hall songs presented below will thus comprise elements of such discursive analysis while accepting the weaknesses mentioned above.

When it comes to crowd singing, it is not so much the texts of the songs that are interesting to the author, rather the processes by which the singing came about. As we shall see, the very act of singing in unison with thousands of others while following a sports team was in itself an expression of cultural identity. The songs themselves were often simple reworkings of popular songs of the day or rhythmic repetitions of stock phrases from the sports arena. Here, it is context, rather than content, which is key. It has become fashionable in recent years for cultural scholars to stress the importance of cultural mobility, and how this should be an important focus for historical research. As Stephen Greenblatt (2010, p. 2) argues, the writing of convincing and accurate cultural analyses of centuries past should not require the description of inevitable progress from traceable origins. In Greenblatt's 'manifesto' for cultural mobility (2010, p.4) he stresses that: "Literary and historical research has tended to ignore the extent to which, with very few exceptions, in matters of culture the local has always been irradiated, as it were, by the larger world".

When we come to look at the processes by which groups of sports fans in localised contexts expressed their identity through communal singing, and how this soon became a national phenomenon, Greenblatt's tools become relevant. Indeed, he further spells out his *Manifesto for mobility studies* with ideas which this author will employ in this paper. He stresses that mobility must be taken in a highly literal sense, as it is only when physical conditions are grasped that metaphorical movements, such as those between centre and periphery, will be understood. He also argues that mobility studies should identify and analyse the 'contact' zones where cultural good are exchanged (2010, p.250). Both of these concepts are very useful when looking at the cultural processes involved in crowd singing. A final methodological justification of the following paper involves the idea of inductive pragmatism. Both when looking at music hall song and

crowd singing we will be taking a number of specific localised examples and making judgments that apply to a wider British culture. This type of inductive reasoning has already been employed in some of the best analyses of music hall as a whole (Bailey, 1978; Kift, 1996), and can effectively be employed here. As Werner and Zimmerman point out in their presentation of the concept of *histoire croisée*, "common forms of concert organisation can be studied from highly varied local constellations and through the concrete practises of the relevant actors, institutions, such as concert societies or generic figures, such as the *impresario*" (2006 p. 47). They further argue that this cannot be reduced to a process of linear evolution, and the same applies to the phenomena which will be discussed in this paper.

3. Sporting music hall song and regional identity

Music hall was one of the most remarkable products of the industrial era and a major element in the revolutionary transformation of popular music. Once the music hall was established it grew to become one of the most important cultural features of nineteenth and early twentieth century British history and the main source of musical entertainment for most urban working and lower-middle class people. The fact that music hall often dealt with sporting themes can partly be explained by the fact that something of a sporting industry also arose in the same period. Nineteenth century Britain displayed great interest in sport and music and the two often existed in the same cultural space (Russell 2013, p.303). This is hardly surprising when one considers that the huge growth in interest and participation in music was accompanied in the Victorian period by an even more dramatic explosion in sporting activity. There was a sporting culture in Britain before Victoria came to the throne, of course, with the public paying to go into arenas, gamble and watch sports like cricket, horse-racing, foot-racing, prize-fighting and wrestling in the late eighteenth century. The sporting broadside ballad reflected this, with the above-mentioned sports prevalent in the lyrics (Newsham, 2012). And while sporting broadside ballads continues to be printed and sung in public houses through the Victorian period, by the mid-nineteenth century the music hall was the key context for the transmission of sporting songs.

The songs analysed in the following section specifically come from the north of England, where local and regional songs were particularly popular. In the 1870's and 1880's mass team sports had begun to take hold in the North, particularly in Lancashire and Yorkshire, but for the time being most sporting music hall song covered sports with individual competitors such as rowing, foot racing and prize fighting. As Doug Reid points out, such songs "gave expression to a basic affectation for the city which represented the framework for people's lives", and further that "the importance of self-conscious regional and intra-

regional loyalties cannot be underestimated" (as cited in Gregson & Huggins, 2007, p. 147). This is echoed in Benedict Anderson's theory (1991) of an 'imagined community', which he posits as an important element in the emergence of nationalism. It is not necessary to describe the wholesale social and economic transformation of Britain in the Victorian era here, though it is worth remembering that a significant proportion of the urban population at this time would have experienced displacement from the countryside either themselves or via their parents and grandparents. It is unsurprising that such people would look to the town or city in which they had settled as a source of pride and identity. What is also evident in some of the songs is what Gregson and Huggins (2007, p. 147) describe as "relational identity", where identity is expressed through a dislike of the 'other'. More often than not, this 'other' was London and Londoners. We can see this in a song cited in Gregson and Huggins (2007, p.148) describing Newcastle's Rob Chambers' defeat of a London rival in a rowing race. In each of the choruses, the Londoners are mocked, here is an example:

*Oh ye cockneys all
Ye mun think't very funny,
For Bob he gars and lick's ye all
An collars all yaw money*

Like most Tyneside songs of the period, the lyrics are written in local dialect, another source of regional pride. The reference to collaring "all yaw money" concerns the popular activity of betting on races. As in the case of Chambers, who was a regular victor in races against the top London rowers, "sports stars were presented in song as iconic of regional superiority and hegemonic masculinity" (Gregson & Huggins, 2007, p. 148). Joe Wilson, posthumously known as 'the bard of Newcastle', in the song "Wor Geordie's Album" (as cited in Gregson & Huggins, 2007, p. 149) lists eighteen characters who were deemed iconic in the city. Of the eighteen, six were rowers and one a jockey, illustrating the importance of sports stars to the city's identity.:

*Lang may Chambers an' Cooper live,
For i' them we can confide,
What's dearest to each honest heart,
The honor ov auld Tyneside*

*Se pass the glass, an' chant a stave,
An join its chorus sweetly,
I praise o'Tyneside lads, se brave*

They bang the world completely

*'An sing this song wi' voices strange
-let it echo far an' wide
The great renoon o' wor canny Toon,
and the heroes o' Tyneside*

A couple of illustrative examples have been provided here of a large body of songs with similar content found in sources such as Joe Wilson's *Tyneside Songs and Drolleries* (1894). It is clear that the sporting stars' achievements were the town's achievements. The songs describe the success, mental strength, honesty and modesty of the heroes, reflecting a self-image of the north and its people. Earlier songs and ballads described the sporting heroes of other industrial areas in the north in a similar vein. The song *The Great Foot Race* (as cited in Palmer & Raven, 1976, p. 48) describes the running feats of George Eastham of Preston, also known as 'The Flying Clogger', in terms reminiscent of the Tyneside songs:

*The flower of Lancashire was there, all men of
high renown.
So cheer your spirits up my lads, and let the bets
go round,*

*The Clogger's speed was very swift, his courage
stout and good,
And for to run his rival, at the starting place he
stood*

Again we see the association of the hero with place - this time Lancashire, and the description of courage and moral virtue. Music hall songs of this nature continued to be written and sung in the furthest northern reaches of England (Tyneside, Cumbria, Durham and Northumbria) well into the 1880's because, unlike in Lancashire and Yorkshire, football had not really take a hold by then. In other districts football had become a topic for some music hall songs though they tended to focus on themes like poor refereeing and football violence (Gregson & Huggins, 2007, p. 150).

4. Music hall song and national identity

There are very few examples of sporting music hall songs from earlier in the period under discussion which expressed any form of national identity. One exception was a music hall song describing an international prize fight between the English champion Tom Sayers and an Irish American J. Heenan. Here, it is the

pride of nations, rather than regions, which is at stake. In *Sayers' and Heenan's Great Fight* (as cited in Palmer & Raven, 1976, p. 41) the challenger Heenan, though American, makes his allegiances with his Irish roots clear in the following line: *Erin-go-bragh! Heenan cried, I'll conquer lads or die. 'Erin-go-bragh!' means 'Ireland forever!' in Gaelic.* Sayers makes it clear in his response that it is more important for him that Heenan is American (a Yankee): *Cried Sayers, I'll not give in to a Yankee, I'll not yield.* This is an exception rather than an illustrative example in a sport which peculiarly captured the nation's imagination like no other, even to the extent that the Prime Minister of the day, Lord Palmerston, attended the fight described above.

From the 1880's music hall started to evolve into a national institution through the syndicalisation of ownership of the halls. What had begun as an institution with a diversity of regional characteristics and performers became standardised throughout the country. Music halls now booked national performers on a national circuit and this is one of the reasons given by Gregson and Huggins for the virtual disappearance of regional songs about local sporting heroes: "From the 1880's touring groups proliferated and the top billings were increasingly drawn from a far wider region, importing much London based materials" (2007, p. 145). They also argue that individual sports like rowing became less of an attraction whereas the growing mass team sports like football and rugby, with paid entrance and enclosed stadiums, limited audience knowledge of sporting heroes (2007, p. 144). This author does not necessarily agree with Gregson and Huggins' point about team sports not being conducive to songs about local sporting heroes. What will be argued in the rest of this paper is that very similar expressions of regional identity in sporting song were transferred from the music hall to other contexts.

5. Mass sports and identity

When discussing the mass sports which emerged in the late nineteenth century, particularly in the context of fans singing songs, we are, of course, largely talking about football, though the phenomenon was also evident in both rugby classifications - union and league. In his definitive history of British football, Matthew Taylor (2008, p. 96) explains how football was indeed conducive to the expression of local identity: "Sport generally, and football specifically, played a leading role in providing a sense of place and belonging in the urban environment as well as constructing and promoting broader town and city identities". Brad Beaven's study of working class leisure in selected towns, including Coventry, corroborate this, with the local football club proving more effective than any municipal campaigns in providing a sense of attachment to the city (as cited in Taylor, 2008, p. 97). Eric Hobsbawm saw how the sport of

football could just as easily foster national identity, explaining that, "the imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of eleven named people" (1990, p. 143). In contrast to the sporting heroes of music hall song, Richard Holt (1989, p. 171) argues that "the birthplace of the players was of little significance to the crowds that blew horns threw confetti and chanted snatches of popular songs changing the words to celebrate the team". Holt explains further that crowds at football and rugby matches felt part of something even though they were complete strangers to one another. By following one team against teams from other towns, fans were developing their own pride of place. In the same way as the sporting heroes of earlier decades represented values which their followers could identify with, "the team symbolised the men who supported it, its characteristics were their characteristics" (Holt, 1989, p. 173). In an article in the *Daily Gazette for Middlesbrough* (1889, December 7), the journalist explains how these feelings of identity could be expressed:

"A football match simply seems to be a sort of popular safety valve for the pent-up energies and passions of an energetic and high-spirited people. The roar of the football crowd is raised in one long continued roar of request, command, entreaty and reproach. And the most phlegmatic of men finds himself carried away by the exhilarating influences of the mimic war".

The journalist goes on to point out that the intense local rivalry and passion of supporters was specific to North Country football, where the crowd possesses characteristics such as "intense enthusiasm, unbridled license of tongue and temper and perfect familiarity with every player and his points". As Russell points out (2013, p. 310) the evolution of crowd music and singing in this kind of intense environment was "a logical extension of the habits of singing and playing in the street, the pub and elsewhere".

6. Early crowd singing

It is impossible for us to ever be really sure when the first group of sports fans took to song in unison at sports events. There are many anecdotal examples, however, of the phenomenon taking place before the end of the nineteenth century, not just when fans were in the stadium but also when they were travelling to and from games and attending civic receptions for victorious cup-winning teams. Dave Russell (2013, p. 310) notes that the Chorus of Handel's *Judas Maccabeus* "See the conquering hero comes!" was often played and sung at such receptions. Russell also notes that at the 1899 FA Cup Final Sheffield United fans hummed "The Dead March" from Handel's *Saul*. In riposte, Derby County

fans sang the popular music hall song "The Rowdy Dowdy Boys". Later, this music hall song became associated with Sheffield United fans (Taylor, 2008, p. 96). This is a first example of how the sports arena was a location for cultural contact and very clear cultural mobility. There is also newspaper evidence that the practice of crowd singing was established in the 1890's. In an article in the Belfast News Letter (1898, December 27) titled "Amusements Football Crowds Invent", we can read a very vivid description of "ingenious and startling" ways for the crowd to amuse themselves while waiting for a match:

"Every big club has its own particular song and by singing this the spectators can keep themselves in good humour. Northern fans are the most enthusiastic - the top part of the crowd asks a question, the bottom answers. This can comprise up to 50 verses, lasting up to 1 hour, for example:

Will the bounding boys of B_____ ever fail?

Answer: No they won't!

Will our noble captain ever turn and quail?

Answer: No he won't!

The result is far from unmusical".

The description of 'our noble captain' again gives the idea that the fans identified with the virtues of the players on the pitch who were a source of local pride. Interestingly, the journalist talks about every club having their own song by this stage. It is not clear from this passage whether the article is talking about football in England or Ireland, though this author suggests it is more likely the former. There is much debate amongst contemporary fans over who had the first specific club song or chant. As early as 1888, an article in the Huddersfield Chronicle (1888, April 28) describes a meeting of the local rugby club where an ex-player, C.C Sykes, reads "The Huddersfield Rugby Song". Norwich City Football Club is often credited with having one of the oldest club songs 'On the ball, City!', which was sung from the club's formation in 1902. Sheffield Wednesday fans are believed to have sung 'The Good Old Wednesday Boys' from the 1890's. (Russell, 2013, p. 315). Even Sir Edward Elgar got in on the act, penning the song "He Banged the Leather Goal" in praise of his beloved Wolverhampton Wanderers in around 1899, though it is not clear whether the song was ever sung by fans (Alleyne, 2010).

When it comes to football chants, it was the south coast that led the way. Newspaper reports of the 1890's report Southampton F.C. fans' Yi! Yi! Yi! whisper

being sung both in the stadium and in places where fans gathered before and after matches (Jason, n.d.). This rhythmic whisper which started quietly and gradually increased in volume was, according to the editor's note at the end of Jason's article, also chanted by Glasgow's Third Lanark in the 1890's. Glasgow is a long way from Southampton and the editor of Soccer History (Jason, n.d.) argues in the footnotes to Jason's article that the two sets of fans may have had identical chants as both were port towns. Men from Glasgow would certainly have been working in Southampton and vice versa at this time. Again, this is an illustration of Greenblatt's concept of cultural mobility (2010) in action. Southampton's local rivals Portsmouth, however, claim to have the oldest football chant, 'The Pompey Chime', allegedly sung from the 1880's ('Pompey' was and still is the nickname for both Portsmouth the town and the football club). The chant went in time with the clock at the port docks and according to the official Portsmouth Football Club Handbook for the season 1900 - 1901 (Fellows & Fellows, n.d.), these were the words accompanying the chant:

*"Play up Pompey,
Just one more goal;
Make tracks! What o!
Hallo! Hallo!
Bomg!"*

Versions of the same chant are still sung at Portsmouth and other football clubs to this day.

7. Fans on the move: the development of crowd singing

As we move into the twentieth century, there is newspaper evidence of crowd songs and chants being sung in all areas of Britain. The practice of fans travelling in large numbers to watch their teams play away matches was also now well established and clubs supporters' groups would organise excursions to away matches. Songs and chants were sung while fans were travelling, gathering before matches and also in the stadiums. Of the many examples the author has come across in contemporary local newspaper reports, two from the Burnley press describing fan behaviour are perhaps the most illustrative. In the Burnley Express article "Memorable Match with Mangnall's Men" (1909, March 10) we read a report of an FA Cup match between Burnley and local rivals and reigning league champions Manchester United. The game was called off due to bad weather with Burnley leading 1-0, much to the locals' discontent. The journalist describes the scene before the match: "A large section whiled away the tedium of waiting by singing snatches of popular songs, including 'Antonio' in praise of the

'Newcastle hero' ('The Newcastle Hero' refers to Fred Barron, a Burnley wing-half who was born in the Newcastle area: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fred_Barron_\(footballer\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fred_Barron_(footballer))). Later on in the report the newspaper prints versions of songs sent in by the team's supporters. The following example mocks Manchester's chances of progressing in the competition:

PROPHECY IN POETRY

Play up, United, and be content

For you the cup was never meant

The only cup that you can win

Is the butter-"cup" that bloom in spring

E.F. Burnley

Any doubts that this type of fan-generated verse was actually sung by the crowd is countered by a similar report in the same newspaper from a month previous. The Burnley Express article (1909, February 3), "The Coming Up Contest" describes the fans' preparations for another FA Cup tie in London against Crystal Palace:

"A Burnley Lane enthusiast has gone into verse, the song being to the tune of Maggie Murphy's Home. On a former occasion, when the song was new and popular, a parody was sung en route to Everton, where Burnley prevailed. The Burnley enthusiasts who make the journey to the Palace will have the opportunity of giving vent to their feelings. If the prediction comes off they will doubtless be in good voice on the return journey":

The Burnley lads they are the lads

For giving great surprise

They're going to play to win the game

They're playing for the prize

Playing for the English cup

The cup they love so dear

And now for Burnley's plucky lads

Let's give a ringing cheer

According to Dave Russell, the idea of both clubs and the local press inviting supporters to come up with songs to support the team may well have been a common practice by this stage. He cites a Chelsea FC programme of 1911 which asks for the reworking of popular numbers into songs of the 'play-up Chelsea' type (2013, p. 313). For Russell, the connection between such songs and identity

is clear: "Irrespective of specific repertoire, these supporters were using music to express loyalty to a team and town or city and thereby demonstrating one of its most powerful functions in sport: the articulation and generation of personal and collective identities" (2013, p. 315).

8. Crowd singing and national identity

As has been discussed, in the first decade of the twentieth century the practice of crowds singing in support of their local team and expressing identification with their home town was evident all around the country. With the mobility of the supporters and the very public nature of the singing it is perhaps unsurprising that it spread very quickly. And for Russell, identity with locality and region was frequently a building block for expression of national allegiance (2013, p. 318). The singing of the national anthem as well as the patriotic song "Heart of Oak" was popular at England's home football internationals by this time. But it is in the game of rugby rather than football that we see national identity being expressed through song most vividly. In an issue of *The Cornishman* newspaper (1905, December 21), the article "Defeat of the Colonials" describes a rugby international between Wales and New Zealand:

"The streets of Cardiff thronged with people - when the gates were opened at midday there was a rush of spectators to secure the best positions. The colonials gave their customary war cry, and the Welsh responded by singing "Land of my Fathers", the chorus being taken up by the crowd in a very impressive fashion".

The Welsh have always been famous for their fervent support of the national rugby team, and rousing choruses of national songs such as the above-mentioned can still be heard at international matches in Cardiff today. As Richard Holt points out, "Rugby in Wales became the one great pastime of the people" (1989, p. 250), capturing the national imagination in a way that football did in England and Scotland. For Welsh rugby fans the sport represented the ethnic qualities of the Celts.

The West Country of England was another area where rugby had captured the public imagination more than football. This was particularly true in Cornwall which, like Wales, had Celtic ethnicity and was only partially industrialised. In a letter to *The Cornishman* (1906, December 20) almost exactly a year later than the article mentioned above, about an upcoming rugby match between Cornwall and The Springboks (South Africa), we read the following suggestion:

"Further, we hear of the Welsh, All Blacks¹, and the Springbocks singing their war song at the commencement of their matches, and we ask: why can't Cornwall do likewise, by singing the grand old "Trelawny"? It would certainly put heart into and inspire the Cornish footballers".

Although Cornwall was and still is a region of England, many Cornish people considered themselves a separate nation from the English and "Trelawny" is a national song along the same lines as "Land of my Fathers". Both songs are sung by the respective rugby teams' fans today. Although there are far fewer anecdotal examples of expressions of national identity through crowd singing than there are of local identity (one reason could be that quite simply there were fewer fixtures), it also seems to be a practice that was well established. We can also see once again, via the letter to the Cornishman, how this practice was spread in a final example of cultural mobility.

9. Conclusion

When it comes to sporting music hall song, any conclusions are necessarily tentative due to the nature of the material. It is clear, however, that such songs often reflected loyalty and identification with particular geographical locations. Through songs describing the virtues of sporting heroes of individual sports like rowing and foot racing, people constructed the image of their home town and thus their self-image. This was the case particularly in the North of England from the beginnings of the music hall in the 1840's and 1850's and more specifically in the far Northern counties in the 1870's and 1880's, where the mass team sports became popular later than in Lancashire and Yorkshire. By the late 1880's, such songs were disappearing from music hall repertoires, largely because of the syndicalisation of music hall entertainment. This author questions Gregson and Huggins' assertion (2007) that this was also because team sports like football were less conducive to regional songs about sporting heroes. As we have seen, it could be argued that the opposite was the case. Right from the beginnings of codified football and rugby, there is evidence of widespread crowd singing both in the form of songs and chants specific to certain clubs and reworkings of popular songs. Exactly the same kinds of expressions of regional identity as in the sporting music hall songs were now being expressed in this new context. By the early twentieth century there is further evidence that through processes of cultural mobility, with the stadium and its surroundings acting as a cultural contact zone, such activities were being practiced nationwide. This was

¹ 'The All Blacks' is the nickname for the New Zealand international rugby team

encouraged by the local press by inviting supporters to send in songs for publication and later crowd singing. Finally, there are sources showing that similar cultural processes were encouraging the expression of national identity via crowd singing, particularly in the context of rugby internationals.

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