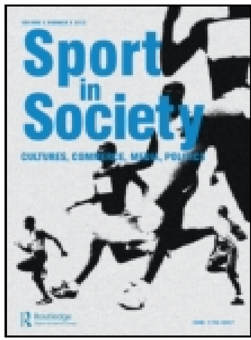

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'See, the conquering hero comes! Sound the trumpets, beat the drums': music and sport in England, 1880–1939

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This study provides a broad overview of the key synergies between the fields of music and sport between 1880 and 1939. It demonstrates that sport formed a common topic within commercial popular music, especially the music hall, a reflection both of sport's central position within society and the music industry's acute understanding that engagement with it generated a sense of modernity. The presence of sportsmen as popular entertainers also helped cement this relationship. With regard to the role of music in sport, it is shown to have been useful for fund raising and as a vehicle for the entertainment and self-entertainment of spectators and has served as a significant force in the construction and articulation of a variety of self- and collective identities. It is argued that, in comparison with the period from the late twentieth century, the relationship between music and sport was largely natural and unforced and showed relatively little of the self-consciousness that so typifies much recent practice. Sport and music did not so much 'crossover' as draw from a common cultural pool.

On 10 April 1886, Blackburn Rovers defeated West Bromwich Albion in an FA Cup Final replay at Derby. That evening, Marie Roza, *prima donna* of the Carl Rosa Opera Company, appeared on stage at the Derby Theatre Royal for the final act of *Fadette* wearing 'the blue and white rosette of Rovers, a graceful compliment to the victors which was recognised with shouts of enthusiasm from the gallery and the more popular parts of the house'.[1] Later nineteenth-century and earlier twentieth-century Britain exhibited intense interest in sport and music and the two frequently inhabited a shared cultural space. While pioneering research has been undertaken on their interrelationship, much of it (usually football-related) focuses on the post-1960 period, thereby largely obscuring, albeit by implication rather than conscious argument or intention, the richness of an earlier common history.[2] This study seeks to stimulate interest in the period before 1939 via a broad overview of the key synergies between the two fields. It explores the roles of both sport in music and music in sport with the latter receiving the greater attention.[3] In acknowledgement of distinctive national traditions, England rather than Britain forms the focus, although much of the discussion has wider applicability. The period chosen, commencing at the critical moment when mass-based team sport was emerging as a central feature of English social life, is deliberately wide in order to allow for the observation of some changes over time, especially from the 1920s. Football, although not the exclusive subject, is the most dominant and while its status as the nation's best-supported spectator sport partially justifies that choice, it is important that future work addresses other sports that may present different musical histories from those offered here.

Music largely equates here to 'popular music', defined broadly in order to embrace the wide range of genres that attracted large-scale public in the period. It might best be

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imagined as comprising three interrelated strands: public amateur music-making typified by choral societies, brass bands and orchestras; domestic performance, often piano-led; and a commercial sector associated earlier in the period most strongly with music hall but, from about 1914, increasingly rooted in a much wider bodies of music and modes of dissemination.[4] Between them they created a culture that, while suffused with evidence of class and status differentiation, nevertheless generated organizations and musical tastes that were by no means rigidly class-defined. Music-hall song found its way into middle-class drawing rooms, operatic selections featured extensively in the brass band repertoire and, especially in the industrial north and midlands, the choral movement embedded sacred art music into a wide social spectrum.[5] From the late Edwardian period, technological change combined with the increasing Americanization of popular music resulted in both a partial fracturing of the common musical culture and a disruption of musical practices. Both the amateur and domestic sectors probably reached their zenith in about the 1890s – as, indeed, did music hall – before beginning a gradual decline that sharpened noticeably in the inter-war year period as the gramophone and, more especially, wireless and cinema, posited an ever larger challenge. The 1930s were particularly problematic, with the pre-eminent economic historian of music talking of a 'collapse of domestic music-making' in that decade.[6]

American-composed songs had become increasingly common from the 1890s but the arrival of ragtime in 1912 saw a pronounced acceleration. By 1919, some 75% of the most popular tunes in Britain were American in origin, with the figure rising to 80% by 1930. Although the 1930s saw something of a recovery of English songwriting, albeit often heavily influenced by American styles, almost two-thirds of leading songs remained of American origin by 1939.[7] The arrival of jazz and swing had an impact on many pre-existing amateur organizations by offering, for younger generations most notably, new and exciting repertoire and forms of musical organizations. For all these changes, however, the popular musical culture of 1939 was still broad-based both socially and aesthetically and practical musical skills remained widely distributed and highly prized. As the second section of this study will demonstrate in particular, players, administrators and supporters drew instinctively and deeply upon its resources, thus rendering music an essential ingredient of English sporting life. Finally, it must also be remembered that, as Gareth Williams has demonstrated so clearly for south Wales, a significant amount of music in this period, especially in the choral and brass band movements, was competitive, with leading organizations facing each other in passionately pursued contests. In this and so many other ways, the two fields knew and understood each other intimately.[8]

Sport in music

Although it was never a dominant subject, it was found frequently in a range of genres from music hall to parlour ballad and light opera. While any sport might be chosen for musical treatment, cricket, horse racing and association football appear to have featured with greater regularity than most, although it is to be hoped that future analyses might find ways of bringing a properly quantitative element to this discussion. A body of instrumental sporting music developed, exemplified by the nineteenth-century polkas, schottisches and waltzes celebrating cricket and its players, although such work in no sense encoded specific representations of the game; composers simply attached cricketing titles to their wares.[9] Most music, however, was vocal and this forms the focus of discussion here.

While some composers and performers were undoubtedly passionate sporting devotees most sport-related music was essentially commercially driven. Managements were always

acutely attuned to audience taste and interests and sport represented a sound investment. In such spirit, a verse celebrating England's victory at the 1902 Oval test was inserted into Lionel Monckton's musical comedy, 'The Country Girl', in 1902 and an 'Ashes' scene found its way into the London Alhambra's ballet, 'All the Year Round', after similar success two years later. At the other end of the period, a concert party appearing at Scarborough during the annual cricket festival offered its audience an 'Operatic test match'.[10] The music hall was the most fertile commercial location for performance of sporting material. As Andrew Horrall has argued convincingly, late Victorian and Edwardian music hall saw extensive engagement with professional sport as critical in supplying 'the "topicality" or "up-to-dateness"' that was so central to the industry's self- and external images.[11] Consequently, a variety of sportsmen, notably boxers, brought their athletic skills to the stage while entertainers found inspiration in the sporting world for songs, dances and even an act entitled Frank's Roosters and Football Dogs.[12] Music hall's tradition of organizing charity sporting events, often in fancy dress, as well as the innumerable matches between the companies and staffs of different venues added another dimension to a rich culture that, as Horrall claims, transcended the boundaries between these two sectors of the entertainment industry.

Music hall was undoubtedly opportunistic in its treatment of sport. In the 1870s and 1880s, major events such as the University Boat Race and Derby Day always generated a body of songs. In 1895, when W.G. Grace's completion of his 100th first-class century and feat of scoring 1000 runs before the end of May led to 'the entire nation succumbed to Grace mania', singer J.C. Rich's 'How's that umpire?', in which he dressed as Grace, was just one of the outcomes. In the following year, against the background of strike action by five England cricketers on the eve of a Test match, 'droll duettists', The Two Bees, performed a song at London's Gatti's Music Hall on the theme of amateurs and professionals.[13] Given this sensitivity to contemporary events, it is unsurprising that Association Football, ever more the 'national game' in terms of its number of adherents, gradually became the most frequently invoked sport on the music-hall stage. The first football songs emerged in about 1890, precisely as the professional game was sinking genuine roots in the north and midlands. Interestingly, some of the earliest examples came from Scotland, a key crucible of the early British game, via the pen of songwriter and performer, James Curran. His 'The Football Match' (1890) for singer George Ripon and 'At the football match last Saturday' for N.C. Bostock (*c.*1891) were sufficiently successful for their singers to threaten legal action (successfully prosecuted in Ripon's case) against other artists who were using the songs illegally.[14] Football songs remained extremely common until the First World War with at least two performers, Tom Traynor in the 1880s and 1890s, and, more successfully, another Scotsman, Sammy Shields, from the early 1900s to his death in 1933, building their acts substantially around the game.[15] After 1914, with music hall effectively replaced by variety and revue and the comic song increasingly rare, football and, indeed, sporting songs, became less of a feature of the popular stage, although Gracie Fields had success in 1931 with 'Pass, shoot, goal' and a number of 1930s revues adopted football themes.[16]

Much sport-related song, especially in the music hall, was not ultimately concerned with sporting events as such. This had not always been the case. Huggins and Gregson have demonstrated that north-eastern (particularly Tyneside) music hall of the third quarter of the nineteenth century generated a powerful tradition of celebrating local heroes from the worlds of rowing, wrestling, horse racing and pedestrianism replete with references to actual events, individuals and places.[17] For the music-hall performer on the national stage, however, sport became essentially another convenient vehicle for linguistic

playfulness, the generation of comic scenarios and the enhancement of stock characterizations. Curran's 'The Football Match' was a fairly typical product, although comic convention demanded that its focus on the meeting of two Irish sides, the Swifts and Macalvenny's Wallopers, made the inevitable descent into violence especially marked:

> One of them jumped on the Wallopers'custodian,
> And he lost more teeth than there are keys on a melodeon ...
> 'Offside', 'onside', every side and suicide,
> Before half-time there were only two aside.

At that point, the players retire to the pub to drink away gate money intended for charity, before finally engaging in a spectacular brawl. Music hall frequently satirized the pretensions of minor authority figures and referees were obvious targets for comic displays of force. The published song sheet for 'The Football Match' pictured an ambulance marked 'reserved for the referee' while Mark Sheridan's, 'The Josser Football Team' (1897), popular enough for him to record in 1905 and 1909, showed similar sentiment.

> The referee so kind and true,
> We kicked him till he was black and blue,
> He lost his watch and his giblets too
> At the football match last Saturday.

As late as 1931, the chorus of Gracie Fields' 'Pass, shoot, goal' recorded how

> The poor referee was kicked by three or four,
> Right between the whistle and the half-time score.

Cricket, with its hard balls and specialist language provided similar comic opportunities. In Herbert Campbell's 'The Josser's Cricket Club' (1884), the story of a drunken encounter between teams of tradesman and policemen, he confides to his audience that 'my missus swore that she heard me say I'd got two "maidens" and one "over". I haven't been home since'.[18]

Music hall was not the only form to demonstrate such expediency. Sport proved a popular basis for dance routines, often comic, with a ballet including 'rugby union scrimmages' highly popular in Brighton Theatre Royal's *Aladdin* in 1889, and musical comedy and revue willingly capitalized on sport's popularity. *Sporting Love* (1932) and *Twenty to One* (1935), composed by leading British light music exponent, Billy Meyerl, had racing backgrounds, with the latter set in an Epsom country house in which an Anti-Gambling League meeting has been infiltrated by a bookie. Both, however, were ultimately light romantic comedies with added sporting colour in which racing, if not incidental, was far from central.[19] Even *Tantivy Towers* (1931) and *Derby Day* (1932), light operas of some intellectual purpose and featuring libretti by the humorist A.P. Herbert, used hunting and horse racing to service wider social commentary. Although *Tantivy Towers*, setting artistic Chelsea against the county hunting set and wittily critical of both, included an anti-hunting song and some slightly acerbic comment on the hunting fraternity, its central conceits were the comic juxtaposition of culture and philistinism (as the Earl of Tantivy opines, 'let Dagoes paint and write and sing, But Art is not an English thing') and the debunking of abstract art. *Derby Day*, while strongly flavoured by racing and gambling, saw Herbert defy 'the canons of the age' and put ordinary people 'on the stage' via a celebration of public house culture.[20]

The fact that sport found its way on to the popular musical stage in often highly idiosyncratic guise will have given little concern to its practitioners and supporters. The presence of sport in commercial music, irrespective of how it was treated, reflected its growing place in society. Indeed, it may have even enhanced its position by lifting sport beyond its normal boundaries and introducing it to new publics. This is undeniably a heavy

interpretive burden for such essentially flimsy structures as 'The Football Match' and 'The Jossers' Cricket Club' to carry, but encountering sport on stage was always, if only at subconscious level, to be reminded of its significance. This sense can only have been enhanced when the performer was also a genuine sporting celebrity, not infrequent in an age when at least some level of musical accomplishment was commonplace. For the highest profile sportsmen, musical talent was not always necessary. *Seconds Out* (1915), a commercially successful boxing revue featuring the black ex-World Heavyweight boxing champion, Jack Johnson, a frequent if controversial performer on the popular stage, saw him dance 'a few steps [and] attempt[ing] to sing', before giving the sparring exhibition that probably the majority had come to see.[21] Association football provided a number of musical entertainers, with one of the earliest, Dave Russell, a Scottish-born player with Preston North End, Nottingham Forest and Ardwick. Famously tough and uncompromising on the pitch, he became a comic singer off it in about 1890 while still playing at the highest level of the English game. His act was not football-related, although he clearly traded on his reputation, with his bill matter for the Birkenhead Argyle in May 1892 listing him both as a 'clever comedian' and 'the champion half back of Nottingham Forest'.[22] In the rather different environment of the 1920s, England international forward, Jack Cock, enjoyed considerable success on the variety stage as a light baritone performing American repertory such as 'Blue Heaven' and 'Carolina Moon'. Reviewing his performance at a London venue where he had 'rouse[d] the house to applause', *The Stage* argued that 'unlike some other famous people, who have appeared before the public, his inclusion is warranted, for he has a very agreeable voice and style'. A second England international, Ellis Rimmer, long-time servant of Sheffield Wednesday and highly talented pianist, was a popular artiste in the Sheffield area in the next decade, while another pianist, Derby County's George Mee, regularly performed at Blackpool in the same period.[23] Here were two worlds of entertainment in the closest of embraces.

Music in sport

Music as entertainment

Between 1880 and 1939, music was essential to very few sports beyond ice and roller skating. It was almost exclusively incidental, subsidiary to a main event that could, and frequently did, continue successfully without it. Yet, sporting events were often strongly touched by music and the wider sporting culture was infused in numerous ways as its adherents turned instinctively to an art so deeply embedded in daily life: even illegal sports such as dog- and cock-fighting were followed by musical entertainments in inter-war Staffordshire. In a small but highly suggestive act, when, in 1895, Darlington Rugby Union Club sought to raise its public profile, it did so by holding a concert.[24]

Music's most prosaic sporting function was simply to raise money, as when Swindon Town and Clapton Orient football clubs held concerts to cover summer wage bills in 1906 and 1910, respectively. Repertory could vary quite markedly with Derbyshire County Cricket Club engaging the Derby Musical Society to perform Handel's *Alexander's Feast* 'in aid of funds' in 1890 (orchestral selections by Handel and Mozart were also included) while Clapton Orient opted for a Pierrot show.[25] Such differences tempt the suggestion of neat homologies between musical programme and social class, and clubs with higher social standing were, indeed, probably more likely to utilize art music in reflection of both personal taste and acuity to particular forms of cultural capital. However, given the complexities of popular musical appetites, such speculation requires greater empirical support than currently exists.

While only a minority of sports fans would have attended such concerts, most will have experienced the various free entertainments before, during or after events that were a central aspect of music's contribution to the sporting environment. The tradition of providing music as an attraction at any manner of outdoor events was well established by the early nineteenth century and major spectator sports inevitably followed suit. It is difficult to assess the exact frequency of musical performances. Did, for example, *Athletic News* record the presence of brass bands at two northern athletics meetings in August 1884 because this was unusual or did it fail to note them in most other reports across the summer because an attendant band was generally unremarkable?[26] It is interesting that, certainly before 1914, press reportage of musical entertainments appears to occur most frequently in relation to events of especial importance such as cup ties, with music adding the sense of the carnivalesque that so often distinguished them, although this again may simply reflect journalistic convention. There are examples of music within essentially quotidian activities, with Chelsea Football Club employing the Chelsea Borough Band on a regular basis at home games by 1907 and even printing the schedule of pre-match music in the club programme for several seasons.

As this suggests, musical entertainment was largely the preserve of the brass band, an ensemble built around a specific set of brass instruments, and the brass and reed or 'military' band, a reference to instrumentation rather than affiliation to the armed forces. Deeply rooted in local cultures, especially in industrial regions, often reaching remarkably high standards through exposure to contesting and eminently suited to outdoor performance by dint of the portability of their instruments and the volume they could generate, they had long served their communities in all manner of *al fresco* activities. The very best bands may well have avoided more mundane engagements on the assumption that they provided an insufficient showcase for technical virtuosity, and a number of football clubs certainly opted for bands from institutions such as reformatories, industrial schools and orphanages. Elite regimental bands were also utilized in certain high-status events, notably cricket festivals, where, as with the Band of the 36th Regiment at Worcester in 1878, they played during intervals in the day's play and at concerts, balls and other social events in the evening.[27] From the early 1920s, public address systems were increasingly common at larger stadia, thus beginning the move away from live entertainment that accelerated so rapidly in the second half of the twentieth century as local community resources became ever more depleted and unfashionable. Given the limited availability of evidence and the variety of locations involved – football might not have shared repertoire with a cricket festival or Ascot races – it is difficult to offer anything other than the broadest of generalizations about repertoire. Chelsea Borough Band certainly featured numerous waltzes and marches composed or arranged by prominent figures within the brass band movement, although the larger operatic selections beloved by leading bands were absent. This may have reflected either the band's capabilities or, equally, their judgment as to what was suitable to a particular setting. They also played popular songs of the moment from the 'Merry Widow Waltz' to music-hall favourites and it is probable that this broad category of commercial popular music predominated.[28] In a modest way, the sporting arena thereby provided a mode of dissemination for, and an index of the popularity of, other forms of popular culture.

As a journalist listening to 'the capital selection of music' provided at an English Rugby Union international attested, music, especially pre-event, served ultimately as a pleasant method of relieving 'the tedium of the long wait'. This was a modest but most useful contribution. It may have served to reduce the chances of disorder and certainly helped divert attention from the worst discomforts of overcrowding. It acted to mark the

passage from the ‘outside’ world to the sporting one and, used well, it also added a lightness and wit as when what the Chelsea F.C. match programme described as that ‘wag [of a] bandmaster of ours’, greeted the home team with ‘See the conquering hero comes’ before marking the entry of the visitors from the brewing town of Burton with ‘Beer, glorious beer’. (Burton United’s football was described as, ‘like the town’s beer, strong at times’).[29]

The most sophisticated musical provision inevitably occurred at the highest-profile events, reaching an apotheosis at Football’s annual FA Cup Final, the focus here, and Rugby League’s Challenge Cup Final. While the FA Cup commenced in 1871–1872, the first clear evidence of musical entertainment so far discovered dates to 1894 when the Liverpool Police Band’s ‘delightful rendering of various items were received with much applause’ at Everton’s Goodison Park. A ‘military band discoursed sweet music’ at the 1900 final at Crystal Palace and it is likely that bands featured regularly by this point. The 1914 match, the first graced by a reigning monarch, saw the bands of the Liverpool Regiment (Liverpool FC were finalists) and the Irish Guards, with their ‘pleasant musical marching’ causing an extension of the half-time interval. Given licence by King George V’s attendance, this may have been the first appearance by elite army bands; although wartime exigencies possibly exerted influence, in the King’s absence, music for the 1915 final at Manchester was provided by Irwell Old Prize Band.[30]

It was the inter-war period that saw the musical programme reach full maturity, with the introduction of community singing in 1927 as the critical ingredient. As will be discussed below, crowds had long sung before matches but formal community singing was rather different. Although it had numerous precursors, its modern manifestation began in about 1924–1925, partly as a form of musical education but increasingly as a vehicle for generating social unity in a decade witnessing ‘more severe class conflict than at any other time in modern British history’.[31] It comprised the performance of popular songs by large groups of (usually) untrained singers gathered together either specifically to sing or for another activity appropriated for musical purposes. Sections of the popular press, above all, the *Daily Express*, seized on its commercial possibilities and began wide-scale sponsorship, commencing its engagement with football at Fulham on Boxing Day 1926.[32] Buoyed by general success, the *Express* finally turned to the game’s greatest showpiece. Accompanied by a military band and conducted by ex-military instructor T.P. Ratcliff – as ‘The Man in White’, he became indelibly associated with Cup Final community song – fans annually worked through a programme of as many as a dozen popular songs, rooted especially in regional anthems and cheerful numbers from the Great War and always culminating with the hymn ‘Abide with me’. Finally, the National Anthem was sung immediately before kick-off.

By 1938, the music had grown into a spectacle in its own right, with the bands playing and marching from 12:45 until 2:15 p.m., at which point community singing commenced, before reappearing at half-time and again after the match.[33] As a number of commentators have argued, a range of factors including the attendance of royalty, the match’s permanent location, from 1923, at Wembley Stadium, the excellent behaviour of supporters in the extreme overcrowding that accompanied the final in that year, and the broadcasting of the match by the BBC from 1927, part reflected, part constructed the process by which the FA Cup Final became a central part of a national culture, still proletarian in tone but elevated above class. Musical provision undoubtedly also played a part, helping to confer an enhanced status upon the event specifically and, by extension, the sport more widely. A contemporary journalist comparing the nature of finals in the 1930s with that of 1894, recalled how at the latter the two sides had run on to the pitch to the tune of Harry Randall’s music-hall hit ‘Ginger, you’re barmy!’.[34] Military bands were still willing to

play contemporary equivalents in the 1930s – in 1938 the Irish Guards offered both a ‘Potpourri’ of Gracie Field’s songs and ‘Bie mir bist du schoen’, a current hit for the American close harmony group, the Andrews Sisters – but these were not the defining items and the bands were not defined by them. By the 1920s, the presence of leading regimental bands, popular with the public and associated with the highest standards of musicianship, combined with community singing to endow the Cup Final with an ‘Englishness’ that married military spectacle, a disciplined urban levity and powerful popular religiosity.

‘Abide with me’ was the key ingredient. Written in 1847 by Henry Francis Lyte, as he faced a dangerous (and, subsequently, terminal) illness, and set to W.H. Monk’s tune ‘Eventide’ in 1861, it rapidly became one of the most popular of all British hymns. It was first used in football community singing on Good Friday 1927 at Tottenham Hotspur’s White Hart Lane. While *Express* acumen and/or its recommendation by an FA official are the most likely explanations for the hymn’s inclusion at Wembley, the common belief that its presence was the result of royal request added greatly to the enthusiasm with which it was taken up. Most important of all was the hymn’s close association with funerals and other commemorations, allowing, as Jeffrey Hill has argued, singers and listeners (significantly, the BBC began FA Cup coverage with the community singing) to connect with the traditions of remembrance so powerfully and deeply embedded from 1918. The memories of the hymn’s historian, Henry Garland, capture well the impact of the first Wembley performance:

> There had been much boisterous singing of popular songs, but when ‘Abide with me’ was announced by the conductor, there fell on the vast crowd an immediate silence; compared with its moving intensity to the sudden silence at the Cenotaph on Armistice Day. It first struck me that it was out of place to sing a hymn so sacred as ‘Abide with me’ at a football match, but that feeling soon went as the Band of Guards played the opening chords. The volume of singing increased with each verse until the stadium became like the nave of a great cathedral. It was a deeply affecting experience bringing a lump to my throat and tears to my eyes.[35]

From then until probably the 1960s, the annual rendition of the work became one of the most notable expressions of religious sentiment in an increasingly secular society and one that bathed football in a highly respectable glow.

A final distinctive element of what might be termed ‘official’ musical provision is that associated with civic victory celebrations, most frequent in association football and rugby but far from distinctive to them, that saw successful teams or individuals parade through the town or city centre and led by a band. Significantly, bands were not always present in those geographical areas where amateur band traditions were relatively weak; the local press made no mention of music in its coverage of Arsenal’s homecoming from FA Cup success in 1930 and 1936, for example. In the north, however, bands were a constant presence and the most prestigious local ensembles could be called into action. Black Dyke Mills Band, British Open champions four times in the 1890s, played for Halifax Rugby Club after its success in the Yorkshire Challenge Cup in 1894 and King Cross, another nationally prominent Halifax band, similarly honoured the club after it won the Challenge Cup in 1903.[36] Absolutely central to any such event was the instrumental performance of Handel’s chorus ‘See, the conquering hero comes’. Originally written for the oratorio *Joshua* in 1747 but added to the score of *Judas Maccabeus* (dedicated to the Duke of Cumberland after English success at Culloden) during a reworking in 1751, the piece was frequently adopted as a triumphal anthem at civic and political events from the later eighteenth century. Its sporting potential had certainly been appreciated as early as 1802,

with 'an old blind fiddler' striking up the tune after a London prize fight. From the later nineteenth century through to 1939 and even into the 1950s, it is rare indeed to find a newspaper report of a celebration in which it is not mentioned.[37]

So frequently was it performed that there is a case for nominating it as the pre-eminent work in the late nineteenth and early twentieth sporting canon. Its prominence is well illustrated by an incident in 1896 in which an unpopular referee was followed to Normanton railway station by a crowd of some 700 or 800 supporters of Normanton Northern Union Rugby Club, in all probability, mainly miners, 'singing and whistling "See the conquering hero comes" and shouting to the police, "lock him up"'.[38] This display of mordant humour more than adequately testified to the music's familiarity and its hold in popular sporting culture. Its appropriation may have resulted partially from its pre-existing usage within civic life but it must also have owed much to the broad-based and widespread popularity of Handel's music. Although never remotely matching *Messiah* in terms of popularity, *Judas Maccabeus* was performed fairly frequently in the nineteenth century by the choral societies well known to many within the sporting community. When news of Blackburn Rovers's FA Cup Final success in 1884 reached a social gathering of neighbouring Sabden Choral Society, 'three hearty cheers were given' in a gesture that demonstrated not merely local pride but the existence of a cultural matrix that allowed the comfortable coexistence, especially in the north and midlands, of sacred music and proto-professional sport.[39]

Although their critical voice is usually mediated through press reports, sporting crowds largely seemed to have enjoyed the music provided for them. At the same time, however, they maintained vigorous music-making traditions of their own, a logical extension of the habits of singing and playing in the street, the public house and other locations that were such a common feature of social life in the period.[40] Once again, spectator-led musical cultures were most marked in football and rugby league, and especially at cup ties, but they were undoubtedly present in other settings. 'Informal' performances certainly took place inside grounds before matches. In a further appropriation of sacred music, the 1899 FA Cup Final saw Sheffield United fans hum 'The Dead March' from Handel's *Saul*, a work frequently used in funerals and memorial services but also adopted by brass bands as a somewhat menacing musical protest against poor adjudication at contests. In a combative riposte, Derby County supporters countered with the 1893 music-hall drinking song, 'The rowdy, dowdy boys'. Rather more peacefully, a reporter following Bradford City fans to Nottingham Forest in 1911 found a group 'singing a hymn tune to the strain of concertinas'. Whether the 'official' and 'unofficial' came into conflict as they did at times in the late twentieth century is unclear, but the balance of evidence would suggest a generally healthy coexistence. 1911 also found Bradford City supporters accompanying the pre-match band in a rendition of Harry Lauder's 'I love a Lassie' that placed 'a serious strain on the permanence of the stands', while, in 1921, *The Stage* noted how a new ballad, 'Let the rest of the world go by', had been 'a popular tune with the crowd at the English Cup Final on Saturday'.[41]

Music was possibly most frequent, however, on journeys to and from events, with some fans taking considerable trouble to be entertained or entertain themselves. A party from Irwell Springs F.C. took a brass band on the train to Renton, Scotland in 1884: 'What a treat to the other passengers', commented an acid *Athletic News*. Warrington RLFC supporters placed a piano in a railway compartment when travelling to the Challenge Cup Final in 1901, while Halifax fans transported a highland piper to the same event in 1904.[42] The popular and convenient concertina was a frequent choice for self-accompaniment. A report of the mass exodus from London to Epsom on Derby Day in 1895 noted that while

'many young men "twanged the light guitar" and violins were not uncommon … concertinas were the instrument' and they were also prominent as Manchester United fans toured and serenaded London on the morning of the 1909 FA Cup Final. All manner of other instruments and accoutrements were similarly pressed into service. Manchester City supporters celebrated 'the fact that London had been reached' for the 1926 final with 'mouth organs, tin whistles, cornets, bugles, pipes and drums' while, in 1928, the first contingent of Blackburn Rovers fans arriving at Euston Station (at 2:15 a.m.), 'promptly accepted invitations to give vocal support to the "music" provided by concertinas, mouth organs and rattles'. In the same year in a spectacle harking back to earlier forms of popular custom and display, a 'Waffen-fuffen band', essentially a small ensemble using home-made instruments such as old kettles and pans as well as tin whistles and kazoos, paraded around Huddersfield before an FA Cup tie, replete with flags, standards and a hobby horse.[43] What was sung and played was dependent upon the tastes of the individuals concerned, although a body of both established and currently popular commercial songs was probably the staple: a reporter covering the 1926 FA Cup Final between Bolton Wanderers and Manchester City noted stations 'full of northcountrymen, shouting, cheering and singing "Valencia"', one of the year's biggest hit tunes. Lyrics may have been adapted to suit the specific sporting context. In 1911, the Chelsea F.C. programme ran a competition asking for the re-working of popular numbers into songs of 'the "Play up Chelsea" type', mirroring activity believed to be already extant amongst some fans.[44] Against this history, the emergence of singing on Liverpool F.C.'s Kop in the early 1960s looks rather more like a continuation or revival of earlier practices than the new phenomenon it is often taken to be.

Music and identity

Irrespective of specific repertoire, these supporters were using music to express loyalty to a team and town or city, thereby demonstrating one of its most powerful functions in sport: the articulation and generation of personal and collective identities. Attention will return to fans and supporters later, but, for the moment, it is important to stress how central music-making was to the formation of what might be termed the 'sporting' identities of participants. In a powerful demonstration of the vital role played by conviviality and sociability in the construction of the sporting world, virtually every club and institution held some form of members' gathering, ranging from the highly formalized hunt ball or tennis club dance to the more modest 'smoking concert', in which music played a major part. In two weeks in 1897 alone, one Bradford newspaper recorded social-cum-musical events for a local cycling club, Bradford Golf Club and the Yorkshire Cross-Country Association.[45] As ever, it is difficult to generalize about repertoire, with variations in class, geography and available expertise all undoubtedly influencing programmes. In the nineteenth century, music-hall numbers leavened with popular parlour and concert songs such as 'Kathleen Mavourneen', 'My Pretty Jane' and 'Simon the Cellarer' – all three were performed at Leicestershire County Cricket Club's 1892 'smoker' – were probably the norm but more (and less) ambitious items were doubtless attempted. Events were often enlivened with choruses of 'For he's jolly good fellow' and invariably ended with 'Auld lang syne'. Also sometimes used to greet teams on entering the pitch and sung in commiseration after significant defeats, the song was a cornerstone of sporting music.[46]

These activities were important in establishing both a sense of belonging to a particular institution and a commonality of purpose within it. Critical here was the fact that although

professional or semi-professional entertainers were invariably engaged for the main entertainment, members and officials also often performed, their varying degrees of talent thus making their institution something larger, more generous than a mere sports club. Interestingly, this was as much the case amongst elite bodies as it was at a purely recreational level. In the late nineteenth century, for example, the Free Foresters, a nomadic cricket team of midland amateurs founded in 1856, were as well known for their vocal performances as their cricket.[47] A similar situation appertained in professional and proto-professional clubs, with three Blackburn Rovers players contributing songs to an FA Cup Final victory dinner in 1884. One, club captain, Hugh McIntyre, was clearly a frequent performer, with the local newspaper referring to him 'render[ing] a song in his well-known pleasing style'. In 1903, a similar event celebrating Halifax's Northern Union Challenge Cup success saw both J.W. 'Billy' Bulmer and club mate Reggie Mallinson contributing to 'the vocal part of the programme'. (Bulmer, then a journeyman joiner and a highly talented baritone who sang extensively in local and regional oratorio, used earnings from rugby and music to buy out his employer and embark on a career that led to a leading role in the West Riding textile trade and a knighthood in 1922.)[48] In sporting worlds where leading players were invariably part-time professionals such activity may well have continued throughout the period; Batley's procurement of Rugby League's Championship in 1924 led to 'the excellent singing of those two popular players, Harry Rees and George Savidge' gracing a town hall dinner. At the highest echelons, however, while talented performers such as Jack Cock and Ellis Rimmer undoubtedly entertained teammates in informal settings, more prestigious events may well have demanded a clearer demarcation between the sportsman as professional and simply 'good sport'. While the fact that the post-dinner entertainment at the 1938 FA Cup Final comprised 'dance and cabaret' may hint a little too conveniently at a trajectory from Victorian participation to 1930s consumption, such a narrative is broadly sustainable.[49]

Institutional identity was sometimes enhanced by the rendition of club songs of the type that David Rayvern Allen has found prominent within the cricket community from at least the early nineteenth century. Often recording specific events and deeds within club histories, they were closely related to the school sporting songs that were such a feature of the nineteenth century. Cricket was certainly not alone in generating such material, as exemplified by the composition and performance by members of Huddersfield Golf Club in 1893 of 'The Raven of Fixby Hall', a celebration of the club's location on an estate once the home of factory reformer, Richard Oastler. Although the extent of the practice is uncertain, the Holmfirth, Honley and Meltham Harriers, a largely working class and lower middle class beagle hunt from the Holme Valley near Huddersfield, adopted and eventually, in 1887, published its own body of song drawn from a variety of sources, the performance of which became critical to its self-image. Rather more prosaically, two members of Batley Northern Union Club were arrested for being drunk and disorderly following a celebration dinner in 1898 after which they walked along 'Station Road ... singing a football song about "Good old Batley, Jolly old Batley"'. Where club songs did not exist, popular material was hastily appropriated; Reggie Mallinson's offering at Halifax in 1903 comprised a reworking with local rugby references of 'Let them all come', Harry Randall's hit music-hall song from 1898.[50]

As well as forming bonds within organizations, music also built linkages between them, especially those sharing a common sport. Cricket was particularly productive of such material, its claims for moral worth leading to a body of work celebrating the meaning of the game and drawing the game's numerous adherents into a shared embrace. Most reports of cricket concerts and socials record the performance of cricket songs, although

understandable journalistic imprecision and the proliferation of songs with identical or nearly identical titles makes the identification of specific items problematic. It is likely that two of the most popular were works with titles distinguished only by the location of an apostrophe, G.A. Macfarren's 'The Cricketers' Song' (lyrics by E.G. Monk), a part-song for tenors and bass from 1850, and Stephen Stratton's 'The Cricketer's Song' (lyrics by Francis Reade), written in 1881 and dedicated to W.G. Grace. The former was certainly still being sung by members of Coombe Cricket Club, Oxfordshire at a concert in 1888, and a performance of the latter, 'in character', featured at Clacton-on-Sea Cricket Club's concert in 1881. While Macfarren and Monk's piece essentially focused on the pleasures of simply playing 'cricket noble cricket', 'The Cricketer's Song' was ideologically rather more sophisticated, extolling the virtues of a game 'for full man-hood as well as for young, For peasants as well as for lords' and rooting it firmly in contemporary imperial debate.

> For the glory of England, her soldiers and tars
> In regions remotest have bled.
> But her banner will carry in friendlier wars
> And conquer at cricket instead.

Here is cricket as social and political balm, building both the social and imperial bond. At an altogether simpler level, any golfer would have enjoyed a wry smile on listening to a performance of Herbert Schartan and Jay Hickory Wood's 1900 song, 'Caddie'.

> While brightly was shining the sun, caddie,
> We started – you and I,
> And now we are only half-way, caddie
> Yet stars light up the sky.[51]

Wider identities were also frequently displayed and shaped. For much of the period to 1939, sport remained a decidedly male domain, serving as one of the ways in which, in Richard Holt's phrase, 'men have kept themselves apart, defined their own territory, and indulged their enthusiasms'.[52] The traditions of terrace singing undoubtedly encouraged displays of boisterous but largely unthreatening masculine high spirits while, especially before 1914, the club concert or dinner, so often male-only, appears to have been one of the key sites for the definition of masculine territory. Although a history of the so-called 'rugby song' might add another dimension here, this process was shaped largely through associated behaviour, particularly smoking and drinking, rather the use of any distinctive repertoire. Hunt balls and tennis and golf club dinners had always been accessible to middle- and upper-class women and the 1930s saw greater opportunities for those of the lower-middle and working classes, as exemplified by the dinner dance organized by north London's Archway and District Football League in 1936.[53] Sporting sociability was gradually evolving in new, more inclusive directions.

Expression of geographical loyalty was also central to much sport-based musical culture. Celebration of a particular club was often equally a celebration of locality and/or region and fans, especially of football and rugby clubs, frequently adopted what later generations would term 'terrace anthems'. An early example is provided by the tune 'The Good old Wednesday Boys', associated with Sheffield Wednesday in the 1890s, while Norwich's City's 'On the ball City', although originally written for another local team, belonged to the club from its formation in 1902. For some fans the expression of territorial identity resulted in the adoption of existing works of local musical patriotism. The 1908 music-hall song, 'My girl's a Yorkshire girl', was sung by Bradford City supporters at a game in Nottingham in 1911, who, interestingly, changed the chorus line from 'Although she's a factory lass and doesn't wear fancy clothes' to 'Although she's a factory lass and

doesn't wear Nottingham lace'. 'Blaydon Races', Geordie Ridley's 1862 Tyneside music-hall song, and William Ward-Hicks's 1907 county anthem, 'Sussex by the Sea', seem to have become inter-war terrace favourites at Newcastle United and Brighton and Hove Albion, respectively.[54] Many football songs, however, had no obvious geographical linkage and were merely popular pieces that developed distinctive associations. West Ham United's adoption of 'I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles', originally from a 1918 Broadway show although an English music-hall hit, reputedly stemmed from its being played over the club's public address system in about 1926, following its use as team song by a local school football team, although there is also a possibility that it was borrowed slightly earlier from the repertoire of visiting Swansea United fans. Again, the 1918 American ballad 'Till we meet again', usually referred to as 'Smile a while', appears to have been taken up by Huddersfield Town supporters after its rendition by Irish Guards Band during the club's (unsuccessful) appearance at the 1920 Cup Final.[55]

The expression of local and regional patriotism was often encouraged by official musical programmes. At FA Cup and Rugby League challenge Cup Finals, the military bands often greeted supporters with a tune associated with their town or region, and community singing offered opportunities for staged and usually good-natured displays of territorial rivalry. Two key songs in this context were, 'My girl's a Yorkshire girl' and its music-hall companion pieces 'She's a lassie from Lancashire' (1908). These were staples on the song sheets whenever a Yorkshire or Lancashire team reached a final, common in football and even more so in geographically distinctive rugby league. When the two counties were actually pitted against each other, again, a regular occurrence, the two sets of supporters were encouraged to out-sing their rivals when their respective anthems were performed. Tony Collins has noted that informal singing contests also took place at Challenge Cup Finals between rival supporters and he argues persuasively that, although intra-regional rivalry was evidently on display here, it fed, too, into a shared sense of 'northernness', music helping allow joint celebration of a distinct northern product and one perceived by its followers to be the superior winter game.[56]

Identification with locality and region was frequently a building block for expression of national allegiance and major sports events gave plentiful scope for this. International matches and events provided an obvious opportunity for musical expression of patriotic sentiment via the playing and singing of the National Anthem – the eighteenth-century national song, 'Heart of Oak', was sometimes preferred when England played other 'home' nations – which unsurprisingly became one of the key elements of the sporting repertoire. There were also occasions when the sporting crowd celebrated national political or military events, as when those gathered at Headingley to see Yorkshire County Cricket Club play the Australians thundered out the National Anthem to mark the end of the Boer War in June 1902; little matter that 'the band and the public soon parted company'. However, it was often at events such as the FA Cup Final, especially after its move to Wembley, that a sense of national identity was most powerfully expressed through music. As Hill has demonstrated, fans, for all their local and regional affiliations, were also acutely aware of being at the centre of a national event. In such a context, regional songs contributed to a larger project and 'Abide with me' became a sacred national anthem.[57]

Coda

The last two decades have seen a growing body of scholarship on the contemporary sport-music 'crossover'.[58] That term, with its implication of two cultural strands travelling in essentially different directions until consciously connected, is a helpful one. While it is

undeniable that music and sport have been shared passions for many individuals in recent decades, they were most definitely not always natural bedfellows. Indeed, in some cases they proved almost antithetical. In the 1970s, certain strands of music and football, increasingly tarnished by hooliganism, appeared to be almost mutually exclusive activities, with football-loving DJ, John Peel, booed at a rock festival for trying to read the football results. Moreover, the renewed linkages that have begun to emerge from about the mid-1980s have invariably been the products of highly self-conscious practices. In particular, what McLeod usefully refers to as the 'increasing convergence and cross-marketing' of sport and music, whether evidenced by the creation of spectacle before, during and after sporting events, the adoption of rock anthems or the appropriation of opera and classical music, appears a most obvious marriage of commercial convenience.[59]

In the period to 1939, interaction was far more organic with the two spheres not so much 'crossing over' as enjoying a mutually supportive, unforced embrace. This is not to deny the existence of artifice or commercial opportunism. From Madame Roza's Blackburn Rovers rosette to the *Daily Express* community 'sings', good opportunities were rarely missed. For the most part, however, the interrelationships between music and sport do not appear surprising or forced. Music-hall singers featured sport, bands played at sporting events, football fans (and footballers) sang popular songs because it was an obvious thing to do, a natural exchange within a culture the key components of which were broadly agreed upon and accepted. This was clearly far easier to achieve in a 'modern' popular musical culture that, in comparison with its 'post-modern' later twentieth and early twenty-first century counterpart, was relatively unfragmented in terms of class, gender and age. The impact of jazz and jazz-influenced popular music from the 1920s undeniably introduced a powerful element of generational conflict, and future research may reveal that the argument offered here works best only for the period to about 1914. Whatever its outcome, that research, and much more, remains to be done, and not only in regard to the period studied here. The post-war decades, witnessing many continuities but also the weakening and unravelling of so many of the connections between music and sport discussed here, should prove especially fruitful territory. Historians, like the band, must play on.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. *Era*, April 17, 1886.
2. For pioneering work on the pre-1939 period see Horrall, *Popular Culture in London*; Huggins and Gregson, 'Sport, Music-Hall Culture'; Huggins and Gregson, 'Northern Songs Sporting Heroes'; and Hill, 'War, Remembrance and Sport'. Valuable work on the post-1945 era includes McGuinness, 'Friday Night and the Gates are Low'; and Thrills, *You're Not Singing Anymore*.
3. The digitization of sources, especially newspapers, makes work on this topic far easier, with valuable needles now more easily discovered in previously often impenetrable haystacks.
4. Russell, *Popular Music in England*; and Nott, *Music for the People*.
5. Russell, *Popular Music in England*.
6. Ehrlich, *Music Profession in Britain*, 209; and Russell, 'Amateur Musicians', 145–50.
7. Nott, *Music for the People*, 211–13.
8. Williams, 'Samson in Senghennyd'.
9. Scowcroft, 'Sport and Music'.
10. Travers, *94 Declared*, 24–5; *The Stage*, April 28, 1904, May 12, 1904, September 8, 1938.

11. Horrall, *Popular Culture in London*, 3.
12. *Era*, February 17, 1900.
13. *Era*, April 1, 1877, March 30, 1878, March 14, 1880. For Derby Day, *Era*, April 4, 1875, May 14, 1875, May 18, 1879, June 27, 1885 and March 13, 1897; Rae, *W.G. Grace*, 389, 396. *Era*, January 12, 1895 (see also June 15, 1895 and August 10, 1895); *Era*, August 15, 1896.
14. For Curran and Ripon see Maloney, *Scotland and the Music Hall*, 96–7. Curran's, 'Dooley Football Club' was to form the basis of Robin Hall and Jimmie McGregor's hit song 'Football Crazy' in 1960. www.rampantscotland.com/songs/blsongs_football.htm (accessed May 14, 2011). *Era*, March 28, 1891 for Ripon's court case; November 26, 1892, November 25 1893 and December 2, 1893 for Bostock.
15. *Era*, July 27, 1889, August 31, 1889 and August 5, 1898 for Traynor. Rust, *British Music Hall*, 245, lists Shields's Edwardian recordings. Although he sang, much of his output took the form of comic recitals. *The Stage*, December 29, 1933.
16. Thrills, *You're Not Singing Anymore*, 73; *The Stage*, March 15, 1932 and March 5, 1936.
17. Huggins and Gregson, 'Northern Songs Sporting Heroes'.
18. British Library [BL] H. 3980, LL (55); [BL] H. 3981, VV (22). It was recorded under the title 'At the Football Match last Saturday'. Rust, *British Music Hall*, 241; Thrills, *You're Not Singing Anymore*, 73; [BL] H. 3480 (9). 'Josser' broadly equates to 'fool'. For cricket and music hall see Allen, *A Song for Cricket*, 149–59.
19. *Era*, December 28, 1889; Gänzl, *British Musical Theatre*, 402, 433.
20. Music was by Thomas Dunhill and Alfred Reynolds, respectively. *The Stage*, December 30, 1931 and January 28, 1932; A.P. Herbert, *Tantivy Towers and Derby Day*, 60–1, 20; and A.P. Herbert, *A.P.H. His Life and Times*, 90–6.
21. Boddy, *Boxing*, 181–6; and *Dewsbury Reporter*, November 20, 1915.
22. Bill in author's private collection. For early performances in Coventry and Leicester see *Era*, May 23, 1891 and May 30, 1891.
23. *The Stage*, July 5, 1928. See also January 12, 1922, April 30, 1922, and July 12, 1928; May 2, 1935, and June 6, 1935, for Rimmer 'scoring as usual' in vaudeville programmes. Harding, *Living to Play*, 241, 249.
24. Palmer, *Minstrel of Quarry Bank*, Part two, 64; and *Northern Echo*, February 2, 1895.
25. *The Stage*, September 9, 1906, Horrall, *Popular Culture in London*, 157; and *Derby Mercury*, June 4, 1890.
26. *Athletic News*, August 6, 1884.
27. Herbert, *British Brass Band*; and *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, August 10, 1878.
28. *Chelsea Chronicle*, September 1907–February 1910.
29. *Leeds* Mercury, February 3, 1896; and *Chelsea Chronicle*, April 2, 1907 and April 4, 1907.
30. *Liverpool Mercury*, April 2, 1894; *Sheffield Independent*, April 23, 1900; *Times*, April 27, 1914; and *Manchester Evening News*, April 24, 1915.
31. McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, 54. For community singing see Russell, 'Abiding Memories'; and Hill, 'War, Remembrance and Sport', 165–7.
32. *Daily Express*, December 23, 1926 and January 15, 1927.
33. Official Cup Final programme, 1938, National Football Museum, Preston archive.
34. *Yorkshire Post*, April 25, 1936.
35. *Daily Express*, April 16, 1927; Hill, 'War, Remembrance and Sport', 165; Garland, *Henry Francis Lyte*, 126.
36. *Islington Gazette*, April 28, 1930 and April 29, 1936; *Halifax Guardian*, April 28, 1894 and April 27, 1903.
37. Handel, *Judas Maccabeus*, iv; *London Evening Post*, September 8, 1774; *Morning Post*, November 16, 1802.
38. *Leeds Mercury*, February 3, 1896.
39. *Blackburn Standard*, April 5, 1884.
40. Russell, *Popular Music in England*, 182; Palmer, *Minstrel of Quarry Bank*, Part 1, 63.
41. Palmer, *Minstrel of Quarry Bank*, Part 2, 66; Russell, *Popular Music in England*, 226; *Yorkshire Observer Budget*, March 18, 1911; *The Stage*, April 28, 1921.
42. *Athletic News*, September 3, 1884; *Batley News and Advertiser*, May 4, 1901; and *Halifax Evening Courier*, April 30, 1903.

43. *Leeds Mercury*, May 30, 1895*; Manchester Evening News*, April 24, 1909, April 26, 1909; *Manchester Evening Chronicle,* April 24, 1926*; Huddersfield Daily Examiner*, April 21, 1928 and March 5, 1928; Wharton and Clarke, *Tommy Talker Bands*, 8–10.
44. *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, April 24, 1926; *Chelsea Chronicle*, November 18, 1911.
45. *Bradford Observer*, May 19, 1897, May 20, 1897 and May 31, 1897.
46. *Leicestershire Chronicle*, May 14, 1892; *Halifax Guardian*, April 28, 1894; and *Huddersfield Examiner*, April 25, 1928, and April 28, 1930.
47. *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, August 10, 1878.
48. *Blackburn Standard*, April 5, 1884; and *Halifax Evening Courier*, April 27, 1903, June 26, 1936 for obituary.
49. *Batley News*, May 17, 1924; *Huddersfield Examiner*, April 26, 1920, May 1, 1922 and May 2, 1938.
50. Allen, *A Song*, 21, 42–4, 58–9, 76; *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, October 31, 1893; *A Fine Hunting Day*; *Batley News*, May 6, 1898; *Halifax Evening Courier*, April 27, 1903, *Era*, August 27, 1898 and November 12, 1898.
51. Monk, *Novellos Part-song Book,* 5–8; [BL] H. 1787 N (49); *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, April 28, 1888; *Essex Standard*, August 27, 1881. For songs of similar sentiment see Allen, *A Song for Cricket*, 59–60; and 'Play the Game'.
52. Holt, *Sport and the British*, 348.
53. *Islington Gazette*, April 24, 1936.
54. *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, October 21, 1895 and April 21, 1896. Although the local paper referred to this as a 'well-known air', it has not proved possible to identify it. Merrills, *Dicks Out 2*, 76–7; *Yorkshire Observer Budget*, March 11, 1911; Thrills, *You're Not Singing Anymore*, 92; Merrills, *Dicks Out 2*, 7.
55. Thrills, *You're Not Singing Anymore*, 34; http://www.whufc.com (accessed July 12, 2011); *Huddersfield Examiner*, April 27, 1920 and April 30, 1938. The printed version usually shows '*Smile the while*'.
56. *News Chronicle* song sheet, Rugby League Final, 1933. I am grateful to Tony Collins for providing this. *News Chronicle* song sheet, FA Cup Final, 1938, National Football Museum; and Collins, *Rugby League in Twentieth Century*, 60–1.
57. *Leeds Mercury*, February 3, 1896 for 'Heart of Oak' and 'Garryowen' at the England *v* Ireland rugby international; *Yorkshire Evening Post*, June 2, 1902; Hill, 'Rite of Spring', 87.
58. McLeod, 'We are the Champions'.
59. Thrills, *You're Not Singing Anymore*, 40. McLeod, 'We Are the Champions', 526.

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