The Beginnings of International Soccer

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Globalisation and Growing Seriousness

By

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INTRODUCTION

On Sunday 20 July 1902, the international soccer teams of Uruguay and Argentina stepped out on to the field at the Paso Molino ground in Montevideo in front of over 8000 spectators, 1000 of whom had travelled from Buenos Aires. Two sides purporting to represent the two rivals had already played in May 1901, though the selection of the Uruguayan eleven had been tainted by the fact that it had been organised largely by the Albion club in the city and was not a truly representative choice. Even in 1902, there had been controversy, with the Central Uruguay Railway Cricket Club (CURCC), now the famous Club Atlético Penarol, withdrawing their three players because of a perceived lack of recognition in the national team. The match finished in a convincing win for the visitors by six goals to nil, in what has been labelled as 'The Disaster' by the Uruguayans. Playing their first thirteen internationals against each other, the Uruguayans would win only two. The game seemingly achieved what was perhaps a more significant 'first', by becoming the initial international soccer fixture to be held outside the United Kingdom (UK).[1]

Dissemination continued apace, as Austria hosted Hungary in Vienna just under three months later, on Sunday 12 October 1902, with the home side winning by five goals to nil. Austria's first ten internationals would be against their eastern neighbours, with results fairly evenly divided. Despite being beaten by a few weeks by the South Americans, this game became the first soccer international in mainland Europe. One might question the validity of this match, as both teams consisted of players from the cities of Vienna and Budapest, though they may well have been the best available from each country as a whole. A further, more significant problem was that this was not a truly *inter*national match, as from 1867 to 1918, Austria-Hungary was a single political entity.

It had taken almost thirty years for the phenomenon to spread from its beginnings in Glasgow in 1872, a surprisingly long period of time. Transport links were relatively well developed, though national governing bodies had been haphazardly forming over the years - Argentina 1893, Uruguay 1900, Hungary 1901, Austria 1904. The probability was that national organisations with real power were in their infancy and petty

squabbling over selection, similar to the example of the Uruguayans above, was all too frequent.

But what constitutes an international association football match? Should the competing nations be politically independent of each other? If so, then the home countries of England, Scotland, Wales and (Northern) Ireland have been engaged in intra-national games for the past 150 years. So too were Austria and Hungary in 1902. Then there is the matter of selection. Were there true governing bodies formed at the time of the choice of the representative teams? With both the Argentinian (1893) and Uruguayan (1900) football associations being founded by the time the 1902 fixture was played between the two countries, there can, therefore, be little argument that this was a true international match. The Football Association (FA) in England began in 1863, but the Scottish equivalent did not start until 13 March 1873. Therefore, if there is an argument which exists saying that, because sides were selected by independent governing bodies, the match constitutes an international, then the first two England-Scotland games, held before the formation of the Scottish Football Association, then these might not be actual internationals. Certainly for the 1872 encounter, England were playing Queen's Park. There were also three unofficial internationals played between the United States and Canada in 1885, 1886 and 1887; however, neither country possessed a national governing body at the time. Historians have styled them as unofficial encounters. Finally, the initial international game in mainland Europe may well have been between Belgium and France in Brussels on 1 May 1904. Both countries were politically independent of each other and Belgium even possessed a governing body, which was formed in 1895. Unfortunately, France's equivalent did not see the light of day until 1919. In conclusion, it seems almost sacrilegious to even suggest that England against Scotland at association football was not and is not today to be regarded as an international fixture, such the myriad of tribal identities involved in the whole process. But, strictly speaking, it does not truly constitute an *inter*national.

The whole process is intertwined in the complex, separate representation that the four nations of the UK have maintained in relation to the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA). Most importantly, the game's law-making body, the International Football Association Board (IFAB), in a nod to the sport's history, is 'controlled' by the four UK associations. The body is comprised of representatives from the four associations of England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, who have one vote each, plus four from FIFA - on behalf of the remaining 207 national associations - also with a single vote each. A motion can only be passed

with a three-quarters majority. It is frankly extraordinary that the situation still exists, as the balance of power is so overtly distorted. There are, of course, advantages and disadvantages in the UK retaining this seemingly privileged status. The former include having four sets of administrators, thereby providing employment opportunities for more people, plus increased participation in international competition for nations and clubs. The biggest disadvantage appears to be that, hypothetically, a UK team might have been expected to achieve more at major competitions. This topic is discussed at length in Vic Duke and Liz Crolley's *Football, Nationality and the State*, where, although the book was published as long ago as 1996, the arguments tendered in football terms still remain relevant, though the political situation - devolved power to Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, the growing influence of the Scottish National Party and the 2014 independence referendum plus 'Brexit' - has moved on swiftly.[2]

In terms of the home nations of the UK, it was to be England who took the first steps on a path of further globalisation when they undertook a summer tour in June 1908, visiting and easily overcoming Austria (two matches), Hungary and Bohemia. Perhaps surprisingly, Scotland would not face an opponent from outside the UK until June 1929, when they journeyed to Norway, Germany and the Netherlands. Wales eventually travelled to France in May 1933, while Northern Ireland waited until 1951 to host France in Belfast, repaying the visit eighteen months later. Meanwhile, the Republic of Ireland, because they found the nations of the UK reluctant to legitimise their existence and, therefore, play against them, built up a sporadic set of fixtures against mainland European opponents, finally hosting England in September 1946, though games against Wales and Scotland did not begin until the early 1960s. However, despite England being widely recognised as the initial developers of the game - association football or soccer began with the formation of the Football Association in London in late 1863 - the first international in 1872 was played in Scotland and, for fully 120 years, the Scots possessed a better record in fixtures against the English. As of January 2024, the record stands as follows: Played 116, England wins 49, Scotland wins 41, Draws 26. Only on 1 June 1983 did England overtake Scotland in terms of games won against the other nation.

The figurational or process sociology of Norbert Elias[3]

This book is underpinned by the figurational or process sociology of Norbert Elias, though, from this point on, it will be referred to as 'process'

sociology. This is in response to the suggestion of Malcolm Tozer, a fellow football/sporting academic, who was of the opinion, after reading a previous book's introduction, that the word 'figurational' was less straightforward to understand than the term 'process'. The latter is an alternative description of Elias's theories and, in Tozer's mind, makes the concept much less difficult to comprehend. Indeed, the word perfectly describes Elias's determination to see the development of society as a long term process over several generations.

It seems apposite to trace for the reader more of what is meant by this approach. Briefly, those key features pioneered by Elias used in the text can be summarised as follows:

(i) There is the shared conviction that human individuals and the societies they form can best be understood as long term processes. That is, there is a commitment to examine the emergence of sociologically significant features over a period of time, rather than rely on static elements. There is an eschewing of words such as 'invent', something which conjures up the work of a magician or alchemist, rather, the term 'develop' would be employed to suggest events over as much as three generations. Those developmental processes have taken place as part of a series of processes or interdependencies between people in certain societies. Process sociology is a useful way of studying and interpreting historical human actions. To understand football's complex history, its story should be treated as a long term process, over several generations, beginning with a study of its ‘mob' or ‘folk' form, pausing to examine types existing outside the public school setting, noting its journey through the public schools and universities and, eventually, into the wider society.

(ii) That the processes undergone by societies have tended, up to now, especially in the longer term, to be mainly 'blind' in the sense of being the outcome of the largely unintended consequences of the aggregates of multiple individual acts. For instance, there was no deliberate strategy or plan to internationalise soccer, it was simply the end result of thousands of inadvertently connected human acts. No one could have imagined, in the middle years of the nineteenth century, that the game of football in all its subsequent forms would have been the subject of such global acclaim. The developments in the game, of which the early footballers were merely a part, were being conducted as ‘blind' processes with unintended outcomes rather than purposeful acts with fixed aims and objectives. For Elias, human understanding of their social worlds is currently so limited that efforts to guide the future cannot be done with much accuracy. This, incidentally, is

also part of the rationale for undertaking an historically sociological approach, as has been attempted in this book. Given the current imperfections in human knowledge, it is more reliable to make statements about past developments than to focus on the contemporary, ever-changing events.

(iii) That power is a universal property of human relations at all levels of social integration and is, arguably and certainly in this text, the most important aspect. Elias also argued that power is not explainable solely by reference to single factors such as Karl Marx's ideas of the ownership of production or Max Weber's ideas of the control of the means of violence. Eric Dunning strongly believed that in mid-nineteenth century England, a struggle was taking place between elements of the established social order, the aristocracy and upper classes, and the *bourgeoisie*. This struggle - he termed it 'status rivalry' - he contended, manifested itself in various ways, most notably, for our purposes, in the administration of the newly-created administrative bodies which were formed to organise the game and the subsequent internationalisation of the sport. The ‘battle', primarily between the boys at public schools of Eton and Rugby expressed specifically in their juxtaposed football forms, was ultimately 'won' by high status Old Etonians and, to a lesser extent, Old Harrovians, who were champions of a proto-soccer, kicking and dribbling version of football, and was one reason why association and not rugby became the dominant football form. He believed that the two varieties were almost direct contrasts, with Etonians stressing kicking, limited use of the hands and scoring under the crossbar, while Rugbeians championed handling and carrying, almost boundless use of the hands and scoring over the crossbar. With Ken Sheard, he produced the incomparable *Barbarians, Gentlemen and Players*, a work which focused on the sociological study of the early development of rugby football. The book was first published in 1979 and, over twenty-five years later, in 2015, Graham Curry and Eric Dunning produced a similar tome, but dealt with the association game. Furthermore, the perceived societal power - they had attended public school and/or university and were employed in jobs with high social *cachés* - of men such as Charles Alcock at the Football Association (FA) and Nathaniel Creswick in Sheffield ensured that their preferred forms of the game were adopted by their sporting sub-groups. Subsequently, in Alcock's case, his power and that of his companions in London football proved too strong even for relatively important provincial élites such as that of Sheffield.[4] Additionally, the social power and prestige of the southern amateurs was important in successfully avoiding a split in association football in the early 1880s, not only keeping the northern covert

professionals under the control of the FA, but also maintaining their hold on the administration of the game.

The power struggle evokes Elias's theory, with John Scotson, established in their work *The Established and the Outsiders*, where the former group is clearly dominant, while the other is plainly subordinate.[5] Alcock and the members of the FA were more advantaged in terms of wealth, income, occupation, education and, most significantly social prestige and, therefore, imbued with a high degree of 'power'. Because of this status, the London footballing subcultural group was able to impose their will in the decision-making processes involved with the development of football. The role of Queen's Park Football Club in selecting the first two Scottish sides in the fixture with England is also instructive of power relations. Yet Elias stressed the bi-polar nature of power, because it exists not simply for one individual or group in a relationship, but for both. In other words, all individuals are powerful, but some are more powerful than others. Working class players would have been powerful because of their footballing abilities, which were much prized, but in an administrative sense they would have possessed little influence on debates at the FA, for instance.[6]

(iv) That sociologists should see as their primary concern the accumulation of bodies of reliable knowledge. Elias suggested that, in a piece of research the aim should be, first of all by means of what he called 'a detour *via* detachment', to build up as 'reality-congruent' a picture of what a process actually involves and how and why it is socially, psychologically and historically generated. Sport, in general, and football, in particular, are important parts of society and are worthy of academic inquiry.

(v) That there is a need in sociology to undertake a constant two-way traffic between theory and research. Theory without research, Elias used to argue, is liable to be abstract and meaningless; research without theory to be arid and descriptive. In this book Eliasian ideas have been followed in this respect, producing a synthesis of diligent primary research together with theoretical rigour which has generated a text of the highest academic standard.

(vi) That Elias's theory of 'civilising processes' constitutes what he called a 'central theory', i.e. a theory through which a variety of apparently diverse and separate social and psychological phenomena can be meaningfully studied. It is important to note that Elias did not use the concept or theory of 'civilising processes' in a moral or evaluative way. He usually enclosed the word 'civilisation' and its derivatives such as 'civilised' and 'civilising' in

inverted commas in order to signal this. 'Civilising process' was for him a technical term. He did not intend to suggest by it that people who can be shown to stand at a more advanced level in a 'civilising process' than some others are in any meaningful sense 'better than' or 'morally superior' to people in the past. Rather, by 'civilising process', Elias referred to a long-term decrease in violence and aggression within societies. As societies became more internally pacified, so the personality and habitus structures of the majority of their peoples became more peaceful and this was reflected, among other ways, in what began around the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to be called their 'sports'. The evidence suggests that this development in terminology began to take place firstly in England. Elias showed how, in the course of a 'civilising process', overtly violent conflicts tend to be transformed into relatively peaceful struggles for status, wealth and power. Laws in association football are designed not just to regulate play but, also, to protect participants from injury and create a relatively civilised environment.

Although Elias has come to be recognised as one of the most important sociologists of the twentieth century, he only occasionally wrote on sport (although compared to other notable sociologists - perhaps with the exception of Pierre Bourdieu - he actually wrote a good deal). However, his most famous student, Eric Dunning, filled the gap. Dunning himself was one of the founding fathers of the sub-discipline known as the sociology of sport, where his passions were football and cricket, though he worked mostly on the former.

***

Let us now move on to Chapter One, where we begin with an analysis of the oldest international rivalry in association football, Scotland versus England.

Notes

[1] Oliver, *World Soccer*; Da Cruz, *From Beauty to Duty*, 79; Wilson, *Angels with Dirty Faces*, 25.
[2] Duke and Crolley, *Football, Nationality and the State*, Chapter 2.
[3] My thanks to Dominic Malcolm for his suggestions in this short piece on process sociology. See Elias, *Civilising Process* and, for its application to sport, Elias and Dunning, *Quest*.
[4] Curry and Dunning, *Association Football*.
[5] Elias and Scotson, *The Established and the Outsiders*.
[6] Dunning and Hughes, *Norbert Elias and Modern Sociology*, 63-8.

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CHAPTER ONE

SCOTTISH SUPREMACY IN THE OLDEST RIVALRY

Scotland versus England
(Played 11, won 7, lost 2, drawn 2)

30 November 1872 Scotland 0 England 0
8 March 1873 England 4 Scotland 2
7 March 1874 Scotland 2 England 1
6 March 1875 England 2 Scotland 2
4 March 1876 Scotland 3 England 0
3 March 1877 England 1 Scotland 3
2 March 1878 Scotland 7 England 2
5 April 1879 England 5 Scotland 4
13 March 1880 Scotland 5 England 4
12 March 1881 England 1 Scotland 6
11 March 1882 Scotland 5 England 1

There already exists a good deal of writing on the football rivalry between England and Scotland, mainly because it is the oldest form of international soccer competition in the world. Current works include two offerings from Andy Mitchell, *First Elevens* and *The men who made Scotland* together with Dean Hayes' *Auld Enemy*. Mitchell's first offering initially concentrates on the five unofficial internationals, which represented something of a false start for the process. Though these matches implied a sluggish beginning, they were surely suggestive of the prevailing thought processes taking place in the football community at that time. His second is invaluable as a reference work for Scottish players, while Hayes' book records every game up to 1989, with teams, clubs, venues, dates and scorers.

Because the two countries share a border, the sense of rivalry is enhanced. However, it has to be said, perhaps to the uninitiated, that, politically, England and Scotland are still, in 2024, together with Wales and Northern Ireland, operating as the United Kingdom, which, some would say, further

increases that rivalry. It also suggests that the game is not truly an *inter*national. A newspaper of the day, *The Graphic*, appeared to question the legitimacy of the occasion, saying that an international match '(as we might almost call it)' had been played between the two nations.[1] However, because the games would be between representatives of separate national football associations, then they can, with a certain amount of confidence, be described as being internationals. Nevertheless, the vast majority of interested parties were agreed that globalisation of the association form had taken another huge step.[2] One further point worth reiteration is that, although the England eleven was always selected by the FA, which, despite its limitations in the early 1870s, could be described as the governing body for association football in England, the Scottish equivalent would not come into being until 13 March 1873. This meant, as we shall see, that the first two fixtures and teams were organised north of the border by the Queen's Park club.

***

Before 1872, the FA organised what was, effectively, a first unofficial game, placing advertisements in *The Field* and *The Sportsman* asking for nominations for both teams. There would eventually be five of these matches, with the encounters being perhaps best described as *intra*nationals, matches played between participants from within the same organisation and, at the time and since, all five have been largely regarded as not corresponding to true *inter*national fixtures. The dates of the matches, all played at Kennington Oval in London, were as follows:

5 March 1870	19 November 1870	25 February 1871
18 November 1871	24 February 1872	

Each Scotland side was made up of players with tentative Scottish connections resident in and around London, though, before the second game in November 1870, Charles Alcock did attempt, with only limited success, to tempt Scots from north of the border to take part.[3] Alcock penned a letter which appeared in the *Glasgow Herald* and the *North British Daily Mail*, inviting nominations from Scotland for a representative meeting between English and Scottish players to be played at Kennington Oval on 19 November 1870.[4] The challenge was probably an attempt firstly to placate any Scots unhappy with the selection process, and, secondly, to popularise the association form. His letter, in full, read as follows:

FOOTBALL - ENGLAND v SCOTLAND

SIR, - Will you allow me a few lines in your paper to notify to Scotch players that a match under the above title will take place in London, on Saturday the 19th inst., according to the rules of the Football Association. It is the object of the committee to select the best elevens at their disposal in the two countries, and I cannot but think that the appearance of some of the most prominent celebrities of football on the northern side of the Tweed would do much to disseminate a healthy feeling of good fellowship among the contestants, and tend to promote to a still greater extent the extension of the game. In Scotland, once essentially the land of football, there should be still a spark left of the old fire, and I confidently appeal to Scotsmen to aid to their utmost the efforts of the committee to confer success on what London fondly hopes to found, an annual trial of skill between the champions of England and Scotland. Messrs. AF Kinnaird, 2 Pall Mall, East, London, and J Kirkpatrick, Admiralty, Somerset House, London, will be glad to receive the names of any Scotch players who will take part against England in the match in question – I am etc.

CHARLES W ALCOCK
Hon. Sec. of the Football Association
West Dulwich, Surrey
1st Nov. 1870

Nominations for Scotland's eleven were hard to come by, with Arthur Kinnaird and James Kirkpatrick, the organisers of the Scottish side, receiving only one, that of Robert Smith, representing Queen's Park. It is possible that Smith instigated the decision of Queen's Park to join the FA in November 1870 or representatives of the FA persuaded the club to become members through their contact with the Scot. Smith eventually joined South Norwood FC, then in Surrey but now part of Greater London, though still retained his membership of Queen's Park and was also involved in newspaper correspondence as he attempted to defend the selection process, arguing that although 'Scotland was not represented as it ought to have been' it was unfair to 'term the match a "so-called international" '.[5] There was little doubt, however, that the idea had created additional awareness and was worth persevering with, which was exactly what the FA did, eventually staging three more pseudo-internationals. Ironically, it seems to have acted as a stimulus to the rugby adherents in Scotland, far outnumbering the association crowd north of the border, with the former organising a first rugby international between England and Scotland, which took place in Edinburgh on 27 March 1871. Rugby players made their opinions clear in the press, terming the FA's pseudo-internationals 'a mere farce' and 'a novelty'.[6] Despite this criticism, the matches continued, albeit with the

inevitable sniping in newspaper columns about their lack of authenticity, but moves were afoot to make the clash more legitimate and effectively bring soccer officially into the global world.

The first mention of internationals, pseudo or official, in the original FA minutes appeared on 3 October 1872. They read:

> In order to further the interests of the Association in Scotland, it was decided that during the current season, a team should be sent to Glasgow to play a match v. Scotland, and that all the arrangements in connection with the match should be vested in the hands of the Association Committee.

The organisation was busy with other business, including administering the FA Cup and establishing the size of the ball to be used. All this was probably indicative that those five attempts to provide international competition were, indeed, flawed, not having a true stamp of institutional approval. This was certainly a step in the direction of genuinely internationalising the association form, something which would add to the prestige of the game. The FA realised that a truer stamp of authenticity was required, otherwise there was a real danger that rugby and even, possibly, other forms of the kicking and dribbling game such as the Sheffield variety, might steal their thunder.

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The impetus for an official international had originally come from the previous season's clash between Wanderers and Queen's Park in the FA Cup on 4 March 1872, with this fixture, at the time, giving the impression of being more akin to a real test of strength at association football between the two countries than the pseudo-internationals. These discussions were confirmed in a letter to *The Scotsman* from David Wotherspoon, the Queen's Park secretary, in which he announced that the fixture would go ahead in the following season and invited nominations from Edinburgh, *The Scotsman* being an Edinburgh-based newspaper.[7] Interestingly, admission was free to the Wanderers-Queen's Park match, which represented the first visit of a Scottish side to London. The Glasgow club employed two players resident in London, the brothers Smith, Robert and James, who, by now, were both playing for South Norwood, situated to the south of the metropolis, and started the stronger. Robert and James Smith were the first brothers to be involved in the same international soccer match when they played against England in 1872, with Robert being educated at the Fordyce Academy in Banffshire and going on to have various jobs, working in publishing and as a cashier. His brother, James, followed Robert to London in 1871 to become a commercial representative for an artists' suppliers,

before tragically dying in 1876 following a stroke at the age of thirty-two. However, it was Wanderers who finished the match on top, though a draw, no score for both teams, was thought to be a fair result. The report of the game in *The Sportsman* noted that the London side suggested extra time, a proposition which was surprisingly turned down by Queen's Park, despite this meaning that their probable inability to return to London meant they would have to withdraw from the competition.[8] Presumably the Scottish eleven were aware of the consequence of their action, though it was equally true that the information would have been reported by Charles Alcock, who worked on the newspaper and may have been creating mischief. It is significant that the suggestion of extra time was not mentioned in the *Glasgow Herald*.[9]

Preparations in Scotland for the international fixture began on 15 October 1872, when the Queen's Park Honorary Secretary, Archibald Rae, advertised 'co-operation and practice' for the game against England, inviting interested Scottish players to forward their names to him.[10] A second 'rehearsal' was played on 20 November, but was spoiled by the thoroughly wet state of the ground.[11] As for the English, they did not bother with a formal trial, though the *Weekly Dispatch* hinted that the Sheffield versus London game on 2 November 1872 was in effect a North against South encounter, when it would have been possible to assess claims to represent England.[12] The match was played under Sheffield rules, the main difference to the FA's laws was the interpretation of offside, and resulted in a 4-1 victory for Sheffield, with Charles Clegg scoring twice. Whatever the status of that game, the FA initially selected their team as follows, with only Charles Clegg, who must have impressed in scoring two goals against London, and Ernest Harwood Greenhalgh, the former clearly though the latter rather tentatively - Greenhalgh was from Mansfield and played in Nottingham - representing the north, the other members of the team being decidedly 'southern amateurs'. Those in italics eventually took part in the match:

Charles William Alcock (Wanderers)	Morton Peto Betts (Harrow Chequers)
Charles John Chenery (Crystal Palace)	*John Charles Clegg* (Sheffield)
Ernest Harwood Greenhalgh (Notts. County)	Alexander Morten (Crystal Palace)
Frederick Chappell (Oxford University)	*Charles John Morice* (Barnes)
Cuthbert John Ottaway (Oxford University)	Thomas Charles Hooman (Wanderers)
Reginald Courtenay Welch (Wanderers)	

Reserves: George Holden (Clapham Rovers), *William John Maynard* (1st Surrey Rifles)

England, however, hit an injury/availability crisis. Alcock and Betts withdrew incapacitated, Hooman and Holden became ill, while Morten simply withdrew. As one of the reserves, Maynard came in, along with John Brockbank (Cambridge University), Robert Barker (Hertfordshire Rangers) and Arnold Kirke Smith (Oxford University). Smith was originally from Sheffield, increasing the northern contingent to three, while Ottaway would captain the side. However, the initial omens were not good.

The location of the match was a convoluted process, but, in the end, the choice seemed obvious. Because of the fact that it was enclosed and could not be entered without payment, the only site in Glasgow which fitted the bill was the West of Scotland Cricket Ground in Partick. Another venue, Burnbank Park, the home to several organisations, the 1st Lanarkshire Rifle Volunteers who used it for drill practice, Glasgow Academicals Rugby Football Club, Caledonian Cricket Club and athletic events, was offered free of charge but it was not enclosed, so, perhaps expecting to make a profit, the Queen's Park committee opted for Partick, which eventually cost £20. In retrospect, it was a wise though risky decision, with no guarantee of a large volume of spectators, but, in the end, a healthy return of £33 and 8 shillings was achieved.[13]

As the date for the first 'real' international fixture, 30 November 1872, approached, the English eleven, together with a list of seventeen names from which the Scottish team would be chosen, appeared in *The Field*.[14] Interestingly, two of the latter were recorded as being attached to clubs who were renowned rugby exponents, Glasgow Academicals and Merchistonians. Of course, some historians would argue that the two codes had barely diverged by 1872 and there are other examples of players involved in both varieties.[15] The nomination process was open to all-comers, but it may be that there were so few association clubs in Scotland that, apart from the Queen's Park juggernaut, there was little choice other than to include some talented cross-coders.

The list of Scottish 'possibles' for the fixture tells us more about the state of football in Scotland than the eventual eleven. The seventeen players with club affiliations were as follows, with those listed in italics forming the eventual team:

Queen's Park	*Robert Gardner* (Captain)	*Joseph Taylor*
	James John Thomson	*James Weir*
	David Wotherspoon	*William (Billy) Mackinnon*
	Alexander Rhind	*Robert Leckie*
	Archibald Rae	
South Norwood	*Robert Smith*	*James Smith*
Glasgow Academicals	Thomas Chalmers	
Merchistonians	William Cross	
Dumfries Club	Reverend James Barclay	
Old Etonians	Arthur Kinnaird	
Royal Engineers	Lieutenant Henry Renny-Tailyour	
Granville	*William Ker*	

The Scotland team for the first *bona fide* international soccer fixture was made up entirely of Queen's Park members. This monopoly is generally explained by the fact that the club was so good that it made sense to select only players from their members, though it was also the case that they had done all the work to organise the match and probably felt that they should provide the players. However, judging by the lack of a burgeoning football subculture in Glasgow in the early 1870s, it is just as likely that there were so few other teams participating that options were, to say the least, limited and it is certainly worthy of note that the two Smiths and Ker have different affiliations in the squad list. The two Smiths were playing for South Norwood by the time of the international[16] and, they were quite clearly resident in England. Ker is more complicated as he remained in Glasgow. He took part in the Queen's Park FC athletic sports in August 1872, and, as a member, had no other affiliation attached to his name.[17] In the same month Ker played for Queen's against Airdrie,[18] but by October, he actually opposed them for Granville in a friendly encounter.[19] The explanation for this is that footballers at that time often represented multiple clubs and this was the case here. All three had played for Queen's at some point, moved on, but retained their membership of the club. There is no doubt that Queen's Park were an excellent team, but the choice of so many of their players either indicated a lack of depth in the game north of the border or that Queen's, seeing itself as the bastion of the association game in Scotland, were determined to dominate team selection. The two Smiths were not really choosing a team in Glasgow to represent from week to week, as they actually lived in London, played for South Norwood and their designation in the first 'real' international should have been given as that club.

The match itself, played on 30 November 1872 at the West of Scotland Cricket Ground in Partick, Glasgow and watched by anything from 2500 to 4000 spectators, ended in a no score draw. But it was a triumph for the small

enclave of soccer in Scotland and the FA came away relatively pleased as it continued to proselytise association football further afield. As regards Queen's Park, in the space of three years they had joined a national governing body of another country which was based hundreds of miles from their home, played out a draw with the English national soccer team with the latter having representatives from nine different clubs and entered the inaugural edition of a national cup competition, the FA Cup, again organised by a body from outside Scotland. Whether through audacity, self-confidence or in pursuit of like minds, the people who ran the club were certainly not frightened of taking risks.

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A second international under association rules was played between England and Scotland at Kennington Oval, London, on 8 March 1873, with the home side winning an entertaining game by four goals to two. Few would have predicted that England's next victory would not be for six years. The arrangements for the selection of the Scottish eleven were still in the hands of Queen's Park, though it was thought as early as January 1873 that 'the local club cannot give the same number of players for a match in London as it contributed to the team for the meeting at Partick'.[20] Richard Robinson, in his history of Queen's Park, notes that Robert Gardner as captain and chief organiser, 'was met with a thin purse, which compelled him to call upon the services of certain Scots in London, to make up the full complement',[21] meaning that Queen's were unable to send their whole team to England because of the prohibitive cost. The reporter in the *Glasgow Herald* regretted that 'the managers for Scotland have found it difficult to put together a good team, owing mainly to the very limited number of Scotch Association players' and went on to note that neither James Weir nor Robert Leckie could 'get away' and that Alexander Rhind was 'too ill to leave home'.[22] With James Smith not selected, this meant that Scotland had made four changes from the previous November, though England had made nine, retaining only Chenery and Greenhalgh. The replacements for Scotland were an eclectic bunch. They were William Gibb of Clydesdale, who Robinson says was a Queen's Park member,[23] plus three 'Anglos' - a footballing Scot playing club football in England - Henry Waugh Renny-Tailyour and John Edward Blackburn from the Royal Engineers and Arthur Kinnaird of Wanderers fame. While this selection quickly broke Queen's Park's monopoly on the national team - Robinson also notes that 'The three strangers also upset the Queen's Park [that is, Scotland] as a combination' - the use of three London-based Scots provided an echo of the five pseudo-internationals of the early 1870s between the two countries. Blackburn was

born in Edinburgh, Renny-Tailyour in India, though the latter's family hailed from Montrose, while Kinnaird began life in London, with family estates north of the border. The fact that all three were playing for English-based teams seemed to devalue the Scottish selection, something of a controversial subject which continued for many years. Scotland would not select another 'Anglo' against any opponent until 4 April 1896, when they encountered England, following a run in which the Scots had not beaten the 'auld enemy' in six attempts. This time, with five 'Anglos' in the team, they triumphed by two goals to one.

The Scottish FA was founded five days after the second England versus Scotland soccer international, on 13 March 1873, the original members consisting of Queen's Park, Clydesdale, Vale of Leven, Dumbreck, Third Lanark Rifle Volunteers, Eastern, Granville and Rovers.[24] They noted forcefully that 'Tripping and hacking will not be allowed'[25] and declared that their mission was 'to extend the practice of football in Scotland'.[26] A cup competition was instituted, to begin the following season and to those clubs present at the founding of the national body would be added Southern, Renton, Callander, Kilmarnock, Blythswood, Western, Dumbarton and Alexandra Athletic, the sixteen clubs making up the first-round draw. Several of the first ties were the subject of match reports in the October press, representing the first reporting in Scottish newspapers of multiple association games in the sporting columns.[27] This advertising of the existence of a thriving kicking and dribbling subculture, together with the formation of a national governing body, which gave the sporting form both more organisation and credence, represented the overdue catalysts for soccer truly to make its mark north of the border. The association form in Scotland had finally moved out of first gear.[28]

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The next eleven matches between the oldest rivals in international soccer were, apart from one Billy Mosforth-inspired win in 1879, almost a total disaster for England. It was true that they did also manage one draw in 1875, but generally speaking, the Scots proved far too good for their southern neighbours. The breakdown for those eleven years was as follows:

Played 11, Scotland won 9, England won 1, draw 1, Scotland goals 40, England goals 19

There were three particularly one-sided Scottish victories, in 1878, 1881 and 1882. The trend was blatantly obvious - Scottish association football

teams were very successful against English ones. This should have come as no surprise at the time. When club sides from the two countries met, Scottish-based elevens, even when playing away from home, nearly always won. The possible exception was in the FA Cup, where, despite entering for most of the first sixteen editions of the trophy, no team from north of the border won the competition. Indeed, the nearest they came to triumphing was in the final ties of 1883-4 and 1884-5, when Queen's Park were beaten on both occasions by Blackburn Rovers. Of the first thirteen FA Cup competitions, Queen's eventually scratched seven times, did not enter on four occasions and withdrew once. They took part in most of the early seasons, but were also notable for withdrawing if paired away from home. Scottish clubs competed in the 'Cup' up to and including season 1886-7, after which, the Scottish FA, perhaps mindful about matters of jurisdiction in the event of a dispute between teams and realising that their clubs' continued presence in another country's cup competition seemed to undermine their own authority, decided that there would be no further entries from sides under their control into the English contest.

One good example of Scottish dominance were the fixtures between the Sheffield and Glasgow associations. They represented part of a social process which might be termed the nationalisation, arguably the internationalisation, of the sport of football, teams representing wider communities comparing themselves against others across Britain, which eventually led to widespread international encounters. One close rivalry was that between Sheffield and Glasgow, with the initial encounter between the two associations taking place on 14 March 1874 at Bramall Lane, Sheffield. The game, chronologically later than three England-Scotland games, ended in a 2-2 draw and was witnessed by between five to six thousand spectators. It was initially advertised as being a match between Sheffield and Scotland, which, though not strictly correct, was understandable, as the Glasgow side was so strong that a reporter stated that 'nine of the eleven' were thought good enough for the national eleven; interestingly, all but one player from Glasgow played for the Queen's Park club. Despite the fact that the visitors were not a national team, the Glasgow eleven wore their Scottish FA colours of 'blue jerseys with the lion of Scotland on the left breast, white knickerbockers and various coloured stockings'. The Scots generally dominated the fixture, as, certainly before the mid-1880s, most combinations from north of the border did, winning eleven of the first fourteen games. Sheffield's solitary victory in this particular series came in February 1882 when, at home, they beat Glasgow by 3-1. Spectators were generally of the opinion that the football played that day was of the highest calibre ever seen in the city. Included in that Sheffield team were the great Billy Mosforth

and future FA Cup winner Jack Hunter, along with soon to be England international and Sheffield FC player John Hudson. The fixture continued until 1938, with a break for the duration of the First World War, and resuming briefly as a single encounter in 1949. The series re-commenced under floodlights in 1954. The first fourteen results, Glasgow won eleven, there were two draws and one Sheffield victory, were as follows:

1874	Sheffield 2	Glasgow 2
1875	Glasgow 2	Sheffield 0
1876	Sheffield 0	Glasgow 2
1877	Glasgow 1	Sheffield 0
1878	Sheffield 2	Glasgow 4
1879	Glasgow 4	Sheffield 1
1880	Sheffield 0	Glasgow 1
1881	Glasgow 3	Sheffield 0
1882	Sheffield 3	Glasgow 1
1883	Glasgow 4	Sheffield 2
1884	Sheffield 1	Glasgow 2
1885	Glasgow 9	Sheffield 1
1886	Sheffield 2	Glasgow 2
1887	Glasgow 10	Sheffield 3

Glasgow also played eight matches against London, from 1883 to 1890, winning five, drawing one and losing two, thus re-emphasising Scottish footballing superiority.

And so, England's wretched series of results began on 7 March 1874, as they were defeated in Scotland by two goals to one. The Scots had played at least two trial matches[29] and were determined to gain the right result, whereas the English appeared to accept that they had to fashion a team out of those who were simply willing and able to travel the long distance to Glasgow.[30] The visitors were additionally hampered by yet another injury to their captain, Charles Alcock, who 'ricked his back' while playing for Old Harrovians against Old Etonians on the previous Saturday.[31] Interestingly, this game marked the only appearance for his country of John Hawley Edwards of Shropshire Wanderers. He would go on to earn fame as the first dual international, playing for Wales in their inaugural international, against Scotland on 25 March 1876, while also winning the FA Cup with Wanderers in 1875-6, playing in the initial game and the replay. He had played his first match for the Wanderers club in London on 4 March 1874,[32] just three days before the 1874 Scotland-England encounter, as they defeated Westminster School and, consulting the Wanderers' line up of twelve, it appears that, with

England struggling to raise a team for the game in Glasgow, they drew on six players from the Wanderers side that day.[33] Edwards seemingly replaced his club mate at Shropshire Wanderers, John Wylie, probably on the latter's recommendation and Edwards' 'trial' against Westminster in which he scored, but others drafted into the team as late inclusions were Charles Wollaston, Francis Birley and Robert Kingsford. The England line up was again essentially a southern amateur team, with Edwards and John Robert Blaney Owen, the latter a Sheffield FC player and headmaster in Nottingham, though having been born in Buckinghamshire and a former student at Oxford University, being the exceptions. As Alcock called in a few favours, the England eleven began to resemble closely a Wanderers selection. It was all to no avail. Though Kingsford opened the scoring for England, Scotland scored two goals within three minutes of each other and fought back to win.

However, there was little need for panic in England, as the record between the two countries in this fixture was merely equalised - one win each and a drawn game. That attitude surely lingered following this fourth encounter, played on 6 March 1875 at Kennington Oval, which ended in an entertaining draw at two goals apiece. The attendance was probably the lowest recorded at an England-Scotland game, just 1500, with the token northerner for the home side being William Henry Carr, a middle class goalkeeper from Sheffield, who managed to arrive ten minutes late. If one is searching for trends, an interesting fact to come out of the England-Scotland meeting of 6 March 1875 was the attendance. Both *The Daily News* [London] and the *London Evening Standard* gave the figure as 1500, while the *North British Daily Mail* thought it to have been 1800-1900.[34] Either way, despite some morning rain and continued showers, this was disappointing, because attendances, in general, were growing. However, as can be seen in Appendix 1, crowds were higher in Scotland than in England. This can partly be explained by attitudes to playing rather than spectating in and around London. Former public schoolboys and Oxbridge undergraduates, driven by the hold of athleticism and muscular Christianity, valued taking part more than watching. Certainly in the early stages of the development of the game, southern amateur actually found it strange that people would want to watch perhaps complete strangers take part in an athletic activity, though those that played cricket would have been familiar with the concept of spectatorism.

A further point of interest was the inclusion of a set of brothers in the same England side, the Rawsons, Herbert Edward (Royal Engineers) and William Stepney (Oxford University), which was the first time this had happened in

the England national team, though the Cleggs from Sheffield, Charles and William, had already appeared in separate matches. All, of course, had been superseded by Robert and James Smith who represented Scotland together in 1872. Both the Rawsons were born abroad, the former in Cape Town and the latter in Mauritius and were educated at Westminster School, Herbert from 1865-71 and William from 1867-73. The former would go on to the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich while his brother, William, attended Christ Church, Oxford. They had faced each other in the 1874 FA Cup Final, as William's Oxford University defeated Herbert's Royal Engineers by two goals to nil.[35]

Charles Alcock finally won his England cap against Scotland in 1875, it was to be his only appearance, and even scored a goal. Scotland's second equaliser was scored by Peter Andrews in his only appearance for his country. Andrews was playing for Eastern in Glasgow at the time, but, by early November 1876, he would move to Sheffield to play for the Heeley club. Some historians have claimed that he was the first Scot to move to England to play football, which is only partially correct. Andrews initially moved to Leeds with his job, playing rugby there for a short time, before eventually travelling to Sheffield to play a code of football more to his liking. He would soon move to the South Yorkshire city on a permanent basis. Considering the wider picture and in terms of this growing soccer rivalry, few would have believed that England would win just one of the next twelve meetings.

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With honours even in terms of results, each country had registered one win along with two draws, England journeyed to Glasgow for the fifth fixture, which took place on 4 March 1876. Scotland's side was experienced, with only three debutants in the eleven and the score line, three nil to the home team, proved to be the largest margin of victory so far. It seemed clear that England had 'not sent her best men',[36] thereby underlining the problem of persuading players to travel and commit time to the venture. Only Arthur Cursham of Notts. County could have been remotely described as 'from the north'.

There was probably an air of confidence around the England side which faced Scotland the following year on 3 March 1877. Home advantage, or, more appropriately, away disadvantage, had usually swung proceedings and the former would have been favourites to make the record between the two countries equal. However, despite being short of James Biggar Weir, one of

their better performers, the Scots won by three goals to one. The game was significant as it was the debut of Billy Mosforth from Sheffield Albion, only nineteen years of age and from the north. More importantly, it surely had not escaped the notice of his amateur team mates that Mosforth, assuredly working class - he was a publican for the vast majority of his life - almost certainly earned a good deal of income from playing football. In short, he was a covert professional - someone who gained monetarily from the game, but did not admit it. There were few examples of working class footballers representing England in these early years and the only conclusion must be that Mosforth, and later, Jack Hunter, also from Sheffield, were outstanding individuals on the field of play to merit inclusion at that time.

1877 was a watershed of sorts, as it represented the first victory away from home by either side. However, another significant result came on 2 March 1878 when Scotland triumphed at a canter at First Hampden Park, Glasgow, also making it the first time the game between the two nations had been played at a purpose-built, football facility. England had been confident, as they were said to be sending their 'best eleven that has crossed the border'.[37] That they were heavily defeated, by seven goals to two, indicated that Scottish football continued to be of a far higher standard to that in England. A quick glance at the number of caps in each team soon shows that the Scottish eleven were vastly more experienced than their opponents. Scotland had amassed thirty-three previous appearances and had only one debutant, while England had nine caps altogether and selected seven players to make their debut. There were good performers in the visitors' line up - Arthur Cursham, the captain, and Hubert Heron should have had a modicum of experience, Jack Hunter and Billy Mosforth were relatively hardened individuals from Sheffield, while the Old Salopian[38] pair, John Wylie and Henry Wace were thought to be highly proficient.

The *Bell's Life* correspondent attempted to explain this heavy reverse.[39] He wrote, 'Playing together, power and the result of incessant practice' on the part of the winning team were suggested, as well as the fact that, for the English side, who were taken from eight clubs compared to five on the Scotland team, 'the want of combined action became apparent not long after the game began'. Yet, though this was a watershed in terms of the margin of victory, the triumph had taken place in Scotland and was tinged slightly with the stigma of home advantage.

Hunter, of the Heeley club in Sheffield, gained his first cap for England in the 1878 international against Scotland. 'Throughout [he] had played well and with great determination', but miskicked to allow the Scots to score their