

The bewties of the fut-ball:
*Reactions and references to this boysterous
sport in English writings, 1175-1815*

Patricia SHAW FAIRMAN
University of Oviedo.

ABSTRACT

It is the object of this study to give some account of references and reactions to Europe's oldest team game, football, to be found in English writings, 1175-1815, later references to this by then reformed and regulated game offering less interest. A brief survey of observations concerning the oldest form of British football, **camp-ball**, will be offered as also some early testimonies concerning the game from other European sources. The English sources will be examined, and in many cases quoted, in order to emphasize those aspects of football which evidently aroused most interest, these being essentially: its popularity with the peasant and urban working-class population, as opposed to the more distinguished pursuits of gentlemen, and the exaltation of prowess at this sport; the extreme violence of football as played in earlier centuries; and the possibilities it offered for figurative and metaphorical exploitation.

Over the last decades, we have, unfortunately, become only too used to hearing, reading and seeing innumerable reports and debates in the media concerning the violence engendered by the playing and the watching of what is, as professor Emilio Lorenzo, to whom this study is respectfully and affectionately dedicated, observes, "nuestro primer deporte"¹, that is to say, football. As, however, we shall try to demonstrate in this brief survey, the association of football with violence in Great Britain is centuries' old, being reflected in English texts dating from 1175 onwards, and forming, indeed, the principal, although not exclusive subject matter, of the majority of those accounts concerning this sport still extant.

Football is undoubtedly “one of the most ancient of team games”², similar to the Greek **arpaston** and the Roman **harpastum**, this latter according to Seneca, involving much “pushing and kicking in the hot sun”³, one of the earliest European references to the roughness of the game occurring in the *Chronicon Montis Sereni* which registers the death of a boy in 1137 from a kick received whilst playing football⁴.

The word Football is first registered in English in 1486⁵, the game being a successor to, or version of, the earlier team ball game, known as **camp-ball** or **camping**, from O.E. **camp**, vb. **campian**, “a contest”, “to contest” (< Lt. **campus**, “field of contest”); Mid.E. **campynge**, vb. **campin**, as also **campar**, “football player”, etc. That in some versions of this game the ball was conveyed by the foot, is proved by the expression “kicking camp”, and by the fact that the **Promptuarium Parvulorum**, c.1440, glosses **campynge** as **pedipiludium**. The game involved teams composed of a limitless number of players, whose aim was to convey the ball, generally an inflated pig’s bladder⁶, to the opponent’s goal, the goals being identified with some local landmark, and as far as 200 yards apart⁷. The English Chaucerian, John Lydgate, like several other poets, Shakespeare included, saw the metaphorical possibilities of the game, and in c. 1430, wrote about being “Bolsteryd out of lenthth and breed / Lyche a large campynge ball”⁸, the simile being used to suggest the sensation of being cast out into the void. In 1567, Thomas Drant, in his translations of Horace’s *Epistles*, obviously identifies “camping” with kicking: “Lest even younge folke seeinge you drinke.../ Do make of you mere mockinge stocks / And campe you with their feet”⁹, and in his translation of Horace’s *Ars Poetica*, associated camping-ball with the stool ball or the top, as all demanding skill on the part of the player¹⁰.

Camp-ball was particularly popular in the Eastern Counties (Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex) and the expression was still being used in some of these areas as late as 1827¹¹. In the early fourteenth century, for example, a canon of the Gilbertine monastery of Shouldham in Norfolk, William of Spalding, was “run against” by another canon William during a game of kicking camp, his dagger accidentally wounding this latter to death¹².

In the section of the *Boke of St. Albans*, 1486, dedicated to **The Blasing of Arms**, and illustrated by crude drawings of various heraldic devices, there exists a subsection entitled *Off ballis in armys here now it shalt be shewyt*¹³, whose text warns all would-be arms-blazoners to be careful in their use of latin terms, and not to confuse latin **pila** (i. e. **pīla**), “a peese of tymbre to be put under the pelor of a bryge”, with its other meaning (i.e. **pīla**): “this terme pila is take for a certan rounde īstrumēt to play with”:

the wich īstrumēt suys other while to the hande and then it is calde i latyn pila manualis as here And other while it is an instrument for the foote and then it is calde in latin pila pedalis a fote bal.

The accompanying illustration shows three white spheres against a dark ground. The term **football**, therefore, was obviously by then in everyday use.

As was suggested above, the majority of references to football in English texts written prior to the regularization of the game in 1843, are concerned precisely with its violent nature, which frequently endangered life and limb of those who played it. Other texts, however, exalt the manliness and healthiness of the sport as practised by the English peasantry and urban working-classes (in the days when flat green fields were still to be found in the vicinity of the towns), for it must be remembered that, in England, as today, football was associated primarily with the lower classes, riding, hunting, hawking and archery being the outdoor recreations of gentlemen. A chronicle concerning the foundation of the town of Ardres in Flanders written in 1200, but dealing with affairs dating from the beginning of the eleventh century, mentions a tavern where “rustici homines” met to drink and to play football in a wide, flat field¹⁴, and Robert Burton, in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* , 1621, points out that quoits, leaping, wrestling etc. and football are “the common recreations of the country folk”, whilst horse-riding, hunting and shooting etc are for gentlemen¹⁵. It may be remembered in this context that Kent, in Shakespeare’s *King Lear* (I. iv, 95), insults Goneril’s steward, Oswald, by calling him “a base football player”. There are, however, as we shall see, certain distinguished exceptions to this rule. Finally, in literary texts, the semantic field of football is occasionally exploited figuratively, providing the basis for some interesting metaphors and similes.

The earliest reference to English football is certainly not pejorative: this is to be found in the well-known *Descriptio Londoniae* which served as an introduction to William Fitzstephen’s *Vita Sancti Thomae* , a latin life of St. Thomas Becket, composed in approximately 1175. This work was consulted by John Stow, and printed by him in English as an appendix to his *Survey of London* , 1603. It is so interesting that it deserves to be quoted at length:

...on the day which is called Shrovetide...After dinner, all the young men of the city go out into the fields to play at the well-known game of football. The scholars belonging to the several schools have each their ball; and the city tradesmen, according to the respective crafts, have theirs. The more aged men, the fathers of the players, and the wealthy citizens, come on horseback to see the contests of the young men, with whom, after their manner, they participate, their natural heat seeming to be aroused by the sight of so much agility, and by their participation in the amusements of unrestrained youth¹⁶.

How often, in modern Britain, and elsewhere, is there cause to **lament** the arousal of the “natural heat” of football supporters ! Shrove-Tuesday

was the great football day in England for centuries, and documents from fourteenth century Chester bear witness to the football match frequently played on that day between the drapers and the shoemakers of the town¹⁷.

It is probable that Layamon was referring to football in the passage of the *Brut*, c. 1200, in which he describes the healthy recreations of Arthur's court, after the plenary session at Caerleon-on-Usk, and writes: "summe heo driuen balles wide "yeond tha feldes" (1.12,328), the verb **drive** being not infrequently associated with kicking in similar contexts¹⁸. Arthur's courtiers likewise indulged in horse-racing, foot-racing, leaping, shooting, wrestling and shield games. It is interesting to note that Wace, who was one of Layamon's principal sources, does not mention ball games at all in his *Roman de Brut*, 1155, but rather, jousting, horse-racing, fencing, catapulting, dart throwing and wrestling¹⁹, and nor indeed does Geoffrey of Monmouth, so we may see in Layamon's line a characteristically English interpretation of enjoying oneself in the open air! Football, I would suggest, provides likewise the inspiration for the gruesome lines in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, c. 1380, in which Arthur's courtiers, the Green Knight's head having been chopped off by Sir Gawain, "...hit foyned wyth her fete, there hit forth roled", the key words here being "feet" and "rolled". The suggestion would hardly seem far-fetched if we consider, for example, the following real life reference provided by Teresa McLean²⁰: "Camping was such a fierce game that in 1321 two brothers called Oldyngton, from Darnhill, Cheshire, played it with the head of one John of Boddeworth, a servant of Vale Royal Abbey nearby, whom they had murdered".

The thirteenth century boy-victim to Jewish cruelty, Sir Hugh of Lincoln, is a young aristocrat whose lamentable story, recalled by Chaucer's Prioress when telling her own similar tale, is narrated in an early ballad, beginning:

Four and twenty bonny boys
 Were playing at the ball,
 And by it came him, sweet Sir Hugh,
 And he played o'er them all.

 He kicked the ball with his right foot,
 And caught it with his knee,
 And through and through the Jew's window
 He gared the bonny ball flee.

Here, football playing, including what sounds like some very neat footwork, has tragic consequences, for the Jew's daughter refuses "to throw down the ball", and entices the nine year old Hugh to go up and get it himself, with the result that the cruel maiden "stickit him like a swine". Both in the ballad, where the bells for his funeral ring of their own accord, and, it is believed, in real life, the martyred St Hugh of Lincoln (? 1246-1255) was the cause of several miracles, so that if English football were to

have a patron-saint, St. Hugh would seem to be a suitable candidate ! In this context, it is worth mentioning that John Skelton, in his macaronic, satirical and rather cryptic poem, composed in characteristic **Skeltonics** , and entitled *A Devout Treatise for Old John Clark*, 1506-7, seems to suggest that the game and the instrument it is played with, are worthy of reverence: “I pray you all, / And pray shall, / At this trental / On knees to fal / To the footballe;” (a trental being a set of thirty requiem masses). It is perhaps not a coincidence that the deceitful, malicious and quarrelsome John Clark should have hailed from Diss in Norfolk, whose common witnessed notoriously rough games of kicking camp for centuries²¹. In Sir Walter Scott’s *Lay of the last Minstrel* , composed in 1805, but situated in the late Middle Ages at the time of the Border Wars between the Scots and the English, a truce is briefly celebrated between the two bands, and “social cheer” is enjoyed by the aristocratic leaders and their followers: “Some drove the jolly bowl about; / With dice and draughts some chased the day / And some, with many a merry shout, / In riot, revelry, and rout, / Pursued the football play” (V, vi, 19-23). “The foot-ball”, adds Scott, in a note, “was anciently a very favourite sport all through Scotland, but especially upon the Borders”²².

However, as has already been suggested, football is most frequently conceived of as a rustic sport: Alexander Barclay (n.18), associates it with “sturdy plowmen”, Edmund Waller, in 1621, as we shall see, with “lusty shepherds”, Robert Burton, in the same year, with “country folk”, and Izaak Walton, in 1653, with “sturdy...swains”²³. In 1711, Eustace Budgell, a cousin of Addison’s and a regular contributor to *The Spectator* , dedicated an article, in issue N° 161, to the praise of country life including a letter from a so-called “correspondent” giving a glowing account of a country wake, and underlining the importance for a countryman of shining in physical recreations if he is interested in acquiring a sweetheart. The “correspondent”, after watching some cudgel-players, was, he says,

diverted from a further Observation of the Combatants by a Football Match which was on the other side of the Green; where **Tom Short** behaved himself so well, that most people seemed to agree **it was impossible that he should remain a Bachelor till the next Wake**. Having played many a Match myself, I could have looked longer on this Sport...

Budgell follows up this supposed letter with some comments of his own on the excellencies of outdoor games as offering suitable occasions for acquaintanceship among the young (besides, as Robert Burton affirms, curing melancholy), and in true **alabanza de la aldea** spirit, adds: “And I believe I may assure my Country Friend, that there has been many a court lady who would be contented to exchange her crazy young husband for Tom Short...”, this imaginary football player thus acquiring what we might call

star status! It is significant that, at the end of the century, the Philadelphia Quaker, William Bartram, in his description of Carolina, should comment that “The football is likewise a favourite manly diversion with ‘the North-American Indians’”²⁴, and interesting to note that Wordsworth, in the course of exalting and commemorating, in *The Excursion*, one of his country heroes, killed in the Napoleonic wars, endows what he himself calls “the inglorious football” with lyrical overtones by associating it with such characteristically romantic phenomena as the lark and the rainbow: “...If touched by him, / The inglorious foot-ball mounted to the pitch / Of the lark’s flight, - or shaped a rainbow curve, / Aloft, in prospect of the shouting field” (vii, 743).

By 1814, when *The Excursion* was published, of course, attempts were being made to regulate the game: a less rough version began to be played in public schools, such as Eton and Winchester, in the late seventeenth century, between different houses, the rules varying from school to school, while an effort was being made to codify and standardise football at Cambridge University in 1843, the Football Association, a national controlling and advisory body, being formed twenty years later.

So far, we have been recording what we might consider as positive estimations of football: these, however, are well outweighed by the commentaries dedicated, over the centuries, to deploring the violence of the game and, as today, the hooliganism which it might engender. We know that an Oxford student was killed in 1303, by a team of of Irish students “while playing ball in the High Street towards Eastgate”²⁵, and bans against football-playing, not only on account of its roughness, but also to encourage the practice of archery, were issued by Edward II in 1313, and by Edward III in 1349. Some chroniclers noted - what a familiar ring there is to this! - that shopkeepers closed their shops when a match was due to take place, and even religious observances could end in football violence: in 1403 and 1404, we learn, players from the Sussex villages of Salmerston and Chidham, respectively, broke legs playing football after baptisms!²⁶ It is hardly surprising that a Nottinghamshire friar should, therefore, analyse the game as it was played in the fourteenth century, in the following way:

In this game young people propel a large ball forward, but not by throwing it, but by kicking the ball and rolling it on the ground with their feet. It is a rather horrible game, I must say, vulgar, unworthy, and less worthwhile than any other game, which seldom ends without any kind of mishap²⁷.

The game was popular throughout the British Isles, the area around Scone being a well-known focus for football playing in Scotland: James I of Scotland, the author of the romantic *Kingis Quair*, like the fourteenth century English monarchs, tried to suppress it by means of fines: “The King

forbiddes the na man play at the fut ball vnder the payne of iiijd²⁸, but to no avail ! Indeed, in 1497 in canto II of Gavin Douglas's *King Hart*, an allegorical poem which concludes with the old king's remembering in his will both friends and foes, we find included amongst these latter **Delivernes** (Agility), which had, in his youth, led him to participate recklessly "at ball and boull"; to him, therefore, King Hart bequeathes his "breissit arm" and "this brokin schin that swellis and will nocht swage...; he brak it at the ball", and a little Scottish snatch, preserved in the Maitland folio, c. 1575²⁹, summarizes in similar vein, ironically and tellingly, the advantages of the game: "Brissit brawnis and broken banis, / Strif, discord and wastie wanis, / Crukit in eld, sin halt withall: / Thir are the bewteis of the fut-ball". In a note to his reference to football in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Sir Walter Scott emphasizes the aggressiveness of the game as played in the past in Scotland:

Sir John Carmichael, Warden of the Middle Marches, was killed in 1600 by a band of the Armstrongs, returning from a foot-ball match. Sir Robert Carey, in his Memoirs, mentions a great meeting, appointed by the Scotch riders to be held at Kelso for the purpose of playing at foot-ball, but which terminated in an incursion upon England³⁰.

In this context, it is interesting to note that James VI of Scotland, as James I of England, tried to forbid the game at the English Court, it being, he affirmed, "meeter for the laming than the making able" of his liege subjects³¹. Long before the advent of the Scottish monarch, however, English commentarists had been deploring the violence of football. Sir Thomas Elyot, in his *Book named the Governour*, 1531, suggests that all noblemen utterly reject bowling, hurling and football: "Wherein is nothing but beastly fury and extreme violence; whereof procedeth hurt, and consequently rancour and malice do remain with them that be wounded, wherefore it is to be put in perpetual silence"³², and the Puritan pamphleteer, Philip Stubbes, in his fascinating denunciation of what he saw as the evil customs of his time (including stage plays), *The Anatomie of Abuses*, 1583, sees football as a "devilish pastime" which some even play on the Sabbath, and then offers the reader a superbly realistic evocation of the violence of the game, which deserves to be quoted at length:

For as concerning football playing, I protest unto you it may rather be called a friendly kind of fight, than a play of recreation; a bloody and murdering practise, than a fellowly sport or pastime. For doth not everyone lie in wait for his adversary, seeking to overthrow him and to pick him on his nose, though it be upon hard stones, in ditch or dale, in valley or hill, or what place soever it be he careth not, so he have him down. And he that can serve the most of this fashion, he is counted the only fellow, and who but he?. So that by this means, sometimes their necks are broken,

sometimes their backs, sometimes their legs, sometime their arms, sometime one part thrust out of joint, sometime another, sometime their noses gush out with blood, sometime their eye start out, and sometimes hurt in one place, sometimes in another. But whosoever scapeth away the best goeth not scot-free, but is either sore wounded and bruised, so as he dieth of it, or else scapeth very hardly. And no marvel, for they have sleights to meet one betwixt two, to dash him against the heart with their elbows, to hit him under the short ribs with their gripped fists, and with their knees to catch him upon the hip, and to pick him on his neck, with an hundred such murdering devices. And hereof groweth envy, malice, rancour, choler, hatred, displeasure, enmity and what not else: and sometimes fighting, brawling, contention, quarrel picking, murder, homicide and great effusion of blood, as experience daily teacheth³⁴.

Particularly significant in this obviously biased and presumably exaggerated description is the prescription for attaining football stardom: “And he that can serve the most of this fashion, he is counted the only fellow, and who but he?” Stubbes’ account is undoubtedly one of the most definitive descriptions of the violence generated by football, although other brief sporadic references continue to appear in later writings: Thomas Nashe, in his *Lenten Stuffe*, 1599, uses the verb **to football** as a synonym of **to knock**: “they footbald their heads together”³⁴, and Shakespeare refers to the tripping up of one’s opponent in *King Lear*: Oswald says: “He not be stricken, my Lord”, to which Kent retorts: “Nor tript neither, you base Football-plaier”. A few years later, the physician, Thomas Cogan, in his medical treatise *The Haven of Health*, 1612, qualifies “dauncing, leaping and foote ball play” as “vehement”, the anonymous author of a pamphlet, *Flagellum or Oliver Cromwell*, 1663, associates it with cudgels, as being both “boysterous” sports or games, and John Gay, in 1741, refers to “the Furies of the Football war”³⁵. As late as 1805, Scott was to comment on the roughness of Scottish football:

At present, the foot-ball is often played by the inhabitants of adjacent parishes, or of the opposite banks of a stream. The victory is contested with the utmost fury, and very serious accidents have sometimes taken place in the struggle.³⁶

Finally, as has been mentioned, references to football-playing were not infrequently exploited figuratively or metaphorically, to suggest, as is to be expected, that an object or a person is being tossed or spurned hither and thither, the emphasis being laid on the rapid and rolling motion of the ball implicit in the game rather than on the violence thereof: thus, Sir Thomas More, in his *Confutation of Tyndale*, 1532, suggests the possibility of the world being conceived of as “a rounde rolynye footeballe”, whilst Dromio, in Shakespeare’s *Comedy of Errors*, 1594, protests against being, as we might say, ‘kicked around’ by Antipholus and Adriana:

Am I so round with you as you with me,
That like a football you do spurn me thus?
You spurn me here, he will spurn me hither:
If I last in this service, you must case me in leather. (II, 1. 82-5)

and a character in *The Distracted Emperor*, c. 1600, one of the *Old Plays*, collected by Arthur H. Bullen, affirms: “I am the very foote-ball of the stars”, a strikingly homely image similar in spirit to Gloucester’s “As flies to wanton boys, are we to the gods; / They kill us for their sport” in *King Lear*. Similarly, Owen Felltham, in his *Resolves*, c. 1620, a series of moral essays, laments “To see how well meaning simplicity is football’d”³⁷, where the verb expresses the sense of “being played with”, whilst in 1711, Henry Sacheverell, the political preacher who was impeached by the House of Commons for printing “seditious libels” is assured by a well-wisher that “England must always have a National Football, and you, at present, are that”!

Especially evocative is Edmund Waller’s brilliant extended metaphor about football as a game “too rough for jest”, included in his verses, composed in 1621, on the danger undergone by Prince Charles when a Thames royal barge was caught in a storm at sea:

...As when a sort of lusty Shepherds try
Their force at Foot-ball, care of Victory
Makes them salute so rudely Breast to Breast,
That their Encounter seems too rough for jest;
They ply their Feet, and still the restless Ball
Tost to and fro is urged by them all:
So fares the doubtful Barge...

In fine, there seems little doubt that the “restless ball” will continue to be “tost to and fro” on the green fields of England and elsewhere for a good while yet to come: now that the conduct of the players, in comparison with what these English testimonies tell us about that of the past, is so much improved, we can but pray to St. Hugh of Lincoln to calm “the natural heat” of the spectators, that “strif and discord” may no longer be the watchwords of what, for many, is still, as G. M. Trevelyan put it, “the acknowledged king of games”!

NOTES

¹ In his illuminating study of *El anglicismo en la España de hoy*, in *El Español de Hoy, Lengua en Ebullición*, Madrid, 1966, pp. 67-8.

² W. Endrei and L. Zolnay: *Fun and Games in Old Europe*, Budapest, 1986, p. 99.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Op. cit.* p.100.

⁵ In *The Boke of St. Albans*; see below, note 13).

⁶ G. M. Trevelyan: *England under the Stuarts*, 1904, Pelican Books, 1960, p.65: "But the acknowledged king of games was football...The husbandmen, when the fat swine were killed on the approach of winter 'got the bladder and blew it great and thin', and 'tried it out at football with the shins'"

⁷ Heiner Gillmeister: "The Dissemination of Traditional Games in Europe", in *Seminar on Traditional Games - Conclusions Adopted by the Participants on Collecting Information on and Describing Traditional Games*, Lisbon, 1990, pp.25 and 27.

⁸ John Lydgate: *Minor Poems*, 1840, p.200.

⁹ Horace: *Epistula ad Florum*, 11, 215-6: "...ne potum largius aequo / rideat et pulset lasciuā decentius actas".

¹⁰ Horace: *Epistula ad Pisones* (*Ars Poetica*), 1380: "indoctusque pilae disciue trochiue qui escit".

¹¹ Sir Thomas Browne, in his *Tract viii* (*Works*, 1836, IV, p.205), 1684, refers to "Words...of common use in Norfolk...as...Kamp"; James Halliwell, in his *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*, 1847, glossed **camp** as "...an ancient athletic game of ball formerly in vogue in the Eastern counties", and W. Jessopp, in his *Arcady*, 1887, (p.236), observes: "Camp-ball...used to be a very favourite game in my parish some fifty years ago, and it was, by all accounts, a very rough one - something like football".

¹² Teresa McLean: *The English at Play in the Middle Ages*, Kensal Press, Berkshire, undated, p.3.

¹³ *The Boke of Saint Albans by Dame Juliana Berners ...Reproduced in Facsimile, With an Introduction by William Blades*, London, 1901, unnumbered pages.

¹⁴ "ubi rustici homines et incompositi, ad bibendum vel ad cheolandum...propter agri pascui largem et latam planiciem", quoted by Endrei and Zolnay, *op.cit.*,p.100.

¹⁵ Robert Burton: *Anatomy of Melancholy, The Second Partition: the Cure of Melancholy*, Member IV. Robert Howlett, in his *The School of Recreation : or the gentlemen's tutor to the most ingenious exercises of hunting, racing, hawking, etc.*, an extremely popular book which was reprinted nine times between 1684 and 1784, refers explicitly to twelve different forms of recreation, including tennis, ringing and billiards, but not to football.

¹⁶ John Stow: *Survey of London*, London(Everyman), 1970, p.507.

¹⁷ Endrei and Zolnay, *op. cit.*, p.100.

¹⁸ Alexander Barclay, for example, in his *Egloges*, 1508, evokes (V) "The sturdie plowmen...driuing the foote-ball".

¹⁹ "Li un alerent behorder / E lor isniaus chevaux mostrer. / Li alter alerent escremir / Ou pierre gitier ou saillir: / Teus i avoit qui darz lançoient / Et teus i avoit qui luitoient:" (1979-84).

²⁰ T. McLean, *op. cit.*, p.3.

²¹ In Spurden's 1840 Supplement to Robert Forby's *The Evocation of East Anglia* (Ed. George Turner, 1830), he writes: "I have heard old persons speak of a celebrated camping, Norfolk against Suffolk, on Diss Common, with 300 on each side. The Suffolk men, after 14 hours, were victorious. Nine deaths were the result of the contest, within a fortnight".

²² *The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott*, Bart., Edinburgh, 1833, p.162.

²³ Izaak Walton: *The Compleat Angler*, 1,35: "Where, for some sturdy football Swain, / Jone strokes a Sillabuh or twaine".

²⁴ William Bartram: *Travels through North and South Carolina*, 1791, p.509.

²⁵ T. McLean, *op. cit.*, p.4.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Quoted in Endrei and Zolnay, op. cit., p.100.

²⁸ *Acts of James I of Scotland* , c.18.

²⁹ Magdalen College, Cambridge: Maitland Folio MS. p.215, Ed. W. A. Craigie, *The Maitland Folio MS* , 1, **Scottish Text Society**, N.S. 7, 1919, p.242.

³⁰ Op. cit., p.162.

³¹ G.M. Trevelyan, op. cit., p.65.

³² Book I, chapter 27.

³³ Quoted by John Dover Wilson: *Life in Shakespeare's England* , Pelican Books, 1951, pp.38-9.

³⁴ Thomas Nash: *Works* , Ed. A.B.Grosart, V, p.268.

³⁵ John Gay: *Trivia* , 1714, II, p.226.

³⁶ Op. cit., p.162.

³⁷ *Resolves* , II, lxxxiii, p.427.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Armitage, J. (1977). *Man at Play. Nine Centuries of Pleasure Making*. London.

Endrei, W. and Zolnay, L. (1986). *Fun and Games in Old Europe*. Corvina Kiadó, Budapest.

Gillmeister, Heiner (1981). The Origin of European Ball Games. *Stadion*, 7.

Gillmeister, Heiner. (1985). Linguistics and Sports Historiography. *Stadion* 11.

MacLean, Teresa. (Undated). *The English at Play in the Middle Ages* . Kensal. Press, Berkshire.

Shearman, M. & Vincent, J.E. (1885) *Football: its History for Five Centuries*. London.

Strutt, J. (1801). *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*. London.

