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NAURIGHT, JOHN, AND TIMOTHY J. CHANDLER, eds. *Making Men: Rugby and Masculine Identity*. Portland, Oregon, and London: Frank Cass, 1996. Pp. 260. Notes, index. \$43.50 cb.

This collection of essays sets out to employ rugby as a cultural prism through which an appreciation and understanding of masculine identity emerges as it was impacted by the ideals of the Victorian middle and upper classes. The book chronicles the extraordinary spread and diffusion of a most basic run, punt, collar, and charge team game from its roots at English public schools to the far corners of the world. At the beginning of the twentieth century, global maps were frequently dominated by the color pink denoting nations, peoples, and territories under the jurisdiction of Great Britain and the Union Jack. It was in such countries—for example, Canada, Fiji, New Zealand, South Africa, and Australia—that rugby thrived and prospered and, according to Nauright and Chandler, promoted male exclusivity, as well as being a conduit for cultural incorporation.

*Making Men* is a nicely laid out volume. It has a sensibly ordered list of contents, and the thirteen chapters (introduction through chapter 12, the conclusion) give a commendably broad and diverse picture of the geographical and cultural diffusion of the game. One of the book's many positive aspects is the manner in which the contributors focus on tricky historical themes such as change, continuity, and masculine tradition.

A mere listing of the titles of the eleven major chapters illustrates the manner in which the editors have forged a quite remarkable collection of writing on the historical origins of the interweave of rugby and the qualities of self-sacrifice and manliness. The chapters are "The Structuring of Manliness and the Development

of Rugby Football at the Public Schools and Oxbridge, 1830-1880"; "Rugby, Class, Amateurism and Manliness"; "The Case of Rugby in Northern England, 1871-1895"; "Sport and Masculine Hegemony of the Modern Nation: Welsh Rugby, Culture and Society, 1890-1914"; "The Hard Man: Rugby and the Formation of Male Identity in New Zealand"; "Forging a Ruling Race: Rugby and White Masculinity in Colonial Natal, c. 1870-1910"; "Colonial Manhood and Imperial Race Virility: British Responses to Post-Boer War Colonial Rugby Tours"; "Games Field and Battlefield: A Romantic Alliance in Verse and the Creation of Militaristic Masculinity"; "Football, Class and War: The Rugby Codes in New South Wales, 1907-1918"; "Playing for Power? Rugby, Afrikaner Nationalism and Masculinity in South Africa, c. 1900-1970"; "'Hitting Them Where it Hurts': Springbok-All Black Rugby, Masculine National Identity and Counter-Hegemonic Struggle, 1959-1992"; and "Sustaining Masculine Hegemony: Rugby and the Nostalgia of Masculinity."

The various authors, university academics, teach and carry out research in the United States, Canada, South Africa, Scotland, Australia, and New Zealand. While *Making Men* is a solidly intellectual tome, was any thought given to having a nonuniversity specialist—a journalist or contemporary media person—explore notions of masculine rugby identity as articulated/packaged for a vast consumer audience? The role of Sky Television and media mogul Rupert Murdoch, who has bought the game's television rights and created a virtual monopoly, is of very real importance. What does televised modern rugby say about "being a man"? There are both female historians and sociologists who have much to say on gendered sport (several are quoted in *Making Men*), and it would have been worthwhile to see their examination of "masculinity" within a male-dominated sport. See, for example, an essay in *Cultural Histories of the Physique* edited by Tim Armstrong (New York New York University Press, 1996), that was written by Kasia Boddy. She analyzes the role of women spectators at boxing matches.

In 1965 this writer traveled to South Wales to watch a college teammate, T.G.R. Davies, take part in a Welsh rugby trial. The pubs did have beer-swilling rugby fans with magnificent choral-level voices, and in the crowd were lines of grimy coal miners just released from the deep black warrens in the Rhondda Valley. Lest I fall back on more easy characterizations and caricatures, the solution is to read one of the book's memorable chapters, written by David L. Andrews. His historical scholarship is precise, and his endnotes are a joy to behold. The prose is taut and elegant, and not a word is wasted.

To the popular Welsh imagination, the rebirth of modern Wales was realized by an almost exclusively male cast (be it the men who worked down the mines and in the factories, those managers and administrators who oversaw Wales's great industrial leap forward, or those popular heroes who donned the scarlet jersey of the national rugby XV) that was widely thought to have created a nation in their own image; it was, as the national anthem affirmed, the "Land of My Father" (p. 66).

Mike Cronin, a historian at Sheffield Hallam University, England, in his review of *Making Men* (to appear in a forthcoming issue of *The International*

*Journal of the History of Sport*) opens his concluding paragraph with the words, "Nauright and Chandler have taken a difficult project and achieved an unresounding success." That *Making Men* is a fine piece of sports history, I have no doubt. Nevertheless, I think it could have been better.

Jock Phillips, chief historian of the historical branch of the New Zealand Department of International Affairs, explores the topic of male identity in New Zealand and reserves only the last paragraph for the period of 1910 onward. At the very least, his chapter heading should indicate that his account is Victorian and not modern. In John Nauright and David Black's chapter on Springbok-All Black Rugby, an abundance of primary source documentation exists, but much, much less—arguably a George Nepia biography, a Roger Warwick book, and a Harry Hendricks interview—of what could be termed the "player as scribe" history. This applies even more strikingly in John Nauright's chapter on rugby and the nostalgia of masculinity. What would a comparative content analysis yield of all player biographies (ghostwritten and otherwise) and biographies written on New Zealand rugby from the past thirty years? In *Making Men*, a chapter by Tony Mangan discusses the literature of the public schools. In a similar vein, what does, for example, New Zealand or Australian or South African literature—here I refer to all of writing, especially fiction—say about rugby and masculine identity?

Cultural Studies has emerged as a dynamic player in the analysis of cultural systems and their relation to social power. A lesser reliance on historical narrative and a greater embrace of cultural studies, cultural anthropology, and social psychology would enable *Making Men* to report not just on the past but the present state of masculine identity vis à vis rugby.

A recent phenomenon in New Zealand is *Once Were Warriors*. More New Zealanders have seen this movie than any other. The scenario is a savage and shocking story of a Maori-Pacific Islander family in the North Island of New Zealand. The level of violence is appalling. This is no *National Geographic* story of a pretty postcard country in the Southern Hemisphere. Neither is there the artistic style and historical stamp of Jane Campion's *The Piano*. The violent hero (villain) of *Once Were Warriors* is very physical and very masculine. In every sense, he is an amazing and alarming character. While *Once Were Warriors* has nothing to do with rugby, it offers profound speculative insights on masculine identity. I suspect that future studies are needed to establish the relationship between contemporary rugby football and the meaning of manliness. As Chandler and Nauright admit in their conclusion, "We hope that the analysis offered in this volume may suggest new avenues for looking at such questions in the future" (p. 246).

Clifford Geertz advanced the frontiers of knowledge by going to Bali and camping there in search of understanding human behavior. His use of cockfighting was a brilliant leap of imagination. In terms of rugby studies, this writer would like to see a participant observer take a future British Lions tour, or the forthcoming 1999 World Cup in Wales, and carry out a series of player-administrator-spectator sociohistorical analyses. Such a forum would yield much,

and would continue the fine work initiated with such dash and detail by Nauright and Chandler.

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