

J.A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal*. Viking, Harmondsworth, 1986. Illus., index, select bibliog. pp.240. £14.95.

J.A. Mangan, well known for his work on *Athleticism*, has now turned his attention to the diffusion of this ideal outside the English Public School, to those who, having been educated in the environment discussed in his earlier work, attempted to recreate aspects of the British Public School and University throughout the Empire. In case studies which examine teaching efforts in the Sudan, tropical Africa, India and Canada he examines the attempt to transport these educational ideals to very different physical and cultural circumstances.

Mangan's point of departure is an article written in 1959 by Sir Charles Tennyson, entitled 'They Taught the World to Play', where Tennyson discussed the diffusion of English ball games throughout the Empire during the nineteenth century. Cricket,

rugby and soccer were spread through the efforts of teachers and administrators as well as soldiers and missionaries, although Mangan is concerned primarily with the first two groups.

Their interest in these games was not only based on a nostalgia for England but also by a firm belief in the moral dimension of sporting activity. Rugby and cricket were the 'wheel around which moral values turned'. Their primary purpose was 'to create a universal Tom Brown: loyal, brave, truthful, a gentleman and, if possible, a Christian'.

A detailed examination of Imperial education systems reveals much to support Mangan. In India, the area of this reviewer's expertise, there was a concerted attempt at the end of the nineteenth century to transplant the ideals of the British University and Public School. The University of Calcutta, since its foundation in 1857 on the model of the University of London, had grown into an unwieldy institution with affiliated colleges as far away as Burma and Ceylon. Reforms inspired by Curzon culminated in the Universities Act of 1902 which attempted to bring the system under tighter control. Colleges were to be managed by a Board of Governors which, in the case of those receiving grants from the Government meant the appointment of British administrators and teachers. Students were to live in closely supervised hostels and messes as far as was possible and the promotion of English ball-games was seen as an essential part of the exercise. This was especially so in those colleges run by the government as elite institutions such as Presidency College in Calcutta. It also held true for important missionary institutions such as the Scottish Churches College in the same city.

Englishmen who taught at these colleges described their mission in terms of a nexus between the burden of ruling/teaching and the need to instill character in their charges. An essential part of the latter endeavour was their efforts to organise games among their students along similar lines to their own experiences as school and university.

In Bengal these efforts reached their apogee during Henry Roshier James tenure as Principal of Presidency College from 1906-16. He tried to make of Presidency a 'city-state in little; a world dedicated to excellence in the English language with friendly

relations between European members of staff cemented through staff involvement on the sports field.

This book enables the reader to place these' efforts in a wider context and thereby increases our understanding of one of the psychological and ideological well-springs of Imperialism. Any attempt to make informed generalisations about the workings of Imperialism is a welcome balance to the tendency to retreat to the detailed monograph to avoid the inevitable inaccuracies and irregularities which beset those who attempt to draw a wider bow.

In his first chapter Mangan examines the ties between the Public School and the Imperial endeavour. The duties, and the moral status, assigned to those who ruled were an ethical imperative for G. Kendall, headmaster of the University College School, C. Norwood of Harrow, Edmund Warre of Eton, F. Fletcher of Charterhouse, M.J. Rendall of Winchester and E.H. Stevens of Westminster. They contributed to the construction of what Mangan calls an 'hegemonic paradigm'. They both fashioned belief in the moral propriety of Imperialism and ensured its reproduction through the students who attended their institutions.

If these men worked within the confines of older institutions with pre-Imperialist traditions others, such as Hely Hutchinson Almond, headmaster of the unknown Loretto School near Edinburgh throughout the 1860s worked within a less formed environment and with less constraints. His was an avowedly Platonic conception of training a ruling class in an environment of physical exertion and spartan habits.

Many of these teachers were not overly interested in intellectual pursuits and some were positively hostile to a system of learning too reliant on books. Perhaps the most persistent of educators in this regard was J.E.C. Welldon, headmaster of Harrow from 1881 to 1895 during the high noon of the Victorian Empire. In 1895, at the Annual General Meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute he read a paper entitled 'The Imperial Aspects of Education'. He argued that education must relate to the administration of the Empire-as in the Rome of Augustine so in the England of Victoria. The English attitude to sport was an essential ingredient of their colonising success. The English were not superior to the French or Germans in brain or industry but in their athletic temper and in

what Welldon called their 'readiness', they were unmatched. This latter condition signified 'courage, self-reliance, opportunism and resourcefulness' which when combined produced a man far superior to one who was merely intellectually agile.

Besides the environment created for them by their teachers there was also a literary genre which reinforced the direct influence of the schools on their students. Besides well-known balladeers such as Sir Henry Newbolt and his 'Vital Lampada', there were E.W. Hornung's 'Father of Men', R.M. Freeman's 'Steady and Strong', R.S. Warren Bell and his Greyhouse series, R.A.H. Goodyear and later P.G. Wodehouse. These images were later dutifully reproduced in the students own magazines. By 1885 Eton, Haileybury and Cheltenham were based on images of the warrior-patriot.

Mangan completes his argument by discussing situations in which products of the nineteenth-century British Public School attempted to both rule and guide changes in different parts of the Empire. Chapter Three examines the Sudan Political Service which was created in 1899 after the destruction of the Mahdi's forces. This Service was said to rival the Indian Civil Service in prestige. Those with an athletic background at school and college were present in significant numbers although from 1899-1952 of 393 recruits 71 had blues and 93 had achieved representative honours at sports while attending university. Many of those who reminisced on their experiences in the Service paid tribute at the role played by games in forming their character and enabling them to withstand the rigours of their working life.

Chapter Five discusses the attempt to fashion Oriental 'Englishmen' in India after 1857. These efforts were aimed at the traditional aristocracy which had played a notable part in the rebellion of that year. Two grades of public school emerged - one for the leading and the other for the lesser chiefs and nobles. This became the foundation for a strategy of indirect rule which tied the hearts and minds of the young princes to things British.

Chapter Six discusses the transportation of the public school system to Canada. In the Anglo areas this was obviously less problematical than in the Sudan, Nigeria or India. Mangan argues that the very survival of cricket in these institutions demonstrates the

importance of the Imperial games ethos. The book concludes with a discussion of the epitome of the selfless Englishman attempting to deal with the exigencies and responsibilities of the Imperial ideal - the athletic missionary whose zeal for games was an integral part of his attempt to improve the moral and material lot of his native charges.

There is much which is interesting and provocative in this book. The style suggests it is intended for a wider audience than the average academic effort and this reviewer would be the last to discourage such an effort. However, some criticisms remain. Firstly, Mangan does not mention a number of works on Indian education which bear directly upon this theme. For example, David Lelyveld's book on Aligarh's First Generation describes the establishment by influential middle-class Muslims of a college designed along the lines of an English Public School. They employed Englishmen, such as the first Principal Thomas Beck, to provide precisely the pedagogical approach Mangan is discussing. He also does not refer to the earlier writings of Irene Gilbert which first drew attention to this aspect of Imperial education.

Secondly, and most importantly, Mangan seems to be unaware of the major trend in the historiography of countries which experienced colonialism. This has seen a concerned effort to write a more complex history which at least attempts to incorporate the perspective of the ruled as well as the ruler. Such an attempt is a feature of Lelyveld's book. Mangan, is limited to the world view of the teachers and the taught hardly figure at all.

As an attempt to provide an Empire-wide perspective, however, the book is interesting and certainly a good read even if one does detect more than a trace of the academic attempting to capture a wider audience through appeals to the memory of Empire in Margaret Thatcher's Britain.

John Berwick
Sydney