

‘The Manly Game’: Cricket and Masculinity in Savannah, Georgia in 1859

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I

In the late August of 1859, barely 18 months before Georgia would secede from the United States and join a confederacy of Southern states in a bloody Civil War against the North, a group of young men formed the Savannah Cricket Club (SCC).¹ After a couple of practice sessions, two elevens from the club played their first match on 24 September 1859. The *Savannah Republican*, reporting on the match, did not know quite what to make of it. While acknowledging that the players were ‘comparatively ignorant of the game’ it concluded that the teams had, overall, ‘evinced a very creditable proficiency in fielding, bowling and batting’.² When the scores were printed the next day, it is obvious that the batting was not quite so proficient as the paper believed. The total match aggregate, over four innings, was just 71, with Mr Stewart’s side making only 4 in their first innings.³ The second match on 8 October apparently saw ‘much improvement ... especially in fielding, some catches being made that would have done credit to more experienced players’.⁴ Over the next month the cricketers continued to practice and play regular matches, and by 3 November the *Savannah Republican* felt justified in describing the play as ‘excellent’. While this was perhaps an over exaggeration, the total match aggregate of 211 runs over four innings was clearly a remarkable improvement in just five weeks and the outlook for the club seemed rosy. The *Savannah Republican* thought that ‘we can expect better games hereafter’, and following increases in membership one member wrote that the club was ‘in a prosperous condition’.⁵ Yet by early 1860 cricket had faded as a popular pastime in Savannah. The *Savannah Republican* asked its readers ‘what’s become of the Savannah Cricket Club?’ but received no reply.⁶

Cricket was not the only sporting activity that captured the imagination of Savannah’s young men in 1859: boat racing and baseball each made their first appearance in the city in those heady autumnal months. The city press were at a loss to explain the ‘perfect furor for engaging in athletic amusements’ that seemed to have gripped the young men of the city.⁷ But

the preoccupation with organized sporting activity was not to last. Boating clubs might have lingered longer than the SCC, but generally they shared its fate. In offering possible explanations for the rise and demise of the SCC and other sporting endeavours in 1859, this study will suggest that the key to understanding the flowering of late antebellum interest in sport lies in the attitudes and aspirations of young southern men. Sporting clubs, unlike almost any other mode of self-expression, allowed young men to make a public statement about their gender, their character and their hopes for the future.

II

In contrast to both baseball and boat racing, cricket had a long pedigree both in colonial America generally and in Georgia specifically. The sport we now term 'cricket' seems to have emerged in England by the first half of the eighteenth century as a fusion of several different bat and ball games. Certainly by 1750 a uniform set of rules governed the cricket matches that were being played with increasing regularity between villages, towns and counties all over the country.⁸ English people migrating to America no doubt took with them a vast variety of cultural baggage, but tucked away in a side pocket was an understanding of how to play cricket.

On the other side of the Atlantic, cricket was only one of a number of sporting activities that engaged eighteenth-century Americans. Nancy Struna, the pre-eminent historian of early American sport, has argued that in the seventeenth century, American leisure pursuits tended to be unstructured, informal and geared towards a productive end, hunting being an obvious example.⁹ Preoccupied with planting crops, clearing forests and sometimes just survival, early colonists clearly had better things to focus their energies on than sport. It was only in the eighteenth century, as American society became more stable, wealthy and refined, that we find evidence of people playing sport for recreational pleasure. Activities such as horse-racing became fashionable for educated and moneyed elites, especially in Virginia and South Carolina. Among lower classes, sports such as bowling, football and animal-baiting all had popular followings.¹⁰

Cricket seems to have been one of the few sports in early America that was enjoyed by all social classes. The first reference to American cricket that survives comes from the secret diary of Virginian planter William Byrd in 1709. The casual way in which Byrd mentions on 27 April that, 'after dinner we played at cricket', suggests that the game was nothing exceptional, and was certainly not a novelty in early eighteenth-century Virginia. Later diary entries show that Byrd often played some type of informal cricket 'four of a side' with family members and visiting friends.¹¹

Elsewhere in colonial America, cricket had more of a populist appeal, with matches being played for example in New York (1751), Annapolis, Maryland (1754), and Hartford, Connecticut (1767).¹² In the infant colony of Georgia cricket was being played quite regularly in the 1740s. The first game took place in Savannah on 30 March 1741 (Easter Monday), when the President of the Colony of Georgia, William Stephens, noted, 'It being holiday time, many of our townsmen, freeholders, inmates and servants etc, were assembled in the principal square, at cricket and divers other athletic sports; when I was exceedingly pleased to see many more than I could have expected, of young, lively, and active men.' Stephens even professed that he would have played himself but, 'thinking myself not altogether so fit at seventy, as heretofore, for such sports', he declined.¹³ For the next few years, Stephens regularly noted games of cricket in his journal, with most games being associated with public holidays such as Easter, Whitsuntide, St Andrew's Day, Boxing Day and New Year.¹⁴ Stephens usually described those playing cricket as 'hail young fellows', 'the common people', 'the common sort' or the 'generality of the people'; only once, in November 1742, did he identify the players in more detail. In celebration of St Andrew's Day, 'the North Britons in town assembled in the square, diverting themselves at cricket, etc with a barrel of New York ale placed near, to regale them as they saw fit, which they purchased at their own expense.' One can only wonder at the quality of cricket played as the participants became increasingly drunk, though, to be fair to the players, Stephens never noted 'any disorders they were guilty of over their cups'.¹⁵ Cricket was therefore widely known and understood by both English and Scottish colonists in Georgia, and by the 1740s had emerged as one of the more popular ways for people to entertain themselves informally when not working.

Despite the lack of direct testimony that cricket was played regularly in colonial Georgia after the 1740s, the game clearly remained both 'well-known' and understood in Savannah.¹⁶ By 1801, when 13 natives of Georgia challenged 'thirteen natives of any country to play a game of cricket for a treat' there was no sense that the game needed to be explained to a populace that no longer knew how to play it.¹⁷ Residents must have been familiar with cricket either through observation or through participation. A week after the challenge was issued it was accepted by 'thirteen Americans or Europeans' and the subsequent game resulted in a victory for the Georgians by 32 runs.¹⁸ The instigator of the match was Jewish doctor Levi Sheftall, and both his brother Benjamin and his cousin Moses, all members of one of Savannah's oldest families, played for the 'Georgians'.¹⁹ Other members of long-established local families took part in the game, such as artisans David and Christopher Gugel, and planter Thomas Norton, but the match was not

restricted to those of a particular social group or class. Calker Caleb Meggs, for example, was a recent arrival in Savannah from Rochester, New York, as was Mr Canavan, a merchant originally from Canada.²⁰ Evidently in 1801, just as in the 1740s, the cricket field was a place where all men were welcome.

The game of 1801 was not an isolated affair and led ultimately to the formation of a short-lived cricket club in Savannah, but in general the first half of the nineteenth century was a period of sporting desolation in the city.²¹ Newspapers carried no reports of organized sporting activity, apart from horse races that were held periodically just outside Savannah.²² Not that Savannah was alone in this trend: very few games of cricket, or any other team sport, were recorded in the entire United States during the early national period.²³ Indeed, the long and distinguished history of cricket in Georgia had disappeared so much from the collective memory of locals by 1859 that the *Daily Morning News* was able to claim that the introduction of cricket to America 'has been quite recent'.²⁴ Quite why cricket disappeared in Georgia is unclear. It may have been part of a national trend, reflecting an unwillingness of Americans to play an 'English' game after the Revolutionary war. But the fact that the number of English migrants who might have had knowledge of cricket fell as a proportion of the city's population was probably significant. Certainly British migrants to Savannah after 1800 were more likely to be Irish, with little knowledge of cricket, than English.²⁵

In the place of organized team sports, southerners turned to other amusements and distractions. Popular sports such as boxing and hunting satisfied a violent streak that was a noted characteristic of Southern males.²⁶ The culture of personal honour, which pervaded the south, meant that Southern males were more willing than most to fight to defend their reputation and inflict terrible wounds on opponents in the process. Many southern men would have preferred to lose an eye defending their honour, than have both eyes but no reputation.²⁷ Southern males also enjoyed hunting, the elite with expensive firearms, gun dogs and pure-bred horses, ordinary black and white Southerners with anything that came to hand.²⁸ Another popular sport, horse racing, was probably valued more for the gambling opportunities it offered than for its aesthetic value.²⁹ Given the lack of interest in team sports among early nineteenth-century Southern men, the 'perfect furor for engaging in athletic amusements' witnessed in Savannah during the second half of 1859 is even more curious.³⁰

The new-found interest in team sports, and especially cricket in Savannah, was part of a national trend. Cricket slowly re-emerged from its post-revolutionary slumbers in the United States with the foundation of the St George's Cricket Club by English ex-patriots in New York in 1838.

Following the formation of other clubs in Philadelphia and Newark, the heart of mid-nineteenth century American cricket came to rest in the larger north-eastern cities.³¹ Games between clubs in the same city, and later between clubs from different cities raised the profile of cricket among Americans so much that the first match in any sport involving representative national teams, was a cricket match played out on 24–25 September 1844 between Canada and the United States in Toronto.³² While the Canada-USA game became an annual fixture, all North Americans knew that the best cricketers in the world were English and so in 1856 a plan was mooted by the Montreal Cricket Club to invite a select all-England professional eleven to tour Canada and the USA. The financial panic of 1857 delayed the tour until 1859 but when the England party finally arrived in Quebec City on 22 September 1859 to play five games against North American opposition there was huge public and media interest.³³

The strong English eleven, which included notables such as John Wisden and John Lillywhite easily overcame the North American teams, despite permitting them to field 22 players.³⁴ Games were well attended and widely publicized in the sporting and local media. At Montreal for the first game, one of the English players claimed that 'reporters were present from all parts of the states'; and in New York the English team was 'most enthusiastically received and loudly cheered' by a crowd estimated at 25,000.³⁵

The rapid rise in popularity of cricket among Northern cities did not go unnoticed in the South. At least one Savannahian subscribed to the New York based *Spirit of the Times* that regularly carried reports of cricket matches. For other residents, the New York correspondent of the *Savannah Republican* began mentioning the up-and-coming cricket series with England more than two months before the arrival of the team, claiming that the match at Hoboken 'will be most exciting game ever played in the country, and will be attended by cricketers from all parts of the world'.³⁶ The national popularity of cricket in the late 1850s fostered the formation of 25 clubs in southern cities such as Richmond (1857), Baltimore (1859) and Lexington, (1859) as well as New Orleans (1859) and Mobile (1860) which had historically Latinized, rather than Anglocentric, cultures.³⁷ It is entirely feasible that the sudden appearance of the Savannah Cricket Club in the summer of 1859 was, in part, due to the interest generated by the impending English tour, and by the reports of the formation of clubs in other cities. As the *Daily Morning News* pointed out, cricket had become 'generally popular [in the USA] ... within the last four years', and the organization of a club in Savannah would no doubt enable cricket to 'become the favourite game in both town and country'.³⁸ However, the national popularity of the sport is insufficient on its own to account for the formation of the SCC in 1859.

Young southern men were not so easily led to merely copy the activities of Englishmen and northerners. They must have seen something in specific sporting activities that attracted them, and understanding this motivation is the key to explaining the appearance of the SCC.

III

For most of the first half of the nineteenth century few Anglo-Americans placed much emphasis on sport as a useful way to spend leisure time. One of the more enduring legacies of seventeenth century English Puritanism was the understanding that idleness only offered opportunities for people to be sinful. This perception had been carried to the American colonies by the New England settlers, and the Puritan work ethic became the accepted norm for American work patterns in the eighteenth century. Those who were not engaged in a productive activity (or work) were therefore, by definition, idle.³⁹ While the Puritan work ethic was never as pervasive in the colonial South as it was in New England, (indeed one of the most persistent stereotypes about the South is the laziness of its inhabitants), early Georgians did have views on idleness and unproductive recreations.⁴⁰ For example, in the debate that raged in Georgia and London between 1733 and 1750 over whether to permit African slavery in the colony, the Georgia Trustees placed much store on the idleness that would ensue among white people if slaves were permitted to enter. After all, the whole Georgia plan was, in part, a project to provide a new start for the worthy white poor from England. Allowing settlers to own slaves was hardly a productive way of encouraging hard work and self-reliance.⁴¹ Once slavery was permitted in Georgia in 1751, regulations were passed by the colonial assembly in order to discourage idleness among whites: tavern laws aimed to prevent the gathering of 'lewd, idle & disorderly people, runaway sailors, servants, and slaves' and laws against vagabondage forced those 'living idle without employment and having no visible means of subsistence' into productive activity.⁴² While William Stephens may have commented favourably on cricketers in Savannah in the 1740s, even he made an explicit distinction between harmless recreation on customary holidays such as Easter Monday, Whitsun and New Year, and idleness at other times.⁴³

In eighteenth-century America, just as in England, it was the elite who first embraced the positive benefits of recreation, and the control of leisure time thus became one of the principal methods of social differentiation between social groups.⁴⁴ Leisure for the Anglo-American upper classes had clearly become something distinct from idleness by the later half of the eighteenth century. Hunting and horse-racing were both seen as acceptable uses of time among the American elite, even when recreation spread outside

of holiday periods to encompass weekends and evenings.⁴⁵ Conversely, lower class recreations, such as fighting, drinking and hunting, or games such as cricket outside of traditional holiday periods, continued to be perceived by the elite as signs of a dissipated lifestyle. Such idleness was not something which gained widespread public support in either Britain or America in the eighteenth century. While acknowledging that 'cricket may be proper in holiday time', one correspondent to the London-based *Gentleman's Magazine* criticized the sport's 'mischievous' ability to 'break in upon business' and encourage the congregation of 'crowds of apprentices and servants whose time is not their own'.⁴⁶ The constant fear that those who were not working were probably up to no good meant that recreational activities of ordinary people were tolerated, rather than encouraged, in the eighteenth century.

However, during the first half of the nineteenth century the elite's perception of popular pastimes gradually began to change. Some social historians of early Victorian Britain argue that the emergence of a worthy concept of leisure has much to do with the struggle between workers and capitalists during the Industrial Revolution. As factory owners sought to control the time of their employees, workers struck back by obtaining legal sanction for a time-limited work day, with the remaining hours being at their disposal.⁴⁷ While the conflict between factory workers and factory owners does not apply to the antebellum South, the obvious class distinctions between social groups regarding the perception of time and leisure apply equally well in both societies.⁴⁸ As many social historians have shown, it was only with urbanization that organized leisure activities came to be seen by elites as suitable for working people. Whereas in some mythical bygone age, ordinary folk were kept busy on the farmstead, looking after hearth and home, the same people in the city had no such activities to occupy their spare time. In New York, Boston and Philadelphia, moral reformers fretted about the effect of cities, with their brothels, bars and gambling dens, on those who migrated to the city from rural areas seeking work, or who stepped off a boat from Europe. The temptations of the city needed to be neutralized and reformers increasingly turned to sporting activity as a healthy alternative to traditional non-elite leisure pursuits.⁴⁹ The concerns of moral reformers neatly coincided with the growth of a movement that promoted health and exercise, associated with evangelical Christianity and led, in the USA, by noted Massachusetts cricketer Rev. Thomas Higginson. Sometimes called the 'muscular Christianity movement', it promoted the ideology that a healthy body helped to sustain a healthy mind. To this end, adhering to the dictum that 'the Devil makes work for idle hands', athletic sports were to be lauded as keeping the body and mind free from sin, and in many respects as character-building.⁵⁰

Of all the sports then played in urban America, cricket lent itself particularly well to the intentions of moral reformers and the muscular Christianity movement. Players and spectators alike accepted cricket as a game which encouraged honourable behaviour, sportsmanlike conduct, and discipline – the ideal Christian game.⁵¹ As such it could be expected to have a beneficial effect on young men. It was not long before major Northern public schools followed the lead of their famous English counterparts, Eton, Harrow and Winchester, in placing character-building cricket on the curriculum.⁵² Cricket also suited the myth of republican equality popular among American elites in the mid-nineteenth century, and especially prevalent in the areas of the south dominated by a wealthy plantocracy.⁵³ Letters to the sporting press claimed that the ‘one of the noblest features of our great national game is that it draws together all classes and conditions, who take rank upon the cricket ground according to their talents in the game’.⁵⁴ Indeed cricket was seen as a way in which elite culture might be easily disseminated among the non-elite.

Elite concerns about the unchecked behaviour of non-elites were prevalent in Savannah. The Grand Jury, normally drawn from the ranks of the city’s wealthiest citizenry, continuously complained about ‘amusements of an irregular and immoral nature’, particularly noting the popularity of gambling, prostitution and drunkenness among ordinary whites, and the illicit trade which shopkeepers carried on with slaves.⁵⁵ Even sporting activity was not beyond the criticism of the Grand Jury. On one occasion they cited ‘the violation of the Sabbath, particularly in the practice of shooting and ball playing within and near the limits of the city’, and at other times complained of the lax enforcement of gambling laws around the racecourse, and the endangerment of the public by individuals racing horses on the public road to Augusta.⁵⁶

Improving the public behaviour of citizens was a cause usually taken up by Baptists and Methodists in Savannah. Through their regular discipline meetings, evangelicals chastised erring members who committed adultery, got drunk, visited the theatre or otherwise sinned. In June 1858, for example, James Waters was excommunicated from the First Baptist Church for playing cards in a bar-room. As several authors have shown, church discipline meetings were forums that permitted elite male citizens to impose a standard of behaviour on women, poor whites and slaves.⁵⁷ Unlike their northern counterparts, evangelicals in Savannah seemed to have left the promotion of sporting exercise as an alternative to the traditional non-elite pursuits to others, but it is telling that organized sporting activity was not criticized as a frivolous activity in 1859.

Even with the tacit support of evangelicals, those who supported the formation of sports clubs in 1859 faced a degree of local prejudice towards

athletic activity. Savannahians seemingly preferred to 'take no exercise' viewing those who did 'as eccentric, if not actually demented'. Such attitudes did not compare well with their transatlantic cousins. Correspondents to the city press noted that the English thought 'nothing of walking half a dozen miles before breakfast', and argued that it was this emphasis on physical activity that had raised Romans and Greeks to greatness in the ancient world, and now sustained Great Britain as the most powerful nation on Earth. There was no pride in realizing 'that our men lack the robustness and healthfulness of the English and other European nations, because we take too little active exercise'. It was accepted that Savannah's citizens had adopted 'habits that exhaust the vital fire' partly because of the absence of alternatives. Acknowledging that 'people must have recreation', the lack of organized sporting activities meant that instead of enjoying 'healthy, innocent recreation, they will seek immoral and injurious pleasures'. In promoting the creation of sporting clubs it was hoped that young men would be diverted away from vices and towards character-building exercise. Thus 'boat and cricket and quoit clubs should do away with drinking holes as resorts for men of all positions and avocations', because members would 'spend their idle hours in manly amusements instead of, as heretofore, in drunken orgies and dare-devil scrapes and become gentlemanly athletes instead of roystering rowdies'.⁵⁸

The promotion of cricket as 'this noble and manly game' could only have had a beneficial effect on the morals and behaviour of young men in the city, and was made even more important because of the lack of support from the school system. While noting that 'the out-door sports of this country, have been confined, until within a few years past, almost entirely to school boys and school days', the *Daily Morning News* did not go into details about the form these sports took. Most likely they were informal playground games, since the Chatham Academy, the leading fee-paying school in the city, put particular stress on the highly academic nature of its curriculum.⁵⁹

IV

The young men who banded together in 1859 to form the SCC, as well as contemporaries who founded at least three boat clubs in the same year, were acting at a time that had never been more auspicious for organized sporting activity. Both the national mood and the local press were supportive of the development. But an analysis of those actually participating in team sports demonstrates that the Savannah sportsmen were not merely carbon copies of their northern counterparts.⁶⁰ In stark contrast to Northern cricket clubs, which – apart from those in Philadelphia – were generally made up of

English immigrants, roughly two-thirds of the Savannah cricketers were native Southerners (though the umpires at the first game were both British).⁶¹ Moreover, the average age of the Savannah players was 27, significantly younger than their counterparts in New York and Newark, and the Southern cricketers were occupationally distinct from their Northern brethren.⁶² Whereas pre-war Philadelphian cricketers were generally drawn from the ranks of the elite, and cricketers in Newark and New York were often skilled lower class artisans, Savannah's cricket players generally came from the white-collar middle classes.⁶³ Eighteen of the players worked in offices as bank cashiers, bookkeepers or as clerks; ten were merchants of some kind, and only four were professional people – two lawyers and two doctors. None worked as artisans or at any form of manual labour. As young men, no doubt somewhat junior in their chosen professions, they generally lacked visible signs of personal wealth such as slaves and property, and their political voice was negligible – fewer than half of the players were registered to vote.⁶⁴ Of even greater significance was the fact that most players were not heads of their own households. They either still lived with their parents, or they boarded with older, usually married, couples. Moreover, the majority of players were single.⁶⁵ Those young men who joined one of Savannah's boat clubs, instead of the SCC, came from very similar backgrounds. They were nearly all in their twenties, southern-born, engaged in a white-collar office job, and not yet married or head of their own household. While only two men were members of both the SCC and a boat club, many young sportsmen would have known each other, either through work, or socially. Three cricketers, for example, shared lodgings with Abraham Einstein, while Richard Howell, a member of the Pioneer Boat Club, and cricketer Obediah Edwards, both boarded with Amanda Box.

The fact that most Savannah sportsmen were single, dependent, young men, and that they moved in the same social circle, may have had a bearing on the formation of the cricket and boat clubs in 1859. Sport was one way of demonstrating adult independence to the outside world at a time when there were few organized associations for young men in Savannah that offered this opportunity. True enough, there were many voluntary organizations in the city that had male members in the 1850s. The YMCA, the Young Men's Benevolent Association, the German Friendly Society, the Hibernian Society and the Mechanics Benevolent Association, amongst others, took their members from a wide cross section of the city's male inhabitants.⁶⁶ The problem was that these societies held little attraction for younger middle-class men who were not particularly religiously-minded and had no separate ethnic or work identity in the city. That the generally older, wealthier, and higher status members of these societies effectively excluded younger middle-class men from participation is demonstrated by

examination of membership lists. While there was considerable cross-membership of older male societies – Frederick Sims, owner of the *Savannah Republican*, for example, serving on the boards of both the Savannah Benevolent Association and the Union Society in 1858 – there was little crossover between those societies and the sporting clubs. Only two members of the SCC were also involved in the older male societies, and neither was typical of the average cricketer as they both headed their own household. Sporting clubs were the only option left for young men wishing to end their individual anonymity by collective organization. It was the collectivism of team sports that actually gave the members a higher profile as individuals than they would normally have merited.⁶⁷ The difference between the SCC and another sporting society in Savannah, the Jockey Club, is principally one of social class. Horse-racing was a traditionally elite pursuit, involving only a small number of active participants, and it required vast investment in horses that would have been beyond the reach of young men just starting out in their careers.⁶⁸ While boats could prove expensive, costing up to \$300, members did not provide all the money; the Couper Boat Club, for example, had their boat purchased for them by a wealthy patron.⁶⁹ Cricket, on the other hand, needed only a small up-front cash injection, as a ball, bat and a wicket could be fashioned out of almost anything, and so the game was particularly attractive to those without significant personal resources. Cricket and boat clubs offered an outlet for what Stuart Blumin has described as the ‘class aspirations’ of middle-class young men.⁷⁰ By forming their own organizations and by conforming to rules and regulations of the sports and of the clubs, they gave their efforts a formal respectability and a social legitimacy that casual games would have lacked. Instead of being a fairly non-descript gathering of undistinguished young men trying to hit a ball with a bat, or rowing up and down the river, they were members of the Savannah Cricket Club, or the Pioneer Boat Club, and undoubtedly received more attention in the city press as a result. If they were able to publicly demonstrate their ability in a sport that was ‘calculated to improve the physical powers of the participants, besides adding much to the pleasure and sociability of life’, all the better.⁷¹ The sporting clubs were, above all, a statement of what it meant to be a middle-class young man in antebellum Savannah.

V

This emphasis on the manly nature of sport in general, and cricket in particular, demands further exploration. J.A. Mangan has argued forcefully for the importance of the cult of manliness that emerged in English public schools in the mid-nineteenth century and reached its fullest expression

through achievements on the playing fields. Young British men were encouraged to think of sporting endeavour as a mode of expressing their manly prowess, and later they would take this interpretation of sport throughout the empire.⁷² While the USA was no longer a colony of Britain, the English influence on American culture was still strong in the nineteenth century. During the 1850s American men, like their British counterparts, had applied the increased popularity of sports in a gendered way. Athleticism, vigorous exercise, and sporting prowess were all avenues for demonstrating manliness not femininity.⁷³ This is not to claim that American women never engaged in exercise. Several authors have demonstrated that there was increased interest in the sports and recreations of women in the antebellum United States, but it is unclear how far this trend spread from its Northern origins to the South. Certainly there are very few reports of women participating in popular sports, and, unlike in England, no reports of women in the South playing cricket. Southern women do seem to have been content to be spectators rather than players in the antebellum revival of team sports.⁷⁴ For the players, the absence of female participation naturally made success on the field seem all the more manly.

By the 1850s under the influence of evangelical Christianity, sport and other 'manly exercises' that promoted 'health, recreation and muscular development' had replaced traditional methods of asserting masculinity, such as drinking, fighting and sexual exploits, among young men in many Northern cities.⁷⁵ While the association with evangelicalism is less clear cut in the South – no-one talked of cricket in Savannah as a Christian game – there is a clear link between sport and southern masculinity. The very first report in the *Savannah Republican* noting the formation of the SCC in August 1859, described cricket as 'this manly game'.⁷⁶ In part the attractiveness of cricket as a sport to young single men was that it would show them off in an ideal light to young female spectators. On several occasions the *Republican* went out of its way to describe the crowd watching the cricket matches, noting that the game on 24 September was attended 'by a number of our citizens of both sexes', and that the crowd on 8 October contained 'a sprinkling of the fair sex, but not so many as the cricketers would like to see and welcome to witness their sports'.⁷⁷ In advertising the former game it was specifically noted that 'tents will be provided for the reception of ladies', presumably to reassure them that they would be sheltered from the fierce southern sun.⁷⁸ The last known game played by the cricket club, on Christmas Day 1859, was between a team of married men and a team of single men, no doubt to showcase the talents of eleven clearly available young men to any young ladies who might be watching.⁷⁹ Could it be, therefore, that cricket was a new element in elaborate southern courtship rituals? Sadly, we have no record of what those women watching the games

thought of the play, whether they were impressed by it, or whether they used it as an excuse for a social gathering, but it seems that the players placed great importance on the gender of the crowd.

Gender relations in the mid-Victorian era were usually formalized with middle-class courting couples often having little unchaperoned time together before marriage.⁸⁰ One way of meeting and spending time with the opposite sex was to attend formal public occasions, such as balls or church sponsored events. Such activities, however, gave little chance for young men to display manly prowess. While good dancers perhaps showed grace, there was no sense that dancing revealed the true Southern manly qualities of dominance and masterdom. As several scholars have shown us, antebellum southern men increasingly defined themselves by the control they exercised over others. In a slaveholding society, those who directed the labour of the most human property were normally at the pinnacle of social and political power. Non-slaveholders could not reach those heights, but shared with elite men a patriarchal authority over women and children.⁸¹ For those who were not yet old enough to have a wife and children, a group to which most of the members of the SCC belonged, being able to 'master' a sport was an important demonstration of their manly character.

While Kenneth Greenberg has made an interesting case that southern gentlemen believed baseball to be unmanly because the batter was meant to run away from the ball, and real men ran away from nothing, I think that certain skills involved in both cricket and baseball can indeed be classified as manly.⁸² Batting involved striking a ball, usually as far as possible, and bowlers tried to use their skill to get them out. In this sense, cricket took on the properties of the duel, with no quarter asked or given, where the participants operated in an arena of 'controlled confrontation'. Considering the Southern tradition of duelling, which continued long after it had died out in the rest of the United States, it is entirely feasible that the members of the Savannah Cricket Club conceived of the game in these terms.⁸³ Moreover, cricket helped to define a player's character as well as his gender. As one supporter put it, 'punctuality, energy, quickness of perception and execution and good temper – these are the cardinal virtues this game is capable of teaching', and success on the field brought public attention and acclaim to otherwise undistinguished young men.⁸⁴ It is highly unlikely that 22-year-old merchant Moxley Sorrel, who top-scored with 22 runs and took three catches in the cricket game on 29 October, or saddle salesman Thomas Maddox who was second in command of the Pioneer club's boat, would otherwise have found themselves singled out in the *Savannah Republican* but for their sporting ability.⁸⁵ For young men struggling to assert their manly independence and to acquire an 'honour' that their age and birth did

not automatically entitle them to, the opportunity offered by sporting clubs was one not to be missed.

VI

What then caused the rapid decline of team sports in general and the Savannah cricket club in particular? Those who have studied the post-war decline of cricket in favour of baseball in the North have highlighted a variety of causes. Some argue that cricket was simply too slow and uninteresting for spectators, in comparison to baseball; others point to the general desire of Americans to find an American sport, rather than an English one to claim as a national pastime. The class and ethnicity of players has also been scrutinized to explain the decline of cricket: some say cricket was too aristocratic to claim the affections of the common man; others say that immigrant Englishmen dominated the clubs and refused to encourage American players.⁸⁶ While each of these explanations has an element of truth in them with regard to some Northern clubs, they have little relevance to the particular case of Savannah. The speed of the cricket can hardly be criticized when one four-innings match in Savannah was completed in less than two and a half hours.⁸⁷ Neither can the rise of baseball be attributed as a cause, because although baseball was being played in Savannah in 1859, no club was ever formed to compete with the SCC for players or for public attention.⁸⁸ Cricket in Savannah was neither played by elites, as it was in Philadelphia, nor was it played solely by Englishmen – the majority of players were native Georgians. However, if we interpret organized sport as a means of establishing and publicly displaying manliness, then there is a possible explanation. Perhaps cricket declined in Savannah because an alternative and more attractive method of expressing manliness presented itself.

In late 1859 the sectional crisis between North and South worsened. John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry in Virginia on 16 October was widely reported in the Savannah press and the resulting inflamed passions over abolitionism, black Republicanism and Northern aggression may well have distracted the cricket players from their sports. The Savannah Republican reported that the Christmas Day match was 'not so animated as usual ... owing to the slim attendance of the members'.⁸⁹ On 28 December a Southern Rights Meeting was held in the city, which resolved to defend the Southern way of life and set in motion events that would eventually lead to the secession of Georgia from the union.⁹⁰

One reason for the disappearance of the SCC might be that with a war looming, cricket was no longer needed as an outlet to demonstrate manly prowess. After all, during wartime what better way for a young man to

demonstrate his manliness than to join the military? In some ways, the army was the ultimate 'club' offering a collective opportunity to demonstrate manliness, honour and courage in the face of danger. George Wylly, captain of the Pioneer Boat Club, and Francis Bartow, who had been offered the presidency of the SCC, were both elected as delegates to Georgia's secession convention. Many other members of the SCC and the various boat clubs fought in the war between the states, with some rising to high rank and others making the ultimate sacrifice for the southern cause.⁹¹

It seems that the war came at just the wrong time for the nascent sporting clubs in Savannah. The cricketers failed to reappear in the summer of 1860, and while some boating exploits were undertaken that year, they took the form of regattas involving individually piloted small boats, rather than boat races.⁹² On May Day 1860, a holiday when one might have expected various sporting events to take place like they had done the previous autumn, the city press reported that instead the day was 'devoted to the discharge of military duties'.⁹³ Numerous military companies marched in a parade through the city, cheered on by the very crowds of men and women who the previous autumn had watched cricket matches and boat races. The Oglethorpe Light Infantry, commanded by cricketer Francis Bartow, contained 86 'young and promising' men including fellow SCC member Joseph West and five members of the city's boat clubs. Membership of the military brought them the attention of women in ways that the sporting clubs never had. On this particular occasion, they were presented with a new banner from 'the ladies of Savannah' emblazoned with the motto 'nescit cedere', 'never surrender'. In a reversion to traditional southern individualist pursuits, young privates showed off their military skills in target-shooting matches, with prizes for those who were most accurate.⁹⁴ The time for organized team sports in Savannah was clearly over.

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NOTES

Versions of this article were read before the History Society of St John's College, Cambridge in Oct. 1998, and the History of Cricket Conference at the University of Warwick in September 2000.

1. The formation of the club was noted in the *Savannah Republican*, 25 Aug. 1859 and in the *Daily Morning News*, 29 Aug. 1859. The latter included an explanation of the rules of the game.
2. *Savannah Republican*, 26 Sept. 1859. The practice sessions were noted in the *Savannah Republican*, 8 and 10 Sept. 1859.
3. *Savannah Republican*, 27 Sept. 1859. Such low scores were not uncommon in the nineteenth century. In 1878 the match aggregate over four innings between the MCC and Australia was

- only 104: *The Times* (of London), 28 May 1878.
4. However, only 63 runs were scored in the three completed innings before bad light forced an end to the game. *Savannah Republican*, 10 Oct. 1859.
 5. *Savannah Republican*, 31 Oct., 5 and 7 Nov. 1859; *Spirit of the Times*, 26 Nov. 1859. Such was the popularity of the game, that captains were able to chose two elevens from a large pool of players who made themselves available before the game. *Daily Morning News*, 7 Oct. 1859. According to a letter written by one player, Joseph B. Ripley, the SCC had 75 members although not all were active players: *Spirit of the Times*, 19 Nov. 1859.
 6. *Savannah Republican*, 30 April 1860.
 7. *Ibid.*, 24 Sept. 1859.
 8. See H.A. Altham, *A History of Cricket* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1962), Vol.1, pp.19–77. Essex, Kent, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Middlesex, Hampshire, Hertfordshire, and Nottinghamshire all fielded (not necessarily representative) county cricket sides in the eighteenth century, see Marcus Williams (ed.), *Double Century: Cricket in the Times Vol.1: 1785–1934* (London: Collins, 1985), pp.2–12.
 9. Nancy Struna, *People of Prowess: Sport, Leisure and Labor in Early Anglo-America* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996), pp.53–7.
 10. Thomas L. Altheer (ed.), *Sport in North America: A Documentary History* (Gulf Breeze: Academic International Press, 1997), Vol.1, pp.109–18; Vol.2, pp.168–76; Tom Melville, *The Tented Field: A History of Cricket in America* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Press, 1998), p.5; John A. Lester, *A Century of Philadelphia Cricket* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951), pp.4–6. For an excellent recent analysis of early American sport see Struna, *People of Prowess*.
 11. Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (eds.), *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709–1712* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1941), p.27. For other instances of Byrd playing cricket see the entries for 20 and 25 Feb., 17, 22 and 28 March 1710. *Ibid.*, pp.144, 146, 153, 155 (quote), 158.
 12. The New York game between ‘a company of London against a company of New Yorkers’ was noted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 2 May 1751, Lester, *A Century of Philadelphia Cricket*, pp.4, 6.
 13. Allen D. Candler (ed.), *The Colonial Records Of The State Of Georgia* (New York: AMS Press, 1970), Supplement to Volume 4, ‘The Journal of William Stephens, 5 October 1740 – 28 October 1741’, p.117.
 14. Other games were played on 18 and 19 May, 26 and 28 Dec., 1741; 19 April, 30 Nov., 1742; 26–27 March, 1744; 1 Jan., 1745. Candler (ed.), *The Colonial Records Of The State Of Georgia*, Supplement to Volume 4, p.147. E. Merton Coulter (ed.), *The Journal of William Stephens, 1741–1743* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1958), pp.24, 67 and 145; and *idem*, *The Journal of William Stephens, 1743–1745*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1959), pp.86–7, 183.
 15. Coulter (ed.), *The Journal of William Stephens, 1741–1743*, pp.24, 145.
 16. Levi Sheftall stated that cricket was ‘well known in Savannah’, and that he had challenged and beaten famous English players in Georgia. Levi Sheftall, ‘Autobiography’ as cited in *The Cricketer* (published by the Savannah Cricket Club), 3 (19 Aug. 1960), 3.
 17. *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, 6 Jan. 1801.
 18. *Ibid.*, 13 and 16 Jan. 1801.
 19. Levi Sheftall did not play in the game because ‘just before the game was to have begun his foot turned and by accident sprained his ankle and prevented his playing’; he umpired instead. Keith Read Collection, Box 23, Folder 17: ‘Levi Sheftall – Cricket Game’ (Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia). The author would like to thank Betty Wood and Holly Snyder for directing him towards this source, and Michele Gillespie for obtaining a transcript of it. Sheftall believed that his ‘activity at the game of cricket was never excelled in Savannah’, Sheftall, ‘Autobiography’ as cited in *The Cricketer*. For more on the early history of Savannah cricket see several articles by Gerry Storey in *The Cricketer*, vol.1, nos. 2 and 14 (28 June 1957 and 19 Dec. 1957); vol.3, nos.1 and 3 (2 April and 19 Aug. 1960).
 20. The players were: Natives of Georgia: Adam Cope (butcher); John Peter Lang (house

- carpenter); [John] Peter Oates (house carpenter); Benjamin Sheftall (magistrate); Thomas Norton (planter); Saml. Spencer (bricklayer); Christopher Gugal; Moses Sheftall (doctor); David Gugal (mechanic); Thomas Hais; Thomas Brown (bricklayer); Henry Anderson (merchant); Thos. Gilbert. Americans and Europiens (sic): Mr Durment; Mr [Caleb] Meggs (calker, born Rochester, NY) Mr [Nicolas] Turnbull (born Smyrna, Turkey); Mr Williamson; Mr [Christopher] Gunn (born Maryland); Mr Mace; Mr [Peter] Wyllly (carpenter); Mr Marshal; Mr White; Mr Murry; Mr Cannavan (merchant, born Canada); Mr [Thomas] Nailor (born South Carolina); Mr[Alexander] Willson (carpenter). Keith Read Collection, Box 23, Folder 17: 'Levi Sheftall – Cricket Game'. Occupational and natal information was obtained from *Register of Deaths in Savannah, Georgia, 6 vols. 1803–1853* (Savannah: Georgia Historical Society, 1989); 'An act to incorporate the Savannah Association of Mechanics', passed 16 Dec. 1793, and 'An act to incorporate the Savannah House Carpenters', passed 1 Dec. 1802, *Records of the States of the United States, Georgia Laws, 1790–1812* (Cambridge University Library, Microfilm).
21. In January 1802 the 'members of the cricket society' were invited to meet at carpenter James Eppinger's house to 'celebrate the anniversary' of the club. *Georgia Gazette*, 28 Jan. 1802. For a report of the match subsequently played see the *Columbian Museum and Savannah Advertiser*, 2 Feb. 1802.
 22. Timothy James Lockley, *Lines in the Sand: Race and Class in Lowcountry Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), p.45.
 23. Exceptions being odd games played in Boston 1790 and 1809, New York, 1794 and 1820, Richmond, 1795, Norfolk, 1803 and Charleston, 1821. Jennie Holliman, *American Sports, 1785–1835* (Durham: Seeman Press, 1931), pp.67–8; Melville, *The Tented Field*, pp.5–7. The *Southern Patriot*, 23 Jan. 1821 notified members of the 'old cricket club' to meet at the Carolina Coffee House in Charleston, with the subsequent game being played at the race course on 26 Jan.
 24. *Daily Morning News*, 29 Aug. 1859. Though the existence of the Muscogee club at Macon, Georgia was reported in 1844, it was apparently defunct by 1859. *Spirit of the Times*, 20 April 1844 and 4 April 1859.
 25. Seventy-one of 91 migrants applying for naturalization in Savannah between 1824 and 1826 were Irish born. In contrast, only five were born in England. Chatham County, Aliens Declarations, 1823–1844 (Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia).
 26. See for example Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the 19th-Century American South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp.9–14; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behaviour in the Old South* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), pp.165–6, 355–7, 369–71; Dickson D. Bruce Jr., *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), esp. pp.89–103; Kenneth S. Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, the Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, and Gambling in the Old South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp.3–23, 51–86, 115–24.
 27. Elliott J. Gorn, "'Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch': The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Backcountry", *American Historical Review*, 90, 1 (1985), 18–43. See also 'The Fight', in David Rachels (ed.), *Augustus Baldwin Longstreet's Georgia Scenes Completed* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998), pp.32–41.
 28. Scott C. Martin, 'Don Quixote and Leatherstocking: Hunting, Class and Masculinity in the American South, 1800–1840', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 12, 3 (1995), 61–79. For more on the leisure activities of slaves see Philip D. Morgan, 'Work And Culture: The Task System And The World Of Lowcountry Blacks, 1700–1880', *William And Mary Quarterly*, 39, 4 (1982), 563–99 and Betty Wood, *Women's Work, Men's Work: The Informal Slave Economies of Lowcountry Georgia, 1750–1830* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995).
 29. T.H. Breen, 'Horses and Gentlemen: The Cultural Significance of Gambling Among the Gentry of Virginia', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 34, 2 (1977), 243.
 30. *Savannah Republican*, 24 Sept. 1859.
 31. Other early clubs were the Union Cricket Club of Philadelphia (1843), the New York Cricket

- Club (1844), the Newark (New Jersey) Cricket Club (1844) and the Philadelphia Cricket Club (1854). By 1860 clubs existed in 22 of the 32 states. Melville, *The Tented Field*, pp.15–18. Melvin L. Adelman, *A Sporting Time: New York City and the Rise of Modern Athletics, 1820–1870* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1986), pp.102–103; George B. Kirsch, *The Creation of American Team Sports: Baseball and Cricket, 1838–1872* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), pp.21–3, 42; Roberta J. Park, 'British Sports and Pastimes in San Francisco, 1848–1900', *British Journal of Sports History*, 1, 3 (1984), 304.
32. Canada won by 33 runs. Earlier international games had just involved club sides, for example New York had beaten Toronto by 10 wickets on 29 Aug. 1840. John I. Marder, *The International Series: The Story of the United States vs. Canada at Cricket* (London: Kaye & Ward, 1968), pp.11–12.
 33. Two accounts were published by players on the tour: see Fred Lillywhite, *The English Cricketers' Trip to Canada and the United States in 1859* (Kingswood: World's Work Ltd, 1980 [reprint of London, 1860 edn]) and William Caffyn, *Seventy-One Not Out* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1899), pp.141–53. Melville, *The Tented Field*, pp.43–52.
 34. Results were as follows: vs. Canada at Montreal won by 8 wickets; vs. USA at Hoboken NJ won by inns and 64 runs; vs. USA at Philadelphia won by 7 wickets; vs. Canada at Hamilton won by 10 wickets; vs. Canada and USA at Rochester NY won by inns and 68 runs. The results are taken from Lillywhite, *The English Cricketers' Trip*.
 35. Lillywhite, *The English Cricketers' Trip*, pp.17–18, 31–2. William Caffyn confirmed that 'a lot of people from the states' watched the game at Montreal. Caffyn, *71 Not Out*, pp.143–5. The Montreal game was also reported in the *London Times*, 6 and 11 Oct. 1859.
 36. *Savannah Republican*, 12 July 1859; 1 Aug. 1859. The paper also reported the results of the matches at Toronto and New York, *Savannah Republican*, 4 and 5 Oct. 1859.
 37. The Crescent City Cricket Club was founded in New Orleans in March 1859; the Pelican Cricket Club was founded in the June of the same year. By May 1860 matches were being played against a club from Mobile. Dale A. Somers, *The Rise of Sports in New Orleans, 1850–1900* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972), pp.44–9. For a fairly comprehensive listing of clubs see Melville, *The Tented Field*, pp.211–67 and Kirsch, *The Creation of American Team Sports*, pp.42–4. Cricket also had a following in Charleston, with one citizen travelling to New York to attend a dinner given in honour of the visiting English team. *Spirit of the Times*, 26 Nov. 1859. Cricket was played in Charleston in 1821 and in 1848, though there is no evidence of a club in existence in 1859, Holliman, *American Sports, 1785–1835*, pp.67–8; *Spirit of the Times*, 27 May 1848.
 38. *Daily Morning News*, 29 Aug. 1859.
 39. Nancy L. Struna, 'Sport and the Awareness of Leisure' in Cary Carson, Ronald Hoffman and Peter J. Albert (eds.), *Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), pp.418–19.
 40. On the perception of Southern laziness see C. Van Woodward, *American Counterpoint: Slavery and Racism in the North-South Dialogue* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971), pp.13–46.
 41. Betty Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia, 1730–1775* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984), pp.1–87. Lockley, *Lines in the Sand*, pp.1–28. The Trustees believed the malcontents, who were pushing for the introduction of slaves, to be 'idle in their dispositions'. Benjamin Martyn, 'An Impartial Inquiry in the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia' (London, 1741), reprinted in Trevor R. Reese, *The Clamorous Malcontents: Criticisms and Defenses of the Colony of Georgia, 1741–1743* (Savannah: Beehive Press, 1973), p.127. See also Oglethorpe's scathing descriptions of the malcontents, 'Character of the Persons who Signed the Representation for Negroes 9 Dec 1738' and Oglethorpe to the Trustees, 16 Jan. 1739 (Egmont Manuscripts [Hargrett Library]), v.14203 pt 2, 338–58 and 378.
 42. 'An Act for regulating taverns and punch houses and retailers of spirituous liquors.' Passed 23 July 1757; 'An Act for the punishment of vagabonds and other idle and disorderly persons.' Passed 29 February 1764. Candler (ed.), *The Colonial Records Of The State Of Georgia*, XVIII, pp.218–24; 588–98. Monday became the day for recreations due to restrictions on 'public sports and pastimes' being undertaken on Sundays: see 'An Act For

- Preventing And Punishing Vice, Profaneness, And Immorality, And For Keeping Holy The Lord's Day, Commonly Called Sunday.' Passed 4 March 1762, Section 4. Oliver H. Prince (ed.), *A Digest Of The Laws of the State of Georgia* (Athens: The State, 1837), p.887.
43. For William Stephens' views on the idleness of Savannahians see Candler (ed.), *The Colonial Records Of The State Of Georgia*, Volume 4, 'A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia, 20 October 1737 – 4 October 1740', pp.14, 41, 121, 143, 201, 237, 281–2, 469.
 44. Struna, *People of Prowess*, pp.122–33. John Ford, *Cricket: A Social History, 1700–1835* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972), p.37.
 45. Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c.1780–c.1880* (London: Croom Helm, 1980), pp.12, 17–18; Struna, *People of Prowess*, pp.93–118, 131–3. On horse-racing see Candler (ed.), *The Colonial Records Of The State Of Georgia*, Volume 4, 'A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia, 20 October 1737 – 4 October 1740', pp.604, 606, 609; Breen, 'Horses and Gentlemen: The Cultural Significance of Gambling among the Gentry of Virginia', 239–57; Harold E. Davis, *The Fledgling Province: Social And Cultural Life In Colonial Georgia, 1733–1776* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976), pp.174–5; Stuart A. Marks, *Southern Hunting in Black and White: Nature, History and Ritual in a Carolina Community* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp.17–38; Randy J. Sparks, 'Gentlemen's Sport: Horse Racing in Antebellum Charleston', *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 93, 1 (1992), 15–30.
 46. *Gentleman's Magazine*, 13 (Sept. 1743), 485–6.
 47. Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, pp.57–9.
 48. For an excellent recent work on the Southern perception of time, particularly as it related to plantation regimen see Mark M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock: Time, Slavery and Freedom in the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), esp. pp.69–127.
 49. Kirsch, *The Creation of American Team Sports*, pp.1–15. Ronald C. Waters, *American Reformers, 1815–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), pp.145–50. The formation of the YMCA in New York in 1851 was a further attempt to control the behaviour and shape the attitudes of young men in the urban environment. Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820–1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp.108–20.
 50. E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), p.239; Steven A. Reiss, 'Sport and the Redefinition of American Middle Class Masculinity', *International Journal of Sport History*, 8, 1 (1991), 6; Harvey Green, *Fit for America: Health, Fitness, Sport and American Society* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), pp.181–215; George B. Kirsch, 'American Cricket: Players and Clubs Before the Civil War', *Journal of Sport History*, 9, 1 (1984), 38; E. Anthony Rotundo, 'Body and Soul: Changing Ideals of American Middle Class Manhood, 1770–1920', *Journal of Social History*, 16, 1 (1982–83), 23–38; James Whorton, *Crusaders for Fitness: The History of American Health Reformers* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp.270–304; John Rickards Betts, 'American Medical thought on Exercise as the Road to Health, 1820–1860', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 45, 1 (1971), 139–52; John R. Betts, 'Mind and Body in Early American Thought', *Journal of American History*, 54, 2 (1967–68), 787–805.
 51. Adelman, *A Sporting Time*, pp.105–6. Keith A.P. Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians* (Aldershot: Scholar Press, 1994), pp.34–52; Peter Levine, 'The Promise of Sport in Antebellum America', *Journal of American Culture*, 2 (Winter 1980), 623–34; Patrick Scott, 'Cricket and the Religious World in the Victorian Period', *The Church Quarterly*, 3, 2 (1970), 134–44; As one scholar has put it, cricket was a game to aspire to, Kirsch, 'American Cricket', 29–30.
 52. Tom Melville, "'De Gustibus Non Est Disputandum": Cricket at St Paul's School and a Note on the Structural/Character Debate in American Cricket', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 9, 1 (1992), 105–110. Kirsch, *The Creation of American Team Sports*, p.45. J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (London: Falmer Press, 1981).
 53. Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Lowcountry* (New York: Oxford

- University Press, 1995), pp.38–42.
54. *Spirit of the Times*, 7 May 1859. Somers, *The Rise of Sports in New Orleans*, pp.44–8. A similar myth would later be applied to baseball, see Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery*, pp.115–24.
 55. Chatham County, Superior Court Minutes (Georgia Department of Archives and History) v.7, 1804–1808, January Term 1807. See also, v.10, 1818–1822, May Term 1819 (gaming); v.8, 1808–1812, January Term 1809 (prostitution); v.7, 1804–1808, January Term 1808 (drunkenness); v.24, 1859–1862, January Term 1860 (illegal trading). For more on the latter see Timothy Lockley, 'Trading Encounters Among African Americans and Non-Elite Whites in Savannah, 1790–1860', *Journal of Southern History*, 66 (Feb. 2000), 25–48.
 56. Chatham County, Superior Court Minutes, v.9, 1812–1818, January Term 1818; v.11, 1822–1826, May Term 1824; *Daily Georgian*, 29 May 1830. For more on southern attitudes towards gambling see Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery*, pp.135–45.
 57. First Baptist Church Savannah, Minutes 3 June 1858 (Mercer University Library, microfilm). Lockley, *Lines in the Sand*, pp.131–62; McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, pp.178–95; Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting To Zion: African American Protestantism In The American South And British Caribbean To 1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), pp.183–206.
 58. Letter of 'Pioneer', *Savannah Republican*, 5 Aug. 1859. *Daily Morning News*, 29 Aug. 1859.
 59. *Daily Morning News*, 29 Aug., 18 Oct. 1859. See also the Minutes of the Chatham Academy, Edward Clifford Anderson Papers (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina), 20 Oct. 1851.
 60. Without detailed records it is impossible to obtain information about all the members of the Savannah Cricket Club, but two surviving scorecards yield the names of 34 players. The subsequent discussion is based on information from the 1860 United States Federal Census. *Savannah Republican*, 27 Sept. and 7 Nov. 1859; *Spirit of the Times*, 19 Nov. 1859; *The 1860 Census of Chatham County, Georgia* (Easley, S.C., Southern Historical Press, 1980).
 61. Of 23 Southern-born players, 18 were born in Georgia, 3 in South Carolina, 1 in Virginia and 1 in Maryland. Unfortunately there is no comparable data on the nativity of New Orleans cricketers. See Somers, *The Rise of Sports in New Orleans*, pp.44–9. On the ethnic makeup of Northern clubs see Ian Tyrell, 'The Emergence of Modern American Baseball c.1850–1880', in Richard Cashman and Michael McKernan (eds.), *Sport in History: The Making of Modern Sporting History* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1979), pp.209–10; Kirsch, 'American Cricket', 33, 43; Adelman, *A Sporting Time*, pp.98–101; Robert M. Lewis, 'Cricket and the Beginnings of Organized Baseball in New York City', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 4, 3 (1987), 317, 321–8; J. Thomas Jable, 'Latter-Day Cultural Imperialists: The British Influence on the Establishment of Cricket in Philadelphia, 1842–1872', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), *Pleasure, Profit, and Proselytism: British Culture and Sport at Home and Abroad* (London: Cass, 1988), pp.175–92; Kirsch, *The Creation of American Team Sports*, p.21; Tom Melville, 'From Ethnic Tradition to Community Institution: Nineteenth Century Cricket in Small Town Wisconsin and a Note on the Enigma of a Sporting Discontinuity', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 11, 2 (1994), 282.
 62. Kirsch, 'American Cricket', 33.
 63. Tyrell, 'The Emergence of Modern American Baseball', 211; Adelman, *A Sporting Time*, pp.100–3; New Orleans cricketers were also generally upper class, see Somers, *The Rise of Sports in New Orleans*, p.48. The middle-class background of cricketers in 1859 contrasts with the varied backgrounds of players in 1801.
 64. Only nine players were slaveholders according to the Chatham County Tax Digest of 1859, though three more belonged to slaveholding families. (Georgia Department of Archives and History.) The voter registration list was published by the *Savannah Republican*, 22 Sept. 1860.
 65. Nine players lived with their family, 13 boarded elsewhere, 22 players were single.
 66. The Young Men's Benevolent Association was rather misnamed, as its members were, on average, about 40 years old. Its name was changed to the Savannah Benevolent Association shortly after its inception. *The Savannah Benevolent Association* (Savannah: 1896).
 67. For more on this idea of sport clubs as essentially a social phenomenon see Ross McKibbin,

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- Classes and Cultures: England 1918–1951* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp.360–61; Benjamin G. Rader, *American Sports from the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1983), pp.51–2.
68. Sparks, 'Gentlemen's Sport: Horse Racing in Antebellum Charleston', 24. See also Breen, 'Horses and Gentlemen', p.250.
 69. The boat was purchased by John Screven, one of the justices of the Inferior Court. The club named the boat 'The Georgia B. Screven' after his 9-year-old daughter.
 70. Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp.194–5.
 71. *Savannah Republican*, 26 Nov. 1859.
 72. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School*, pp.27–8, 70; J.A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Idea* (Harmondsworth: Viking, 1986), pp.143–7.
 73. Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, pp.43–4. Roberta J. Park, 'Biological Thought, Athletics and the Formation of a "Man of Character"', in J.A. Mangan and James Walvin (eds.), *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800–1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), pp.7–34.
 74. Nancy L. Struna, 'Gender and Sporting Practice in Early America, 1750–1810', and Roberta J. Park, "'Embodied Selves": The Rise and Development of Concern for Physical Education, Active Games and Recreation for American Women, 1776–1815', both in David K. Wiggins (ed.), *Sport in America: From Wicked Amusement to National Obsession* (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 1995), pp.13–30; 69–93. Ford, *Cricket: A Social History*, pp.152–61.
 75. *Savannah Republican*, 5 Aug. 1859; Reiss, 'Sport and the Redefinition of American Middle Class Masculinity', 6. See also Clyde Griffen, 'Reconstructing Masculinity from Evangelical Revival to the Waning of Progressivism: A Speculative Synthesis', in Mark C. Canes and Clyde Griffen (eds.), *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), pp.185–6; Rotundo, *American Manhood*, pp.223–40.
 76. *Savannah Republican*, 25 Aug. 1859; the game was similarly described by the *Daily Morning News*, 24 Nov. 1859 and by the *Daily Crescent* in New Orleans in March 1859; Somers, *The Rise of Sports in New Orleans*, p.48.
 77. *Savannah Republican*, 26 Sept. and 10 Oct. 1859.
 78. *Ibid.*, 23 Sept. 1859.
 79. Press reports commented that 'as each married man's "better half" will probably remain at home, the odds will be decidedly in favor of the bachelors', *Daily Morning News*, 20 Dec. 1859.
 80. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, 'The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth-Century America', *Signs*, 1, 1 (1975), 1–30; Nancy F. Cott, 'Passionlessness: An Interpretation Of Victorian Sexual Ideology, 1790–1850', *Signs*, 4, 2 (1978), 219–36; D. Harland Hagler, 'The Ideal Woman in the Antebellum South: Lady Or Farmwife?', *Journal Of Southern History*, 46, 3 (1980), 405–418. McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, pp.37–91.
 81. McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*, pp.239–76, 303–304; Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery*, pp.113–46.
 82. Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery*, pp.115–24.
 83. J.A. Mangan, 'Sport in Society: The Nordic World and Other Worlds', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 14, 3 (1997), 181. Greenberg, *Honor and Slavery*, pp.3–23. Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, pp.350–61.
 84. *Spirit of the Times*, 26 Nov. 1859.
 85. *Savannah Republican*, 31 Oct. and 27 Sept. 1859. Similarly Joseph B. Ripley, a 33-year-old merchant was mentioned in the paper for scoring 33 runs in the game on 3 Nov. 1859. *Ibid.*, 5 Nov. 1859.
 86. For the competing theories see Adelman, *A Sporting Time*, pp.107–111 (too English); Kirsch, *The Creation of American Team Sports*, p.47 (lack of encouragement); Somers, *The Rise of Sports in New Orleans*, pp.51–3 (too elitist); Tyrell, 'The Emergence of Modern American Baseball', pp.207–14 (too elitist); Melville, 'The Passing of Philadelphia Cricket', 88–9 (too

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- slow); Lewis, 'Cricket and the Beginnings of Organized Baseball', 327–8 (too English); Melville, 'De Gustibus Non Est Disputandum', 108 (professionalism discourages amateurs). In England amateurs retained their control of cricket with professionals usually coming from the lower classes, see W.F. Mandle, 'The Professional Cricketer in Nineteenth Century England', *Labour History*, 23 (1972), 1–16. Summary in Melville, *The Tented Field*, pp.53–72.
87. *Savannah Republican*, 26 Sept. 1859. Baseball by contrast was a much longer game before the advent of the three strikes rule. Tyrell, 'The Emergence of Modern American Baseball', 207.
 88. *Savannah Republican*, 24 Sept. 1859.
 89. *Savannah Republican*, 28 Dec. 1859.
 90. *Ibid.*, 2 Jan. 1860.
 91. *Ibid.*, 12 Dec. 1860. Thirty-two cricketers or rowers served in the confederate army, 14 became officers, seven were killed. The roster of Savannahians fighting in the war is found in *A Chronological History of Savannah* (Savannah: Morning News, 1900), pp.167–77. G. Moxley Sorrel (1838–1901) served with distinction alongside General Longstreet, reaching the rank of Brigadier General by 1865, and after the war his memoirs were published as *Recollections of a Confederate Staff Officer* (New York and Washington: Neale Publishing Co., 1905). Sadly he does not mention his youthful cricketing exploits.
 92. *Savannah Republican*, 2 and 30 Aug. 1860.
 93. *Ibid.*, 1 May 1860
 94. *Daily Morning News*, 3 May 1860.