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Cricket in the Country of Football: Sport and Social and Cultural Exclusion in Nineteenth-Century Brazil

Abstract

The history of organised cricket in Brazil during the nineteenth century presents a compelling case study because of its development as an exclusionary social practice around British expatriate communities. In Brazil, cricket was played in many places well before Association Football became the national game. In contrast to cricket in formal British colonies in the West Indies, or English-speaking independent territories in North America, in Brazil the sport did not reach out to social groups that differed from British expatriates in language, ethnicity or social class. Club initiatives created in six Brazilian cities stand out for their economic power and political influence: the national capital (Rio de Janeiro), three state capitals (Niterói, Recife and São Paulo) and Santos and Campinas. Empire and language played a key role in defining sports cultures, as is shown by the periodicals that circulated in these cities in both Portuguese and English.

Keywords: Sport History. Cricket. Cultural circulation. Empire. Modernity.

Introduction: Widening the Research Field for the History of Sport in Brazil

Compared to other places, relatively little is known about the historical practice of cricket in Brazil. The country is renowned worldwide for its passion for Association Football. The historiography of sport in Brazil remains predominantly focused on soccer, with at least two recent volumes called ‘The Country of Football’, though pioneering scholars have uncovered rich seams of data on early Olympism, athletics, cycling and motor sport.¹ Although there is a strong and growing historiography around cricket and its cultural practices in relation to empire and nation-building, the sport is rarely discussed in countries without a direct colonial tie to the British empire. A review of the *International Journal of the History of Sport* confirms this impression. The more than 900 articles on cricket include debates about events in Great Britain, as well as reflections about India, South Africa, Australia and other English-speaking countries but little about areas outside of the formal empire.

Why might it be important to study the history of cricket in Brazil, a country where involvement in the sport today remains minimal, despite the popularizing efforts of local enthusiasts? Research in this area is more than a mere exercise in curiosity, as the British-led cricket clubs were important to the development of a sport culture in the South American country that laid the groundwork for the dissemination of football and other more inclusive sporting practices. More broadly, the way that early Brazilian cricket developed an exclusive social sphere around the English language, demonstrates the role of empire and language in cricketing developments elsewhere.

British residents in nineteenth-century Brazil occupied a peculiar position on frontier between Portuguese empires and the nascent Brazilian state. In 1808, as a consequence of the Napoleonic wars, the Portuguese Empire transferred its headquarters to its South American possessions, a process that led to greater development of the colony based in the new imperial capital in Rio de Janeiro. The independence of Brazil was proclaimed in 1822, and British representatives played crucial roles in establishing the Brazilian Empire's new institutions.² A great influx of migrants arrived during the 1800s, including many from Europe (particularly Italy and Germany) and Asia who were proactively interested in taking advantage of the opportunities that arose in agricultural and coffee plantations and in mining and related activities. Many Africans were forcibly transported to Brazil through the slave trade that continued until mid-century, meaning that Brazilians descended from Africans made up an important segment of society that was fractured along ethnic as well as class-lines even after the abolition of slavery in Brazil in 1888

The British had long-standing trade and diplomatic ties to Portugal and accentuated their presence in South America as a result of their role in encouraging and facilitating the Portuguese royal family's move to Brazil. Occupying key positions in Portuguese politics, the British Crown found a way to minimise the difficulties it faced on the European continent as a result of the continental blockade. With the end of the war and Brazilian independence, its cultural and economic influence in the new country did not diminish.

During the nineteenth century, the British played a leading role in different economic sectors: the growth in foreign trade, the establishment of the first industries, the construction of railways, activity in the financial and banking sectors, and the installation of urban services such as transport, lighting and sanitation.³ The growth of

the British presence in Brazil occurred in a context in which ‘cities and industries were taking their place on the national scene, not only as new economic and social phenomena but as real and dominant possibilities’.⁴ Ways of life, habits and customs that were associated with new migrants shaped social transformation that ‘inspired new cultural shifts’ in Brazil.⁵

Many Britons in Brazilian cities enjoyed a transitory existence. However, many put down more permanent roots, often by marrying and raising families with locals, and they promoted social initiatives that aimed to reproduce and celebrate typically British standards of life, as Louise Guenther showed in her study of merchants in Bahia in the first-half of the nineteenth-century.⁶

These organisational strategies had a variety of aims. Beyond reproducing specific habits, they aimed at establishing and protecting political and business alliances. At first, as Guenther demonstrated, the British were a reserved group, not always eager for contact with Brazilians, who they did not understand and often exoticised. This stance changed over time, as some of the next generation were born in Brazil and expanded their social circles. This gradual process ended up being important in terms of spreading knowledge and then disseminating some of their customs, among them sports. Cricket developed on the margins of the increasingly diverse sporting environments of Brazilian cities in the mid-nineteenth century, with rowing, cycling, *capoeira*, horse-racing, athletics and soccer occupying more popular spaces.⁷

It was common to find four institutions in the Brazilian cities with significant British expatriate communities. First, Anglican churches with their own cemeteries were established, taking advantage of the privileges negotiated in colonial times. Second, in the field of social welfare, hospitals were set up. Third, there were special schools in which the sons and daughters of English-speaking people were educated according to British customs. Finally, recreational societies and sports clubs were integral to the British expatriate experience.

Cricket was considered by Britons in Brazil as a hallmark of their culture and identity.⁸ Cricket was seen as part of the glue that bound the empire together. As such it occupied an ambiguous place in identity formation, in which the English language, the English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish nations, and the British empire coalesced in ways that Brazilians – themselves lumped together and dramatically exoticised by newly-arrived migrants – did not comprehend. A columnist in a Rio de Janeiro newspaper put it this

way in 1898: ‘Wherever there is cricket, there are strong, muscular, capable Englishmen worthy of the name. Wherever there is no cricket, there are British people scattered across foreign lands’.⁹

Analysis of local histories of organised cricket in six important Brazilian cities during the nineteenth century provides the data to support these contentions. The six cities stand out for their economic power and political influence: the national capital (Rio de Janeiro), three state capitals (Niterói, Recife and São Paulo) and the cities of Santos and Campinas. The English-speaking colonies in these cities were formed not only by subjects of the British empire but also by their descendants born in Brazil or other countries who saw themselves as belonging to a collective that adopted British culture, including the practice of sport. They chose to express their British heritage, though it was far from the only sport they practiced. The same individuals were also among the leading promoters of horse racing, organised in Rio de Janeiro starting in the 1810s, and the first regattas, held in the same city from the 1850s.¹⁰

The sources for this study were the Portuguese-language Brazilian periodicals that circulated widely in the cities studied, and the three newspapers published in English and aimed at English speakers who lived in Brazil. These were clearly addressed to the British community, though they also took into account the broader political, economic and cultural affairs of Brazilian society. *The Anglo-Brazilian Times: Political, Literary and Commercial* was launched at a time when intolerance of the British was on the rise in Brazil due to the Christie Question (1862-1865), in which the British ambassador took an intransigent and hostile attitude towards the Brazilian government.¹¹ Between the years 1865 and 1884 much information was published about the daily lives of English-speaking people, including their sports. The publisher and owner, Irishman William Scully, was active in the British Cricket Club, and his role in the media enabled him to act as a cricket promoter and evangelist. *The Rio News* circulated between 1874 and 1901, sharing information it considered relevant to English-speaking communities.¹² Its publisher, Andrew Jackson, frequented the Rio Cricket and Athletic Association. The third newspaper, *The Brazilian Review*, published between 1898 and 1914, was edited by Joseph Phillip Wileman, who had been involved in Brazilian financial management since 1896. He was director of the Commercial Statistics Service from 1900 to 1908.

The data contained in the sources consulted for this study demonstrates the unique cultural role played by cricket in nineteenth-century Brazil, showing how local filters played a key role in global cultural circulations, providing a counterweight to some of the assumptions about unidirectional cultural transfer that sometimes sneak into sports history.¹³

Cricket in the Americas in the Nineteenth-Century: Blurred Imperial Boundaries

Contrary to what a football-centric sporting historiography might lead us to believe, cricket was played in places with a British community across South America throughout the nineteenth-century. Just as in the ‘military-plantation complex’ of the British West Indian Caribbean colonies, cricket was promoted by people with the time and leisure to play.¹⁴ In the British colony on the South American mainland, Guiana, also known as Demerara, ‘first-class’ cricket was recognised as early as 1867. As Hilary McD Beckles has shown, white British governors and soldiers used the sport for political, cultural and social ends. The game’s popularity amongst the black population created debates about what a ‘representative’ team of Guianans might look like, and how inclusive or exclusive the sport should be. Further west, and just 20km from the South American mainland, in Trinidad, cricketing culture became a centrepiece of social and political life. Indeed, several of England’s greatest cricketing figures of the twentieth-century were born in late nineteenth-century Trinidad, including the captain Plum Warner, who recalled learning to bat playing against ‘Killebree’ (the patois for humming bird, linked to the Spanish *colibrí*) ‘a native boy who did all sorts of jobs about the house and garden, and who assured my father that I should be a good bat when I grew big’.¹⁵

The way in which Trinidad and Guiana-born cricketers like Warner and Lord Hawke became the epitome of the sport, whereas their Brazilian-born equivalents like Charles Miller and Oscar Cox came to represent the nation-states of their birth at football, speaks of the different paths towards sporting institutionalization of cricket and soccer in different parts of Britain’s imperial world. Cricket was institutionalised in many South American towns and ports, so effectively that it was cricket clubs that often provided the grounds and players for the first football matches.¹⁶ Yet its representative practices took a different path from the formal colonies as a result of the link to empire and the role of language.

Cricket had developed its codes and rules in the 1700s as part of the transformation of English society, which Norbert Elias and Eric Dunning identified as representing ‘a profound sublimatory transformation of feeling’ in which self-restraint was required and valued in order to ‘steadfastly renounce the use of violence’ in politics as well as entertainment.¹⁷ What is now called ‘the spirit of the game’ revolved around patience, respect for rules and delayed gratification – a code of conduct that was often spoken of as being more important than the game itself, and was adopted by imperial agents as inherent to the civilizing ethos of the British colonial project.¹⁸ In the West Indies, cricket was adopted and eventually mastered by the local populations of black and Indian heritage. In Brazil, however, cricket was introduced as a more hierarchical form of separation and control, a way of differentiating between people rather than bringing them together. It fitted with the imperial model of society in Brazil that persisted from independence in 1822 until the proclamation of a republic in 1889.¹⁹

In 1900 Plum Warner’s brother, R.S. Warner captained the first ‘representative’ West Indies cricket team on a tour of England. There were representatives of Barbados, Trinidad, Demerara, Jamaica, Grenada and St, Vincent, including six black players, including W.J. Burton and George Cyril Learmond from British Guiana. Some observers of the tour in England commended this integration, seeing it as an example of the grateful colonial partnership that tied the empire together, whereas others indulged in racist descriptions of the lazy black players. When the tour was repeated in 1906, ‘the concept of a first-class multiracial West Indian team was well-established’. Nevertheless, when the Imperial Cricket Conference was founded in 1909, ‘black’ West Indies and ‘brown’ India were excluded. Brazil was also omitted entirely.²⁰ The answer lies in the actions of British cricketers in nineteenth-century Brazil, who actively chose not to popularise their sport, preferring to use it to preserve a distinct British identity for themselves. The data analysed below demonstrates how sociability around cricket fitted into existing concepts of race, identity and imperial ideas about the appropriateness of games and behaviours for people according to class, race, age, language, gender and birth.

The first cricket in Brazil: British sociability (1850s and 1860s)

The first mention of cricket being practised in Brazil can be found in the diaries of Graham Hamond, who lived on two occasions in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil's capital and

its leading city in the nineteenth century: in 1825, as the captain of the ship that carried Charles Stuart, the British ambassador responsible for negotiating Portugal's recognition of Brazilian independence, and between 1834 and 1838, as commander of a British squadron anchored in Guanabara Bay.²¹

The officer reported in 1836-1837 that some British people played cricket informally, that is, without a club, in the neighbourhood of São Cristóvão, near the imperial family's residence at Quinta da Boa Vista, where many members of the British community lived and where the English Cemetery is located to this day. In 1853 cricket was being offered at the Instituto Colegial de Nova Friburgo, directed by the Englishman John Henry Freese. The aim of this school was to offer an education suitable for the new age, modelled on the British imperial experience, in which physical education played a major role. One of its published advertisements highlighted the importance given to 'athletic games such as cricket'.²²

From the middle of the century the newspapers started to feature the first club dedicated to cricket, the British Cricket Club. By that time, there were already two important sports institutions in the city: the Club de Corridas (founded in 1849 and dedicated to horse racing) and the Sociedade Recreio Marítimo (established in 1851 and dedicated to rowing), which both including English speakers amongst their participants. What distinguished the new cricket club was that it was exclusively for members of the British community.

No evidence has been located that would indicate that the British Cricket Club had its own facilities. The games were held in public locations such as the Campos de São Cristóvão and the Campo de Santana. Its activities were intermittent until the mid-1860s, when it took a new name, the Rio British Cricket Club, and received large donations of cricket equipment from J. J. Aubertin, an Englishman involved with the construction of the São Paulo railway. The stimulus was so great that it even led to the founding of another club, the Artisan Amateur Cricket Club.

The expansion of cricket was directly linked to British presence in the Brazilian economy which expanded during the 1860s due to investment in the construction of railways, the installation of industries and participation in urban infrastructure works.²³ Rio de Janeiro came into its own as the capital of the Brazilian imperial state. It became the principal conduit for innovations arriving from countries considered by urban elites to be more civilised, especially France and England. Under these circumstances, cricket

clubs became an important space for the British community to celebrate and protect its identity. Matches were held between the Rio British and Artisan Amateur clubs and also against teams made up of officers from the ships that frequently docked in the Bay of Guanabara.

When particular cricket enthusiasts were transferred to work in other cities, or warfare caused a lull in the clubs' activities, members of the British community complained in the newspapers.²⁴ An anonymous Englishman arriving in Rio de Janeiro in 1868 declared that it was unacceptable not to have a well-established sport club, which, in his view, would attract the best British traditions.²⁵ A columnist even declared dramatically: 'We expect better things from our young Englishmen than the abandonment of a national game that has followed the English around the world'.²⁶

The sources suggest that interest in the cricket initiatives in Rio de Janeiro was primarily limited to the British community, attracting little attention from the wider population, even among members of the elite.²⁷ The same process occurred in the capital of the north-eastern Brazilian state of Pernambuco, Recife. The city experienced considerable economic development in the second half of the nineteenth century, driven by sugar and cotton exports, which lay closer to Europe and the United States than the ports located in the south-east region of Brazil. Changes in the city's urban structure and cultural growth were inspired by European experiences, as in Rio de Janeiro.²⁸ Recife's British community grew as a result of the installation of industries and the first railway lines. English speakers were responsible for 'the introduction of many customs that were incorporated into the lifestyle of the elite residents of Recife'.²⁹

As in other cities, the British community in Recife established an Anglican church, cemetery, school and hospital.³⁰ They were also involved in sport movements, including horse racing, where Englishmen were among those who founded the local Jockey Club in 1859. The first cricket clubs, the Excelsior Cricket Club and the Pernambuco Cricket Club, were established in 1865, located in the two neighbourhoods where much of the English-speaking community lived: Boa Vista and Santo Amaro.

The Pernambuco Cricket Club had the stronger institutional structure and played more frequently. Rivalry between the two teams was evident in reports of the cricket matches as well as "athletic sport festivals" they organised, that included running and walking races and jumping and throwing competitions, similar to events organised by the clubs in Rio de Janeiro. Because of smaller size of the British community in

Pernambuco, in comparison to Rio de Janeiro, some people not directly associated with them were able to join and play. On two occasions in 1868 the Exelsior Cricket Club even advertised for players in both Portuguese and English.³¹

During the early 1870s, cricket events attracted more people, and festive sporting occasions became part of the social scene of a city that would gradually join the image and imagination of modernity, including through the development of a public infrastructure for amusement.³² They were still typically British celebrations, directed by members of the British community and supported by British-backed companies, for example the Pernambuco Street Railway which provided the prize for a cricket match played in 1872.³³

In São Paulo, the capital of the state carrying the same name, sports developed slightly later than in Rio de Janeiro and Recife, reflecting the fact that the city's industrial and railway development occurred after that of the other two state capitals.

São Paulo's development came only in the 1870s, a decade when the British community grew and established the first cricket club, the São Paulo Cricket Club (1872), whose ground was located in the neighbourhood of Luz, home to English speakers involved with the construction of a railway. The São Paulo coffee planter elite lived in the same area, which may have stimulated cultural circulation.³⁴ Initially attracting very few fans, cricket in São Paulo would become better established with matches against clubs from Rio de Janeiro and neighbouring cities that had also experienced contemporaneous economic growth, such as Santos and Campinas. During this initial phase, as had been the case with other cities, cricket was a typically British experience, limited almost without exception to the interests of members of the British community, such as Peter Miller, the uncle of Charles Miller, who would later be recognised as one of the pioneers who introduced soccer to Brazil.³⁵ There was of course some irony here, in that a game so closely linked to England's rural traditions in its own mythology should flourish in Brazil's most rapidly expanding and modernizing cities in the nineteenth-century.

A Brazilian and British sociability (1870s and 1880s)

Cricket in Rio de Janeiro in the late imperial period

In Rio de Janeiro, the 1870s and 1880s were marked by a resumption of economic development, greater cultural growth and intense political activity, especially by two groups that emerged in the aftermath of the War of the Triple Alliance: Abolitionists (who achieved their goal in 1888) and Republicans (who were able to put an end to Brazil's monarchy in 1889).

It was in this context that cricket came to be more consolidated, starting with the 1872 establishment of the Rio Cricket Club under the direction of George Cox. He was the embodiment of the English sportsman, leading some of the most significant sporting and other initiatives of the British expatriate community.³⁶ While for many he epitomised Englishness, Cox's biography gives some insight into the complexity that underpinned the 'exclusivity' that guided English-speaking cricketers. He was British but had been born in Ecuador. He was married to a Brazilian, Minervina Dutra Cox, who was the daughter of the well-known businessman and pharmacist João Correa Dutra and Luiza Santos Xavier Dutra. British identity was something that the family lived on the sports field. The children received a European education and sport experience. Their son Oscar Cox, best known as one of the pioneers of football in Rio de Janeiro in the final years of the nineteenth century, was however sent to school in Switzerland rather than one of the traditional English public schools.

A different sort of club was also founded in 1872: the Anglo-Brazilian Cricket Club. Its members included more Portuguese-born residents of Brazil, and Brazilians. The club therefore challenged the model of expatriate, English-speaking cricket. It did not have its own facilities and played on public grounds at the Campo de São Cristóvão. In contrast the Rio Cricket Club of the English-speakers installed itself in a modest but well-structured club in Botafogo, which at that time was home to most British expatriates who wanted to live near the ocean. The Anglo-Brazilian club had a short life, but the Rio Cricket Club survived for many years, finding ways to boost its activities and keep its doors open. One of the strategies it adopted to boost the British community's involvement in cricket was promoting matches and celebrations with English-speaking teams from São Paulo. The first of these was held in 1875, when the Rio Cricket team travelled to São Paulo to play matches against the São Paulo Cricket Club, a trip that may even have been underwritten by the British directors of the railway, who by this time were already a bridge between the two cities. Many Brazilians came to watch these matches between the two rival cities. However, the organisers of

the matches emphasised the British and English orientation of cricket, rather than fomenting local identities. The meeting included toasts to Queen Victoria – ‘the Queen of England’ - as well as to the Brazilian emperor.³⁷

Expatriate clubs would usually undertake initiatives marked by a declaration of dual loyalty to the country of their residence and the country of their birth or ancestry.³⁸ In another event held in Rio de Janeiro in 1878 between the ‘English from Rio’ and the ‘English from São Paulo’ toasts included not only the Brazilian and British monarchs but also the president of the United States, evidence that Americans usually moved in the same social circles as the British.³⁹ These meetings became common. Even international trips were promoted, with matches at home and abroad against English-speaking teams from Argentina and Uruguay. They were seldom reported on in the Portuguese-language press, though the English-language editors dedicated many columns to them. The Rio Cricket Club's success, however, was due to another initiative: the construction of a new facility that would be larger and able to host not only cricket but also other new practices such as athletics, tennis and archery.

An enthusiastic columnist called for the British community to support the initiative, reminding them that cricket was a ‘national sport... which can be found wherever a British community is located’.⁴⁰ Three important leaders spearheaded the new construction: E. W. May, the superintendent of a shipping company (Royal Steam Packet) that linked Southampton with Rio de Janeiro; J. C. Cochrane, a member of a family involved with trams and railways; and George Cox, mentioned above.

The new facility for the Rio Cricket Club was located in the neighbourhood of Laranjeiras, facing the Guanabara Palace, the home of the heir to the throne, Princess Isabel. It was a recreational centre for the English-speaking community but also included many Brazilians, as a columnist once observed: ‘Along with the attendance of many British and American families, the presence of many Brazilians and their families contributed to the beauty and brilliance of the sport’.⁴¹

The greater presence of Brazilians at Rio Cricket Club events did not indicate their immediate adherence to cricket, however. Brazilians came for other sports and for the social events, and the cricket teams listed in the press included very few Brazilian members. Matches were held against teams from British ships that docked in Rio de Janeiro. The matches were considered typically British events, both in how they were experienced by the British community and how they were viewed by Brazilians,

intrigued at how ‘the blond sons of Albion, robust and full of life, dedicated themselves to the game of cricket’.⁴² Some innovations would surprise the Brazilians, such as greater participation by women in the competitions. A columnist remarked ironically, ‘I heard a young bachelor declare that nothing stimulates a cricketer so much as the presence of girls’.⁴³ Another columnist observed that ‘the stands were overflowing with ladies, and ladies could be seen in all the places reserved for spectators’.⁴⁴ Cricket was portrayed as an expression of a lifestyle of a people who cherished good manners and respect for individual freedoms. Among those who were far from Britain and even some who had never known that land, it was a way to strengthen the feeling of belonging.⁴⁵

The Rio Cricket Club fostered closer ties between the English-speakers and Brazilians because, in order to raise more funds to pay for the new facilities, the club expanded its spectator stands and began to host a variety of events which had nothing to do with British culture, let alone cricket. The Club hosted fireworks displays, and running and walking races that included professionals, prizes and gambling. Some directors worried that this compromised the athletic and educational value of sport, and indeed some members left the club as a result. They worried about the bad influence of Brazilians' lack of self-restraint and discretion.

These debates over the purpose and direction of a cricket club in the centre of the capital of Rio de Janeiro were aggravated by the Proclamation of the Republic in 1889. The new government requisitioned the club's headquarters and required the Rio Cricket Club to open itself to greater Brazilian presence and participation as a condition for survival. This would become the cause for severe disruption of the club in the future.

Cricket in Recife in the late imperial period

In Recife as in Rio de Janeiro there was also a perceptible growth in Brazilian participation in cricket initiatives during the 1870s and 1880s. A National Cricket Club was even established in 1875 that would come to challenge the older British clubs. A rivalry soon arose involving part of the city's elite, who began to appear at the matches more frequently. Divisions emerged. The Portuguese-language newspapers covered the well-attended activities of the National Cricket Club, whilst the English-language newspaper monitored the English-speaking clubs, even though they shared grounds in the neighbourhood of Santo Amaro.

Because cricket was not taught in schools, and no one was promoting the game to the general public by translating or explaining the rules, there remained a relatively small number of players available. If it was a challenge to form different teams to make the matches more exciting in Rio de Janeiro, this was even more so the case in Recife, where the British community was smaller. One of the solutions adopted by the club was similar to the ones adopted in the Brazilian capital and in São Paulo: the promotion of exchange trips.

The problem was that the nearest city with a British community was Salvador, capital of the State of Bahia, which was twice as far as the distance that separated Rio de Janeiro from São Paulo). There was no rail connection and the road was poor so the best solution was to travel by ship in an expedition lasting several days. Even if less frequent than in the Southeast, these occasions were very festive and they strengthened ties amongst the British in both cities. The games never interfered with the sense of confraternization typical of cricket matches. Competition remained on the field of play, while off the field alliances were formed, including business deals.

In Recife, matches were also played with teams from British-financed companies and British ships anchored in the city's important port. Sometimes, these teams brought news of their games against teams from other locations in Brazil, thus creating a sense of rivalry with local English speakers. Cricket was the centrepiece of festive occasions with extensive programmes of music, food, drink and dance, marked by celebrations of cultural commonality. For example, in 1885 there was a game between the Telegrafo Submarino and the crew of the Norsmann. Two years later the local cricketers took on and beat the crew of the Ruby, who had previously been undefeated in games in Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro and Salvador.⁴⁶

Because there were only a small number of clubs, cricket competition tended to revolve around a range of class and ethnic-based labels rather than inter-club rivalry. The language used served to demarcate identities both within and outside the group. In Rio de Janeiro, these games were known as 'White vs Niggers'. In Recife, they were called 'The World vs Pernambucans or North vs South'. 'White', 'The World' or 'North' were the designations taken by the teams of Englishmen born in the United Kingdom. The terms used to refer to those who considered themselves British but had been born in Brazil or other countries might be considered frivolous but clearly carried a weight of meaning that established social and ethnic difference.⁴⁷ One further important

distinction was that in Recife, the British were not very active in racing or rowing clubs, but they did organise other exclusive sport clubs, especially the Pernambuco Lawn Tennis Club, founded at the end of the 1880s. Recife never had a single club as strong as the Rio Cricket Club, where all the sporting efforts of the English speakers were concentrated.

Cricket in São Paulo at the end of the imperial period

In São Paulo Brazilian participation in the Cricket Club began to grow in the mid-1870s. The series of social activities organised jointly with the Rio Cricket Club became an important stimulus. The social significance of these occasions was even greater in São Paulo because whilst Rio de Janeiro was already a large city that offered many entertainment options, the capital of São Paulo was still small and lacking in public events. The cricket matches therefore had a great public impact. Some observers even claimed they made an important contribution to the city's progress by developing 'a taste for the game adopted in the most important schools in England and Germany, and for the hygienic advantages that result from it'.⁴⁸

Because the city of São Paulo was inland and lacked a coastline, it was harder to hold matches with the crews of British vessels. This only occurred when the crews of ships anchored in the port of Santos crossed the Serra da Mar mountain range. On the other hand, railway construction and the coffee business centred on São Paulo meant there were British communities in both Santos and Campinas, and cricket clubs were founded in both of these cities that played matches against teams from São Paulo. A regular series of sporting competitions enabled by railways grew up in the 1880s and 1890s between Campinas, São Paulo and Santos, including cricket. The Campinas Cricket Club had existed since 1882, and the Santos Athletic Club was founded in 1889. The circulation of players and teams was facilitated by the proximity of the cities but also by a good road and railway system under British management that provided benefits – such as discounts in train tickets – to players travelling to engage in cricket matches.⁴⁹

The much smaller number of Britons living in Santos and Campinas compared to São Paulo meant they integrated more quickly with the Brazilian community. To ensure the financial success needed to maintain the club facilities, these clubs soon opened their doors to the local elites who paid admission to watch what they considered

a modern and civilised experience. This meant that Brazilians certainly knew how the sport was played and had access to some of the principles of athleticism that would mark the nation's sport development a few years later. Indeed, São Paulo state witnessed perhaps the most explicit, though still limited, attempt to popularise cricket beyond the English-speaking communities. In 1882 an abbreviated guide to cricket in Portuguese appeared in the newspaper *Correio Paulistano*, translating some of the terminology for 'the curiosity of those who don't understand, so that they might attend a game and enjoy it'. According to the author, who was clearly not a native speaker of English, two sticks were placed in the ground at each end of the pitch, joined with a small pole. The object of the game was 'throw a ball so that it hits the sticks and makes the adversary's *wicket* fall down'. The ball, it noted, was 'as hard as iron', thrown by a *bolter*. The bat was a '*raqueta*'. Players should wear flannel clothing and protect their legs with 'a type of shield, or *leggings*'. The *match* was divided in two halves or *innings*. When the ball is thrown at the *batter* they should use their 'skill, strength and agility' to hit it as far away as possible. Yet translations could only go so far. The game was said to be governed by 'all manner of conventions' to be agreed by the players themselves, none of which were discussed or interpreted by the bemused journalist. The culture of the game remained unknowable without access to its language.⁵⁰

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In the 1870s and 1880s a deeper relationship developed between the British communities and Brazilians in which cricket was one of several focal points. Brazilians attended the cricket clubs' activities more frequently and with better understanding, sometimes participating actively in the events and games. It was not an imposition but, rather, a desire to draw closer to arrangements that were considered 'civilised'. The English-speaking community neither rejected them nor welcomed them with open arms. There was a process of cultural circulation and dialogue within limits.

The surviving sources do not indicate whether the Brazilians were enthusiastic about their cricket experiences but they did seem to be interested in developing a taste for sport more generally. Meanwhile, the British had their reservations and sought to maintain their own spaces. No translations of the rules of the game were produced, and

no coordinated effort was made to spread it. Cricket therefore took different forms in the six cities, depending on the size of the migrant community, transport connections and the initiative of key promoters like the Miller and Cox families.

Limits of the encounters (the 1890s)

The 1890s were marked by a better definition of cricket initiatives in the cities studied. A growing number of English speakers arrived to work in the process of industrialization and the reform of the urban infrastructure. In the nation's capital, the Rio Cricket Club regained its dynamism with the appearance of new teams.

In 1895, there was a pioneering match between a team of English speakers who worked at the Companhia de Fiação e Tecelagem Carioca and another made up of employees at the Companhia de Fiação e Tecidos Alliance, the Companhia de Fiação e Tecelagem Corcovado and the Fábrica de Tecidos São Cristóvão. The increase in the size of the British community meant that they resided in various neighbourhoods and cricket began to be played in a more structured inter-club fashion. In the latter half of the decade, several cricket matches were reported in the press as well as athletics, tennis games and social events promoted by the British community in the Rio Cricket Club. The clubhouse began to be shared with a new, separate institution, the Clube Brasileiro de Cricket, a club which was deliberately less defined by its English-speaking identity, as seen by its Portuguese-language name. This was a direct result of the republican government's intervention in the Club in 1889.

The British leadership of Rio Cricket had to learn from this closer and sometimes fraught co-existence with the Clube Brasileiro. A columnist from *The Rio News* suggested with some discomfort that more Brazilians might now conceivably take up the sport and expressed concern about their potential behaviour, especially with regard to gambling on the game.⁵¹

Some British-born migrants did participate in the Clube Brasileiro de Cricket, as a result of some fractures in the British community. Some players from the Rio Cricket Club began to play for the new club's team too. The board was also made up of both English and Portuguese speakers. The president, Luiz Leonel de Moura, and the secretary, Joaquim Fontoura do Amaral, were Brazilians. The treasurer, A. Reeves, the cricket captain, A. C. E. Skey, and the tennis captain, N. W. Jackson, were British. Moura was an Army officer with good links to the republican government.⁵²

The Clube Brasileiro de Cricket was a new type of Brazilian sporting institution. It viewed sport as an element of social education. Its stated intention was to ‘develop all manner of athletic games (...) for no other purpose than the physical development of their members, without permitting any sort of betting’.⁵³ The previous model of using cricket as a focus for expatriate social life was troubled by the arrival on the scene of the Clube Brasileiro. Ongoing dissatisfaction among the older members with regard to the disputed ownership of the club’s facilities ended up with the Rio Cricket Club’s sporting activities being brought to an end in 1897. Leaving the prestigious Laranjeiras headquarters to the Clube Brasileiro, the English-speaking refuseniks created a new club in the neighbouring city of Niterói: the Rio Cricket and Athletic Club. The new club facility received considerable support from British companies and took into account that there was already an English-speaking community in Niterói.⁵⁴

The purpose of the Rio Cricket and Athletic Club was clearly to re-establish a club that would follow the older way of doing things as closely as possible, and to reassert the ‘British’ character of cricket in opposition to other more inclusive sporting practices, such as the footballing codes which entered Brazil in the mid-1890s. The inaugural ceremony of the new facility in Niterói, led by the always active George Cox, was welcomed by the English-language newspapers. The inauguration was viewed as a way to meet the desire to play ‘the games that have given bones, muscles and strength, brains and health and good habits to the Queen's subjects in every corner of the globe’.⁵⁵

As indicated in its name, the Niterói club was not exclusively focused on cricket. It became a focus for different sports, where pioneering games of rugby, baseball and soccer matches were played as well as cricket. Over time, some Brazilians also began to attend the new club, given that they were not expressly prohibited. Nevertheless, they had to accept the predominance of British culture and particularly the English language. Others joined the Paissandu Cricket Club, formed in Rio around the same time by former members of the Clube Brasileiro de Cricket, which was itself forced to close because of the fractures amongst members caused by the new republican context, within which cricket sat uneasily. This was not a complete rupture, however. The various clubs often shared members and planned joint activities, including challenge games against teams from São Paulo and Santos. By 1900, cricket was increasingly well-structured, including an annual calendar that included many teams, most of them drawn from British clubs and British-owned businesses. It was, however, ever more marginal to the

well-developed sporting scene in Rio de Janeiro. Cricket appeared alongside frequent regattas, swimming meets, running and walking races, horse races and bicycle races, basketball and bowling tournaments, and bullfights.⁵⁶

In Recife, with the particular circumstances of being a smaller city that was also experiencing important modernization movements, the 1890s saw many similarities with the experience of Rio de Janeiro. A new Pernambucano Cricket Club, founded in 1894, became quite active with a well-structured calendar of matches played by teams from the British community, most of them from British companies. The Club had a very restricted and segregated ethos. It moved its grounds to a different neighbourhood to avoid what one columnist called 'hordes of little black boys who invade and ruin the field on game days, constituting a serious nuisance'.⁵⁷ Cricketers in Brazil recoiled at the possibility of teaching these boys the game let alone sharing the field with them. Instead, they travelled long distances to play amongst English-speaking communities. In 1901 the Pernambucano Cricket Club played many matches in Rio de Janeiro, each of them requiring an expensive journey by boat. Cricket was imagined and practiced as a tie that joined English speakers across the Brazilian territory. They do not appear to have made any effort to incorporate Brazilians into their games.

The British interest in cricket was also notable in the cities of São Paulo, Santos and Campinas in the 1890s. The Santos Athletic Club inaugurated a new ground, making a large investment that put it in a good position to host a variety of sports. This feat was welcomed as a sign of the entrepreneurial spirit of the English-speaking community and their willingness to develop closer ties with the local elite. Institutions and spaces that were created so that English-speakers could play cricket, often with sponsorship from British companies, helped to energise the take-up of other sports. In Santos, the club hosted athletics contests and bicycle races as well as cricket. Open to the general public, these tournaments became important spaces for interaction and dissemination of other sporting cultures. Cricket continued to be played against teams from British ships that docked at the port, even as yellow fever and smallpox epidemics hit the city at the turn of the century. Sport became embedded in society as a way of promoting public health.

The São Paulo Athletic Club (SPAC) emerged to prominence in the years after the creation of the republic. It acted as a centre for, and took advantage of, the large British community that resulted from the growth of the industrial sector and urban

infrastructure promoted under the leadership of Antonio da Silva Prado, governor from 1899 to 1911. Sport was one of the key vectors of his efforts to attune São Paulo to the idea of civilization and progress.⁵⁸ His family built and owned the Velódromo Paulistano, inaugurated in 1892, a famous cycle track that held pioneering running races and bicycle races as well as cricket and, more famously, football matches from 1902.⁵⁹

The SPAC played an important role in popularizing sport at the turn of the century. It provides a good case study for the cricketing experience in Brazil. It was closely associated with the British community, and named in English, but its activities were more open and attracted many members of São Paulo society. Its location in the neighbourhood of Luz was crucial in terms of dissemination of sport to a wider public. The establishment of many factories in that neighbourhood gave rise to a working-class community that witnessed the club's initiatives at first-hand.

The SPAC teams included one of the city's first famous athletes, Charles Miller, later renowned as a footballer, who first became known for his performance in other sports. On one occasion, a columnist offered this categorical statement: 'No cricket player is more popular in Brazil. Miller is a true sportsman, in all senses'.⁶⁰ SPAC promoted cricket matches with teams from neighbouring cities to stimulate a rivalry that might capture the public's attention. Games against the Santos Athletic Club, and Rio de Janeiro teams, and even against teams from Buenos Aires, did attract some media attention. Crucially, however, the cricket matches hosted and played by SPAC were always considered opportunities to celebrate British traditions. Brazilians were welcome to attend the matches as spectators. Cricket became a way of performing and displaying a certain way of life that was promoted as being intrinsic to the characters of English-speakers. Because of the deliberately socially-exclusive ideology of cricketing promoters in Brazil, the sport did not gain a wider following amongst Brazilians.

Not Out: Recovering the Forgotten History of Brazilian Cricket

The organisation of cricket clubs in nineteenth-century Brazil was closely tied to the features of the British community established in that country. As the British presence grew due to the economic development following the new country's independence in 1822, the cricket clubs were consolidated while also changing their characteristics. Cricket matches were always designed to celebrate British cultural traits. These were linked to a British commercial and imperial identity that was often conflated

with Englishness in the surviving sources, especially when rendered in the Portuguese-language sources as *inglese*. Many of the protagonists were Scots, such as John Miller. Cricket thrived in competitions organised by organisations linked to the British communities: sports clubs in different cities, visiting British ships, and teams sponsored by British-financed companies.

In the 1850s and 1860s these were exclusively British initiatives with very limited Brazilian participation, Brazilian involvement did grow during the 1870s and 1880s as the spaces for interaction between the groups expanded, as evidenced by the formation of the Clube Brasileiro de Cricket in Rio. In the 1890s cricket became one small part of a vibrant and diverse sporting environment in Brazilian cities, vying for participants and spectators with horseracing, rowing, cycling, athletics and, eventually, soccer. At first, the Brazilians who attended these initiatives belonged to the elite, with whom the British had political or economic reasons to interact. Later, however, participation became more diverse as the sport tournaments became more open and turned into high-profile events in the cities. This opening was influenced by several conditions: the economic needs of the sport clubs, the increased hybridization of the British community, and various political demands. The Brazilians who became more involved in the clubs that played cricket and founded their own clubs, caused occasional discomfort to the British. Some of them jealously guarded what they considered the original meaning of the sport against ‘distortions’ and exaggerations such as gambling and behaviour they viewed as indecorous.⁶¹

After 1900, as organised competitive sports expanded exponentially in Brazilian cities, cricket retreated into the social spaces protected for English-language speakers. Cricket clubs were meaningful spaces for the organisation of a social group that played a significant role in an important period of Brazilian history and contributed to the local dissemination of the values of athletics, seen as an educational strategy. It should also be borne in mind that although they focused primarily on cricket, the clubs also organised competitions in various sports, some of which were hitherto unknown in Brazil. Among these was association football, a sport that the cricket clubs played an important role in promoting.

On the occasion of an 1899 cricket match that had the appearance of a national championship, pitting a joint São Paulo Athletic/Santos Athletic team against a joint Rio de Janeiro/Paissandu team, one columnist went so far as to declare that enthusiasm for

cricket had never been so high in Brazil.⁶² That columnist was not mistaken. Across the country, wherever there was a British community, cricket achieved a dynamism it had never seen before nor would ever see again. As British influence waned after World War I, cricket's potential relevance did too. It would still maintain its vitality in the first decade of the 1900s but this diminished as the number of Britons in Brazil dwindled, a trend that would become notable after 1915. In comparison to Argentina, where the British community was much larger and more coordinated than in Brazil, cricket did not put down lasting roots in the cities studied here.⁶³

Given the extent to which cricket was being played in Brazil in the 1870s and 1880s, the inevitable question that must be answered is, why could cricket not exploit its head-start over association football? Why did association football expand so rapidly in the 1900s, often playing on cricket pitches, converting cricket clubs into athletic and later soccer clubs and relying on many of the same players and administrators?

Each place and club have their own story, of course. The preliminary analysis of these early histories of Brazilian cricket does suggest some broad components of the beginnings of an answer. Practical considerations were important. Cricket was initially a rural game in England, and it required more leisure time than most rural Brazilians had. British communities in Brazil were located in cities, linked to industry, transport and finance. They set up their own grounds, but cricket had to bow to the activities with more commercial imperatives, which meant those with more public interest. Cricket began to be played as Brazil began to urbanise – and its conventions and timescales felt less compelling for cities undergoing rapid social change looking for ways to include new groups into the fabric of society.

Crucially, whilst the sources should that they were open to some participation by Brazilians, the British did not go out of their way to disseminate the game. In a way cricket matches provided a space for nostalgia for the land they had left behind, rather than the creation of new futures or identities. Cricket clubs' initiatives nevertheless helped set in motion a process of cultural circulation that gave rise to specific reinterpretations and contributed to strengthening a taste for sport that was already taking shape.

There is no single explanation for why cricket, one of the most widely played sports around the world, was not played more frequently in Brazil, while other sports took hold. Certainly the correlation between formal empire and the game of cricket

remains a strong one. Brazil's position as an independent country from 1822 and a republic after 1889 meant that it was never an integral part of the British imperial world. This might explain why Britons did not trust Brazilians with the game that was so constitutive of their imperial identity, and why Brazilians were less than enthusiastic about it.

Britons were not solely, or even mainly, responsible for the rapid expansion of sporting activity in Brazilian cities at the end of the nineteenth century. Migrants to Brazil from many corners of the world found sports to be an excellent way of socializing, having fun and promoting their identities. There can be no doubt, however, that the process of cultural interchange initiated by the English-speaking cricketers was of great importance to the establishment of a taste for sport in Brazil. The types of sporting spaces they sped up, the language of 'representative' sport that they introduced, and the exclusionary elite sporting culture they established, provided the perfect platform for the subsequent embrace of a popular, inclusionary representative footballing competitions across Brazil in the early 1900s.

¹ Buarque de Hollanda and Paulo Fontes, eds., *The Country of Football: Politics, Popular Culture and the Beautiful Game in Brazil* (London: Hurst & Co., 2014); Roger Kettle, *The Country of Football: Soccer and the Making of Modern Brazil* (Berkeley, Ca.: University of California Press, 2014); Gilmar Mascarenhas, *Entradas e bandeiras: a conquista do Brasil pelo futebol* (Rio de Janeiro: EDUERJ, 2014); Gregg Bocketti, *The Invention of the Beautiful Game: Football and the Making of Modern Brazil* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2016).

² Rubens Ricupero, 'O Brasil no Mundo' in Alberto da Costa Silva (Ed.), *História do Brasil Nação (1808-2010) – volume 1 – Crise Colonial e Independência (1808-1830)* (Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, 2011), 115-160; Gabriel B. Paquette, 'The Brazilian origins of the 1826 Portuguese Constitution', *European History Quarterly*, 41:3 (2011): 444-71.

³ Richard Graham, *Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

⁴ Lília Moritz Schwarcz, 'As Marcas do Período' in Lília Moritz Schwarcz (Ed.), *História do Brasil Nação (1808-2010) – volume 3 – A Abertura para o Mundo (1889-1930)* (Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, 2012), 19-34, 31; also Matthew Brown and Gloria Lanci, 'Football and Urban Expansion in São Paulo, Brazil, 1880-1920', *Sport in History*, 36: 2 (2016): 162-89.

⁵ Elias Thomé Saliba, 'Cultura/As Apostas na República' in Lília Moritz Schwarcz (Ed.), *História do Brasil Nação (1808-2010) – volume 3 – A Abertura para o Mundo (1889-1930)* (Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, 2012), 239.

⁶ Louise Guenther, *British Merchants in Nineteenth-Century Brazil: Business, Culture, and Identity in Bahia, 1808-1850* (Oxford: Centre for Brazilian Studies, 2004).

⁷ Gilberto Freyre, *Ingleses no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio/MEC, 1977); Leslie Bethell, 'O Brasil no Mundo' in José Murilo Carvalho (Ed.), *História do Brasil Nação (1808-2010) – volume 2 – A Construção Nacional (1830-1889)* (Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, 2012), 131-78.

⁸ Peter Burke and Maria Lúcia Garcia Pallares-Burke, *Os Ingleses* (São Paulo: Contexto, 2016). There is an extensive body of research about the importance of cricket to the British and their role in the dissemination of the sport. See: Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: a Modern History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Derek Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket* (London: Aurum Press, 1999); Dominic Malcolm, Jon Gemmell and Nalin Mehta (eds.), *The Changing Face of Cricket:*

from *Imperial to Global Game* (New York: Routledge, 2010); Dominic Malcolm (Ed.), *Globalizing Cricket: Englishness, Empire and Identity* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012).

⁹ *The Rio News*, December 6, 1898, 5.

¹⁰ Victor Andrade de Melo, 'O *Sport* em Transição: Rio de Janeiro, 1851-1868', *Movimento* 21, no. 2 (2015): 363-76; Melo, 'Entre a Elite e o Povo: o *Sport* no Rio de Janeiro do século XIX (1851-1857)', *Tempo* 20, no. 37 (2015): 1-22.

¹¹ For more information, see: Richard Graham, 'Os Fundamentos da Ruptura de Relações Diplomáticas entre o Brasil e a Grã-Bretanha em 1863: a Questão Christie', *Revista de História* 24, no. 49-50 (1962): 117-37.

¹² Although there was occasional friction between the British and American communities, they sponsored joint activities on several occasions. For more information, see: Silvana Cassab Jeha, 'Anphitheatrical Rio! Marítimos Americanos na Baía do Rio de Janeiro – Século XIX', *Almanack* 6 (2013), 110-32; Victor Andrade de Melo and Michelle Carreirão Gonçalves, 'Antes do American Way of Life: Experiências com o Baseball no Rio de Janeiro e São Paulo da Transição dos Séculos XIX e XX', *Revista de História da Unisinos*, 22, no. 3 (2018): 442-52.

¹³ Cultural circulation is not a unidirectional and uncritical process of assimilation. Although imbalances of power and influence exist for various reasons and to different degrees, cultural circulation should be understood as an active posture of reinterpretation, adaptation and appropriation that ultimately results in particular ways of understanding.

¹⁴ Matthew Brown, *Our Common Goals: Sports and Societies in South America, 1863-1930* (London: Yale UP, forthcoming 2021).

¹⁵ Warner, *Long Innings: The Autobiography of Sir Pelham Warner* (London: Harrap, 1951), 14. Trinidad became a British colony in 1797.

¹⁶ Hilary McD. Beckles, *The Development of West Indies Cricket: Vol. 1 The Age of Nationalism* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 1998).

¹⁷ Elias and Dunning, *The Quest for Excitement*, 167, 173.

¹⁸ Dominic Malcolm, *Globalizing Cricket: Englishness, Empire and Identity* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012); 'Cricketers on the Georgetown Parade Ground', photograph dated c.1866, BL 10470.i.3(6), in *An Illustrated History of British Guiana, Compiled from Various Authorities, Illustrated with Photographs*.

¹⁹ James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 194.

²⁰ Downes, 'Flannelled Fools?', 74; Beckles, *The Development*, 27-34, 33.

²¹ Graham Eden Hamond, *Os Diários do Almirante Graham Eden Hamond* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora JB, 1984), 131.

²² *Jornal do Comércio*, June 12, 1853, 3.

²³ João Antônio de Paula, 'O Processo Econômico. in José Murilo Carvalho (Ed.), *História do Brasil Nação (1808-2010) – volume 2 – A Construção Nacional (1830-1889)* (Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, 2012), 179-224; Ana Célia Castro, *As empresas estrangeiras no Brasil: 1860-1913* (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar, 1979).

²⁴ For example, the public initiatives of Rio de Janeiro were affected by the War of the Triple Alliance, a conflict that engulfed South America's southern cone from 1864 to 1870. This subject is discussed in: Victor Andrade de Melo and Thaina Schwan Karls, 'Novas Dinâmicas de Lazer: as Fábricas de Cerveja no Rio de Janeiro do Século XIX (1856-1884)', *Movimento* 24, no. 1 (2018): 147-160.

²⁵ *The Anglo-Brazilian Times*, July 8, 1868, 3.

²⁶ *The Anglo-Brazilian Times*, December 23, 1868, 3.

²⁷ For more about cricket in nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro, see: Victor Andrade de Melo, de 'A Sociabilidade Britânica no Rio de Janeiro do Século XIX: os Clubes de *cricket*', *Almanack* 16 (2017): 168-205, 2017.

²⁸ Sandro Vasconcelos da Silva, 'Quando o Recife Sonhava em Ser Paris: a Mudança de Hábitos das Classes Dominantes Durante o Século XIX', *Saeculum* 25 (2011): 215-26.

²⁹ Carolina Bortolotti de Oliveira, 'Imagens do Recife Imperial: o Olhar Inglês Sobre a Paisagem Suburbana do Século XIX' in ANPUH/SP (Ed.), *Anais do XVIII Encontro Regional de História – O historiador e seu tempo* (São Paulo: UNESP/Assis, 2006), 1.

³⁰ Rostand Paraíso, *Esses Ingleses...* (Recife: Bagaço, 1997).

³¹ *Jornal do Recife*, May 22, 1868, September 4. 1868, 3.

- ³² For an overview of the city in the final decades of the nineteenth century, see: Noemia Maria Queiroz Pereira da Luz, *Os Caminhos do Olhar: Circulação, Propaganda e Humor (Recife, 1880-1914)*, unpublished doctoral thesis (Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Recife, 2008).
- ³³ *Jornal do Recife*, September 10, 1872, 2. For more information about cricket in Recife, see: Victor Andrade de Melo, 'Para Inglês Ver? Os Clubes de Cricket e a Sociabilidade Britânica em Recife (1865-1906)', *Territórios e Fronteiras* 10, no. 1 (2017): 161-78.
- ³⁴ Ernani Silva Bruno, *História e Tradições da Cidade de São Paulo: Burgo de Estudantes (1828-1872)* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olímpio, 1954).
- ³⁵ On cricket in São Paulo, see: Victor Andrade de Melo and Eduardo de Souza Gomes, 'Os Britânicos e os Clubes de Cricket na São Paulo do Século XIX (anos 1870-1890)', *Revista de História*, 178 (2019): 1-33.
- ³⁶ In addition to his notable involvement with the cricket clubs, Cox was chairman of the City Club and the Laranjeiras Club and a donor to the Hospital dos Estrangeiros and the Anglican Church. An account of the admiration that surrounded him can be found in *The Rio News*, March 21, 1899, 7 and *The Rio News*, September 26, 1899, 7.
- ³⁷ *O Globo*, June 5, 1875, 3.
- ³⁸ Victor Andrade Melo and Fabio de Faria Peres, *A Gymnastica no Tempo do Império* (Rio de Janeiro: 7 Letras, 2014).
- ³⁹ The terms "English from Rio de Janeiro," "English from São Paulo," "Anglo-Fluminense" and "Anglo-Paulista" were used on various occasions; *Anglo Brazilian Times*, July 23, 1878, 4.
- ⁴⁰ *The Anglo-Brazilian Times*, January 9, 1880, 2.
- ⁴¹ *The Anglo-Brazilian Times*, July 8, 1878, 3.
- ⁴² *Brazil*, June 26, 1884, 2.
- ⁴³ *The Anglo-Brazilian Times*, September 15, 1880, 4.
- ⁴⁴ *Gazeta de Notícias*, August 16, 1882, 1.
- ⁴⁵ *A Estação*, June 30, 1888, 136.
- ⁴⁶ *Jornal do Recife*, January 4, 1885, 1, November 12, 1887, 1; *The Rio News*, November 15, 1887, 4.
- ⁴⁷ Victor Andrade de Melo, de. 'A Sociabilidade Britânica no Rio de Janeiro do Século XIX'.
- ⁴⁸ *A Província de São Paulo*, May 26, 1875, 2.
- ⁴⁹ Information on these events can be found in *The Rio news*, September 5, 1882, 4, and December 5, 1885, 3.
- ⁵⁰ *Correio Paulistano*, September 8, 1882, discussed in more detail in Brown, "Translating the Rules of Football in South America, 1863-1920", *Estudos Históricos*, 32:68 (2019): 569-90.
- ⁵¹ *The Rio News*, March 14, 1893, 5.
- ⁵² *Jornal do Brasil*, May 29, 1896, 4.
- ⁵³ *Jornal do Brasil*, May 29, 1896, 4.
- ⁵⁴ Vitor Iorio and Patrícia Iorio, *Rio Cricket e Associação Atlética: mais de um século de paixão pelo esporte* (Rio de Janeiro: Arte Ensaio, 2008).
- ⁵⁵ *The Rio News*, June 14, 1898, 5.
- ⁵⁶ Victor Andrade de Melo, *Cidade Sportiva: Primórdios do Esporte no Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará/Faperj, 2001).
- ⁵⁷ *Brazilian Review*, May 21, 1907, 588.
- ⁵⁸ Brown and Lanci question the foundation date of the São Paulo Athletic Club, suggesting that it was established in 1876, based on reports published in the *Correio Paulistano*. (Matthew Brown and Gloria Lanci, 'Amadores e Profissionais: a Comunidade Britânica na Formação do Futebol em São Paulo entre 1880 e 1916' in Eduardo de Souza Gomes and Caio Lucas Moraes Pinheiro (eds), *Olhares para a Profissionalização do Futebol: Análises Plurais* (Rio de Janeiro: Multifoco, 2015). 92-107). A total of 299 new factories were established in the city between 1890 and 1899. See: Raquel Rolnik, 'São Paulo, Início da Industrialização: o Espaço é Político' in L. Kowarick (Ed.), *As Lutas Sociais e a Cidade* (São Paulo: Paz e Terra / UNRISD, 1988), 207-245.
- ⁵⁹ Roberto Pompeu de Toledo, *A Capital da Vertigem: uma História de São Paulo de 1900 a 1954* (Rio de Janeiro: Objetiva, 2015); Wilson Gambeta, *A Bola Rolou: o Velódromo Paulista e os Espetáculos de Futebol* (São Paulo: Editora Sesi, 2015).
- ⁶⁰ *The Rio News*, May 23, 1899, 4.

⁶¹ *Jornal do Comércio*, August 14, 1884, 8.

⁶² *The Rio News*, July 4, 1899, 3.

⁶³ Victor Raffo, *El origen británico del deporte argentino: Atletismo, cricket, fútbol, polo, remo y rugby durante las presidencias de Bartolomé Mitre, Domingo Sarmiento y Nicolas Avellaneda* (Buenos Aires, 2005).