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The social constraints that surrounded coaching lives altered during the late nineteenth century as emerging amateur sporting organisations used their increasing influence to implement an ideology that rejected professional coaches in favour of voluntarism. These governing bodies established and maintained the servant status of professional trainers through exclusionary regulations although, in some sports and with some individuals, the lines of demarcation between professional and became somewhat blurred. An established tradition of tolerance for the “educated mechanic, the intelligent working man”, was extended to include some professional coaches such as swimming professor Walter Brickett whose coaching life reveals the flexibility of boundaries and demonstrates the ways in which suitable men could bridge the amateur-professional divide. This paper narrates the biography of a man who combined his coaching of many of the leading amateurs of the early twentieth century with his training of Channel Swimmers and with earning a living as a swimming teacher. Unlike most conventional swimming professors, normally professional champions who used their competitive reputations to ply their trade as teachers and entertainers, Walter Brickett was an amateur swimmer and coach who initially earned his living as a pianoforte maker, at least until the early 1900s, when he began to be referred to as professor. In both 1908 and 1912, he was appointed as swimming trainer to the Olympic team, engagements which reflect both the tension within the amateur sports community concerning the need for coaching and training, and the type of professional coach who could be tolerated where necessary.

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During the late nineteenth century the professional middle class developed the principles of amateurism and refined them into a philosophy of sport which included an emphasis on voluntarism in administration and coaching. The rules they subsequently formulated for their sporting associations aimed to exclude professional coaches, or, at the least, marginalise them through the imposition of a master-servant relationship. Amateur Swimming Association (ASA) laws, for example, deemed swimmers as professional if they were paid for teaching, training, or coaching, although, given the difficulty of supplying enough amateur coaches and of properly training schoolteachers, the ASA eventually conceded that professional teachers were essential for increasing swimming numbers. To ensure that these professionals remained under ASA control the organisation instituted a Professional Certificate in 1899 and, by 1909, 293 certificates had been awarded to both male and female candidates. Factors other than the ability to teach swimming were considered since the ASA had to be “satisfied as to the character and antecedents of an applicant as well as to his ability as a professional teacher”.

Despite structural constraints and philosophical strictures, coaching continued in a range of sports, delivered by individuals from diverse backgrounds, and with different objectives. Partly because professional coaches were considered incapable of understanding the complexities or the aesthetics of rowing an eight, amateur crews gradually came to rely instead on “themselves and their *confreres* for tuition in oarsmanship and training”. Harcourt Gold, for example, who coached the Leander crew that won the 1908 Olympics and the eight that won in 1912, was a consummate amateur and when he travelled to America to coach Yale in 1913, he even refused to accept expenses. By contrast, English professionals in most sports invariably engaged a professional coach before contests to supervise both training and diet and amateurs who became professionals generally improved their performances as a result. Little trace remains of the majority of these professional coaches but it is clear that, unlike amateur rowing coaches, many of them applied their generic knowledge to a range of sports. In 1893 “Choppy” Warburton was official trainer to Manchester Athletic Club, where “not a few of the local racing men attributed their success to his careful though severe mode of preparation” and he became well known, especially in France, as a trainer of cyclists. Harry Andrews, trainer to

South London Harriers, coached athletes, swimmers and cyclists in the first quarter of the twentieth century while Scipio Augustus Mussabini worked with professional pedestrians in the 1880s, coached cycling in the 1890s, and subsequently trained amateur athletes. By 1913, he was employed as senior coach by Polytechnic Harriers, and his athletes won five gold, two silver, and four bronze medals at Olympic Games from 1908 to 1924.

Although amateur officials systematically marginalised experienced professional coaches, who were supposedly peripheral to a gentleman's hobby, which was to be indulged in with style and independent of disciplining influences, the practice often differed from the rhetoric and there was considerable leakage around the margins of amateur hegemony. Despite their concern with effortless superiority, there was a long tradition of coaching at both Oxford and Cambridge and even leading amateurs like Montagu Shearman argued that Englishmen would be "very foolish" if they neglected to engage competent scientific instructors to teach athletics. Faced with the demands of elite sport amateurs compromised with respect to coaching and training even within organisations like the ASA whose reaction to poor performances at Stockholm in 1912 was to propose the appointment of seven professional instructors.

The British team for Stockholm in 1912 had been accompanied by a number of trainers, not all of them amateurs. Alec Nelson, an ex-professional runner and trainer who coached at Cambridge from 1906, worked with track and field athletes, while Walter Septimus Brickett was attending his second Games as trainer to the swimming team. Walter was born in 1865 in Camden to Sarah and James Brickett, a grocer. By 1881, Walter was following in the footsteps of brothers Charles, Alfred, Arthur, and James, as a pianoforte maker, which remained his primary occupation until at least 1901. He also followed his brothers into the water and onto the running track and between 1883 and 1898, he competed regularly in amateur swimming and athletics events.

Despite his artisan background, Walter established himself in many areas of amateur swimming, including life saving, being involved in the creation of the Life Saving Society on the 3 January 1891 which is at odds with those who view the Society as having been formed by "a group of gentlemen swimmers". Walter became a prominent coach and, in 1907, "Prof. Walter Brickett, the well known and popular instructor," was accorded an annual entertainment by the twenty-five clubs at which he taught and coached. In 1908, Walter was appointed trainer to the Olympic team and at the Games he worked with all the leading amateurs of the day, including breaststroke winner Holman and Henry Taylor who won the 400 and 1500 metres.

After the 1908 Games Walter was presented with a unique testimonial from the ASA, signed by George W. Hearne, ASA President, and seventy members of the Committee, water polo, swimming, and diving teams, "bearing testimony to, and sincere appreciation of, the valuable and unremitting services of professor Brickett, to whom all British Olympic swimmers were greatly indebted". His appointment for Stockholm as "trainer and adviser-in-chief" was confirmed at the 1912 AGM of the ASA. Swimmer Belle White, who won a high diving bronze medal in Stockholm, described him as "a fatherly type of man, but...a hard disciplinarian in training. He gave you marvellous encouragement and always tried to make you feel confident." The ASA committee report following the Games commended both Madame Jarvis and Professor Walter Brickett, "who accompanied the team as professional trainers and attendants" for discharging their duties "in the most capable manner".

Walter used the kudos associated with his Olympic experiences to consolidate his profitable position within the amateur swimming community. His business card, circa 1914, advertised Walter as the "well-known British Olympic Trainer, appointed by the Amateur Swimming Association, and teacher of all styles of Swimming" and his credentials were reinforced by a list of his 1913 successes including H. E. Annison, hundred yards English Champion. A course of lessons cost a guinea, a single lesson was two shillings, while a course of twelve lessons concentrating on "Crawl, Over-arm & Trudgeon Stroke" was one pound, four shillings. Walter also combined his athletics and swimming into multi-event challenges, which helped to reinforce his status as a "Champion" and, therefore, as a professor. In August 1919, for example, sponsored by the *News of the World*, the 54 year old Walter walked a mile, ran a

mile, ran a mile over hurdles, cycled three miles, rowed a mile, and swam a mile, in fifty-five minutes, thirty-four 1/5 seconds.

When St. Pancras S.C. advertised a Ladies Section in 1920 one of the drawing cards they presented was the appointment of "Professor Walter Brickett, the famous Olympic swimming trainer and coach...Maker of Champions". Walter considered girls well suited for swimming because of their buoyancy and suppleness, their ability to stay in the water for long periods, and their stamina, which was "quite equal" to that of men. Seven was the ideal age to learn strokes because the crawl was "learned with comparative ease by children", although the "golden period" of a girl's swimming career was between eighteen and twenty-two. Swimmers needed to "work very hard and train daily". In Walter's experience, tall girl champions were "exceptional" since practically all champions had been girls of medium height. This was certainly not true of the six foot three inch, fifteen stone, Clarabelle Barratt, of New York, "the giantess of women Channel swimmers", who attempted a Channel crossing in August 1926, after preparing with Walter, and was within two miles of France when she left the water, exhausted, after 21 hours and 35 minutes.

Walter had been involved in training channel swimmers since 1904, most notably with Jabez Wolffe, who made twenty-two attempts and never succeeded, failing by yards in 1911. Wolffe acknowledged his appreciation of "Professor Walter Brickett, who has always understood me thoroughly and who has developed my powers in a truly remarkable fashion". Wearing nothing except dark goggles, Jabez was rubbed all over with a "special preparation of Brickett's", which was allowed to thoroughly soak in and dry, and was then covered with a coating of lamb's fat. Brickett fed him every half-hour, principally with chicken sandwiches, biscuits, Oxo, chocolate, chicken broth, weak tea and cocoa. Wolffe, who went on to coach a number of successful swimmers, also acknowledged his regular pacers, including Miss Lily Smith, captain of the Ladies' Perseverance and Tottenham Swimming Clubs, who trained with Walter for her own Channel attempts. In 1912, the "English Water Lily" was forced to abandon before she had completed twenty miles, in 1913 she nearly died while making another wonderfully plucky attempt, and in 1914 she failed once more.

In 1930, St. Pancras Leander S.C. members met for supper at *The Adelaide Restaurant*, Chalk Farm, when the proceeds of their first annual gala, held as a testimonial for Walter, were handed over to him. In presenting the cheque, the secretary said that all swimmers in the district, "owed all they knew of the sport to Mr. Brickett, and it gave him very much pleasure at being able to hand to that gentleman that token of the club's appreciation of his services". Within two years, however, newspapers were announcing the "enforced retirement through ill-health of Professor Walter Brickett, the well-known swimming instructor and coach". There were "few sportsmen more popular...and few coaches who know their work so well". He had "taught more champions to swim than any other person" and his "tiddlers", usually around ten or eleven years old, were known in every quarter of London and were in great demand for displays at galas. Thanks to Walter, St. Pancras could claim the distinction of having had more champions within its boundaries than any other area in the south of England. After thirty-five years living in Kentish Town, Walter moved to the seaside at Gosport, where he died, aged 67, in 1933. The local paper recalled his multi-sport successes, noted that he had been responsible for training several channel swimmers, and that about ten thousand ladies had attended his swimming lessons during the last eleven years. He was holder of the Society's Bronze Medal for founder of the Life Saving Society, and holder of the Society's Bronze Model for Life Saving.

Although his swimming activities overlapped, spatially and temporally, with those of traditional swimming professors, Walter encountered a different environment to that faced by his predecessors whose coaching careers had often relied on entrepreneurial activities and a sense of coaching community. In this respect, there was a degree of continuity in the legacy to the sport that Walter left through his children which is resonant of the tradition of kinship practices within coaching communities. Walter's sons Sidney and Reg were founder members of the National Association of Swimming Instructors, and Reg coached Hoddesdon S.C., as his father had before him, as well as becoming President of the Swimming Teachers Association of Great

Britain. A photograph of Walter with daughter Dolly and a group of swimming pupils suggests that she was also involved in the teaching of swimming.

By 1900, however, competitive swimming was an amateur controlled activity, which tolerated professionals as teachers, simply because there were not enough amateurs available, but excluded them from the organisation of the sport. Brickett's involvement with life saving, and the social networks that he created with leading amateurs, confirmed him as a respectable artisan, rather than the entrepreneurial figures traditionally associated with swimming coaching, and, as a result, he was more easily assimilated into the amateur system. His social contacts and his symbolic capital, generated through establishing medley event records, allowed him to maintain a role as a professional but one with a degree of subservience amenable to amateur administrators. Walter's appointment as trainer to the Olympic teams in 1908 and 1912 emphasises his acceptance to the amateur establishment and highlights the opportunities afforded to coaches by the creation of formal international competitions. In that sense, Walter's coaching biography could be read as suggesting an increasing level of democracy within amateur sports organisations but it is also lasting testimony to the power of sporting bodies such as the ASA to structurally determine the nature of the coaching environment. The structural exclusion of professional coaches certainly had a lasting impact on the status of English coaching, partly through the loss of a substantial body of craft knowledge as elite trainers were recruited abroad, especially to America where this process paralleled an increasing focus on victory. Subsequent ideological clashes between English and American sportsmen revolved around these diametrically opposed perceptions of coaching.

Nevertheless, the extent of the impact of the amateur professional dichotomy in sport needs to be viewed as something other than a sudden fault in the timeline of English coaching. Walter's biography highlights the imperfect way that amateur structures were applied to coaches, as well as emphasising the diverse nature of coaching lives. The amateur hegemony in sports administration never led to the extinction of professional coaching cultures and suitable professional coaches were integrated into the amateur sports process. Harry Andrews later accompanied the British Olympic team in 1924, and Mussabini became a member of the 1923 British Olympic Commission on preparations for the 1924 Games. Amateur officials may have marginalised but they never eradicated professional coaching.