

# A History of English Women's Cricket, 1880-1939.

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**Abstract.**

This thesis is a study of the history of women's cricket from the 1880s until 1939. Although the primary focus of this thesis is the interwar years, it explores the earliest forms of women's cricket to provide context for the motivation of individuals to promote the game as acceptable for women, and of those who denounced its suitability. By exploring societal concerns over correct masculine and feminine behaviour and ideals, this thesis provides insight into the methods that contemporaries adopted to contrast these restrictions.

Through a detailed examination of local newspapers and archival sources, this thesis investigates the reactions by society to the concept of women playing what was hitherto seen as a masculine sport. In particular it examines the relationship not only between the women and men who organised cricket on a national scale, but between middle- and working- class women and how class played an equally important role as gender as a restricting influence on opportunities for working-class women to participate in leisure. As a consequence, this thesis will demonstrate the willingness of working-class women to participate in physical activities when given the opportunity, either through their male counterparts, or the workplace.

Although academic work on the history of women's sport is an expanding field, little attention has been paid to specific team games, with the exception of football. Similarly, research on women's sport has primarily focused on women of the upper- and middle-classes, with the activities of working-class women being largely overlooked. This thesis

aims to expand our knowledge of women's cricket by not only providing a detailed examination of the national sporting organisations, but also to redress the knowledge gaps surrounding the participation in sport by working-class women.

## **Abbreviations.**

### **Organisations.**

AEWHA All England Women's Hockey Association.

EWCF English Women's Cricket Federation.

LLA Ladies Lacrosse Association.

LWCF Lancashire Women's Cricket Federation.

MCC Marylebone Cricket Club.

WCA Women's Cricket Association.

YWCF Yorkshire Women's Cricket Association.

### **Other.**

OELC Original English Lady Cricketers.

LCC Ladies Cricket Club.

OGCC Old Girl's Cricket Club.

PTC Physical Training College.

WCC Women's Cricket Club.

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Most importantly, my thanks go to my husband Dave, for his unwavering support, pragmatism and constant interest. For helping me to see the bigger picture but always happy to talk through the smallest details, I dedicate this thesis to him.



## Introduction.

This thesis explores the development of women's cricket in Britain from 1880 to 1939. It traces the game from its earliest forms to its inclusion in the public schools' physical education system and then as a game for adults and international competition. It explores the formation, structure and growth of two national governing bodies for women's cricket that emerged during the interwar period; the Women's Cricket Association (WCA) and the English Women's Cricket Federation (EWCF). Furthermore, as a study in gender history, this thesis will address existing gaps in the current knowledge of women's sport and leisure activities during the interwar period through an examination of women's cricket.

As well as explaining the development of the two aforementioned governing bodies, this thesis questions some existing ideas. Firstly, the lack of attention given to the history of women's cricket suggests that there was a limited number of women playing the game. Conversely, women's football has gained a higher level of academic interest, suggesting that women's football was a more popular game. However, research for this thesis has shown that there were almost 900 women's cricket teams functioning during the interwar period, compared to 150 women's football teams. This number of women's cricket teams is much higher than has previously been suggested.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, it has been claimed by Odendaal in his article "Neither cricketers, nor ladies': Towards a history of women and cricket in South Africa, 1860-2001', that women's cricket was only ever played by the upper-class and ex-

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<sup>1</sup> J. Williams, *Cricket and England, A Cultural and Social History of the Interwar Years*, Routledge, London, 1999, 94.

public school girls.<sup>2</sup> This thesis suggests that the presence of both the EWCF, which aimed to provide cricket for working-class women in Yorkshire and Lancashire, and the large number of works teams which existed during the interwar period indicates that a much higher number of working-class women were playing the sport than previously thought. Thirdly, this thesis challenges the notion that women's cricket can be seen as part of a feminist movement. By examining the relationship between the WCA and their male counterparts of the MCC, and the male run EWCF, this thesis will argue that women's cricket, across all classes, remained willingly dependent on, or subordinate to, men throughout this time period.

The period covered in the thesis witnessed not only an expansion in the number of female participants in women's sports, but also the activities available to them. Whilst there exists a substantial historiography of women's sport in the Victorian and Edwardian periods, and a growing historiography for the interwar period, the number of texts that focus on a single sport for women is, in comparison, small. Much of the literature provides a broad investigation of the societal restrictions on upper- and middle-class women, the contemporary biological arguments that reinforced these restrictions and the general participation of women in sport. An examination of women's cricket in Britain will add to the current literature of women's participation in sport.

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<sup>2</sup> A. Odendaal, "Neither cricketers nor ladies': Towards a history of women and cricket in South Africa, 1860-2001',

*International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 28, no. 1, 2011, 117.

## I. Literature review.

The starting point for any history of the development of women's team games is McCrone's *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, 1870-1914*.<sup>3</sup> Her work, first published in 1988, covers the development of women's sport for the middle- and upper-classes, from its introduction in the public schools and universities, to the formation of national organisations and independent clubs. She asserts that sport was a 'logical arena to demonstrate the falseness of assumptions about women, and women's participation was a response to oppression and expanded opportunities for activity'.<sup>4</sup> Her explanation that 'changes in perceptions of women and their roles, led to the realisation that women's exclusion from sport was culturally determined,' is key to understanding the growth of adult women's participation in sport, despite the leading biological and societal theories which abated.<sup>5</sup> These theories, which asserted the mental and biological feebleness of women in comparison to men, were made prominent in contemporary medical journals. McCrone's explanation of the rise of the three main team games for women- hockey, lacrosse and cricket- provides invaluable details on the early developments of governing bodies and reactions to them. She claims that 'hockey and particularly cricket, played by females especially outside sheltered educational settings, were perceived frequently as threats to the separation of the spheres of men and women that predominated in society at large and protected the "purity" of men's sports'.<sup>6</sup> This assertion will be examined in relation to the growth of women's cricket clubs in the 1880s as well as the reaction by male

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<sup>3</sup> K. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, 1870-1914*, Routledge, London, 1988.

<sup>4</sup> McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 277.

<sup>5</sup> McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 276.

<sup>6</sup> McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 149.

contemporaries to the activities of the WCA. This book, and her articles on the same subject, 'Emancipation or Recreation? The Development of Women's Sport at the University of London' printed in the *International Journal of the History of Sport* and 'Play Up! Play Up! And Play the Game! Sport at the Late Victorian Girls' Public School' in the *Journal of British Studies*, are the foundation upon which any investigation on the history of women's teams games can be built.<sup>7</sup>

Any study of the history of women's sport will demonstrate the important role played by leading headmistresses in the elite day and boarding schools of the middle- and upper-middle classes. A history of women's education and its difficulties in gaining traction and recognition is detailed in McDermid's essay 'Women in Education' and Hunt's chapter 'Divided Aims: the educational implications of opposing ideologies in girls' secondary schooling 1850-1940'.<sup>8</sup> Purvis in *A History of Women's Education in England*, discusses the notion that it was expected that women should only seek education 'not for their own self-development or as a preparation for employment but in order to become 'better', angelic human beings who would be more appreciated by their menfolk'.<sup>9</sup> This concept was later restructured to argue that women seeking work during the interwar period were gaining valuable experience on how to manage household staff and be better mothers.

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<sup>7</sup> K. McCrone, 'Emancipation or Recreation? The Development of Women's Sport at the University of London', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1990, 204-229; K. McCrone, 'Play Up! Play Up! And Play the Game! Sport at the Late Victorian Girls' Public School', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 23, no. 2, 1984, 106-134.

<sup>8</sup> J. McDermid, 'Women in Education', in J. Purvis (ed.), *Women's History: Britain 1850-1945*, UCL Press, London, 1995, 107-130; F. Hunt, 'Divided Aims: the educational implications of opposing ideologies in girls' secondary schooling 1850-1940', in F. Hunt (ed.), *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women, 1850-1950*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1987, 3-21.

<sup>9</sup> J. Purvis, *A History of Women's Education in England*, Open University Press, Buckingham, 1991, 102.

The leading public schools, such as Cheltenham Ladies College, Roedean and Wycombe Abbey, were responsible for the introduction of team games into public schools. In order to reject leading medical theorists who claimed that intellectual learning would sap women's physical abilities, Atkinson in Delamont and Duffin's *The Nineteenth Century Woman, Her Cultural and Physical World* argues that 'headmistresses and college principles were therefore forced to pay particular attention to the health and fitness of their students'.<sup>10</sup> The pioneering headmistresses' inclusion of physical education rapidly escalated to the emulation of the boys' public schools' focus on team games as methods of building character and esprit de corps. Hargreaves in *Sporting Females; Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports* has argued that in day schools the primary justification for the inclusion of physical education was that 'girls required some suitable form of exercise to encourage healthy development and to provide a 'balance' to classroom work'.<sup>11</sup>

It is only recently that academics have turned their attention to the development of women's leisure during the interwar period. Langhamer's *Women's Leisure in England 1920-60* has provided in-depth assessment as to the importance of the leisure life-cycle in women's lives.<sup>12</sup> Building on the work of Fowler's *The First Teenagers. The Lifestyles of Young Wage Earners in interwar Britain*, Langhamer shows that 'the ever-present

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<sup>10</sup> P. Atkinson, 'Fitness, Feminism and Schooling', in S. Delamont and L. Duffin (eds.), *The Nineteenth Century Woman, Her Cultural and Physical World*, Croom Helm, London, 1978, 92-133.

<sup>11</sup> J. Hargreaves, *Sporting Females; Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports*, Routledge, London, 1994, 66.

<sup>12</sup> C. Langhamer, *Women's Leisure in England 1920-60*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2000.

constraints related to time, money, parental demands and society's expectations....demonstrates the crucial difference between youth, the years between leaving school and getting married, when leisure was seen as a right and 'going out'....a necessity'.<sup>13</sup> In 'The Making of a Modern Female Body: beauty, health and fitness in interwar Britain', Zweiniger-Bargielowska has shown that for many women participating in the League of Health and Beauty the motivation for their involvement was to improve their appearance and physical well-being for the purpose of motherhood.<sup>14</sup> Skillen's *Women, Sport and Modernity in Interwar Britain*, details the growth of women's participation in sport in interwar Britain and questions the reasons behind the increase asserting that 'through the provision of public and work-related facilities, women were given more opportunities to access sport'.<sup>15</sup> Huggins and Williams, in their work *Sport and the English 1918-1939*, claim that although there was a definite increase in participation of women during the interwar period, that 'male sport continued to be regarded as more prestigious than women's sport'.<sup>16</sup>

Although some of the aforementioned work on the interwar period has dedicated considerable space to working-class women's leisure, work on their sporting activities remains limited. Williams in *A Contemporary History of Women's Sport, Part One: Sporting*

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<sup>13</sup> J. Richards, 'General editor's foreword', in Langhamer, *Women's Leisure: D. Fowler, The First Teenagers. The Lifestyles of Young Wage Earners in interwar Britain*, Woburn Press, London, 1995, ix.

<sup>14</sup> I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'The Making of a Modern Female Body: beauty, health and fitness in interwar Britain', *Women's History Review*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2011, 299–317.

<sup>15</sup> F. Skillen, *Women, Sport and Modernity in Interwar Britain*, P. Lang, Oxford, 2013, 231.

<sup>16</sup> M. Huggins and J. Williams, *Sport and the English 1918-1939*, Routledge, Oxon, 2006, 69.

*Women, 1850-1960* dedicates some space to working-class female swimmers.<sup>17</sup> Skillen, building on Munting's 'The games ethic and industrial capitalism before 1914: the provision of company sports', has provided valuable information on the inclusion of the sporting provision for women within some of the larger firms in Scotland.<sup>18</sup> Hargreaves' assertion that 'the participation of working-class women is under-researched, it is also underestimated' is consolidated by a lack of information on working-class women's leisure prior to the First World War.<sup>19</sup> The notable exception is Parratt's "*More Than Mere Amusement*", *Working-Class Women's Leisure in England, 1750-1914*, which investigates the concept of working-class women's leisure and includes a detailed chapter on the social and sporting activities of the Rowntree factory in York, with references to working-class female employees participating in team games.<sup>20</sup>

The history of men's cricket has gained considerably more attention than the women's game. Although there is a wealth of information on the history of village and county cricket, work on league cricket, which was prevalent in the northern counties of England, is minimal. The majority of information written about league cricket is limited in marked comparison to cricket controlled by the MCC. Birley's *A Social History of Cricket* provides typical information on the opinion of the MCC towards its northern counterparts stating 'in the

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<sup>17</sup> J. Williams, *A Contemporary History of Women's Sport, Part One: Sporting Women, 1850-1960*, Routledge, London, 2014, 34-41.

<sup>18</sup> R. Munting, 'The games ethic and industrial capitalism before 1914: the provision of company sports', *Sport in History*, vol. 23, no. 1, 2003, 45-63; Skillen, *Women, Sport and Modernity*, 145-180.

<sup>19</sup> Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 140.

<sup>20</sup> C. Parratt, "*More Than Mere Amusement*", *Working-Class Women's Leisure in England, 1750-1914*, Northeastern University Press, Boston, 2001.

Northern and Midlands districts, where gate-money had corrupted soccer and rugby clubs, cricket clubs....tended to be looked at askance by the southern-orientated cricket establishment because they arrayed themselves in leagues in a vulgar competitive manner'.<sup>21</sup> Holt's *Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain* contains the only two academic essays relating to league cricket during the interwar period.<sup>22</sup> Hill's 'League Cricket in the North and Midlands, 1900-1940', is the only essay completely dedicated to this version of the game.<sup>23</sup> Williams' 'Recreational Cricket in the Bolton Area between the Wars' in the same publication also provides an insight into men's league cricket during the interwar period.<sup>24</sup> In *Cricket and England, A Cultural and Social History of the Interwar Years*, Williams discusses the formation of league cricket, asserting that by 1914 cricket leagues had been common at all levels of cricket throughout the North and Midlands and created an assumption that it was natural for cricket to be organised in leagues'.<sup>25</sup> Of these three publications, only *Cricket and England* mentions that women's cricket in the North, played under the EWCF, was also played in leagues.

Whilst it is evident that there are a large number of gaps in the existing histories of the development of women's sports, and the history of men's cricket in relation to league activities, the history of women's cricket prior to the 1960s remains virtually unexplored. It is difficult to ascertain who was involved with the day to day running of women's cricket

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<sup>21</sup> D. Birley, *A Social History of Cricket*, Aurum Press, London, 1999, 352.

<sup>22</sup> R. Holt (ed.), *Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1990.

<sup>23</sup> J. Hill, 'League Cricket in the North and Midlands, 1900-1940', in Holt (ed.), *Sport and the Working Class*, 121-141.

<sup>24</sup> J. Williams, 'Recreational Cricket in the Bolton Area between the Wars', in Holt (ed.), *Sport and the Working Class*, 101-120.

<sup>25</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 92-113.



clubs, details on the women who played, and their motivation for choosing to play cricket. Work on the history of British women's cricket is limited to three main books; Heyhoe Flint and Rheinberg's *Fair Play; The Story of Women's Cricket*, Joy's *Maiden Over; A Short History of Women's Cricket and a Diary of the 1948-49 Test Tour to Australia* and the recent publication by Duncan, *Skirting the Boundary: A History of Women's Cricket*.<sup>26</sup> All three books provide interesting testimony about the history of the game, dating from its earliest existences. However, as all three are written by ex-players, their non-academic style, coupled with a lack of referencing, ensures that the books are lacking in context. This relegates their usefulness to the historian as an interesting insight into the information these particular ex-players believe is worth regurgitating from the WCA's official magazine *Women's Cricket*, which printed several articles on the history of women's cricket between 1930 and 1939.

Mentions of the WCA appear in several books that explore the broader context of women's sport. Birley's *Playing the Game: Sport and British Society 1910-45*, Hargreaves' *Sporting Females* and Huggins and Williams' *Sport and the English 1918-1939* all dedicate some space, albeit minimal, to the creation of the Association and briefly detail its activities.<sup>27</sup> However, none of these texts illustrate the large number of women's cricket clubs that existed, which were not affiliated to the Association, as will be demonstrated in

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<sup>26</sup> R. Heyhoe Flint and N. Rheinberg, *Fair Play; The Story of Women's Cricket*, Angus & Robertson, Buckinghamshire, 1976: N. Joy, *Maiden Over; A Short History of Women's Cricket and a Diary of the 1948-49 Test Tour to Australia*, Sporting Handbooks, London, 1950: I. Duncan, *Skirting the Boundary: A History of Women's Cricket*, Robson Press, London, 2013.

<sup>27</sup> D. Birley, *Playing the Game: Sport and British Society 1910-45*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1995: Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*: Huggins and Williams, *Sport and the English*.

this thesis. Nor do they discuss the participation of working-class women in cricket, other than to dismiss their efforts as minimal. Holt in *Sport and the British; A Modern History* incorrectly asserts that cricket 'was restricted to former pupils of public schools and there were probably no more than fifty active women's clubs'.<sup>28</sup> Women's cricket played outside the auspices of the public schools, or the Association, has barely been examined. Williams' chapter on women's cricket in *Cricket and England*, is unique in that it introduces the EWCF, which provided cricket for working-class women, and details an outline of their motivations and activities.<sup>29</sup> However, the prominence within the chapter of the roles of women on ladies' committees, as fundraisers, tea providers and laundry girls is indicative of the position of women within the text, as a support network for the men's game.

## II. Themes.

There are a number of themes that run through this study of women's cricket from 1880 to 1939. The most prominent theme is class. Both of the women's cricket governing bodies represented a different cross section of women. The dominance by women belonging to an upper socio-economic background within the Association had an impact on the class of women who affiliated. Similarly, the expressed intention of the Federation to provide cricket for working-class women ensured that the organisation specifically catered for this class. Secondly, given the prominence of women's cricket clubs that were linked to work teams, the role of the workplace is an important theme. This can be seen in the large organisations that had multiple sports teams, and from the smaller clubs that were formed

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<sup>28</sup> R. Holt, *Sport and the British; A Modern History*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989, 129.

<sup>29</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 92-113.

specifically to represent their workplace. A final key theme is feminism, and the degree to which women's cricket can be seen as part of the women's movement. A large number of the clubs that existed in the interwar period were created as a method of fundraising for men's clubs. Their ability to draw crowds and gate money were vitally important for their continued existence. Women remained reliant on men for access to grounds, coaching, umpiring and for positive press.

Class is one of the most prevalent issues discussed in the historiography of women's involvement in sport in Britain. It was influential in determining how popular sports were, and who could participate in them. Hargreaves in *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain* has noted that 'as class divisions are composed, reformed and recomposed according to economic, political and cultural external factors, they are ever shifting'.<sup>30</sup> It is sometimes difficult to assign a class to a person, because they shift between class stratifications, despite not altering their lifestyle. As Laybourn in *Britain on the Breadline, A Social and Political History of Britain 1918-1939* notes 'the concept of class is vague, with social and economic divisions acting only imperfectly to distinguish social groups'.<sup>31</sup> What constituted lower middle-class in the thriving areas of new industries in the South in the 1920s was not comparable to the same stratification in the depressed North of the 1930s. Equally, the post-war industrial conditions reduced, or made redundant, some jobs, whilst creating a host of new roles. The status attached to some jobs either shifted, or were not yet formed, which blurred class

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<sup>30</sup> J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain*, Palgrave, London, 1986, 79.

<sup>31</sup> K. Laybourn, *Britain on the Breadline, A Social and Political History of Britain 1918-1939*, Sutton, Gloucestershire, 1990, 139.

distinctions based on job roles. As Lewis in *Women in England 1870-1950, Sexual Divisions & Social Change*, argues, 'it is particularly difficult to determine a woman's social class as it cannot be assumed that she shared the same socio-economic class as her husband, or parents'.<sup>32</sup> Winter, in his study *The Great War and the British People*, reiterates this claim stating that 'the devastation of the Great War had a large impact on inter-class socialising and marriage....higher death rates amongst middle-class men and their social superiors caused further imbalance, leading to many women marrying into a lower social class than remain a spinster'.<sup>33</sup> For the purposes of this thesis, 'working-class' will refer to the definition set out by Roberts in *Women's Work 1840-1940*, 'in defining 'working-class' ....the term is used to cover women who worked with their hands, who were paid wages, not salaries, and who did not employ other people'.<sup>34</sup> Throughout this thesis 'middle class' will encompass those women who worked, or whose husbands or fathers worked, in the salaried sector. This includes, but is not limited to, managers, clerks, teachers and civil servants.

There have been questions raised as to the validity of class as a categorisation. Davies has argued that there is a 'growing recognition of the limitations of a class centred approach'.<sup>35</sup> Langhamer has argued that women's identities were shaped more by their gender, than by their class.<sup>36</sup> Whilst acknowledging the division of gender is the primary

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<sup>32</sup> J. Lewis, *Women in England 1870-1950, Sexual Divisions & Social Change*, Prentice-Hall, Brighton, 1984, xiii.

<sup>33</sup> J. M. Winter, *The Great War and the British People*, Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire, 1984, 260.

<sup>34</sup> E. Roberts, *Women's Work 1840-1940*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, 12.

<sup>35</sup> A. Davies, S. Fielding and T. Wyke, 'Introduction', in A. Davies and S. Fielding (eds.), *Workers' Worlds, Cultures and Communities in Manchester and Salford 1880-1939*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1992, 10.

<sup>36</sup> Langhamer, *Women's Leisure*, 1-14.

reason when examining the patterns of participation in women's cricket, class is equally important in understanding the form that participation took. Tranter in *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain 1750-1914* explains that the concept of 'manliness' for middle- and working-class men was diametrically opposed, 'to the middle class 'manliness' in sport meant amateurism, self-restraint, strict obedience to rules and active participation rather than passive spectating: to the working class it meant professionalism, a greater emphasis on physical aggression, commitment to spectatorism as much as playing'.<sup>37</sup> The same confusion arose for females. Chinn states in *They Worked all Their Lives: Women of the Urban Poor in England, 1880-1939*, that

women of the lower class were not subject to the same social strictures as their socially superior betters. Although women were still expected to display feminine qualities, such as a good moral character, concepts of respectability differed. For women who worked alongside men in the mills and factories, they were offered a semblance of freedom not available to their wealthier sisters.<sup>38</sup>

Davies stresses that historians need to assess gender differences within the context of economic circumstances, exploring the additional restrictions this caused.<sup>39</sup> Braybon in *Women Workers in the First World War* states that 'the patriarchal system coexists with the capitalist system; the working-class have been exploited by the latter, but women have also been oppressed by men of their own or other classes in a multitude of ways'.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> N. Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain 1750-1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998, 49.

<sup>38</sup> C. Chinn, *They Worked all Their Lives: Women of the Urban Poor in England, 1880-1939*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1988, 98.

<sup>39</sup> Davies, Fielding and Wyke, 'Introduction', 10.

<sup>40</sup> G. Braybon, *Women Workers in the First World War*, Routledge, Oxon, 1981, 12.

In highlighting the greater participation in women's cricket by working-class women than previously thought, it is important to look at the avenues through which they could gain access. Holt has discussed the concept of rational recreation; how playing games that improved the mind and body, and led participants away from alcohol or gambling, was harnessed by members of the upper-class to encourage the working classes to spend their increased leisure time productively.<sup>41</sup> This idea was central to factory paternalism, the notion that it was the duty of factory owners to use leisure as a means of civilising their workers. Munting asserts that 'Factory Paternalism' was infused with social responsibility as employers sought to steer their workforce on the correct moral path. As public schools continued to use sport as a vehicle to infuse morals, physical health and create character, employers began to follow the same logic'.<sup>42</sup> However, for some employers the purpose of their welfare schemes were more self-serving. Crewe in 'What about the Workers? Works-based Sport and Recreation in England c.1918-c.1970' states that 'the proliferation of company sports clubs in the 1920s and 1930s suggests that the management of large concerns believed that there were some advantages in having a workforce that was fit and healthy or from being associated with athletes whose spare-time activities could be represented in a positive fashion'.<sup>43</sup> Beaven in *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850-1945* has argued that 'it was recognised that a physically and mentally fit workforce would help labour productivity'.<sup>44</sup> Tranter explains that by ensuring the

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<sup>41</sup> Holt, *Sport and the British*, 74-202.

<sup>42</sup> Munting, 'The games ethic', 48.

<sup>43</sup> S. Crewe, 'What about the Workers? Works-based Sport and Recreation in England c.1918-c.1970', *Sport in History*, vol. 34, no. 4, 2014, 544-568.

<sup>44</sup> B. Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850-1945*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2005, 141.

happiness of workers it also reduced the turnover, saving money from having to retrain workers.<sup>45</sup> The provision of sporting clubs, as opposed to other types of leisure, also served to keep employers physically fit, reducing loss of productivity due to illness. Skillen has argued that 'by providing important services, especially in remote or poor areas, companies created dependency in employers and re-emphasised the 'centrality' of companies to the lives of their workers'.<sup>46</sup>

It is apparent from membership numbers that these clubs were popular. However, Langhamer argues that 'an editorial in *The Times* noted that despite the best efforts of youth leaders, farmers and middle class opinion, open air amusements such as rambling, cycling and camping were considerably more popular among girls and young women than more formal attempts to organise their leisure hours'.<sup>47</sup> As the number of women workers increased during the First World War, employers began to open up the same facilities for them. As Braybon notes 'most working class women were employed for at least part of their lives'.<sup>48</sup> It should be noted that for many women, the activities provided by employers were sometimes their only avenue to play sport. The swimming pools and hiring of games mistresses at Rowntrees' factory in York, described by Parratt in "The making of the healthy and the happy home': recreation, education, and the production of working-class

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<sup>45</sup> Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society*, 59.

<sup>46</sup> Skillen, *Women, Sport and Modernity*, 156.

<sup>47</sup> Langhamer, *Women's Leisure*, 76.

<sup>48</sup> Braybon, *Women Workers*, 13.

womanhood at the Rowntree Cocoa Works, York, c.1898-1914' gave working-class women an opportunity to learn sports that had been unavailable to them during education.<sup>49</sup>

To what degree women's participation in sporting activities can be seen as part of a conscious feminist movement is debatable. Lewis argues that 'feminists who wished to give women the same educational opportunities as men....had to deal with opposition arising from the view that adolescent girls needed to conserve their energies for reproduction'.<sup>50</sup> Vertinsky in *The Eternally Wounded Woman: Women, Doctors and Exercise in the Late Nineteenth Century* has shown that 'long-standing propositions about adolescent girls' capacity for sport and strenuous exercise developed in response to late nineteenth-century physicians' interpretations of biological theories about menstruation'.<sup>51</sup> Holt notes that 'demand for greater freedom for women, especially young women, who often linked educational, professional and political aspirations with the right to use their own bodies as they wished'.<sup>52</sup>

The introduction of team games for girls was part of a larger struggle by women for a full education. Games were used as a deliberate policy by educationalists to dispute arguments that higher education sapped the body of energy. Fletcher argues in *Women*

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<sup>49</sup> C. Parratt, 'The making of the healthy and the happy home': recreation, education, and the production of working-class womanhood at the Rowntree Cocoa Works, York, c.1898-1914', in J. Hill and J. Williams (eds.), *Sport and Identity in the North of England*, Edinburgh University Press, Keele, 1996, 68.

<sup>50</sup> Lewis, *Women in England*, 90.

<sup>51</sup> P. Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman: Women, Doctors and Exercise in the Late Nineteenth Century*, University of Illinois Press, Illinois, 1994, 40.

<sup>52</sup> Holt, *Sport and the British*, 117.



*First: The Female Tradition in English Physical Education, 1880-1980* 'by comparison with everything else in the history of women's education physical training was notably, if not uniquely, promoted, institutionalised and authorised by women'.<sup>53</sup> Atkinson asserts that 'the advocates of sports and physical training also took account of social Darwinistic arguments. They suggested that the improvement in physique produced by physical exercise would in turn result in racial improvement, and rather than hampering their role as wives and mothers, it would improve it'.<sup>54</sup> Holt reiterates this with his claim that contemporaries questioned, 'how could the sons be strong if their mothers were weak'?<sup>55</sup> Zweiniger-Bargielowska argues that the Women's Amateur Athletics Association, founded in 1922, promoted its primary aim to improve the 'physique and physical efficiency of the nation'.<sup>56</sup> Many academics agree that access by women to physical activities, rather than having a consciously feminist goal, was a positive by-product of access to higher education. Hargreaves notes 'the expansion of physical education for women was internally related to the concomitant struggle of middle-class women to achieve social and economic status via education and professionalism'.<sup>57</sup> McCrone asserts 'the acquisition of such rights was an important consequence of their activities in other areas'.<sup>58</sup> Atkinson states that 'women's emancipation was not won on the playing fields of Roedean but the games fields and

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<sup>53</sup> S. Fletcher, *Women First: The Female Tradition in English Physical Education, 1880-1980*, Athlone Press, London, 1984, 5.

<sup>54</sup> Atkinson, 'Fitness, Feminism and Schooling', 101.

<sup>55</sup> Holt, *Sport and the British*, 117.

<sup>56</sup> Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'The Making of a Modern Female Body', 308.

<sup>57</sup> Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 85.

<sup>58</sup> McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Education*, 276.

gymnasia of the girls' schools were the scene of an important skirmish in the struggles of Victorian feminism'.<sup>59</sup>

To what extent the movement into adult sports by women after they had left public school can be seen as a feminist activity is also contentious. Despite an overriding belief that games were something that should remain as part of girlhood, pioneers began to choose to continue playing during adulthood. Zweiniger-Bargielowska argues that 'the fit, physically active woman challenged late-nineteenth century medical discourses which portrayed women as 'eternally wounded' and, thereby, justified women's exclusion from the public sphere because they needed to conserve their limited energy for reproductive purposes'.<sup>60</sup> Williams argues 'the increase in cricket playing among women can be seen as an expression of women's emancipation because it indicated that women were choosing for themselves how they should use their bodies'.<sup>61</sup> McCone argues that 'sporting activities made a substantial contribution to emancipating females from physical and psychological bondage and to altering the image of ideal womanhood'.<sup>62</sup>

The concept of the 'ideal' woman was ever changing. Beddoe in *Back to Home and Duty: Women between the Wars 1919-1939* asserts that 'at various times the nation and society may have need of women as workers and the imagery of women as workers and at these times the imagery of what is desirable changes. There is no fixed definition of

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<sup>59</sup> Atkinson, 'Fitness, Feminism and Schooling', 92.

<sup>60</sup> Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'The Making of a Modern Female Body', 301.

<sup>61</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 98.

<sup>62</sup> McCone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 277.

femininity and of the female role'.<sup>63</sup> She continues that 'the emergency conditions born of World War I caused 'society' to transform its notion of women's role and consequently drastically to remodel its images of women. The demand upon women of all social classes altered'.<sup>64</sup> However, with the boundaries ever shifting, it is difficult to assess one generation's, or even one section, of society's actions as 'feminist', when they may have been subservient to society's restrictions on them as women.

The concept that women had a free choice about how to use their own bodies is interesting when we assess the high level of interest women's clothing has garnered. Messner, in 'Sport and Male Domination: The Female Athlete as Contested Ideological Terrain' quotes Twin who argues that the female body became 'a marketable item, used to sell numerous products and services'.<sup>65</sup> Thus the image of the sportswoman was altered from the unfeminine 'Amazon', whose masculinity was a threat to the race, to a tubular shaped, slender creature. This new design for women was evidenced in the fashions of the day and the work of the Women's League of Health and Beauty, which combined elegant exercises with military precision. Certainly, sporting organisations were keen to ensure that the presentation of their players reflected societal notions of femininity. However, the increased involvement of government policies within the provision of physical activity in the interwar period is indicative that it was the government that was selecting the activities that were more readily available to women across the country. Following the Boer War, the Public Health Act of 1907 allowed local authorities to spend money on games and

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<sup>63</sup> D. Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty: Women between the Wars 1919-1939*, Pandora, London, 1989, 8.

<sup>64</sup> Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty*, 10.

<sup>65</sup> Twin quoted in M. Messner, 'Sport and Male Domination: The Female Athlete as Contested Ideological Terrain', in S.

Birrell and C. Cole (eds.), *Women, Sport and Culture*, Human Kinetics, Leeds, 1994, 69.

recreations. Hill notes that similarly the Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1937, 'made available through the Ministry of Education modest amounts of public money to aid voluntary organizations in the provision of facilities'.<sup>66</sup> The Women's Team Games Board established under this act allowed sporting organisations to request grants for access to equipment, land and money, if they could prove that the sport was available for all cross sections of society. This promotion by the government of the day was based by a desire to ensure that men and women would be physically fit if required for national service, whether international or domestic. This suggests that it was government priorities that were leading the national opportunities available for women, rather than pressure from the female run sporting organisations of the day.

Hargreaves in 'The Victorian cult of the family and the early years of female sport' argues that 'the proliferation of twentieth-century women's sports....only became possible because they occurred in separate spheres from the sports of men. By being insular, sportswomen did not constitute a challenge in their relationship with men'.<sup>67</sup> This is reiterated by Tranter who argued that sport remained predominantly male and that the limited acceptance of women's sport was 'only because they had chosen, or been permitted to choose, sports which [didn't] allow equal competition with men'.<sup>68</sup> Hargreaves has illustrated that 'by establishing their own sports organisations rather than demanding a larger role in those controlled by men, women sport players were acting very much in keeping with the spirit of the new feminism' during the interwar period'. She continues 'this

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<sup>66</sup> J. Hill, *Sport, Leisure & Culture in Twentieth Century Britain*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2002, 151.

<sup>67</sup> J. Hargreaves, 'The Victorian cult of the family and the early years of female sport', in S. Scraton and A. Flintoff (eds), *Gender and Sport: A Reader*, Routledge, London, 2003, 53-65.

<sup>68</sup> Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society*, 91.

gave bourgeois women the autonomy to demonstrate achievement in this sphere without being inhibited by invidious comparisons with, or running the risk of being ridiculed by men while leaving the male sports sphere intact as a male preserve'.<sup>69</sup> Whilst this may be true of women's hockey, other sports were still controlled by men. The slow progress to have women's tennis accepted in competitions at Wimbledon is indicative of the desire of some women to participate in the same sphere as men. Equally, for cricket, any desire by the Association to be a separate entity proved impossible, due to the restrictions of space available for recreational use. The insistence by middle-class women that they played sport solely for fun contradicted the working-class women who played to win. It is evident that women copied their menfolk in the forms and types of sport they engaged in. In this, the WCA emulated the rules of the MCC, whereas the EWCF played the same fast paced competitive game as the Lancashire League. This is also true for other women's sports, such as hockey, golf and bowls.

This thesis therefore aims to not only add to the literature that focuses on the growth of specific sports, but also to shed light upon the affect social constrictions such as class had on participation. This thesis adds to our understanding of assessing to what degree women who participated in sport were promoting, or even aware of, their sporting activities as part of a wider feminist agenda.

### **III. Sources.**

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<sup>69</sup> Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, 73.

The sources available on women's cricket, and the players, are varied. The more easily accessible sources, such as minutes, year books and national newspaper attention, relates solely to the WCA. Given that many of its members were of the upper-class and were prominent in other sports and activities it has been relatively easier to gain some information on this organisation than those not affiliated. For women's cricket clubs not affiliated to the WCA, the sources are limited, and as the majority of the players were from the working-class, it has proved extremely difficult to find additional information on these women.

The information on the WCA is predominantly gained from primary sources, including a number of archival sources. These include the year books from 1926 to 1945 produced by the WCA. These books contained the constitution, rules and major changes which took place each year. They provided a gateway into the structure and running of the organisation. Their printing of all affiliated clubs was invaluable as a starting point to the growth of women's cricket over the years. The county association reports allowed for an insight into the motivation, methods, issues and celebrations each county faced when attempting to affiliate clubs in their region. For women's cricket clubs that weren't affiliated to the WCA, archival sources were much more limited. Only one minute book was found for the EWCF, which provided an insight into its constitution and rules, as well as fixtures for the season. Produced as a pocket size booklet, it was much less detailed than the Association's year books, although still invaluable. Many of the men's cricket clubs which had women's sections either didn't still have the minutes from the interwar period or contained scant mentions of women's cricket where they did. The exception was Todmorden CC, the

minutes of which was generously lent by Brian Heywood, which contained several mentions of the women's section, in particular its financial worth, or otherwise.

This thesis also relied on the monthly editions of the Association's official magazine *Women's Cricket* which provided an insight into the issues the editor felt were important. Used as a method of communication to draw clubs together, the magazine provided unique insight into the activities of smaller clubs, which wrote to *Women's Cricket* to provide updates. The inclusion of articles written by the cricketers indicates the importance placed on developing their skills and improving the technique of all players. The magazine was important, through its inclusion of advertisements and contributors, in placing women's cricket within the wider context of the development of sport in general. The advertisements run by leading clothing manufactures and department stores gave an insight into the development of women's clothing for sport, as well as their prices.

Two key biographies, *The Suffragette's Daughter, Betty Archdale* by Macpherson and *Women's Cricket Touring in 1934/5 and 1948/9; An Autobiography by Grace A. Morgan*, also give an insight into the activities of the WCA.<sup>70</sup> As a source, autobiographies and biographies are used to complement and balance the information gleaned from the archival sources whilst providing an insight into the person's feelings. However, they cannot be used uncritically. Just as the author includes the information that is important to them, they can equally leave out anything which they don't wish to share.<sup>71</sup> The lapse in time of Morgan's

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<sup>70</sup> D. Macpherson, *The Suffragette's Daughter, Betty Archdale*, Rosenberg, New South Wales, 2002; G. Morgan, *Women's Cricket Touring in 1934/5 and 1948/9; An Autobiography by Grace A. Morgan*, BPR Publishers, Wiltshire, 2009.

<sup>71</sup> Chinn, *They Worked all Their Lives*, 8.

autobiography leads to editor's notes to influence text where the author had behaved inappropriately by today's standards.<sup>72</sup>

As archival sources are limited, the thesis uses a large number of daily and weekly newspapers. The national newspapers, particularly the *Morning Post*, *Observer*, and *The Times* were the main suppliers of commentary on the Association, particularly during the international tour by Australia in 1937. The advantage of commercial games was the additional newspaper attention organised by promoters eager to profit as greatly as possible from a singular game.

The British Newspaper Archive proved invaluable for finding mentions of individual clubs during the 1880s and 1890s. For the Federation, the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, *Yorkshire Observer*, *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, *Keighley News*, *Brighouse Echo* and *Holmfirth Express* provided extensive information about the activities of both the organisation and the activities of women cricketers. Local newspapers were prone to bias, indicated by the fact that almost all the aforementioned local newspapers were edited or owned by members of the Federation committee. As journalists commenting on women's cricket rarely used their real names, it was difficult to ascertain whether the writers were members of the organisation. It is important to acknowledge that a lack of news in a community can cause local papers to comment on all activities, rather than selectively pick those deemed

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<sup>72</sup> In Macpherson, *The Suffragette's Daughter*, the following sentence was edited to include '(remember only 1934)' to placate the potential controversy of the sentence; 'In Colombo, one of the male team passed a note asking if Betty's nickname was Hitler (remember only 1934), Archdale admits she was dictatorial, but the whole thing was a joke'. Macpherson, *The Suffragette's Daughter*, 97.



newsworthy like the nationals. This can provide activities with an inflated sense of worth. However, a comparison of column inches written on women's cricket versus other types of cricket, such as church leagues, indicates a stronger support of women's cricket. In particular the coverage given to county games indicates the importance placed on local sport and the concept of representing the community.

#### **IV. Structure of the thesis.**

The starting point for this thesis is 1880 because of the increase in popularity of women's cricket during this decade and the formation of the first women's cricket clubs. Although there is evidence of women's cricket being played as early as 1745, the evidence is sporadic and limited. It is not until the 1880s that it is possible to piece together a history of the game. The majority of the thesis focuses on the years 1919 to 1939, concluding with the outbreak of the Second World War which caused a break in the natural progression of women's cricket. This allows for a thorough examination of how, where and by whom, cricket was played by women during the interwar period.

The first chapter discusses the increase in popularity of women's cricket for the upper middle- and upper-classes during the 1880s. Leading medical and societal arguments about the role of women from contemporaries are introduced to contextualise the notion of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour for women. With these in mind, the chapter outlines the advances of women's education and physical education, which introduced girls to team's games. It examines the developments of adult team games, from women unwilling to leave their playing days behind once they had left education, and the

subsequent growth of private women's sporting clubs and organisational bodies. The sudden growth of women's cricket clubs in the late 1880s is illustrated, as is the damage caused to the women's game by a pair of professional touring sides.

By examining the formation and development of the first women's cricket national governing body, the WCA, between 1926 and 1939, the second chapter acts as a case study for the development of sport for the middle- and upper-class woman during the interwar period. The chapter demonstrates the change in lifestyle the First World War brought to women of these classes, their new found independence between education and marriage, and their involvement in leisure activities. It will examine how successful the formation and structure of the Association was in encouraging the growth of women's cricket for the middle classes. It will investigate the expectations of the press and the public in relation to women's cricket. By exploring the relationship between the national press and the Association it demonstrates the support, or otherwise, of the leading publications. The initial negative attention by the press was responsible for the proactive engagement of newspaper reporters throughout the interwar period by the Association. The creation of the organisation's official magazine *Women's Cricket* and its other publications provides an insight into what the editor and Association committee felt were important issues.

Chapter three will illustrate how the elitist policy of the Association caused friction within the organisation, and denied many potential cricketers the opportunity to affiliate. It will also outline the development of international women's cricket. The focus on the tours between Australia and England will show how the presence of international matches cemented the importance of women's cricket for male contemporaries and will examine the

relationship between the Association and men's cricketing authorities. It will also explore the pressure hosting international tours caused the home side. Finally, the chapter will show how, by the end of the interwar period, relations between women's cricket organisations in different countries were strong enough to lead to the formation of an international women's cricket council.

Chapter four documents the growth of a second women's cricket national governing body, the EWCF, between 1931 and 1939. This organisation was based on the popular men's cricket leagues that flourished in the Midlands and North of England. Organised by prominent male members of the men's Bradford Evening Cricket League, the Federation played limited overs, fast paced, competitive cricket for trophies and prizes in West Yorkshire and Lancashire. A discussion of the local press and the Federation indicates the role local newspapers had on a community, their involvement in advertising, commenting, organising activities and their shaping of local opinion. The chapter identifies the barriers that prevented many working-class women from being able to participate in sport, and how these were overcome by the Federation. The relationship between the two women's cricketing governing bodies is discussed to demonstrate the motivations behind a change in policy by the Association from 1934 to include women of a lower socio-economic background.

The fifth chapter discusses how women's cricket clubs were formed, by who and the motivation for doing so. It shows the high number of women's cricket clubs that played regularly during the interwar period without affiliation to either national organisation, or the reasoning, where available, on this decision. It discusses the methods used by the

Association to affiliate existing clubs, particularly school and college teams. In contrast, it outlines how the motivation of the formation of clubs affiliated to the Federation was a potential financial benefit for the men's clubs. By examining the reasoning behind the support of the men's clubs it provides an insight into the role of women within these working-class communities. This is supported by the examination of church teams, independent clubs and teams formed by existing sports clubs looking for a summer alternative.

### **Chapter one: The 1880s and 1890s.**

This opening chapter of the thesis will serve as an introduction to the development of women's cricket during the nineteenth century. It aims to provide a history of the game prior to the interwar period, by exploring the growth of women's cricket during the

nineteenth century, to provide context about how and why women were given an opportunity to play and how popular the game was. Hargreaves has argued that, 'developments in female education during the last third of the nineteenth century probably did more to legitimate more active forms of sport and exercise for women than any other factor'.<sup>73</sup> The structure of this first chapter is based on exploring the validity of this assertion. The first section will examine how and why educational provision for upper- and upper middle-class girls was developed throughout the nineteenth century. The second part will explore why physical education was introduced into girls education. The third section will briefly examine the reaction of parents and social commentators to the inclusion of team games within girls' schools. The final section will detail the history of women's cricket outside of educational facilities, the different forms it took, and its popularity as a team game for adults. It will also examine the impact that a commercial touring side, the Original English Lady Cricketers, had on the development of women's cricket. It is important to note that as educational provisions for girls varied greatly on their class that this chapter will focus solely on the middle- and upper- classes.<sup>74</sup>

## **I. Developments in female education.**

The education of upper- and middle-class girls differed markedly from the education of boys throughout the nineteenth century. Whereas boys were taught discipline, academic excellence and leadership skills, girls' education revolved around the imparting of social

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<sup>73</sup> J. Hargreaves, *Sporting Females; Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports*, Routledge, London, 1994, 56.

<sup>74</sup> J. Purvis, *Hard Lessons, The Lives and Education of Working-Class Women in Nineteenth-Century England*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1989, 48.

graces, which would serve to make the recipient an attractive prospect to potential suitors. Lessons on how to enter a room, sewing hems, and entering and exiting carriages were commonplace.<sup>75</sup> The primary reason for this differentiation was the expected roles each gender was to partake in during adulthood.

Throughout the nineteenth century, patriarchal ideologies encompassed a range of scientific, economic, philosophical and historical arguments to emphasise the separation of the two sexes. Men and women were expected to primarily reside in separate spheres, whereby 'work' was inhabited by men, and the 'home' by women.<sup>76</sup> As such, women were seen as a symbol of first her father's, and then her husband's, ability to maintain her standard of living. Her copious amounts of leisure and disposable income signalled that the man was able to earn, or manage enough money, to keep her in a permanent leisured state. Thus, she served as a reflection of her husband's affluence. Leading intellectuals such as John Ruskin wrote in *Of Queen's Gardens*, of the popular concept of the woman as the 'dependent' and the man as the 'protector', 'the man, in his rough work in open world, must encounter all peril and trial....if he must be wounded, or subdued, often misled, and *always* hardened. But he guards the woman from all of this [emphasis in original]'.<sup>77</sup> Women were defined as daughters, sisters or wives, the property of her father until she married,

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<sup>75</sup> Purvis, *Hard Lessons*, 68.

<sup>76</sup> For more information on the separation of the sexes and the contemporary biological, economic and legal arguments see J. A. Mangan, 'The social construction of Victorian femininity: emancipation, education and exercise', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), *A Sport-Loving Society: Victorian and Edwardian Middle-Class England at Play*, Routledge, Oxon, 2006, 145-152; P. Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman: Women, Doctors and Exercise in the Late Nineteenth Century*, University of Illinois Press, Illinois, 1994.

<sup>77</sup> J. Ruskin, 'Of Queen's Gardens', in A. Twells, *British Women's History, A Documentary History from the Enlightenment to World War I*, I. B. Tauris & Co, London, 2007, 31.

henceforth being the property of her husband.<sup>78</sup> Any income, property or money she possessed were also immediately transferred to her husband upon marriage until the Married Women's Property Act of 1882.

The limited education available reinforced the concept that women were expected to reside primarily within the home. From 1800 the education of middle-class girls took place primarily at home by a governess, or at a small private school. These were usually run by middle-class women who had not married and turned to teaching for a source of income.<sup>79</sup> Upper-class girls were taught by a governess or tutor who would concentrate on music, languages, art and classical studies. Boarding schools were also available, which concentrated on 'polishing' the rough edges off a girl, in order for her to become a lady.<sup>80</sup> As marriage and then motherhood was seen as a woman's primary vocation, there was no standard curriculum or attempts to regulate education. Not only was education thus deemed socially pointless, it was also seen as socially dangerous. There was a widespread fear that any woman seeking to educate herself would be seen as undesirable and would fail to marry.<sup>81</sup>

However, in the 1840s there began a movement for educational reform, primarily from a desire to improve the qualifications of governesses. Burstyn in *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*, has argued that 'since young boys as well as girls were

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<sup>78</sup> Purvis, *Hard Lessons*, 50.

<sup>79</sup> F. Hunt, 'Divided Aims: The Educational Implications of Opposing Ideologies in Girls' Secondary Schooling, 1850-1940', in F. Hunt (ed.), *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women, 1850-1950*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1987, 4.

<sup>80</sup> Purvis, *Hard Lessons*, 68.

<sup>81</sup> Purvis, *Hard Lessons*, 7.

educated by governesses there can be no doubt that pressure to improve governesses' teaching skills was linked to the greater competence expected of boys entering schools'.<sup>82</sup> In 1843 the Governesses' Benevolent Institution was founded by Reverend Frederick Denison Maurice, a professor of English at King's College, London, which provided financial relief to governesses during unemployment. The Institution received such a large number of appeals that it opened Queens College (1848) to improve the education of governesses.<sup>83</sup> It accepted pupils aged twelve years and older.<sup>84</sup> Courses included English, theology, history, geography, Latin, mathematics, modern languages, natural philosophy, music, the fine arts and pedagogy. Students could take a number of courses and then sit examinations for which certificates were awarded. This was quickly followed in 1849 with the establishment of Bedford College, founded by Elizabeth Jesser Reid.

In 1868, the Schools Inquiry Commission, also known as the Taunton Commission, was set up by the government to investigate the schooling available for boys. Emily Davies, a feminist campaigner, and a group of other influential women successfully persuaded the inquiry to also include girls' education in its report. The result was damning in the condemnation of the deficiencies prevalent in girls' education. The lack of structure, or educational worth of the majority of lessons was highlighted. In the wake of this public criticism, Maria Grey, a leading feminist, founded the National Union for Improving the

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<sup>82</sup> J. N. Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*, Croom Helm, London, 1980, 22.

<sup>83</sup> Burstyn, *Victorian Education*, 22.

<sup>84</sup> Purvis notes that realistically these school only offered an education equivalent to boy's secondary standard. J. Purvis, *A History of Women's Education in England*, Open University Press, Buckingham, 1991, 68.



Education of Women of all Classes. She aimed to provide education for all girls not covered by the Elementary Education Act of 1870.

In 1872 the Union established the Girl's Public Day School Company (GPDSC). The company set up new schools using money raised from the selling of shares. By 1874, it had founded seventeen schools with over 2,800 students enrolled. By 1898 it had established a further seventeen schools. Fees were extremely moderate for the middle- class, at £10/10/- a year for a pupil under ten, rising to £16/10/- for girls over the age of thirteen. The curriculum for these schools was based on the original public day school for girls; North London Collegiate School.<sup>85</sup> Founded by Frances Buss and her mother in 1850, the school was highly successful with 115 pupils enrolled by the end of its first year. In 1872 Buss signed it over to be managed by a Trust, thus making it a public school. Although the most famous, the GPDSC was not the only organisation that established public schools. The Church Schools Company founded in 1883, established thirty-three public schools that were founded on Anglican principles. However, both companies were overshadowed by the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, which aided the creation of over ninety girls' grammar schools between 1870 and 1900.

Whilst the day schools were aimed at the lower middle- classes, public boarding schools provided socially exclusive education for the upper- class. The first of these was Cheltenham Ladies' College established in 1854. The new schools were primarily run by pioneering headmistresses but overseen by school boards, which were predominantly male

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<sup>85</sup> Purvis notes that the emulation of the North London Collegiate curriculum was only for those schools situated in a town with 4,000 inhabitants or over, although the reason for this is unclear. Purvis, *History of Women's Education*, 77.

in composition. During this timeframe, teaching as a profession was transformed from a refuge for spinsters to a respectable form of employment for women, primarily due to the work of the Teachers Training and Registration Society (1876) which established its first college, the Maria Grey Teachers Training College in 1879.<sup>86</sup> It financed teacher trainees through its Teacher Education Loan Committee and offered scholarships to students.<sup>87</sup> The teaching qualification also helped to legitimise teaching as a reputable form of employment for women. Two of the most famous headmistress of these pioneering schools, Frances Buss and Dorothea Beale, had been educated in the first colleges. Once they entered teaching, they supported the campaign to allow girls to take university examinations, led by Emily Davies. In 1863 Miss Beale invited the Oxford examiners to inspect her pupils' work to prove their ability to take the examinations. They were eventually successful in their endeavours as by 1895, most of the British Universities allowed women to study for degrees and examinations. By 1914, of the sixteen universities in the UK, only Oxford and Cambridge refused to admit women to degrees and full membership.<sup>88</sup>

## **II. The introduction of physical education.**

The pioneers of women's education faced resistance primarily because it was believed that women were biologically incapable of completing education without physiological repercussions, in the form of exhaustion and in extreme cases, sterility. Hargreaves argues

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<sup>86</sup> P. Levine, *Victorian Feminism 1850-1900*, Hutchinson, London, 1987, 38.

<sup>87</sup> Levine, *Victorian Feminism*, 36.

<sup>88</sup> For more information on the history of women's education see Burstyn, *Victorian Education: D. Crow, The Victorian Woman*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1971, 326-343: Hunt, *Lessons for Life: Purvis, Hard Lessons: Purvis, History of Women's Education*.

that biological ideas were used specifically to construct social ideas about gender and to promote their perceived inequalities.<sup>89</sup> Duffin, in 'The Conspicuous Consumptive: Woman as an Invalid', explores how contemporary biological theories formed the foundation upon which society's ideas about sex differentiation were built.<sup>90</sup> The physical differences between men and women were examined and highlighted by the medical profession during the second half of the nineteenth century as a primary reason for differing sex roles. Many scientists asserted that as women's skulls were smaller than men's, so were their brains. This acceptance of women's mental inferiority to men was used as evidence by social commentators to justify a series of restrictions on women's activities, in order to protect them from their own fragility and inferiority. This allowed male social commentators to project a paternal but regretful air, shifting responsibility by referring to the recommended restrictions offered by the medical profession, politicians and social theorists, through which their female counterparts were passive victims of their own reproductive organs.

Women were viewed as being biologically weaker than men and were seen as delicate and prone to sickness. They were frequently diagnosed as suffering from nervous disorders. This theory appeared to be proved by the large numbers of women who following the dictates of fashion wore restricting clothing, ate little and took no exercise, so that they would often faint. Other women suffering from loneliness, or acute boredom, often took to their bed for a number of weeks, during which they would receive medical attention.<sup>91</sup> This

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<sup>89</sup> Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 43.

<sup>90</sup> L. Duffin, 'The Conspicuous Consumptive: Woman as an Invalid', in S. Delamont and L. Duffin (eds.), *The Nineteenth Century Woman, Her Cultural and Physical World*, Croom Helm, London, 1978, 26-56.

<sup>91</sup> See B. Harrison 'Women and Health', in J. Purvis (ed.), *Women's History: Britain 1850-1945*, UCL Press, London, 1995, 157-192; Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman*.

behaviour confirmed the medical stereotype of the delicate female. Dyehouse in 'Good wives and little mothers: social anxieties and the schoolgirl's curriculum, 1890-1920', explains that, 'the acceptance by women of their own incapacitation combined with a lack of visibly healthy and energetic women gave credence to the established scientific 'facts''.<sup>92</sup> The concept of the female invalid was encouraged by some medical professionals for whom these patients served as a consistent form of income. The perceived fragility of the invalid woman led to the belief that she must be protected, not only for her own sake, but for her ability to procreate. Doctors viewed themselves as the moral and physical guardians of women. By defining their physical abilities, or deficiencies, it carried implications of the activities they were capable, or incapable of fulfilling.<sup>93</sup>

It was also claimed that this potential damage to the reproductive system could be exacerbated by women engaging in intellectual activities. 'Evidence' was collected by scientists, anatomists and anthropologists who compared the physical and mental differences between men and women. Almost all contemporary studies concluded that women were biologically inferior to men in terms of strength, size and mental ability. One of the most famous prevailing biological theories was the Limited Energy Theory; the concept that the body had a limit to its supply of energy. Inappropriate use of this energy would sap resources from vital functions, such as the development of the reproductive system, thus rendering the person sterile. Henry Maudsley, a professor of medical jurisprudence at University College, London was a prominent opponent of the development of female

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<sup>92</sup> C. Dyehouse, 'Good wives and little mothers: social anxieties and the schoolgirl's curriculum, 1890-1920', in R. Lowe (ed.), *History of Education Major Themes Volume II Education in its Social Context*, RoutledgeFalmer, London, 2000, 443.

<sup>93</sup> Burstyn, *Victorian Education*, 84-98; Duffin, 'The Conspicuous Consumptive', 26-56.

education.<sup>94</sup> In 1874, he published an article in *Fortnightly Review* summarising that, 'when Nature spends in one direction, she must economise in another direction'.<sup>95</sup> Herbert Spencer in *The Principles of Biology* (1867) asserted that women who engaged in intellectual activity frequently would cause their own sterility, or at best, difficulties in breastfeeding.<sup>96</sup> It was believed that if women engaged in an education of similar content of men, it would damage their ability to bear children, thus putting the future of the Empire at risk. Maudsley, in his aforementioned article, also stated that 'it would be an ill thing, if it should so happen, that we got the advantages of a quantity of female intellectual workers at the price of a puny, enfeebled and sickly race'.<sup>97</sup>

The aforementioned Taunton Commission also expressed concerns about the health of many of the female pupils. It cited the neglect of physical training as a primary cause.<sup>98</sup> The Taunton Commission also led to the establishment of the Association of Headmistresses of Endowed and Proprietary Schools in 1874, which provided an important forum for the exchange of ideas. Some of the most famous pioneering headmistresses such as Dorothea Beale, (Cheltenham Ladies College), Frances Dove (Wycombe Abbey) and Frances Buss (North London Collegiate) were part of the organisation.<sup>99</sup> It was through this forum that the concept of girls having access to similar physical education as boys was first mooted.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> P. Atkinson, 'Fitness, Feminism and Schooling', in Delamont and Duffin (eds.), *The Nineteenth Century Woman*, 101.

<sup>95</sup> Atkinson, 'Fitness, Feminism and Schooling', 101.

<sup>96</sup> Dyhouse, 'Good wives and little mothers', 443.

<sup>97</sup> Atkinson, 'Fitness, Feminism and Schooling', 101.

<sup>98</sup> Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 58.

<sup>99</sup> The influence of the headmistress on these establishments should not be underestimated. They faced the difficult task of educating their pupils in order to dispel current myths about women's supposed fragility. G. Avery recounted a story that Headmistress Beale relayed to her whilst at North London Collegiate; 'once when I was in church with a pewful of

During the Victorian era, boys' public schools developed a strong internal structure where the imparting of moral, intellectual and physical lessons allowed for the development of pupils into strong leaders for the Empire. Physical activity was seen as a necessary respite from intellectual developments, and a method of imbuing gentlemanly characteristics into their pupils. It was seen as an extension of education within boys' schools. Headmistresses of the girls' schools sought to emulate this concept to prove that women would endure, without damage, the strain of higher learning.<sup>101</sup> At the School's Inquiry Commission in 1868, Headmistress Beale had explained that 'the vigorous exercise which boys get from cricket etc must be supplied in the case of girls by walking and calisthenics exercises, skipping etc'.<sup>102</sup>

Physical education became an integral feature of the curriculum in an increasing number of elite girls' schools from the middle of the nineteenth century. In the 1880s calisthenics and gentle walking began to be replaced with gymnastics in the Swedish system, made popular by Madame Bergman Osterberg. According to Hargreaves, the Swedish system was 'theoretically formed on 'scientific' principles which....underpinning concept was the 'harmonious development of the whole body''.<sup>103</sup> Swedish gymnastics was welcomed by

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girls. I noticed that one of them looked like fainting. I leant across to her, shook my fist at her and said: "You DARE faint". And she didn't'. G. Avery, *The Best Type of Girl*, Andre Deutsch, London, 1991, 220.

<sup>100</sup> Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 64.

<sup>101</sup> K. McCrone, 'The 'Lady Blue': Sport at the Oxbridge Women's Colleges from their Foundation to 1914', *British Journal of Sports History*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1986, 191: K. McCrone, 'Play up! Play up! And Play the Game! Sport at the Late Victorian Girls' Public School', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 23, no. 2, 1984, 106-134.

<sup>102</sup> *Reports Issued by the Schools' Inquiry Commission*, vol. v, part. 2, 1868, 740.

<sup>103</sup> Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 69.

Miss Beale and Miss Buss, the Girls' Public Day Schools and the girls' grammar schools, created after the passage of the Endowed Schools Act.<sup>104</sup> Osterberg, who worked for the London School Board from 1882 to 1887, also opened a specialist college for the physical training for women, Dartford College, in 1885. The formation of Physical Training Colleges added legitimacy to the teaching of physical education in schools.<sup>105</sup> As more of these colleges were established, such as Anstey College (1897), Chelsea College (1898), Bedford College (1903) and Liverpool College (1904) it allowed for a growth in physical education in girls' schools as increased numbers of women entered the profession and influenced their own pupils in the importance of physical education.

### **III. The introduction of team games in physical education.**

Physical activity, such as dancing, callisthenics or light drill for girls was welcomed by headmistresses, parents, governing boards and social commentators as they were seen as enhancing feminine attributes, such as a pupil's posture and ability to walk gracefully. Public schools also began to introduce team games into their physical education curriculum. Emulating the boys' public schools, emphasis was placed on the prefect system, internal house competitions and games playing to ensure character building. This promotion of games was particularly contradictory to the current scientific and social theories discussed above. The inclusion of games was a deliberate policy by the headmistresses to prevent accusations that their pupils' mental capabilities were being overstrained. At Roedean, the first prospectus stated, 'special pains will be taken to guard against overwork, and from two

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<sup>104</sup> J. Kamm, *Hope Deferred, Girl's Education in English History*, Routledge, London, 1965, 218.

<sup>105</sup> F. Skillen, *Women, Sport and Modernity in Interwar Britain*, P. Lang, Oxford, 2013, 22.

to three hours daily will be allotted to out-door exercise and games'.<sup>106</sup> Atkinson notes 'the advocates of sports and physical training also took account of social Darwinistic arguments. They suggested that the improvement in physique produced by physical exercise would in turn result in racial improvement, and rather than hampering their role as wives and mothers, it would improve it'.<sup>107</sup> By emphasising that physical education actually benefitted women for the purpose of bearing children, it reversed concerns that education would deplete girls' physical strength.<sup>108</sup> Games were seen as part of the educational sphere, whereby girls improved their physicality, as well as their intellect, whilst in education.

However, the inclusion of team games led to renewed fears that education for girls would be defeminising, making them socially unattractive and harming their chances of a good marriage.<sup>109</sup> All girls' schools were careful to ensure that their pupils were taught skills important for their role of wife and mother. In all GPDSC schools, compulsory academic subjects, such as languages, maths, geography, history, English, and art were studied in the morning. The afternoons were set aside for pupils to receive domestic instruction at home. At the North London Collegiate School, pupils were taught how to walk gracefully and to greet acquaintances. The GPDSC schools thus promoted the vocation of motherhood and hostess for all women. At Manchester High School a housewifery course was created.

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<sup>106</sup> Atkinson, 'Fitness, Feminism and Schooling', 111.

<sup>107</sup> Atkinson, 'Fitness, Feminism and Schooling', 101.

<sup>108</sup> For a more in-depth discussion see Atkinson, 'Fitness, Feminism and Schooling': S. Fletcher, *Women First: The Female Tradition in English Physical Education, 1880-1980*, Athlone Press, London, 1984: McCrone, 'Play up!'.

<sup>109</sup> As the concept of femininity is always shifting, depending on whose definition is used, it is difficult for commentators to pinpoint exactly what constituted femininity, but was markedly easier to pinpoint what was 'unfeminine'. J. Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes, 1870-1914*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1993, 204.



Needlework, cooking, laundry and infant care were all taught after 1910. Although the curriculum was altered to favour academic subjects above 'wifely accomplishments', the new schools were still reliant on parents to pay the fees and thus had to ensure that the girls returned home as socially desirable ladies. Sarah Burstall, headmistress of Manchester High School argued in 1907 that the study of mathematics should ideally be 'kept at a minimum for girls', not least because it had 'a hardening influence on femininity'.<sup>110</sup> Education for girls was accepted only with the understanding that she was being educated in order to serve others, either through domestic chores, or enabling the education of her sons.

Similarly in the public schools, Cheltenham Ladies' College offered Holy Scripture, history, geography, languages and needlework as subjects. It also offered ladylike accomplishments such as piano playing and singing. Each school was run slightly differently according to the ethos of the headmistress. Three schools in particular, St Leonards (1877), Roedean (1885) and Wycombe Abbey (1898), were known for their sporting prowess and the importance they placed on games playing. Under the guidance of Headmistress Louisa Innes Lumsden, St Leonards made games compulsory, with three hours set aside each afternoon for pupils to take part in gymnastics, golf, rounders, tennis or cricket. Lumsden believed firmly in the link between sport and character building promoted in the boys' schools. Her successor, Frances Dove was also a firm advocate of games playing and established thrice yearly inter-house competitions in gymnastics, cricket and goals. Similarly, pupils at Brighton-based Roedean School took part in hockey, tennis, cricket, running,

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<sup>110</sup> S. A. Burstall, *English High Schools for Girls: Their Aims, Organisation and Management*, Longmans, Green and Co, London, 1907, 110.

fencing and swimming.<sup>111</sup> The grounds encompassed an eighteen acre play area, eight tennis courts, a swimming pool and a cricket pitch with a pavilion. Under the joint principles of the sisters, Penelope, Dorothy and Millicent Lawrence, two hours a day in winter and three in summer were set aside for games.<sup>112</sup> Lacrosse became popular at the end of the nineteenth century as an autumnal sport at the girls boarding schools. The game was first introduced at St. Leonards by Miss Lumsden, who had watched men play the game during a visit to Canada. She reportedly stated, 'I was so charmed with it that I introduced it at St. Leonards'.<sup>113</sup> The school began playing the game in 1890 and former pupils introduced the game to others schools. Clubs were formed at Roedean and Wycombe Abbey.

Cricket, in particular, was seen as an important team game for its ability to imbue participants with moral character and an understanding of team activities. In 1929 following an article on women's cricket, *The Times* printed a succession of letters received from readers who were keen to debate the earliest accounts of women's cricket and recounted memories of cricket being played at the schools they, or their female relatives, attended. The earliest reference came from Mrs E. Lombe of Torquay who wrote of playing cricket at a Brighton school in 1857-8 primarily because of the kindness of the Rev. H. V. Elliott.<sup>114</sup> In 1868 the *Shepton Mallet Journal* reported, 'in a ladies' school near Frome the pupils are allowed to play cricket, and the best cricketers are said to be the best scholars'.<sup>115</sup> This assertion is particularly interesting because it correlates with Helen Mathers' famous novel

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<sup>111</sup> Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 66.

<sup>112</sup> K. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, 1870-1914*, Routledge, London, 1988, 77.

<sup>113</sup> [www.stleonards-fife.org](http://www.stleonards-fife.org), accessed 09/06/2015.

<sup>114</sup> *The Times*, 10 August, 1929.

<sup>115</sup> *Shepton Mallet Journal* quoted in McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 143.

*Comin' Thro' the Rye* (1875), which provides a semi-fictionalised account of her own school days at the Chantry School, Frome. The novel describes the delight shown by the schoolgirls who are allowed to start playing cricket, having been introduced to it by a local parson.<sup>116</sup>

In 1878 or 1879 the headmistress, Mrs Miller of an unknown-named school based at 9. Sussex-Square, Brighton, used to say that 'cricket was so good for the development of...characters and figures-in her mind better than croquet!'<sup>117</sup> In 1884 at St. Annes in Abbots, Bromley, the Provost, Dr Lowe refused to ban cricket, despite pressures from parents that it was an unsuitable game for girls and by 1890 a bat was presented by the chaplain to be played for annually by the two elevens.<sup>118</sup> At St. Leonards cricket was favoured by Headmistress Lumsden who believed it taught her pupils 'to trust one's fellow-workers' and to 'play one's part thoroughly in a subordinate position or a losing game better

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<sup>116</sup> Girls who played cricket in fiction books were nearly always portrayed as very modern and tomboyish. In *Northanger Abbey* Catherine Morland is described as 'fond of all boys' plays and greatly preferred cricket not merely to dolls, but to the more heroic enjoyments of infancy, nursing a dormouse, feeding a canary-bird, or watering a rose-bush'. Her mother was not impressed with her stating, 'it was not very wonderful that Catherine, who had by nature nothing heroic about her, should prefer cricket, baseball, riding on horseback, and running about the country at the age or 14 to books'. J. Austen, *Northanger Abbey*, Oxford University Press, London, 1818, 13-15: In *Schooldays at the Abbey*, Jen Robins is described as 'she's the only girl in a family of brothers....she won't be dancing....she's light on her feet. Perhaps cricket will claim her'. E. J. Oxenham, *Schooldays at the Abbey*, Collins, London 1938, 16: In *Willow of the King. The Story of a Cricket Match* the heroine was called Grace after the famous cricketer W. G. Grace. The front cover shows her playing in a mixed gender match and her playing feats were discussed throughout the book, as well as her insistence that she would only marry a county cricketer! J. C. Snaith, *Willow the King. The Story of a Cricket Match*, Ward, Lock and Co, London, 1900, 256: The author of the *Just William* series, Richmal Crompton, played cricket during her school days which accounts for the interest William shows in the game throughout the novels.

<http://www.stellabooks.com/article/william-brown>, accessed 06/05/2015.

<sup>117</sup> *The Times*, 10 August, 1929.

<sup>118</sup> *The Times*, 10 August, 1929.

than any other sport'.<sup>119</sup> In 1891, a professional coach was hired to help the girls understand the rules of the game and improve their techniques. *St Leonards School Gazette*, the school magazine, regularly reported on internal cricket matches, providing detailed reports as well as instructions on how individuals could improve.<sup>120</sup> Similarly at Roedean School cricket held special importance in the training of girls as it 'offered the best possible training in courtesy, good breeding, honour, obedience, magnanimity and organisation'.<sup>121</sup> By the 1890s cricket was part of the sports programme in several of the prominent girls' public schools including Roedean, Wycombe Abbey, the Royal School, Bath and Clifton Ladies.

The GPDSC schools had limited success in introducing team games into their physical education, due to their residential locations, which meant access to appropriate sports fields was difficult. The schools of the GPDSC were often situated in middle-class residential areas and so had problems finding conveniently located sports fields. During the 1880s and 1890s, however, a number acquired spacious and discreetly secluded grounds. In 1884, the Sheffield High School (1878) acquired a gymnasium, and 1885 and 1888 saw the creation of student-run games clubs at Blackheath High School (1880) and Shrewsbury High School (1885).<sup>122</sup> In order to promote health and character building, a combination of Swedish gymnastics and games was delivered, dependent on ground size. The company also employed a physical exercise inspector and introduced medical inspections to ensure that games mistresses were correctly instructing pupils.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> *St Leonards School Gazette* quoted in McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 73.

<sup>120</sup> *St Leonards School Gazette* quoted in McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 74.

<sup>121</sup> *St Leonards School Gazette* quoted in McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 80.

<sup>122</sup> McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 69.

<sup>123</sup> McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 69.

However, there remained grave concerns that girls playing games during their school years would lead to the continuation of competitive behaviour during adulthood, which had no place within the feminine sphere of motherhood and homemaking. Because of these concerns, not all girls' boarding schools embraced the games playing model. At Cheltenham, Miss Beale refused to promote competition, both academically and physically. It was not until 1875 that a member of her teaching staff and future headmistress of St Leonards, Louisa Lumsden, persuaded her to introduce tennis. It took a further fifteen years until Beale agreed to the inclusion of other sports such as hockey and cricket in the curriculum, but competitions against other schools were still strictly forbidden.<sup>124</sup> During the 1890s Beale slowly began to embrace the games spirit and allowed inter-house competitions, leading to the creation of multiple cricket, tennis and hockey teams. As games playing throughout the public schools grew, matches between establishments began to occur.

The duplication of the structures and activities of boys' boarding schools, with emphasis on games, was seen to directly contradict the expected roles of women. It was accepted for boys to engage in team games as they played an important role in the dissemination of ideal character traits. This private world of 'rough and tumble' defined essential masculine qualities for several generations of young men. Whereas it was accepted that boyish traits including competitiveness and physical strength were transformed by the playing field into controlled masculine qualities, these were both decidedly unfeminine, and undesirable for females to develop. In 1881, after a reported meeting of the Birmingham Teachers' Association that debated the merits of girls being

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<sup>124</sup> Purvis, *Hard Lessons*, 88.

taught cricket, the *Birmingham Daily Mail* insisted that women who played men's games would jeopardise their femininity as well as their physical and moral health. The article read, 'if cricket is to become a recognised game at ladies schools, we can expect football to be introduced....the girls of the future will be horny-handed, wide-shouldered, deep voiced....and with biceps like a blacksmiths'.<sup>125</sup>

Headmistresses thus had to be careful that the inclusion of 'masculine' games playing didn't offend parents. Despite the competitive nature of the games, the participants were expected to revert instantly, once the final whistle had been blown, back into model examples of propriety and femininity.<sup>126</sup> The notion of double conformity aptly describes the way women dealt with the contradictory demands imposed upon them; a strict adherence on the part of both educators and educated to two sets of rigid standards; those of ladylike behaviour at all times and those of the dominant male cultural and educational system.<sup>127</sup> McCrone in argues that with their insistence on ladylike behaviour off the sports field, the headmistresses, 'perpetuated the identification of vigorous physical activity with masculinity by continuing to perceive games-playing females as acting in a masculine manner, by insisting on moderate, feminine behaviour, and by rejecting certain sports, ways of playing and costumes as unacceptable'.<sup>128</sup> The same transformation was expected of all girls once they entered adulthood. Hidden from condemning eyes, girl's games playing was dismissed as a youthful indulgence. However, once they left education women were expected to follow their rigidly defined roles, of which competitive games playing was not a

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<sup>125</sup> *Birmingham Daily Mail* quoted in McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 147-148.

<sup>126</sup> Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 84.

<sup>127</sup> Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 61.

<sup>128</sup> McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 52.

desirable characteristic. Women could not retain their dignity if they were embroiled in rough and tumble on the sports field. The result was that prior to 1880 most women left their playing days behind them upon completion of their education.<sup>129</sup>

#### **IV. The growth of private women's cricket clubs.**

It is important to note that women have been playing cricket during adulthood since the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>130</sup> Women's cricket has taken many different forms throughout its history, depending on who was playing and why the game was organised. The oldest form of cricket was village cricket. The first recorded instance of a women's cricket match appears to have been an inter-village game played on 26<sup>th</sup> July 1745. The *Reading Mercury* reported,

The greatest cricket match that ever was played in the South Part of England was on Friday, the 26<sup>th</sup> of last month, on Gosden Common, near Guildford, in Surrey, between eleven maids of Bramley and eleven maids of Hambleton, dressed all in white, the

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<sup>129</sup> McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 127.

<sup>130</sup> It is also important to note that women have always played an important role in the development of men's cricket.

Throughout its history there remains a female presence, usually in a supportive role. Some examples include Mrs Martha Grace, who was the first woman to appear in *Wisden Cricketers' Almanack* and was responsible for the coaching of W. G. Grace as a boy; Mrs Joseph Walker, who upon watching two boys beg forgiveness for trespassing on her husband's land to play cricket encouraged her husband to create the famous Lascelles Hall Cricket Club; Christiana Willes, who according to legend was the inventor of over arm bowling. Whilst helping her brother practice his batting, she began to throw the ball over arm in order to avoid her hooped skirt which made underarm bowling difficult. John Willes copied the technique, first using it whilst playing for Kent in 1807. The validity of this legend is debatable. Mortimer argues that in 1807 hooped skirts had been out of fashion since the 1780s, and it wasn't until the 1820s that they returned to fashion. G. Mortimer, *A History of Cricket in 100 Objects*, Profile Books, London, 2013, 33.

Bramley maids had blue ribbons and the Hambleton maids red ribbons on their heads.

The Bramley girls got 119 notches and the Hambleton girls 127. There was of both sexes the greatest number that ever was seen on such an occasion. The girls bowled, batted, ran and caught [sic] as well as any men could do in that game.<sup>131</sup>

The account was also published by the *Stamford Mercury*, *Derby Mercury*, *Weekly Worcester Journal* and other newspapers between 9<sup>th</sup> August and 16<sup>th</sup> August. A return match was scheduled to be played on Tuesday August 6<sup>th</sup>, although no report has been found to confirm it took place.

Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century women's inter-village cricket matches were played regularly in the South East of England. In particular, inter-village cricket matches in Sussex, Hampshire and Surrey became a regular feature of rural festivities.<sup>132</sup> There are accounts of fete matches from villages such as Upham, Harting, Rogate, Moulsey Hurst, Felley Green near Cobham and Bury Common.<sup>133</sup> Tournaments were soon organised, encompassing several matches over a two day period. It is clear that these matches were very popular with spectators as in 1768, a tournament of four matches was organised in Sussex. The third match attracted nearly 3,000 spectators. One of the umpires, a principal in the Hambledon Club, was reportedly 'so delighted with their activity that he

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<sup>131</sup> *Reading Mercury*, 15 August, 1745.

<sup>132</sup> McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 141.

<sup>133</sup> R. Heyhoe Flint and N. Rheinberg, *Fair Play; The Story of Women's Cricket*, Angus & Robertson, Buckinghamshire, 1976,



made them a very genteel offer if they would play in Broad-Halfpenny Common, which they likewise agreed to'.<sup>134</sup>

Traditional village fetes took place annually around the farming and harvesting schedule with the entire village participating in various activities that included sports, animal baiting, eating and drinking. Our knowledge of women's cricket played at inter-village level and at feast occasions is limited. This is due to the slow growth of local papers, which in later decades prove invaluable to providing an insight into village activities. However, the limited information available through contemporary magazines and newspapers indicates that participants were of the lower classes. A popular structure to the games was married versus single. It is important to note that the division of players by marital status was not reserved for women; men's games in feast settings were similarly divided.<sup>135</sup> The differentiation between married and unmarried was an important feature of rural society. Games were an opportunity for single members of the community to impress members of the opposite sex in their quest for marriage. Sporting prowess was a method of drawing positive attention to oneself for prospective life partners. As one anonymous observer noted, 'nothing is more usual than for a nimble-footed wench to get a husband at the same time as she wins a smock'.<sup>136</sup> Although the occasion was steeped in frivolity, it is clear that some of the women took the game seriously and were intent on winning. At a game between 'XI Maids of Surrey and XI Married Ladies of Surrey' at Felly Green on 11<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> N. Joy, *Maiden Over; A Short History of Women's Cricket and a Diary of the 1948-49 Test Tour to Australia*, Sporting Handbooks, London, 1950, 15.

<sup>135</sup> *Caledonian Mercury*, 21 June, 1733.

<sup>136</sup> R. Holt, *Sport and the British; A Modern History*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989, 15.

July, 1788 Miss S. Norcross scored 107, which is the first known century by a woman.<sup>137</sup>

Victors were also awarded prizes, similar to the prizes awarded to women who won races during festivity days. Typically these were more homely than monetary, with plum-cakes, ale, lace, gloves or spoons being awarded.

Women's cricket organised for commercial purposes was also very popular. It is important to note that women's cricket, similar to men's cricket, has always had a relationship with commercialism. During the eighteenth century, upper-class gentlemen first began to arrange cricket matches between teams of male professionals for gambling purposes.<sup>138</sup> Eager to produce matches that attracted high numbers of spectators and gambling, entrepreneurs sought to find new and novel activities. In 1747, George Smith, the leaseholder of the Honourable Artillery Ground in Finsbury, organised a two day tournament between the women of Charlton in Sussex against the women of West Dean and Chilgrove. Smith arranged for the transport of the players to the ground, which cost him £80.<sup>139</sup> The ground was renowned for attracting a socially superior crowd who were attracted primarily to the high stakes gambled and privacy offered. Up to 10,000 people frequently attended events with vast sums of money being gambled. In a match between a team representing London and Sussex in 1742 there was a reported £500 per side gambled on the result.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Heyhoe Flint and Rheinberg, *Fair Play*, 18.

<sup>138</sup> D. Birley, *Sport and the Making of Britain*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1993, 116.

<sup>139</sup> *The Times*, 16 August, 1929.

<sup>140</sup> *Derby Mercury*, 16 September, 1742.

Similarly, in 1775 six single women beat six married at Moulsey Hurst by seventeen runs, where 'many London gentlemen were present and there were great betts[sic] depending'.<sup>141</sup> In 1777 a match was played in Wiltshire, for £50 and a barrel of ale, between eleven married and eleven maiden women.<sup>142</sup> In 1811 a women's cricket match took place at Newington-Green, near Balls Pond, Hampshire. This was made famous by the publication of Thomas Rowland's 'Cricket Match Extraordinary' picture published in Pierce Egan's *Book of Sports*. Billed as the first women's 'county match', two amateur noblemen organised the game between their respective counties, Hampshire and Surrey, for 500 guineas a side.<sup>143</sup> The noblemen paid to transport the women to London in carriages and arranged temporary residence at the Angel Inn, Islington.<sup>144</sup>

There is also additional evidence that there were some commercial matches where the players were actually paid. In 1835, eleven single women defeated eleven married women by seven runs in a match at Parson's Green in Middlesex, thereby 'earning themselves £20 and a hot supper'.<sup>145</sup> Collections were also commonplace at games where a player performed particularly well. A hat, or similar object, was passed around the crowd to show its appreciation for a particularly skilful bout of play.<sup>146</sup> As early as 1793, there is evidence that some women cricketers recognised their own potential to make money. In Bury, trial matches were held for the selection of a representative Bury team to challenge

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<sup>141</sup> *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, 14 August, 1775.

<sup>142</sup> *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 16 October, 1777.

<sup>143</sup> *Morning Post*, 5 October, 1811.

<sup>144</sup> *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 10 October, 1811.

<sup>145</sup> K. Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, Scholar Press, Aldershot, 1994, 29.

<sup>146</sup> *Hampshire Chronicle*, 6 August, 1821.

an All England women's team. It was reported, 'so famous are the Bury women at a cricket match that they offer to play against an eleven in any village in their own county for any sum'.<sup>147</sup> In 1819, after a married versus single match at Marchwood Marsh, it was reported that the teams split the subscription amount of £15 between them, with the victorious married women claiming more of the share.<sup>148</sup>

During the 1880s women's cricket also regularly featured in the setting of a charity event. This allowed women to participate in the game, whilst preventing them from taking it seriously, as the match had an undercurrent of a fete day occasion and was 'for a good cause'. Churches, asylums and hospitals, and others who had access to a large enough space to host a match, were soon advertising games as a method to raise funds for roof repair or extra equipment. Surprisingly, male cricket clubs were slow on the uptake as to the popularity of women's cricket, perhaps fearing the inevitable requests to share a cricket ground and a genuine worry that women may take it seriously, as opposed to a festival activity. The *Shields Daily Gazette* mused in 1882, 'one wonders no enterprising secretary of a cricket club has endeavoured to popularise ladies cricket'.<sup>149</sup>

Conversely, upper-class women played cricket away from any spectators in private country houses. The first known instance of an upper-class, private, women's cricket game

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<sup>147</sup> Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, 29.

<sup>148</sup> *Salisbury and Winchester*, 2 August, 1819.

<sup>149</sup> *Shields Daily Gazette*, 29 September, 1882.

was reported in the *Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine*, published in September 1777.<sup>150</sup> The magazine contained an account and engraving of the match 'played at Seven Oaks by the Countess of Derby and other Ladies of Quality'.<sup>151</sup> The Countess was clearly surprised that her match had become public knowledge, responding to a gentlemen's comment on her batting style with the shocked statement, "In the name of wonder....how came you know anything of my cricket-match"?<sup>152</sup> This match is of particular importance, not only for being the first of its kind, but for its romantic sub-plot. It was reported that during the cricket match the eighth Duke of Hamilton fell in love with Miss Elizabeth Ann Burrell due to her cricketing skills. The *Newcastle Courant* reported, 'when she took the bat in her hand, then her Diana-like air, communicated irresistible impression. She got more notches in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> innings than any lady in the game'.<sup>153</sup> They were married before the start of the coming cricket season. This encounter promoted the concept that not all women who engaged in physical activity were unfeminine and repelled the opposite sex, even suggesting that their ability may be an added attraction.

Women's participation in cricket at country houses was predominantly in the form of ladies versus gentlemen matches. Primarily used as a method for courtship, where members of the opposite sexes could mingle with relative freedom from their chaperone's gaze, they

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<sup>150</sup> Although this is the earliest confirmation of a cricket match taking place, the earliest reference to upper-class women playing cricket was in 1775 from the famous John Collet Painting of *Miss Wicket and Miss Trigger*. The painting shows two upper class women, one of whom is dressed for shooting and the other is holding a cricket bat.

<sup>151</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 2 September, 1777.

<sup>152</sup> *Stamford Mercury*, 18 September, 1777.

<sup>153</sup> *Newcastle Courant*, 31 January, 1778.

gave legitimacy to cricket as having a purpose outside its immediate pursuit.<sup>154</sup> These matches experienced a boom in popularity in the 1880s and were frequently reported in the society pages of newspapers. The games bore little resemblance to cricket, with the men playing left handed with broomsticks, or blindfolded. Despite these handicaps the men were usually still victorious. Newspapers gleefully recorded these heavy defeats. One male correspondent asserted, 'I am sure I express the feelings of the lady cricketers when I say that they have played the game simply as an amusement....and that it has never entered their heads that they were playing, or could ever play, the real game'.<sup>155</sup> The ladies versus gentlemen matches served as a reminder that while men's sport was considered natural, desirable, serious and important, women's continued to be regarded as somewhat unnatural, amusing and frivolous.<sup>156</sup>

Some women sought to play single-sex cricket as part of an organised cricket club. Participation altered from casual and gentle forms of sport, towards structured and competitive games. Cricket teams slowly led to a more institutionalised form of involvement, allowing for competitive play and eventually causing the development of a

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<sup>154</sup> Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes*, 208.

<sup>155</sup> *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, 24 September, 1887.

<sup>156</sup> McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 52. As more instances of county house cricket were reported, an outdoor game termed 'Victorian or Ladies Cricket' was registered by Mr William Peacock of Essex in 1884. The game was based on the rules of stoolball, one of the predecessors to cricket. The bat was the same shape as the ordinary bat, but was lighter and 'more elegant'. The ball was softer than the usual. A new type of wicket was invented which contained a bell at the bottom of the middle stump so it would ring when struck. This form of cricket was supposedly gentler and thus made it easier for women to play gracefully. It never found much popularity, primarily because it was designed as a single-sex game and for many women participation in county house cricket was used as an opportunity to mingle with the opposite sex. *Sheffield Independent*, 21 June, 1884.

club structure.<sup>157</sup> Competitive matches were organised between clubs, with training taking place prior, to increase their chances of winning.<sup>158</sup> For those women who had begun to play cricket competitively, the ladies versus gentlemen matches served as a frustration. An anonymous article in the *Edinburgh Evening News* printed in 1888 explained, ‘the lady cricketers have....a tacit acknowledgement of their own inferiority by allowing the other side to handicap themselves....this participation in cricket is an indication of the great alteration that is going on in the active life of our women’.<sup>159</sup>

Reports of women’s cricket clubs, rather than teams of women cricketers, begin to appear in the 1860s. Their existence was reported in newspapers, but unfortunately very little is known about their organisational structure, finances or even team members. The earliest reference of a club is in 1864 through the advertisement by Farnham Female Cricket Club who were ‘open to play a match....at Host Williams’ Forest Oak Inn, Holt Pound at any time’.<sup>160</sup> In 1867, the proprietor of the Antelope Ground in Southampton invited the New Forest Ladies to play a match on 26<sup>th</sup> August, and it appears the formal invitation galvanised them into being proclaimed a ‘cricket club’.<sup>161</sup> They advertised in the *Nottinghamshire Guardian* citing the Swann Inn as their contact address. That the club was a serious venture is obvious from the hard work by the players, who reportedly practiced outside the Swann Inn every evening.<sup>162</sup> However, their formation was not without controversy. The local

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<sup>157</sup> N. Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain 1750-1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998, 81.

<sup>158</sup> Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society*, 81.

<sup>159</sup> *Edinburgh Evening News*, 8 September, 1888.

<sup>160</sup> *Aldershot Military Gazette*, 23 July, 1864.

<sup>161</sup> *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, 23 August, 1867.

<sup>162</sup> *Nottinghamshire Guardian*, 23 August, 1867.

reverend, Rev. Mark Cooper forbid them from playing on the Antelope Ground. The rearranged match took place at Abbots Park, Portswood, where it gained the wrath of the *Hampshire Advertiser* which raged, 'if a few decent people ventured upon the scene out of feelings or mere curiosity, they were soon driven away by obscene language and actions too indelicate to describe- "fitting far more the *forest* than the *town*." We hope never again to hear of such doings in Hampshire, or any other county' [emphasis in original].<sup>163</sup>

There is no further evidence of any women's cricket clubs until the 1880s. During the 1880s there are greater numbers of reports of female cricket clubs. In 1883 there is evidence of the Stone Ladies Club in Hardwicke, Buckinghamshire, who presented their captain Miss Cazenove with an inkstand designed from a cricket ball, bats and wickets on her wedding day.<sup>164</sup> In 1885, the *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette Daily Telegram* reported, 'a ladies cricket club has been formed in Oxford, and has acquired the permission of the University to play in the parks'.<sup>165</sup> The *Ipswich Journal* reported on a ladies cricket club called the Somerset Grasshoppers, which lost to a team from Clevedon.<sup>166</sup> The *Surrey Mirror* in a marriage announcement stated that the bride to be, the Hon. Helen A. Brodrick, second daughter of Viscount Midleton was 'secretary of the local Ladies Cricket Club' in Peperharrow.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> *Hampshire Advertiser*, 31 August, 1867.

<sup>164</sup> *Bucks Herald*, 14 April, 1883.

<sup>165</sup> *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette Daily Telegram*, 23 March, 1885.

<sup>166</sup> *Ipswich Journal*, 10 September, 1885.

<sup>167</sup> *Surrey Mirror*, 18 April, 1885.



Despite these few examples, it has proved difficult to find the names, or further details of women's cricket clubs. An investigation into contemporary newspapers has found thirteen examples of women's cricket clubs during the 1880s, compared to twenty-three women's cricket teams, which appear to have played one-off games. Appendix I is a list of all clubs and teams reported on during the 1880s. However, newspaper reports have given the clear indication that there was a boom in the number of women's cricket clubs, suggesting the actual number could be much higher. In 1885, the *Western Mail* stated, 'to swimming, lawn tennis, and pedestrianism must now be added cricket. Ladies cricket clubs are being formed, and the pastime is evidently growing in popularity....next season will witness the setting in of quite a mania in ladies' cricket clubs'.<sup>168</sup> The following year, the *Nottingham Evening Post* stated, 'in several of the southern counties cricket clubs, of which women only are members have been formed. Among the leaders in this movement are the daughters of the Marquis of Abergavenny, and a strong team turns out in the grounds of Eridge Castle, every member of which is a young lady of the county'<sup>169</sup>, and 'among the existing institutions of the land are ladies cricket clubs....already has one eleven women of All England encountered another team of women with bat and ball'.<sup>170</sup> In 1887, the *Athletic News* remarked that, 'ladies cricket in the North seems to be rather popular, judging from the reports of the various matches that have crept into the papers of late. Such well-known names as Appleby, Key, Marriott, Stevenson and Walker were appearing regularly among the female score cards'.<sup>171</sup> The most famous women's cricket club, the White Heather Club, was formed in Yorkshire the same year, reportedly because 'it was thought advisable to

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<sup>168</sup> *Western Mail*, 19 September, 1885.

<sup>169</sup> *Nottingham Evening Post*, 31 August, 1886.

<sup>170</sup> *Nottingham Evening Post*, 31 August, 1886.

<sup>171</sup> *Athletic News* quoted in Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, 47.

start a club in consequence of the large amount of cricket at Normanhurst, Glynde and Eridge'.<sup>172</sup> Previously believed to be the first women's cricket club in Britain, there were eight founding members, Hon. M. Brassey, Hon. B. Brassey, Lady Milner, Lady Idina Nevill, Lady Henry Nevill, Hon. M. Lawrence, Miss Chandos Pole, and Miss Street.<sup>173</sup> By 1891 the club had grown to fifty members, all of whom were of independent means and genteel birth. The most famous member was Lucy Risdale, the subsequent wife of Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin. That women of elite birth were playing the sport certainly aided its acceptance. At a match between Greystoke Ladies and Bryton Ladies in Cumberland, there were six noble women playing.<sup>174</sup>

Opinion on a woman's right to play cricket remained divided.<sup>175</sup> An anonymous contributor to the *Hampshire Advertiser* marvelled at ladies cricket as 'proof of the wonderful strides in civilisation which we are making'.<sup>176</sup> Others remained resolutely unimpressed. In 1883 following a ladies cricket match in Rickling Green, one female resident wrote to the *Chelmsford Chronicle* asking them to change the word 'ladies' in the headline as 'the games was played 'among wives and daughters of the villages', but 'no ladies either played or looked on'.<sup>177</sup> In 1889 the *Weekly Standard and Express* issued an editorial

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<sup>172</sup> Joy, *Maiden Over*, 26.

<sup>173</sup> Heyhoe Flint and Rheinberg, *Fair Play*, 23.

<sup>174</sup> *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 9 September, 1884.

<sup>175</sup> Despite protestations against women playing cricket, men's clubs were more than happy to have women attend men's games as spectators or as patronesses. In February 1886, there were 336 ladies members of the Lancashire CCC. This number rose to 575 by 1890. Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, 44.

<sup>176</sup> *Hampshire Advertiser*, 20 September, 1873.

<sup>177</sup> *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 6 July, 1883.

invitation asking for readers' opinions on the advisability of women indulging in cricket.

They received both positive and negative responses:

Nay! Stay where you are- on the fringe of the field.

'Neath the bright parasol and sun-bonnet,

Dishevelled and scorched, as the willow you wield

You will ne'er be fit for a sonnet....

....I say, "No!" to all feminine cricket.<sup>178</sup>

And conversely,

Our sisters cycle, hunt, and shoot,

Play tennis, billiards, likewise pool.

Their presence adds a charm to golf,

So why cricket except the rule?<sup>179</sup>

Although some of the same scientific arguments that were used against women's education were also used in the argument against women's participation in sport, women's cricket remained, for the most part, unscathed. This was partially due to the fact that many of the women who played cricket were of noble birth, which aided its respectability. This was true of the development of other women's sports during the 1880s and 1890s. Cycling in particular was greeted with disapproval when it first gained popularity in the 1890s. The

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<sup>178</sup> *Weekly Standard and Express*, 1 July, 1899.

<sup>179</sup> *Weekly Standard and Express*, 1 July, 1899.

bicycle encouraged physical freedom and allowed women a sense of independent travel for the first time, rather than relying on others to transport them. The popularity of cycling causing consternation for many contemporaries who questioned not only the biological repercussions of riding a bike, but the moral ones. One commentator stated that cycling was ‘an indolent and indecent practice which would even transport girls to prostitution’.<sup>180</sup> Its popularity also led to the adoption of bifurcated garments, commonly referred to as bloomers, designed to allow women freedom of movement whilst cycling. Reactions to the garments were often angry.<sup>181</sup> Many social commentators denounced the exercise and the garments, as de-feminising. In 1881, the Rational Dress Society was founded to campaign for the rights of women to wear less restrictive clothing than the traditional corset and multi-layered skirt. It was progressive in its outlook, often producing designs for activities that very few women actually engaged in. In 1883 the *Catalogue of the Rational Dress Society* included a costume for lady cricketers. The *London Daily News* referred to it as ‘absurd’ causing the winner of the competition to respond with a passionate letter explaining she hoped the advent of an appropriate cricketing costume would perhaps help to extinguish ‘the class of girl who is content to spend any fine day in Westbourne-Grove and any wet one in hysterics’.<sup>182</sup> McCrone explains that the condemnation of women cyclists didn’t last long as ‘the fact that royal women, aristocratic and highly respectable upper middle-class women became avid cyclists helped to lay the spectre of indelicacy to rest....after all, cycling could hardly be vulgar or dangerous when all the ‘right’ people rode’.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> A. Odendaal, ‘Neither cricketers nor ladies’: Towards a history of women and cricket in South Africa, 1860-2001’, *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 28, no. 1, 2011, 117.

<sup>181</sup> Holt, *Sport and the British*, 122.

<sup>182</sup> *London Daily News*, 22 June, 1883.

<sup>183</sup> McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 180.

Similarly women's hockey had a following of noble women which aided its establishment as the premier female team sport. Despite initially being a male dominated game, with the Hockey Association formed in 1886, it never contained the perceived masculine quality of cricket, football or rugby. Played in the public schools and universities, it quickly became the most popular winter game for females. In 1887 the first private women's hockey club was formed, the Molesey Ladies Hockey Club, which was quickly followed by clubs in Ealing and Wimbledon.<sup>184</sup> The first formal meeting of the Ladies Hockey Association took place on the 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1895. Roedean School, Newnham, Girton, Somerville, Royal Holloway and Bedford Colleges, and the East Molesey, Columbines and Croft Ladies' Clubs were all represented. Its structural model was copied directly from the male Hockey Association in relation to rules, organisational structure, annual general meetings, and fees. Despite this, when it sought affiliation to the Hockey Association, it received a curt decline. Rebuffed, the Ladies Hockey Association declared that no man would be allowed to affiliate, or hold an executive office. In an attempt to emphasise the seriousness of the organisation, the committee also dropped the term 'Ladies' from the association's name in favour of a new designation; the All England Women's Hockey Association (AEWHA).<sup>185</sup> The AEWHA succeeded in spreading women's hockey across the country, with hockey becoming the premier women's sport.

Lawn tennis also became popular amongst the upper class in the 1870s. It served as a form of courtship as mixed doubles guaranteed time spent with the opposite sex, whilst in a

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<sup>184</sup> McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 128.

<sup>185</sup> McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 129.

chaperoned environment. The ability to play tennis well was seen as a skill on par with being able to play the piano, a social asset for a hostess. As the sport developed standardised rules and competitions, clubs were formed that admitted both men and women. The prowess of Lottie Dodd, the All-England Champion in 1887, 1888, 1891, 1892 and 1893 illustrated the ability women could aspire to develop.

The conflicting views on women's cricket came to a head in 1890 due to the formation of two professional touring sides of lady cricketers. In the late 1840s male professional touring sides began to emerge, which would travel the country playing local clubs. In the 1850s and 1860s the cricket-entrepreneur William Clarke used the newly laid railways to send a touring team of paid players across the country. These touring sides dominated gate money cricket during this period.<sup>186</sup> By enclosing the ground they could charge gate money, which would ensure the right socio-economic crowd was present. Following the growth of interest in women's cricket during the 1880s, a French-American entrepreneur, Mr E. Michael, began to organise a women's cricket touring side. No longer was women's cricket played in relative privacy. These touring teams travelled across the country, advertised their matches and charged gate money to watch. In 1889 he formed The English Cricket and Athletic Association Ltd syndicate and began to advertise for young ladies to play a series of exhibition matches throughout the 1890 season under the title The Original English Lady Cricketers (OELC). The advertisements were placed in numerous newspapers and were specific to the type of lady Michel was interested in employing, 'young Lady Players wanted....must be of good address and appearance, respectable, strong, active, not under

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<sup>186</sup> W. Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain, 1875-1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, 58.

5ft. 6in. in height or over 22 years of age'.<sup>187</sup> Any applicants under the age of twenty-one were required to provide consent from their parents or guardian and references to their character.<sup>188</sup> Assurances were published that players would be 'elegantly and appropriately attired', and that every effort would be made to keep the venture 'in all respects select and refined'.<sup>189</sup> A matron was hired to act as chaperone to all engagements. The syndicate received approximately 200 applicants and from these, thirty were selected to form the troupe.

Those selected were divided into two teams, the 'Reds' and the 'Blues'. The Red captain was Miss Violet Blanche Westbrook, who was born at Godalming, Surrey aged nineteen. Under her command were Misses. Sophie Charles, Louise Daly, L. Dempsey, E. N. Dempsey, Beatrice Fane, Flora Fane, C. Fletcher, Eva Gordon, Florence Hardwick, M. Light, A. Matthey, Blanche Seymour, A. Wadkin, Nellie Watkins and F. Woodward. The Blue captain was Miss Daisy Stanley from Chethole, Dorsetshire aged twenty. Her team consisted of Misses. Maria Beckenham, Susie Fletcher, Alice Grey, Ella Gordon, A. Hampson, Ada Heather, Ella Heather, Bessie Moss, Lena Parsons, A. Robinson, Lizzie Sanders, Georgina Sheffield and Grace E. Westbrook. However, in a post tour interview, Maria Beckenham, (real name Willet), stated that the syndicate secretary forbade the ladies using their real names and to adopt pseudonyms.<sup>190</sup> The players' average age was nineteen and some were reportedly daughters of physicians, dentist and architects. The players were paid a salary of 10/- per week during training and between 20/- to 35/- during the time of public matches

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<sup>187</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 1 March, 1890.

<sup>188</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 1 March, 1890.

<sup>189</sup> McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 146.

<sup>190</sup> Heyhoe Flint and Rheinberg, *Fair Play*, 25.

with all expenses covered.<sup>191</sup> A picture of the two teams was featured as the frontpiece in *Lillywhite's Annual*.

The original expense to prepare the tour was estimated at £2000 by newspaper reports. A vast sum of money, this included costumes, equipment, training facilities, trainers' fees and players' salaries.<sup>192</sup> The organisers even hired trains to transport spectators directly from local cities and towns to the venues.<sup>193</sup> Entry prices were tiered in order to attract spectators from all class brackets.<sup>194</sup> At large grounds, admission prices were 6d. or 2/- to enter the enclosure or pavilion, with a 5/- fee for carriages.<sup>195</sup> The cricket always started between 1:30pm and 2pm and stumps were drawn at 6pm, regardless of the score, in order to begin the evening entertainment. Spectators were charged a further 6d. to watch the evening activities, with an extra charge to access reserved seating.<sup>196</sup> Although the cricket match remained as top billing, it was joined by further entertainments, 'including lawn tennis, fencing, boxing, musical drill, and the 'wonderful performing weasels''.<sup>197</sup> Advertisements ran in the *Daily Telegraph* seeking additional young ladies to join the tour as part of lawn tennis or Swedish Drill exhibitions.<sup>198</sup> Advertised as 'a novel, picturesque, and refined athletic and variety exhibition', the circus that encompassed the OELC ensured that

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<sup>191</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 1 March, 1890.

<sup>192</sup> *Isle of Man Times and General Advertiser*, 26 July, 1890.

<sup>193</sup> *The Standard*, 10 September, 1890.

<sup>194</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 4 April, 1890.

<sup>195</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 4 April, 1890.

<sup>196</sup> *Liverpool Mercury*, 20 June, 1890.

<sup>197</sup> *The Era*, 6 September, 1890.

<sup>198</sup> *Daily Telegraph* reprinted in the *Leeds Mercury*, 1 March, 1890.



many of the matches were arranged as part of a fete where the lady cricketers were publicised as celebrities, rather than sportswomen.<sup>199</sup>

The official purpose of the touring teams was advertised as aiming 'to dispel the common prejudice that ladies were incapable of playing the game well'.<sup>200</sup> They were trained by the Surrey professionals; George Lohmann, George Hearne and Maurice Read. Michel planned for the OELC to play against the numerous ladies cricket clubs that had formed during the 1880s, only playing each other where a local club was unavailable.<sup>201</sup> However, when enquiries were sent to ladies cricket clubs, they received curt responses from all.<sup>202</sup> In desperation the syndicate directly challenged Newnham and Girton Colleges, who didn't even respond.<sup>203</sup> This silence was due to the negative impact the concept of a touring ladies cricket team caused existing clubs. An article in the *Graphic* stated, 'the columns of the sporting papers at this time of year are full of the doings of lady cricketers. We do not mean these "lady cricketers" who are touring round the country making money out of their skill; we have little sympathy for them. But at numberless country-houses in the late summer the ladies' cricket match is quite an institution'.<sup>204</sup> Particular umbrage was taken with the fact the women were paid. The middle class had a general antipathy to professional sportsmen during the Victorian era. Wigglesworth in *The Evolution of English Sport* has noted that 'commercialisation of sport had the effect of producing two classes of

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<sup>199</sup> *Birmingham Daily Post*, 14 July, 1890.

<sup>200</sup> *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, 6 August, 1890.

<sup>201</sup> *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, 30 May, 1890.

<sup>202</sup> *Isle of Man Times and General Advertiser*, 10 May, 1890.

<sup>203</sup> *Manchester Times*, 14 June, 1890.

<sup>204</sup> *The Graphic*, 20 September, 1890.

participant: those who had the ability to play for money and those who continued to play for amusement only'.<sup>205</sup> This focus on 'why' someone played sport, was complemented by what Holt has referred to as 'the new importance of 'how you played the game''.<sup>206</sup> Commercialisation led to fears that sport would be contaminated by a desire to win at all costs, rather than the enjoyment of taking part. Cricket, in particular, insisted on retaining a respectable image by publicly declaring who was amateur or professional with the titles 'gentlemen' and 'players', and sometimes providing separate changing facilities for them.<sup>207</sup> Amateurism became synonymous with respectability, reinforcing that those who had the income to engage in sport were playing a purer form than the professionals who relied on the sport as a form of income.<sup>208</sup> The touring ladies were generally regarded as a stunt, defying the appropriate behaviour of their male cricketing counterparts and damaging the seriousness of private amateur ladies clubs. The *Huddersfield Chronicle* remarked, 'a quiet game among girls in a country village, "just for the fun of the thing," may be well enough: but when we hear of "professional lady cricketers", of "touring", of "gate money", and such-like abominations it is high time to protest against a craze which passes the ridiculous and verges on something even worse'.<sup>209</sup> In response, women's cricket clubs made a concerted effort to remain unseen, practicing their game silently in the shadows.

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<sup>205</sup> N. Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport*, Routledge, London, 1996, 5.

<sup>206</sup> Holt, *Sport and the British*, 103.

<sup>207</sup> Wigglesworth, *Evolution of English Sport*, 6.

<sup>208</sup> For more information on the amateur versus professional debate see Holt, *Sport and the British*, 74-134: E. Dunning and K. Sheard, *Barbarians, Gentlemen & Players, a sociological study of the development of rugby football*, Martin Robinson, Oxford, 1979, 125-141: Vamplew, *Pay up and play the game*, 183-203.

<sup>209</sup> *Huddersfield Chronicle*, 2 June, 1890.

Despite opposition, the touring sides were extremely popular, although spectator figures varied according to the weather, local population and time of the match. Appendix II shows all known matches played by the OELC, the grounds and attendance where known. Over sixty matches were played during 1890. Each match attracted upwards of 2,000 spectators. The first game, played on a bank holiday at the Athletic Police Ground in Liverpool, had over 15,000 spectators. Only one town refused to welcome the tour; the police of Worcester banned the proposed match on the grounds of decency.<sup>210</sup>

The venture was so popular that it sparked copycat touring sides. In October 1890 advertisements ran in *The Era* for lady cricketers to join 'Gardiners Original Lady Cricketers for the following season'.<sup>211</sup> According to reports, eight of the original touring team had migrated to this new side. Michel perceived Gardiners' use of the term 'original' and their red and blue costumes to be a violation of copyrights he had obtained and he began legal proceedings against him.<sup>212</sup> Furthermore, in February 1891, another ex-player Daisy Stanley, who was captain of the Blue team, organised another touring side under the title of 'All England Lady Cricketers'.<sup>213</sup> Interest in the lady cricketers, however, had waned. Unable to attract large numbers of spectators during their second season, the touring sides disappeared. In 1892 one of the players sued the English Cricket and Athletic Association to recover arrears of wages and damages for breach of agreement to employ her as a lady cricketer.<sup>214</sup> She sought to recover her wages, reported at 35/- per week, which had not

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<sup>210</sup> *Hampshire Advertiser*, 8 November, 1890.

<sup>211</sup> *The Era*, 18 October, 1890.

<sup>212</sup> *The Era*, 16 May, 1891.

<sup>213</sup> *The Era*, 21 February, 1891.

<sup>214</sup> *The Standard*, 2 February, 1892.

been met for some time. The court case was widely discussed in the press and the jury found in favour of the plaintiff, Miss Rowney, ordering a payment of £11/15/- plus costs.<sup>215</sup>

However, the touring teams had a lasting, and negative, impact on the perception of women's cricket. Despite the refusal of all women's cricket clubs to engage the OELC, the vast newspaper attention ensured that they were encompassed in the same bracket. The reports focused on the spectacle of the event, with consistent derogatory referrals to the players as 'amazons' or 'princesses'. In particular the comments by the famous cricketer W. G. Grace were damning, 'cricket is not a game for women and although they occasionally join in a picnic game they are not constitutionally adapted for the sport. If the lady cricketers expected to popularise the game among women, they failed dismally. At all events, they had their day and ceased to be!'<sup>216</sup> In particular, his assertion that the OELC 'were neither ladies nor cricketers', was gleefully reproduced throughout the next fifty years whenever the suitability of women's cricket was broached.<sup>217</sup>

## **V. Conclusion.**

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<sup>215</sup> *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 7 February, 1892.

<sup>216</sup> *Western Daily Press*, 7 July, 1939.

<sup>217</sup> Odendaal, 'Neither cricketers nor ladies', 117.

The development of girls' education opened new experiences for those privileged enough to attend. Upper- and upper middle-class girls were given an opportunity to engage in aspects of education that had hitherto been deemed inappropriate for women. In response to prevalent biological concerns that education would sap physical strength from female pupils rendering them infertile, the pioneering headmistresses of girls' schools emulated the boys' public school model and incorporated physical education as a method of improving girls' physical and mental well-being. As well as Swedish gymnastics, drill and dancing, schools began to include team games within physical education. As more schools embraced games-playing, and hired specifically trained games mistresses, it legitimised the right of girls to play sport. As girls finished their education, they became increasingly reluctant to give up playing sport. Instead they began to form private sports clubs, allowing other women access to team games outside of education. Women's cricket experienced a boom in popularity during the 1880s, with women's cricket clubs being formed throughout the country.

However, the formation of the OELC damaged the respectability of women's cricket, predominantly because the players were paid, making them professionals. This contrasted with the concept that respectable sport was played by amateurs 'for its own sake'. However, the popularity of the touring sides throughout 1890, playing approximately sixty matches, was remarkable, especially when compared to the British Ladies Football Club (BLFC) that toured Britain in 1895. The BLFC was formed in 1894 and arranged a touring side which travelled across Britain but actually only played in twenty fixtures, a third of the matches played by the OELC. Williams in *A Game for Rough Girls? A history of women's football in Britain* notes that 'the most significant [game]....was the Newcastle fixture with a

crowd approaching 8,000'.<sup>218</sup> This figure is less than half of the crowd that gathered to watch the OELC play at the aforementioned match at the Athletic Police Ground in Liverpool. The large difference in figures could be attributed to the fact that the women's cricket match was played on a bank holiday, whereas the women's football game was not. However, the difference in the size of the tours could also suggest that women's cricket was decidedly more popular with spectators than women's football, or it may be a reflection that the women footballers were more restricted in their spare time, given that they were not paid for their activities.

This chapter has provided a brief history of the progression of women's cricket from 1745 until 1892. The evidence remains too scattered to draw any definite conclusions, other than to note that women's cricket has always been played, that it has taken many different forms and that the motivation for its existence usually had four distinct aspects; as a method to improve the physicality of the participants, as a means of courting between the sexes, as a type of entertainment with the aim to make money for the organisers and, in more limited instances, as an activity for women's own enjoyment.

## **Chapter two: The Women's Cricket Association.**

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<sup>218</sup> J. Williams, *A Game for Rough Girls? A history of women's football in Britain*, Routledge, London, 2003, 26.

The previous chapter has shown how middle- and upper-class women began to enjoy access to team games, firstly during their education and afterwards in newly formed private sports clubs created by pioneering sportswomen who were setting up the first national organisations for women's sport. This chapter aims to explore the formation of the first national governing body for women's cricket, the Women's Cricket Association (WCA) and explore the different relationships it experienced with other sporting organisations and its male counterparts. It will explore the aims and objectives of the WCA and how it communicated both within the organisation and externally to the British public.

The first section of this chapter will explore the progress of this increased access to team games and assess how the First World War impacted middle- and upper-class women's participation in physical activity. The second part of this chapter will briefly discuss the formation of the WCA, its structure, and the influence of the All England Women's Hockey Association (AEWHA). It will also investigate its relationship with their male cricketing counterparts. The third section will look at the relationship between the WCA and the national press, and how the Association engaged with them. The fourth section will investigate the emergence of the Association's official magazine, *Women's Cricket* and look at how important it was for the Association to have its own media vehicle through which to communicate its own messages to both affiliated members and external interested parties.

#### **I. Impact of the First World War on middle- and upper-class women's access to leisure.**

Between the 1890s and 1914 greater numbers of middle- and upper-class women began to engage in physical activities during their leisure time. In part this was due to the changes in physical education, as described in the previous chapter, which introduced hundreds of girls to both individual and team games. This served to legitimise and promote the benefits of physical activity for young women.<sup>219</sup> As greater numbers of women began to enter higher education, they continued to play team games at teacher training colleges, or universities. As discussed in the previous chapter these women, who had been fortunate enough to experience an extensive programme of physical education throughout their education, became increasingly reluctant to leave their games playing behind them when entering adulthood.

In individual sports, women began to make inroads into previously male dominated arenas. The Lawn Tennis Association established in 1888 incorporated women's events and allowed for the playing of mixed doubles.<sup>220</sup> In 1884 ladies' single tournaments were introduced at Wimbledon and in 1913, it also incorporated ladies' doubles and mixed doubles to the competition. Women's competitive tennis was included in the 1912 Olympic Games. In golf, the founding of the Ladies' Golf Union in 1890 led to the development of the women's game. Women's swimming clubs were established from 1877, with seven professional swimmers listed in 1878.<sup>221</sup> In 1899 women were allowed to participate in

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<sup>219</sup> J. Hargreaves, *Sporting Females; Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports*, Routledge, London, 1994, 56.

<sup>220</sup> Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 99.

<sup>221</sup> C. Parker, 'Swimming: The 'Ideal' Sport for Nineteenth Century British Women', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 27, no. 4, 2010, 680.



events organised by the Amateur Swimming Association in front of audiences.<sup>222</sup> Swimming was also included in the 1912 Olympic Games.

Women also continued to embrace team games. As noted in the previous chapter, women's hockey became the premier team sport for women during the 1890s. The AEWhA continued its dominance throughout the twentieth century. The number of affiliated clubs grew from fifty-two in 1899 to 300 by 1911. The Ladies' Lacrosse Association (LLA) formed in 1912 had a membership of seventy schools and colleges, and seven clubs by 1913. Played predominantly in independent schools, lacrosse took place during the autumn and winter months thus ensuring that it never experienced the same popularity as hockey as they were in direct seasonal competition.

Women's cricket also saw an increase in the number of participants between 1895 and 1918, although many clubs were disbanded during the First World War. Appendix III provides a list of 148 women's cricket teams found to be operating during this time period and where each of these was located. It must be noted that only teams of women cricketers that were referenced as playing in a competitive cricket game have been included in this list. Any team that engaged in a novelty game, such as women versus men playing with broomsticks, or in a carnival setting, have not been counted. The purpose of this categorisation was to attempt to provide an accurate picture of the popularity of women's cricket as a sport, rather than inflate the number by using matches that were clearly seen as a novelty, or a form of humorous entertainment. Unfortunately, very little extra is known about any of the teams playing during this time and thus it has not been possible to analyse

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<sup>222</sup> Parker, 'Swimming: The 'Ideal' Sport', 681.

their activities. The number of women playing cricket could realistically be significantly higher. In 1890 the *Reading Mercury* stated 'there are no less than eleven ladies cricket clubs in the South of England, and a still larger proportion is to be found in the North'.<sup>223</sup> As appendix III shows, it has not been possible to locate all of these clubs. As knowledge of their existence is due to scant mentions in newspapers and magazines, no further information has been found on any of these teams. Interestingly, however, despite the numbers of clubs being established during this time, the suggestion of the formation of a national organisation for women's cricket in 1902 was deemed as too premature according to an article in *Hockey Field*.<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> *Reading Mercury*, 6 September, 1890.

<sup>224</sup> *Hockey Field*, 27 March, 1902.

Nonetheless, access to sport remained limited throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century to those women who had the time, wealth and inclination to participate. The prevailing biological arguments from the nineteenth century mentioned in the previous chapter continued to be used by social commentators to warn women away from sports<sup>225</sup>, as did societal concerns about the 'defeminisation' of those who did participate.<sup>226</sup>

The First World War was of paramount importance in altering both women's access to sport, and society's perception of women's abilities. The First World War introduced greater numbers of women into paid employment. As larger numbers of men either volunteered or were conscripted into the war effort, women were suddenly tasked with the continuation of everyday British life. The total number of women officially employed in any paid work increased from 4.93 million before the war to 6.19 million by July 1918, an increase of over 20%.<sup>227</sup> Many women experienced a sense of purposefulness within society for the first time and as such were opened to new social experiences.

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<sup>225</sup> See J. A. Mangan, 'The social construction of Victorian femininity: emancipation, education and exercise', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), *A Sport-Loving Society: Victorian and Edwardian Middle-Class England at Play*, Routledge, Oxon, 2006, 145-152; P. Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman: Women, Doctors and Exercise in the Late Nineteenth Century*, University of Illinois Press, Illinois, 1994.

<sup>226</sup> See P. Atkinson, 'Fitness, Feminism and Schooling', in S. Delamont and L. Duffin (eds.), *The Nineteenth Century Woman, Her Cultural and Physical World*, Croom Helm, London, 1978, 92-133; B. Harrison 'Women and Health', in J. Purvis (ed.), *Women's History: Britain 1850-1945*, UCL Press, London, 1995, 157-171; S. Fletcher, *Women First: The Female Tradition in English Physical Education, 1880-1980*, Athlone Press, London, 1984; K. McCrone, 'Play Up! Play Up! and Play the Game! Sport at the Late Victorian Girls' Public School', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 23, no. 2, 1984, 106-134.

<sup>227</sup> M. Pugh, *Women and the Women's Movement in Britain 1914-1959*, Macmillan Education, Hampshire, 1992, 21.

However, in relation to sporting experience, it wasn't necessarily the volume of women that altered society's impression, but the types of jobs they were undertaking. Prior to the First World War, improvements in education had caused the number of middle-class women entering paid employment to increase by 307% between 1861 and 1911.<sup>228</sup> Holloway in *Women and Work in Britain since 1840* has argued that educational developments caused the opening of a number of professions to women, but that these were usually limited to teachers or nurses.<sup>229</sup> He asserts that these 'caring' professions reinforced the role of woman within society as nurturing.<sup>230</sup> Bruley in *Women in Britain since 1900*, has also shown that technological change altered 'the gender division in clerking - the nineteenth century male scribe was giving way to the female typist'.<sup>231</sup> The number of female commercial clerks increased from 55,784 in 1901 to 177,057 in 1911, which was nearly one-third of the total clerical workforce.<sup>232</sup> Between 1901 and 1911 the Civil Service and the Post Office employed large numbers of women as clerks, typists, telegraphists and telephonists. The largest business organisation in England in 1914, the Post Office employed 11,723 telephonists, 7,560 sorters and telegraphists, 3,234 clerks and 1,053 counter clerks.<sup>233</sup> It was the first government department to employ women in clerical work and was the largest single employer of middle-class women in the country, employing more than 90% of the total women employed in central government.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> L. Holcombe, *Victorian Ladies at Work; Middle-Class Working Women in England and Wales*, David & Charles, Newton Abbey, 1973, 18.

<sup>229</sup> G. Holloway, *Women and Work in Britain since 1840*, Routledge, Oxon, 2005, 118.

<sup>230</sup> Holloway, *Women and Work*, 118.

<sup>231</sup> S. Bruley, *Women in Britain since 1900*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1999, 20.

<sup>232</sup> G. Anderson, *Victorian Clerks*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1976, 56.

<sup>233</sup> F. W. Tickner, *Women in English Economic History*, J. M. Dent & Sons, London, 1923, 170.

<sup>234</sup> Holcombe, *Victorian Ladies at Work*, 164.

The First World War provided the first opportunity for women to experience a range of different jobs, which had previously been labelled 'men's work'. Women were expected to 'do their bit', in new roles within munitions, transport, and governmental departments. Women were suddenly very visibly active in war effort activities, completing what had hitherto been seen as 'men's' jobs. Holloway argues that this work was not particularly heavy, or skilled work, but that its label stemmed purely because men had always done the job.<sup>235</sup> The opening up of these new roles for women correlated directly with a shortage of men.<sup>236</sup> As increased numbers of men joined the services, their previous jobs became available and women began to fill them. The introduction of conscription in 1916 accelerated this trend.

Lowerson in *Sport and the English Middle Classes, 1870-1914* has argued that the concept of femininity is always shifting, depending on whose definition is used, and more importantly, how others need women to behave to fulfil a predetermined role.<sup>237</sup> The media was particularly important in informing women that it was their duty to engage in paid work that would hitherto have been seen as inappropriate and masculine. During the war, both the media and the government had been quick to praise the women who showed enthusiasm and skill in their new roles.<sup>238</sup> They had promoted an image of womanhood throughout the war which contrasted previous ideals. Pictures of women in overalls or

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<sup>235</sup> Holloway, *Women and Work*, 136.

<sup>236</sup> Holloway, *Women and Work*, 136.

<sup>237</sup> J. Lowerson, *Sport and the English Middle Classes, 1870-1914*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1993, 204.

<sup>238</sup> For a more detailed debate on the public image of women workers during the First World War see G. Braybon, *Women Workers in the First World War*, Routledge, Oxon, 1981, 154-172.

nurses uniforms, nicknamed 'our gallant girls' and 'heroines' had featured heavily after conscription. The *Daily Chronicle* asserted, 'the spirit in which these women have come forward to take the place of men is beyond praise....the nation's debt to these heroic women, many of whom have lost their husbands in the war, is so great that it may even be likened to the debt which the nation owes to its soldiers'.<sup>239</sup>

As women were needed for the war effort to fill the jobs that men had previously done, concerns over the defeminising of women, and worries over any potential damage to their reproductive capability, quietened. One social commentator, Mary Macarthur, argued 'of all the changes worked by the war not one has been greater than the change in the status and position of women and yet it is not so much that woman herself has changed, as that man's perception of her has changed'.<sup>240</sup> The acceptance that women were not as fragile as previously claimed led to new tolerance of women engaging in physical activity such as team games, as a social element of the workplace. Hargreaves accurately asserts that 'in 1870, the feminist Frances P. Cobbe wrote that women would never participate in sports and amusements until they had begun to participate in meaningful work....as she predicted, women's involvement in sports did not occur to any extent until they had gained access to paid employment'.<sup>241</sup> The First World War introduced many women to team games, particularly those of the middle- and working-classes who had not been fortunate enough to experience extensive physical education at school.

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<sup>239</sup> *Daily Chronicle*, 16 August, 1918.

<sup>240</sup> Mary Macarthur quoted in Braybon, *Women Workers*, 157.

<sup>241</sup> Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 108.

However, the inclusion of women's workplace team games during the First World War had slightly different connotations than men's workplace teams. Although motivations for the provision of workplace sports will be discussed in more detail in chapter five, they can be briefly summarised as; providing workers with an opportunity to improve their physical fitness in order to be more efficient at work, improve worker morale, provide workers with alternative leisure activities to drinking and gambling, build good relations between a company and the local community, attract more respectable employers and unify employers.<sup>242</sup> For women workers during the First World War, the primary purpose of providing sporting provision was to benefit charitable causes. This charitable element ensured that women were encouraged to participate in sport whilst ensuring that neither women, nor spectators, viewed the games as a serious endeavour. Spectators were encouraged to donate generously, not based on the standard of skill, but on the charitable cause, thus helping to reinforce that women's ability was of secondary importance to the purpose of the game. The inclusion of many frivolous elements, such as women versus men, whilst the men played left handed or with similar handicaps, helped to reinforce the concept that women's sport shouldn't be taken seriously.

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<sup>242</sup> The motivation for the provision of workplace sports is discussed in depth in chapter five, section II. For more information see S. Jones, 'Work, Leisure and Unemployment in Western Europe between the Wars', *British Journal of Sports History*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1986, 55-82: C. Kennedy, *The Merchant Princes, Family, Fortune and Philanthropy: Cadbury, Sainsbury and John Lewis*, Hutchinson, London, 2000: R. Munting, 'The games ethic and industrial capitalism before 1914: the provision of company sports', *Sport in History*, vol. 23, no. 1, 2003, 45-63: C. Parratt, 'The making of the healthy and the happy home': recreation, education, and the production of working-class womanhood at the Rowntree Cocoa Works, York, c.1898-1914', in J. Hill and J. Williams (eds.), *Sport and Identity in the North of England*, Edinburgh University Press, Keele, 1996, 53-84: B. S. Rowntree, *The Human Factor in Business*, Longmans, Greens and Co, London, 1938: F. Skillen, *Women, Sport and Modernity in Interwar Britain*, P. Lang, Oxford, 2013, 145-180.

The fact that these games were played for charity also reinforced two other important beliefs about women. Firstly, that women were expected to retain their caring, nurturing element, which has remained an assumed feminine attribute throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. Secondly, as many of the causes were to aid men who had suffered during the war, that it was acceptable for women to engage in masculine sporting activities to benefit others, but not for their own private enjoyment. The most prominent example of this is the activities of women footballers. Women's football experienced a brief spell of popularity, as teams engaged in charity games, particularly in Lancashire, throughout 1921-1922. The popularity of women's football immediately after the First World War is evidenced by the large number of women playing a sport which had hitherto, and afterwards, been labelled as a man's game, unsuitable for women. In particular, the famous Dick, Kerr's ladies football team raised thousands of pounds for charity. By 1921, there were approximately 150 clubs playing women's football.<sup>243</sup> Williams has argued that 'tolerating games played by women for charity was one means by which the members of the Association and League could reclaim credibility through the appearance of patriotism'.<sup>244</sup> When the popularity in women's football refused to dissipate by 1921, the FA prohibited affiliated clubs from loaning their grounds to women football teams due to its perceived unsuitability for women.<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> See D. Birley, *Playing the Game: Sport and British Society 1910-45*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1995, 204: A. Melling, 'Cultural Differentiation, Shared Aspiration: The Entente Cordiale of International Ladies' Football, 1920-45', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), *Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender*, Frank Cass, London, 1999, 27-53; J. Williams, *A Contemporary History of Women's Sport, Part One: Sporting Women, 1850-1960*, Routledge, London, 2014, 130.

<sup>244</sup> J. Williams, *A Game for Rough Girls? A history of women's football in Britain*, Routledge, London, 2003, 33.

<sup>245</sup> M. Taylor, *The Association Game, A History of British Football*, Pearson Education, Harlow, 2008, 135.



Similarly, as the war came to an end, it was deemed appropriate that the four million men demobilised from the front had a right to return to their previous occupations. It can be argued that women were hired into 'men's roles' reluctantly. Pugh in *Women and the Women's Movement in Britain 1914-1959* has argued that some industries such as munitions, that hired the largest numbers of women, did so because the government intervened.<sup>246</sup> The reluctance by employers to hire women was evident in the signing of the 1919 Restoration of Pre-War Practices Act. This agreement, signed between engineering employers, unions and the State, declared that women workers should only be introduced into industry whilst they were needed for the war effort.<sup>247</sup> As production began to slow, women were the first to be removed from the labour force. In February 1918, 8,000 women munitions workers were dismissed and by June 1918 50,000 women were out of work.<sup>248</sup> By November 1919, 750,000 women war workers had been dismissed.

The collective need of the nation once again altered society's perception of the correct behaviour of women to reflect the role they now needed to embrace. Once the war ended, so did the promoted image of a strong working woman. Instead, the ideal woman returned once again to a stay-at-home wife and mother. New domestically-orientated magazines, such as *Woman's Friend* and *Woman's Companion*, were created to re-stimulate interest into motherhood as a vocation. Many women happily returned to their previous life. However, for others, the First World War had forever altered the perception of themselves. Women who had previously accepted that their earlier years would be spent training for the

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<sup>246</sup> Pugh, *Women and the Women's Movement*, 25.

<sup>247</sup> Bruley, *Women in Britain*, 61.

<sup>248</sup> D. Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty: Women between the Wars 1919-1939*, Pandora, London, 1989, 48.

role of wife and mother, had enjoyed a different experience. Many were reluctant to embrace their previous day to day life, which appeared dull in comparison to the camaraderie of the workplace and the attached social life with colleagues. Those women who didn't immediately resign were dubbed as selfish, taking jobs from the heroes who had fought for the country. The newspapers decried them as 'pin-money girls'.<sup>249</sup> Male trade unionists were particularly vocal, with reports of female factory workers in London being shouted at in the streets that they were, 'girls taking men's jobs'.<sup>250</sup>

Criticisms of women remaining in paid employment continued throughout the interwar period. These rose primarily out of contemporary assumptions about the role and function of women themselves. As Roberts explains, 'women had a reproductive, rather than productive role and as this reproductive work was unpaid, society regarded it as having no economic value'.<sup>251</sup> Despite this lack of economic value, it had a high moral value. The purpose of middle-class women was to nurture the next generation and imbue them with the correct morals and values. However, one of the lasting legacies of the First World War had been to further increase the imbalance between the number of men and women within Britain. Women had outnumbered men for over a century within Britain from 1851 onwards. As more middle-class men ventured overseas either through the military or New World adventuring, the census of 1851 indicated that there were over half a million more women than men in Britain and thus it was impossible for every woman to be married. The

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<sup>249</sup> Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty*, 3.

<sup>250</sup> S. Bruley, 'A Woman's Right to Work & The Role of Women in the Unemployed Movement Between the Wars', in S. Oldfield (ed.), *This Working Day World: Women's Lives and Culture in Britain, 1914-1945*, Taylor & Francis, London, 1994, 52.

<sup>251</sup> E. Roberts, *Women's Work 1840-1940*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, 2.

1911 census indicated that there were 1,400,000 more women than men. In the three wealthier neighbourhoods (Hampstead, Kensington and Chelsea) there were 5,758 men and 19,738 women, who were unmarried, whilst conversely in the working class neighbourhoods of Woolwich, Shoreditch and Bethnal Green, there were 5,185 men and 3,850 women.<sup>252</sup> Approximately three-quarters of men who died in the First World War were under the age of thirty and unmarried, causing further imbalance particularly focused on the younger adults.<sup>253</sup> Pugh has shown that that 'by 1921 there were 1,176 women to every 1,000 in the 20-24 years age group and 1,209 to every 1,000 men in the 25-29 years age group'.<sup>254</sup> This translated into an increase in the number of single women, from 664,000 in 1911 to 1,174,000 in 1921, and 842,000 in 1931.<sup>255</sup>

Although the imbalance varied greatly based on geographical location and was often dependent on the devastation, or otherwise, of their Pals' Battalions, these extra women had no choice but to enter the workforce as a means of supporting themselves instead of relying on marriage. In 1931, single women made up 51% of the workforce aged over thirty-five.<sup>256</sup> Women who were not married by their late twenties were less likely to ever marry. Of those women who were single and in their late twenties in 1921, 50% remained unmarried a decade later; this figure is particularly striking when compared with that for

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<sup>252</sup> Holcombe, *Victorian Ladies at Work*, 11.

<sup>253</sup> J. M. Winter, *The Great War and the British People*, Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire, 1984, 256.

<sup>254</sup> Pugh, *Women and the Women's Movement*, 77.

<sup>255</sup> Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty*, 27.

<sup>256</sup> J. Purvis, *Hard Lessons, The Lives and Education of Working-Class Women in Nineteenth-Century England*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1989, 104.

men, of whom only 30% failed to marry.<sup>257</sup> In 1921, 53.5% of the female population of England and Wales were single and 38.3% married; a decade later the figures stood at 50% single and 43% married.<sup>258</sup> For those women who were to remain unmarried, work became a refuge, a place where they could earn their own money, albeit still an inconsiderable amount compared to their male colleagues. They were no longer seen as a spinster or a drain on family resource.

There was an increased acceptance of the rights of single women to seek employment before marriage. In part, this was due to the separation of jobs as 'men's work', or 'women's work'. This meant that employers could categorise a job as 'women's work' and thus pay them a reduced wage. As women had shown their capabilities during the First World War, many employees deliberately deskilled certain roles in order to retain cheaper wages for women in these roles.<sup>259</sup> As the Civil Service expanded, it created extra, lower paid grades. These were staffed almost completely by women.<sup>260</sup> This is indicative that the desire to pay low wages or create a higher profit led to the acceptance of hiring women. Many jobs were diluted so that only part of a man's job was given to a woman to complete, or two women were employed to complete what had previously been a man's job. This meant that women were not officially completing 'men's work', which allowed the employer to pay women less

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<sup>257</sup> J. Lewis, *Women in England 1870-1950, Sexual Divisions & Social Change*, Prentice-Hall, Brighton, 1984, 4.

<sup>258</sup> C. Langhamer, *Women's Leisure in England 1920-60*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2000, 116.

<sup>259</sup> Roberts, *Women's Work*, 24.

<sup>260</sup> S. Lewenhak, *Women and Trade Unions, An Outline History of Women in the British Trade Union Movement*, Ernest Benn, London, 1977, 225.

than their male counterparts.<sup>261</sup> Not only did this allow employers to pay lower wages, but it also gained the support of many unions and male workers. The categorisation of 'women's work' ensured that women were prevented from progressing to higher paid jobs, which were segregated as 'men's work'.<sup>262</sup> This policy was based on the concept that a man should receive a family wage to support a family, whereas a woman only had herself to support. In the textile and clothing industries, women earned on average 56% and 60% of their male counterparts' wage respectively.<sup>263</sup>

Finally, the First World War had a lasting effect on women's access to sport due to wider societal concerns about the physical fitness of the British population. Similar to the Boer War, which had sparked health reforms within Britain when the poor health of potential recruits was unearthed, the First World War medical tests showed that only 36% of the 2.5 million men examined in 1917-18 were fit for full service. The poor fitness of recruits concerned the government, which began to promote the importance of physical fitness in order to improve the health of the future generations. During the 1920s and 1930s, the government set up several schemes to encourage the growth of sport and recreation for both men and women. In 1937 the National Fitness Council for England and Wales was formed in order to encourage the physical improvement of the population through recreational activities.<sup>264</sup> By 1939 over £6,000,000 had been spent on providing

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<sup>261</sup> P. Summerfield, *Women Workers in the Second World War: Production and Patriarchy in Conflict*, Routledge, London, 1989, 15.

<sup>262</sup> Summerfield, *Women Workers*, 11.

<sup>263</sup> Roberts, *Women's Work*, 16.

<sup>264</sup> <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C6912>, accessed 13/01/2015.

playing fields.<sup>265</sup> The National Playing Fields Association was formed in 1925 and provided over a thousand recreation grounds between 1927 and 1933.<sup>266</sup> A team of British observers even visited Germany to learn from the 'Strength through Joy' movement, with its recommendations included into a Physical Fitness Bill.<sup>267</sup> In Blackburn, an anonymous woman, described by the *Manchester Guardian* as 'a well-known local woman who takes a prominent part in social work', welcomed the announcement of the Blackburn WCC stating that, 'if women had taken an active part in our national games they would not have reached the deplorable condition which some of them had'.<sup>268</sup>

Concerns over physical fitness were, in part, a natural reaction not only to the everyday visual reminder of the war, with the ever presence of maimed veterans, but also the Spanish Flu, which caused greater devastation on human life across Europe. For women, the concept of a healthy body was mixed with the purpose of ensuring the healthy progression of the British race. Zweiniger-Bargielowska argues that 'in interwar Britain female athleticism, keep-fit classes and physical culture were celebrated as emblems of modernity and women who cultivated their bodies in the pursuit of beauty, health and fitness represented civic virtue'.<sup>269</sup> The Women's League of Health and Beauty, formed in 1930 by Mollie Bagot Stack, had a membership of 120,000 in 1937, which was spread over 222 branches. Zweiniger-Bargielowska has stated that 'the ultimate purpose of the league

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<sup>265</sup> M. Huggins and J. Williams, *Sport and the English 1918-1939*, Routledge, Oxon, 2006, 11.

<sup>266</sup> R. Holt, *Sport and the British; A Modern History*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989, 271.

<sup>267</sup> J. Stevenson and C. Cook, *Britain in the Depression, Society and Politics 1929-39*, Longman Group, Essex, 1994, 34.

<sup>268</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 11 May, 1914.

<sup>269</sup> I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'The Making of a Modern Female Body: beauty, health and fitness in interwar Britain', *Women's History Review*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2011, 299.

was to promote 'Racial Health'.<sup>270</sup> Matthews has qualified this aim stating, 'the term 'racial', in the 1930s, was, of course, an ambiguous one and the League packed several meanings into its use. In its primary meaning, 'racial ' was a synonym for 'maternal', with a connotation of 'the human race': a non-specific concern with the health of future generations'.<sup>271</sup> Zweiniger-Bargielowska argues that 'women as 'mothers of the race' had a 'duty' to cultivate 'perfect health' because the health of the nation's children 'depended upon them'.<sup>272</sup>

The promotion of improved physical fitness was reinforced by the fashion for a slim, tubular body in the 1920s and 1930s. A healthy body was promoted as a sign of beauty. The rise of women's magazines, beauty manuals, Hollywood films and the growth in popularity of make-up led to a renewed focus on a woman's appearance. Health and beauty were linked with the notion that women should maintain a healthy, slim body, in order to snare, and retain a husband. The imbalance between the number of men and women, as discussed above, gave new urgency to the reality that many women would never marry. It is clear that many women wanted to achieve the new fashionable tubular body of interwar period, in what Matthews refers to as women being 'lured by the bait of slimness'.<sup>273</sup> The Women's League of Health and Beauty had a membership of over 300,000 women, who would engage in gentle exercise together.<sup>274</sup> Interestingly, social commentators took to warning women

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<sup>270</sup> Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'The Making of a Modern Female Body', 302.

<sup>271</sup> J. J. Matthews, 'They had Such a Lot of Fun: The Women's League of Health and Beauty Between the Wars', *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 30, no. 1, 1990, 26.

<sup>272</sup> Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'The Making of a Modern Female Body', 304.

<sup>273</sup> Matthews, 'They had Such a Lot of Fun', 27.

<sup>274</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 12 June, 1939.

not to attempt to become slim for the sole purpose of fashion; women were also expected to assert self-control to both exercise and diet. Zweiniger-Bargielowska argues that 'slimming in the pursuit of fashion were extensively portrayed as a threat to femininity and reproductive capacity'.<sup>275</sup>

Women also began to engage more fully in individual and team games following the First World War. Just as greater numbers of women had entered the workplace during the First World War, which had hitherto been deemed as unsuitable, they also began to embrace physical activities that had previously held similar concerns. In athletics, women's colleges and universities began to hold sports meetings, with the Northern Counties Ladies Championships first organised in 1919.<sup>276</sup> Famously, Alice Milliat requested that the International Olympic Committee organise women's competitions for the 1920 Olympic Games in Antwerp. Their refusal led to the realisation that a separate governing body for women's athletics would be necessary.<sup>277</sup> This was consolidated in 1922 when the Amateur Athletics Association advised the formation of a separate organisation. The Women's Inter-Varsity Athletic Board was set up in 1923, which incorporated women's universities and colleges.<sup>278</sup> The Women's World Games were organised in 1926, 1930 and 1934.<sup>279</sup> In golf, the Curtis Cup was contested by women representing the UK and the USA in 1932.

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<sup>275</sup> Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'The Making of a Modern Female Body', 307.

<sup>276</sup> Birley, *Playing the Game*, 110.

<sup>277</sup> Arnaud, 'Le genre ou le sexe?' translated and quoted in S. Ferez, 'From Women's Exclusion to Gender Institution: A Brief History of the Sexual Categorisation Process within Sport', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 29, no. 2, 2012, 275.

<sup>278</sup> Birley, *Playing the Game*, 211.

<sup>279</sup> Huggins and Williams, *Sport and the English*, 118.



Gymnastics, rambling, cycling and bowls also continued to grow in popularity for young women during the interwar period, with 1.6 million bicycles sold in 1935.<sup>280</sup>

By 1938 there were over 1,000 women's hockey clubs, twice the number of male hockey teams.<sup>281</sup> The AEWHA continued to grow in strength and size, incorporating over 352 clubs during the interwar period. Netball became popular for those who didn't have the space for hockey, especially in girls' secondary schools. Leagues were set up to encourage competition by the clubs which led to a London and Home Counties Federation being established in 1924 to accommodate the leagues. They joined with the Ling Association to set up the All England Women's Association for Netball in 1926.<sup>282</sup> This organisation opened the game to approximately 160,000 women.<sup>283</sup> In 1920 the Scottish Ladies Lacrosse Association was founded and international matches took place between them and the Ladies Lacrosse Association. Wales and Ireland also formed organisations in 1930.<sup>284</sup>

The heightened international tensions of the late 1930s exacerbated governmental concerns about the fitness of the population, led by a desire to ensure that men and women would be physically fit if required for national service. Whereas for men this meant armed service, for women it meant both domestic jobs and the continuation of their role of raising the next generation. In 1937 the Physical Training and Recreation Bill was debated in the House of Commons. Speaking in support, the Conservative MP and former England rugby

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<sup>280</sup> Langhamer, *Women's Leisure*, 78.

<sup>281</sup> Huggins and Williams, *Sport and the English*, 10.

<sup>282</sup> Birley, *Playing the Game*, 207.

<sup>283</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 12 June, 1939.

<sup>284</sup> <https://filacrosse.com/origin>, accessed 23/06/2015.

union captain, Wavell Wakefield, asserted that 'our aim is to try to make the great mass of the people, young and old, physically fit, and to provide facilities for improving their general physical fitness and well-being'.<sup>285</sup> Under the Physical Training and Recreation Act of 1937 the Women's Team Games Board was established which allowed women's sporting organisations to request grants for access to equipment, land and money. One of the leading organisations that sought to capitalise on this opportunity was the WCA.

## **II. An overview of the formation and structure of the WCA.**

The previous section has detailed the expansion of the AEWHA throughout the interwar period. By 1920 it had the affiliation of over 300 schools, colleges and private clubs, as well as thirty-six county associations.<sup>286</sup> By 1938, it had the affiliation of over 352 clubs. The formation, and successful expansion of the AEWHA was of paramount importance in relation to the formation of the WCA. Not only was the AEWHA a pioneer in creating a national women's sporting organisation, but it had also successfully created an accepted female version of what had hitherto been known as a man's sport, as discussed in the previous chapter.

In 1926, a group of women who were members of the AEWHA organised a week's holiday of friendly cricket matches in Colwall, where one of the members, Mrs Scott

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<sup>285</sup> C. MacDonald, *Strong, Beautiful and Modern: National Fitness in Britain, New Zealand, Australia and Canada, 1935-1960*, UBC Press, Vancouver, 2013, 9.

<sup>286</sup> K. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, 1870-1914*, Routledge, London, 1988, 130.

Bowden owned a hotel and spacious grounds. The reason for this event seems to have been simply a means of entertaining themselves during the off-season. This venture proved so enjoyable that the participants resolved themselves to form a women's cricket organisation in order to encourage others to play during the summer months. On 4<sup>th</sup> October that year, a meeting was held at the Ex-Service Women's Club, in London, with the purpose of forming a women's cricket association.<sup>287</sup> Mrs Heron-Maxwell, former president of the AEWHA, took the chair. Eighteen others were present, between them representing twelve counties and three physical training colleges. Twenty others who were unable to be present, had written to indicate their support of the proposed formation.<sup>288</sup> Following a discussion, Miss K. Doman of Dartford Physical Training College formally proposed that a central association for women's cricket be formed. She supported this motion by stating it would 'be a help to existing clubs, a boon to those keen cricketers who had no club to join and a stimulating influence to the game in schools and colleges'.<sup>289</sup> Mrs Scott Bowden seconded the resolution and it was carried, fourteen for and two against. Unfortunately, the names and reasons for those opposed to the formation have not been found.

Those present agreed that the first season should be primarily exploratory; that efforts should be made to discover the potential support, how popular the game was, and how they could encourage the growth of new clubs.<sup>290</sup> They agreed to arrange tours to

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<sup>287</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1926 Year Book*, 1926, 1. The term 'women', rather than 'ladies' was used to emphasise the seriousness of the organisation. The AEWHA had dropped the term 'ladies' in 1896 in favour of 'women' and the WCA were emulating this decision. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 129.

<sup>288</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1926 Year Book*, 1926, 1.

<sup>289</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1926 Year Book*, 1926, 1.

<sup>290</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1926 Year Book*, 1926, 1.

those pre-existing clubs, schools and colleges where it was known that women's cricket was already played, to try to gain their affiliation. They also refrained from imposing many rules or regulations believing that until they gauged the potential popularity of women's cricket, any rules may prove to be a barrier to affiliation. A constitution was not published until 1931, when the Association felt secure enough in its progression to impose regulations. Appendix IV shows a copy of these rules.

However, they did nominate members to positions of authority within the Association. Mrs Patrick Heron-Maxwell C.B.E was nominated as chairman. She was an organiser of the Women's Land Army, member of the National Executive of the National Federation of Women's Institutes and first chair of the Women's Institute.<sup>291</sup> She was also a founding member of a Liberal Women's Suffrage Society. She created a women's centre within her home at Great Comp, Kent which held meetings and hosted cricket and hockey matches. Miss Vera M. Cox C.B.E was elected hon. secretary. She had previously been the organising secretary of the West Kent Land Army and was also a hockey player. Miss Hatten gained the position of hon. treasurer. Unfortunately, little is known about Miss Hatten. Committee members were also elected, these were; Miss Abbott, Mrs Scott Bowden, Miss E. R. Clarke, Miss Doman, Miss Read.<sup>292</sup> Mrs Scott Bowden owned the aforementioned Park Hotel in Colwall and Miss K. Doman was a games lecturer at Dartford Physical Training College. The committee varied each season and steadily grew, encompassing twelve individuals in 1932.

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<sup>291</sup> D. Doughan and P. Gordon, *Dictionary of British Women's Organisation 1825-1960*, Routledge, London, 2001, 161.

<sup>292</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1927 Year Book*, 1927, 2.

Shortly after the formation meeting, a small announcement was placed in *The Times*. It read 'Women's Cricket. English Association formed. For some years there has been a demand for an organisation to foster and encourage cricket amongst women, such as exist in the games of hockey, lacrosse and netball....a meeting of cricket enthusiasts from all over the country was held in London recently, and it was unanimously decided to form an association'.<sup>293</sup>

The first season proved extremely promising, ending with the affiliation of twenty-eight schools, six colleges, two business houses and ten clubs. It also gained a membership of 347 individuals, mainly from the South East of England.<sup>294</sup> Following the first season, the WCA held its annual general meeting in November 1927. It was decided by the chairman that the organisation should not yet publish a constitution because, 'it might prove to be a burden, rather than a help'.<sup>295</sup> However, they did create the organisation's official aims and objectives. These were, 'to encourage the foundation of cricket clubs throughout the country', and, 'to provide facilities for and bring together, by means of touring teams and one day matches, those women and girls who previously have had little opportunity of playing cricket after leaving school and college'.<sup>296</sup> In order to encourage the formation of cricket clubs, the Association committee replicated the structure of the AEWH, which had proved so efficient at encouraging the growth of organised hockey. This included creating a decentralised organisation that would disseminate responsibility through geographical districts and county associations.

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<sup>293</sup> *The Times*, 16 December, 1926.

<sup>294</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1927 Year Book*, 1927, 8.

<sup>295</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1927 Year Book*, 1927, 2.

<sup>296</sup> M. Pollard, *Cricket for Women and Girls*, Pollard Publications, London, 1934, 21.

The growth of the WCA during the interwar period was remarkable. Table 2.1 shows the number of schools, colleges, universities and clubs that were affiliated to the Association throughout the interwar period. It illustrates the total membership quadrupled during the interwar period from forty-six in 1927 to 210 in 1938. Although school and college membership will be discussed in more detail in chapter five, it is worth noting that the number of schools affiliated to the Association also quadrupled. From 1926 to 1938 it gained the affiliation of 352 different teams, although as table 2.1 illustrates, by 1938 only 210 of these remained.<sup>297</sup>

	Schools	Colleges / Universities	Clubs	Total
<b>1927</b>	28	6	12	<b>46</b>
<b>1928</b>	32	6	21	<b>59</b>
<b>1929</b>	32	7	37	<b>76</b>
<b>1930</b>	50	11	37	<b>98</b>

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<sup>297</sup> Figures for the 1939 season are unknown due to the outbreak of the Second World War.

<b>1931</b>	50	12	48	<b>110</b>
<b>1932</b>	59	15	48	<b>122</b>
<b>1933</b>	58	16	56	<b>130</b>
<b>1934</b>	65	16	65	<b>146</b>
<b>1935</b>	68	15	84	<b>167</b>
<b>1936</b>	77	14	95	<b>186</b>
<b>1937</b>	79	16	101	<b>196</b>
<b>1938</b>	83	18	109	<b>210</b>

Table 2.1: Clubs affiliated to the Women's Cricket Association 1926-1938.

Source: *Women's Cricket Association Year Books* 1926 to 1938.

One of the primary issues that the WCA faced was a geographical imbalance. Appendix V provides a visual demonstration of the nationwide spread of the Association projecting the clubs that affiliated to the Association around a map of Britain. As appendix V illustrates, women's cricket was more popular in the South East of England, with the exception of the counties of Yorkshire and Lancashire. In order to encourage the spread of women's cricket throughout the country, volunteers were assigned different counties from 1927 to encourage the formation of clubs. As most of the committee members lived in the Home Counties, the dissemination of volunteers was unequal, with a deluge in support in some counties, such as Sussex or Hampshire, to an individual's efforts in the dauntingly large, 'the North', 'the West' and Scotland.<sup>298</sup>

By the end of the 1928 season, many players were already loyal to their clubs above the organisation. These were reluctant to participate in the organised tours the Association continued to organise, preferring to play in local matches. Northern representatives began

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<sup>298</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1927 Year Book*, 1927, 6.

to request the formation of county associations, where they could organise their own 'official' fixtures, and have relative autonomy in their decisions. Debate ensued as to whether the Association committee was able to support the formation of county associations. The primary argument in favour of the formation of county associations was based on the vast disparity of the number of clubs available across different regions. It was argued that as cricket was easily accessible in the Home Counties, that county associations were more important in other regions where they would be more effective in helping women who wanted to play but didn't have a local club available. At the 1928 annual general meeting the committee circulated guidance on forming county associations. Appendix VI is a copy of these guidelines. As appendix VI illustrates, the committee's primary concern focused on methods of selection if county teams were to be formed. This is particularly interesting given that the concept of county matches was a source of continuous debate between 1928 and 1933. Some members of the committee felt that the concept of 'county cricket' held an image of highly skilful play based on the men's game and that labelling the games as such before women could display the appropriate skills would be misleading any spectators.<sup>299</sup> Others felt that the formation of county teams could lead to the glorification of the few, rather than the encouragement of the many.

In 1930 it was finally agreed that the formation of county associations would be beneficial to the organisation, providing that their purpose was to encourage the growth of clubs, provide guidance, coaching and to aid potential players find a club. Debating the issue in *Women's Cricket*, the official magazine for the WCA, the editor and press representative of the Association, Marjorie Pollard argued, 'decentralisation was obviously necessary, and

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<sup>299</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1927 Year Book*, 1927, 3.



so the county association scheme- which has served hockey so well- was brought into being. If all that county association does is to produce a county team- it will have failed in its work'.<sup>300</sup> Appendix VII shows a copy of the official rules for county associations from 1930. It shows that qualification for county association affiliation was; (1) Birth, (2) One year's continuous residence for preceding twelve months, (3) Family home, as long as it remains open for occasional residence (one year's qualification required, as in residence).<sup>301</sup> The first county associations were Middlesex, Lancashire, Kent, Nottinghamshire, and Surrey. The Civil Service also formed an honorary county association due to its size. Each county association had its own committee, who were responsible for targeting existing clubs in the area to encourage them to affiliate, or to aid the setting up of new clubs when evidence suggested there were enough women interested to support one. They were responsible for providing an annual report at the Association's annual general meeting to discuss their experiences each year.

The county associations were highly successful in increasing the number of affiliated clubs and helped to bridge the gap between members of smaller clubs and the Association committee. Table 2.2 illustrates how successful each district was in gaining the affiliation of new clubs between 1933 and 1938. It illustrates that some county associations such as Kent and Surrey were successful in increasing the number of affiliated clubs.

Total no. clubs	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
East District						

<sup>300</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1933, 1.

<sup>301</sup> See appendix V.

Cambridgeshire	0	0	1	0	0	0
Essex	0	0	1	3	5	4
Hertfordshire CA	1	1	1	1	1	1
Kent CA	4	8	11	8	9	13
Norfolk CA	0	0	3	3	4	2
Suffolk	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Midland District</b>						
Bedfordshire	1	1	0	0	0	1
Derbyshire	1	1	1	1	1	1
Leicestershire	2	1	1	1	4	4
Northamptonshire	1	1	0	0	0	1
Nottinghamshire CA	5	6	4	4	4	5
Shropshire	0	0	0	0	0	0
Staffordshire	0	0	0	0	0	0
Warwickshire	2	2	2	4	5	5
Worcestershire	1	1	1	0	0	0
<b>North District</b>						
Cheshire	1	2	2	4	5	5
Durham	2	2	1	1	0	0
Lancashire CA	6	6	9	8	9	9
Northumberland	0	0	0	1	1	4
Yorkshire CA	1	2	2	4	5	5
<b>South District</b>						
Berkshire CA	0	0	4	6	4	3
Buckinghamshire CA	0	0	3	5	5	5
Middlesex CA	10	10	12	9	7	7
Oxfordshire	0	0	0	0	0	0
Surrey CA	4	4	8	7	8	8
Sussex CA	3	2	3	5	5	5
Civil Service	3	4	4	4	6	5
<b>West District</b>						

<b>Devon</b>	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Dorset</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Gloucestershire</b>	2	3	2	3	4	4
<b>Hampshire CA</b>	4	4	4	6	5	4
<b>Herefordshire</b>	1	1	1	0	0	0
<b>Somerset</b>	0	0	0	0	0	3
<b>Wiltshire</b>	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Scotland</b>						
<b>Scotland</b>	0	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Wales</b>						
<b>Wales</b>	0	0	0	1	1	1
<b>South Africa</b>						
<b>South Africa</b>	0	1	1	1	1	1
<b>New Zealand</b>						
<b>New Zealand</b>	0	0	0	1	0	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>93</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>109</b>

Table 2.2: Clubs affiliated to the Women's Cricket Association by district 1933-1938.

Source: *Women's Cricket Association Year Books*, 1933-1938.

N.B. The letters CA indicate that the area was an official county association.

Once county associations were formed, the natural progression was to play inter-county matches. The committee conceded that 'if there was time to spare, there seemed no reason why one county team should not meet in a friendly way a team from a neighbouring county'.<sup>302</sup> By 1937 associations had been formed in nineteen counties and there were regular inter-county matches.<sup>303</sup> However, it is important to note that the committee was particular in its decision that the use of the term 'county cricket' should be discouraged and

<sup>302</sup> Pollard, *Cricket for Women and Girls*, 24.

<sup>303</sup> J. Williams, *Cricket and England, A Cultural and Social History of the Interwar Years*, Routledge, London, 1999, 95.

instead county matches should henceforth be labelled as 'county association' matches, rather than 'county cricket' to prevent comparisons with the men's game.<sup>304</sup>

The relationship between the WCA and male counterparts up to 1935 was contradictory. It is worth noting that many men did not approve of the concept of women's cricket. Viewed by many in society as the finest example of British manliness and true sporting behaviour, the inclusion of women to the game brought a tide of abhorrence from those who felt that 'New Woman' had already encroached on too many of the traditional masculine spheres. This concept is labelled by Holt as 'me-too feminism', the concept that women took up traditionally masculine activities, such as cricket, solely because men played it.<sup>305</sup> *Women's Cricket* reprinted some of the letters and commentary that were received when they were formed. One group of men calling themselves, 'The Shades of the Great Cricketers of the Past' declared in a letter, 'It could not really be true that another field of male activities was to be usurped by the fair sex! Women seriously betaking themselves to the greatest of all British games? Why it is a sacrilege'!<sup>306</sup>

Following the example set by the AEWHA, the WCA was officially against men having any position of authority within the organisation. The Ladies Hockey Association had applied for membership to the Hockey Association when it first formed, but was curtly refused. The repercussion was the decision that no man would be allowed to hold an executive office within the organisation or any affiliate. Following this example, the Association committee insisted that the organisation should be run by women, for women and was against the

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<sup>304</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1927 Year Book*, 1927, 3.

<sup>305</sup> Holt, *Sport and the British*, 117.

<sup>306</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1930, 8.

inclusion of men in executive positions or as members of the Association. However, in reality it not only remained reliant on men throughout the interwar period, but was deferential to their authority and willing to engage in the services of men where ever possible. In 1927 the committee agreed to the electing of men in honorary positions. The honour was intended to be an indication of the committee's thanks towards men who had helped support the WCA. The recipient was to be exempt from paying a subscription but conversely had no voting privileges.<sup>307</sup> By 1930 the WCA stated that men could also hold non-executive positions such as president of county associations and could be referred to in an advisory capacity but could not hold membership to the Association.<sup>308</sup> The reasoning behind this was explained; 'we have no men in executive positions in clubs or associations, as it is foolish to imagine a woman as secretary, or chairman of a Rugger club'.<sup>309</sup>

The Association committee continuously asserted that its game was a different game to men's cricket and was keen to emphasise that women could never hope to compete with men.<sup>310</sup> In a chapter on women's cricket included in D. R. Jardine's instructional book, *Cricket; How to Succeed*, Pollard noted with apparent pride, [the players], 'recognised our limitations. No one tried to bowl terribly fast; no one tried to lift the ball out of the ground. We realised that we could play cricket but it would have to be a cricket of our own. We did not want to play like men; we wanted to play women's cricket- and we have kept to that severely'.<sup>311</sup> However, by removing the competitive characteristics of the sport, and

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<sup>307</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1927 Year Book*, 1927, 4.

<sup>308</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1930 Year Book*, 1930, ii.

<sup>309</sup> *Observer*, 26 May, 1935.

<sup>310</sup> It is worth noting that the women's game was not actually different as they both followed the MCC rules of cricket.

<sup>311</sup> M. Pollard, 'Women's Cricket', in D. R. Jardine, *Cricket; How to Succeed*, Evan Brothers, London, 1934, 30.

emphasising the grace and beauty women extolled when playing, the Association feminised the game in order to make it more appropriate. It proclaimed itself against the rhetoric of perceived moral values of team spirit and masculinity that dominated the men's game.

Pollard in her book *Cricket for Women and Girls* wrote,

neither have I any patience with the sanctimonious cant that preaches, uphill and down dale, that cricket teaches one to play the game of life, and to realise what that exquisite and overworked term "it isn't cricket" can fully imply....Games- an especially such games as cricket- should not, I feel, be mixed up with sentimentalism, hypocrisy and cant. Why, then, do we play cricket? Because we like it.<sup>312</sup>

The Association was keen to emphasise that it didn't play competitive cricket. Resolutely amateur, it stressed that its players didn't play for trophies or points, and that it was 'playing for the sake of it' that was important.<sup>313</sup>

The Association also attempted to evade categorising its cricket into 'county' and 'test'. In 1934 an article by Pollard in the *Observer* stated 'although I have used the word "test"....we have done our utmost to avoid its use. Actually it has no connection with women's games'.<sup>314</sup> The Association was careful to be deferential to the men's game primarily because it required its support due to a lack of grounds available. The provision of spare land for recreation was limited for the entire population. In one county the provision for cricket in the boroughs and urban districts with populations over 5,000 varied from one pitch to every 5,500 persons down to one pitch to every 14,000 people.<sup>315</sup> Although some

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<sup>312</sup> Pollard, *Cricket for Women and Girls*, 13-14.

<sup>313</sup> Pollard, *Cricket for Women and Girls*, 128.

<sup>314</sup> *Observer*, 2 June, 1935.

<sup>315</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 12 June, 1939.

women were wealthy enough to play cricket in the grounds of their private homes, there wasn't a single public cricket pitch that was owned by a woman.<sup>316</sup> Although many of the associated schools and colleges had their own cricket pitches, clubs were reliant on the generosity of men to loan them grounds to play on.

The Association was also reliant on men for umpiring services. Due to the lack of female umpires during the early years of the Association it was necessary to hire men to fulfil this role.<sup>317</sup> Throughout the 1930s, it valiantly attempted to encourage women members to take an interest in umpiring to minimal results. In 1932 an Umpire Subcommittee was formed with the following members; Miss K. Doman, Miss Partridge, Miss Pasmore, Miss Pollard and Miss Woodward as secretary. The purpose of this subcommittee was to encourage members to train as umpires.<sup>318</sup> A leaflet on umpiring, similar to the AEWHA publication *Notes on Umpiring*, was compiled and circulated, but this only gleaned one enquiry. Kent County Association offered to arrange umpire coaching for any women interested.<sup>319</sup> In 1936 it was decided to start an umpire register in the hope it would encourage women to sign up as women umpires. This achieved a total of thirty-six interested people. Finally, a conference for umpires and scorers was held in London at the end of April 1938, but only twenty-eight women attended out of a possible 600. The Association remained predominantly reliant on men to umpire its games throughout the interwar period.

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<sup>316</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1937 Year Book*, 1937, 9.

<sup>317</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1930, 20.

<sup>318</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1932 Year Book*, 1932, 8.

<sup>319</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1935 Year Book*, 1935, 25.

It is interesting to note that despite the Association's insistence that women were not trying to compete with men, that this clearly was only relevant in the physical sense. When discussing umpiring, it was noted in the Association's magazine *Women's Cricket* that 'speaking generally, in ordinary club games the umpiring in women's cricket is not good. There is no reason at all why this should be the case, because this is certainly a part of the game where women can equal or excel men'.<sup>320</sup> It is clear that the Association believed that women should, and could, compete with men on an intellectual level, but not on a physical one. When the Australian cricket team visited in 1937, some women MPs, Miss Florence Horsbrugh, Miss Ellen Wilkinson and Miss Irene Ward gave them a guided tour of both Houses of Parliament, entertained them to lunch and enabled them to watch the speakers' procession. During their visit, whilst discussing cricket, the *Hartlepool Mail* reported that 'during their visit....the Australians agreed that although women make just as good MP's as men, it was not a good thing for women to compete with men in athletic sports'.<sup>321</sup>

Although the relationship between the Association and its male counterpart will be discussed in more detail throughout this thesis, it is worth noting here that by 1937 the Association had gained the support of many leading male authorities on the game, primarily because the Association continued to take a deferential position towards the MCC. In 1937 it offered positions on the honorary committee within the Association to leading men within cricket; Mr Hoyland, Mr Leveson Gowen, Lord Hawke, Sir Pelham Warner, Lord Somers, Mr Schillizi, Mr Davey and Rev. C. R. Hall.<sup>322</sup> It also jubilantly reported that the chairman Mrs

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<sup>320</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1932, 24.

<sup>321</sup> *Hartlepool Mail*, 20 July, 1937.

<sup>322</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1937 Year Book*, 1937, 15.



Heron-Maxwell had received a letter from Sir Pelham Warner stating 'I feel certain women's cricket has come to stay, and I congratulate you on all the splendid work you have done for so many years to bring about such a happy result'.<sup>323</sup>

The growth of the Association throughout the interwar period showed a genuine desire by thousands of women to have an opportunity to play regular cricket. By emulating the AEWHA, the Association was able to create the structure of the organisation relatively quickly and authorise disseminating control to districts, which was an effective method of successfully expanding by allowing individuals to focus their efforts in specific geographical locations. By taking a primarily deferential position towards its male counterpart, the Association was able to negotiate access to grounds, and their support. By emphasising that the WCA was not trying to compete with men, it was successful in avoiding the same fate as women's football, which was irreparably damaged by the men's FA when it issued a ban on affiliated clubs loaning their grounds to women's teams.<sup>324</sup> As one anonymous male correspondent reflected in *The Times* in 1937, 'the general consensus of male opinion was that, if the pretty innocents wanted to go and dress up as cricketers, they might as well make exhibitions of themselves in that way as in another'.<sup>325</sup> As the organisation expanded domestically, it also began to attract the attention of the male-run national press.

### **III. The relationship between the national press and the WCA.**

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<sup>323</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1937 Year Book*, 1937, 12.

<sup>324</sup> Taylor, *The Association Game*, 135.

<sup>325</sup> *The Times*, 16 July, 1937.

Between 1926 and 1929, the Association did not attempt to engage with the press or seek any publicity, other than the aforementioned formation announcement in *The Times* in October 1926. All matches were played on private grounds so as not to attract public opinion. Despite its best intentions, the organisation began to gain the attention of the press. This was made easier by members playing cricket in public parks, or on the beach where reporters could easily approach them. The coverage was predominantly negative. Most of the articles aimed to undermine women's cricket and portrayed it as frivolous. The Association committee reflected that,

the press, for better and for worse, took a leading part in these early days. The reputable correspondents stuck to the discreet directives on policy issued from headquarters, and when it came to reporting a match, recounted what they saw. But the more lively journals, in search for the sensational, were all too prone to happen on some graceless pose or some sartorial effrontery, which gleefully they splashed abroad as front- page news.<sup>326</sup>

One of the reasons for this sensationalistic attitude was a shift in the style of newspapers during the interwar period. The daily press grew in circulation from 3.1 million in 1918 to 10.6 million by the eve of World War Two.<sup>327</sup> Williams, in *Get Me a Murder a Day! A History of Media and Communication in Britain* has discussed how the establishment of the Audited Bureau of Circulation in 1931 officially established circulation figures, which allowed analysis on which newspapers and advertised products sold to whom. He argues

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<sup>326</sup> N. Joy, *Maiden Over; A Short History of Women's Cricket and a Diary of the 1948-49 Test Tour to Australia*, Sporting Handbooks, London, 1950, 36.

<sup>327</sup> K. Williams, *Get Me a Murder a Day! A History of Media and Communication in Britain*, Hodder Education, London, 1997, 58.

that 'this led to a growing recognition of women as consumers causing newspapers to attempt to tailor their stories to appeal to women readers to retain advertising revenue'.<sup>328</sup>

As a result, national newspapers began to cater to this audience by including stories on romance, scandal, beauty tips and eventually women's sport. Boyle in *Sports Journalism; Context and Issues* has asserted that,

sport and the media enjoyed a symbiotic relationship; sports coverage was recognised as one of the elements that helped to drive sales. In turn, the fledgling sporting organisations, many keen to establish themselves as national bodies, recognised, to varying degrees, the importance and commercial value of the exposure and promotion of their sport that accrued from national newspaper coverage.<sup>329</sup>

Articles in the national press are one of the primary sources of information about women's cricket in the interwar period. The interest shown in the subject is evident through the number of column inches, positioning of articles, content, tone and occasionally reader's opinions through 'Letters to the Editor' sections.

In 1920 there had been only two papers with million-plus circulations, in 1930 there were five, and in 1939 two at, or above, two million and three above a million.<sup>330</sup> Stevenson in *Social History of Britain, British Society 1914-45*, has argued that 'by 1914 something of a distinction had grown up between the huge-circulation 'popular' newspapers and the smaller 'quality' press'.<sup>331</sup> This was reflected in the small increase in sales of *The Times* from 45,000 in 1910 to 213,000 in 1939 and the *Daily Telegraph* from 230,000 in 1910 to 640,000

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<sup>328</sup> Williams, *Get Me a Murder*, 58.

<sup>329</sup> R. Boyle, *Sports Journalism; Context and Issues*, Sage Publications, London, 2006, 33.

<sup>330</sup> J. Stevenson, *Social History of Britain, British Society 1914-45*, Penguin Books, London, 1990, 402.

<sup>331</sup> Stevenson, *Social History of Britain*, 403.

in 1939'.<sup>332</sup> Comparatively in 1939 the *News Chronicle* had a circulation of 1,317,000, the *Daily Express* had 2,486,000, the *Daily Herald* had 2,000,000 and the *Daily Mail* 1,510,000.<sup>333</sup> According to a newspaper readership survey carried out in 1939, 69% of the population over sixteen years of age read a national newspaper and 82% read one of the national Sunday papers.<sup>334</sup> The 'popular' newspapers engaged in 'circulation wars', offering loyalty schemes for readers to receive books or clothes at a reduced price by purchasing the paper.

The *Daily Express* admitted that it had spent £30,000 a week getting to a circulation of two million, and new readers had been bought at 8/3 a head. Reynolds and Brasher in *Britain in the Twentieth Century 1900-1964* argue that the 'struggle for high circulation figures led to the production of papers which could be read with a minimum of effort but also with a minimum of value. Banner headlines, numerous photographs, gossip columns, famous 'gimmicks' such as large prizes for competitions, and special sections for women and children were the main features of the popular press'.<sup>335</sup>

The purpose of the 'circulation wars' was to gain an increased readership in order to gain larger numbers of advertisers. By 1938 it was estimated that over £100,000,000 was being spent on advertising, and that this was mainly through newspapers.<sup>336</sup> Seaman in *Life*

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<sup>332</sup> Stevenson, *Social History of Britain*, 403.

<sup>333</sup> L. C. B. Seaman, *Life in Britain between the Wars*, B. T. Batsford, London, 1970, 126.

<sup>334</sup> Stevenson, *Social History of Britain*, 402.

<sup>335</sup> E. E. Reynolds and N. H. Brasher, *Britain in the Twentieth Century 1900-1964*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1966, 92.

<sup>336</sup> Stevenson, *Social History of Britain*, 113.

*in Britain between the Wars* argues that 'newspapers increasingly depended on advertisement revenue and they could not attract advertising unless they had a mass audience'.<sup>337</sup> Newspaper production therefore, though highly profitable, was intensely competitive and the period saw a rapid decline in the number of independent provincial dailies. There was a decline in their political content and a tendency to sensationalise and trivialise. Increasingly, newspapers had to entertain their readers'.<sup>338</sup> Branson and Heinemann in *Britain in the Nineteen Thirties* have discussed how the style of the popular newspapers also changed, headlines were bolder and the number of pictures increased.<sup>339</sup> The inclusion of pictures was partly because of improved methods of reproducing photographs.<sup>340</sup> Robb in *British Culture and the First World War* has argued that the war introduced a greater emphasis on visual materials as a method of disseminating information.<sup>341</sup> By 1917, the government was distributing over 4,000 war photographs weekly.<sup>342</sup>

Pictures were frequently printed of girls in trousers, caps and headdresses. Other photographs showed girls with bare legs, bathing costumes, all purporting to be playing women's cricket.<sup>343</sup> The below picture is an example of the type of photographs the press published.

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<sup>337</sup> Seaman, *Life in Britain*, 122.

<sup>338</sup> Seaman, *Life in Britain*, 122.

<sup>339</sup> N. Branson and M. Heinemann, *Britain in the Nineteen Thirties*, Cox & Wyman, London, 1971, 249.

<sup>340</sup> Branson and Heinemann, *Britain in the Nineteen Thirties*, 249.

<sup>341</sup> G. Robb, *British Culture and the First World War*, Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2002, 121.

<sup>342</sup> Robb, *British Culture*, 121.

<sup>343</sup> Pollard, *Cricket for Women and Girls*, 23.



Picture 1: Girls playing cricket in bathing costumes

Source: *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1930, 21.

Barker-Ruchti, Grahn and Annerstedt in 'Moving towards Inclusion: An Analysis of Photographs from the 1926 Women's Games in Gothenberg' argue that by commenting on the appearance of women playing sport it served to devalue their efforts as serious players. They continue that by contrasting pictures with the surrounding writing it infers the gender ideals of the author, or editor, of the piece.<sup>344</sup> The content of many of the articles about women's cricket were peppered with phrases such as 'Eve's at the wicket', 'fair females

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<sup>344</sup> N. Barker-Ruchti, K. Grahn and C. Annerstedt, 'Moving towards Inclusion: An Analysis of Photographs from the 1926 Women's Games in Gothenberg', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 30, no. 8, 2013, 873.

fielding' and 'Lily Larwoods'.<sup>345</sup> However, not all the articles were negative. The *Hull Daily Mail* printed an article in 1927 that asked, 'cricket is rapidly capturing the enthusiasm of the modern girl and I don't see any reason why they should not make a success of it....Now what is Hull going to do about it? Surely we are not to be left out....I should like to know if it is anyone's intention to start a cricket club for girls'.<sup>346</sup> The *Cheltenham Chronicle* in 1928 stated 'those who have watched the ladies play on the Victoria Ground, Cheltenham, must have been surprised at the skill with which some of them wielded the willow'.<sup>347</sup>

Nonetheless, even those reports which were not negative nearly always contained comments that aimed to undermine the Association, rather than to celebrate its achievements. In particular this took the form of reminding readers that the popularity of women's cricket was not a new venture and the organisation shouldn't be seen as pioneering. The *Western Daily Press* asserted, 'ladies cricket is not, of course, a development of recent years. One recalls that nearly forty years ago two teams of lady cricketers went about the country giving exhibition games'.<sup>348</sup> An article by the *Nottingham Evening Post* had the heading 'not a new women's sport'.<sup>349</sup> The *Essex Newsman* also sneered, 'it may be news to these ladies that 136 year ago cricket was a popular pastime with women in Sussex'.<sup>350</sup> Interestingly, this patronising tone, which served to emphasise

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<sup>345</sup> *Observer*, 26 May, 1935.

<sup>346</sup> *Hull Daily Mail*, 6 April, 1927.

<sup>347</sup> *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 10 March, 1928.

<sup>348</sup> *Western Daily Press*, 29 June, 1928. This comment refers to the Original English Lady Cricketers discussed in chapter one.

<sup>349</sup> *Nottingham Evening Post*, 19 April, 1929.

<sup>350</sup> *Essex Newsman*, 31 August, 1929.

that the recent activities of women's cricket was not to be praised as 'modern', was also used in the 1890s when women's cricket first became popular. In 1890 an anonymous contributor to the *Pall Mall Gazette* sneered,

the journalists are all treating cricket for women as a perfect novelty. 'Tis about as new as hypnotism, which is at least as old as mesmerism....fifty ancient instances have given us the slip. Else we could prove to the satisfaction of any fair umpire that the *Standard* and the rest of them are completely out in treating our grandmothers as novices in the art of making catches or matches.<sup>351</sup>

At the 1929 annual general meeting, the Association chairman opened up the question of publicity. The minutes show that following a discussion, the members present were strongly in favour of publicity, because of its value in spreading knowledge of the official aims of the Association, thereby increasing the membership and number of affiliated bodies.<sup>352</sup> Pollard recounted that after, 'pictures appeared in some papers, so obviously posed....it became obvious, even to the most rabid on the matter, that good publicity must be found, tolerated, even assisted'.<sup>353</sup> The Association committee decided that in order for the game to develop the organisation needed to engage with both the public and publicity. The committee dubbed 1929 the 'Year of Publicity', where it would challenge any negative attention and begin to promote its own agenda.

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<sup>351</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 June, 1890.

<sup>352</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1929 Year Book*, 1929, 7.

<sup>353</sup> Pollard, *Cricket for Women and Girls*, 23.



One of the first actions it took was to arrange public, or 'representative' matches. Before 1929, the Association's friendly games had been confined to school and village grounds and as such, many women were still unaware of its growth. By organising matches featuring the most skilful players, then inviting the public and press to attend, it was hoped the public matches would raise the profile of women's cricket, showcase the ability of the players, combat the negative attention, increase membership and encourage the formation of additional clubs. Pollard asserted, 'it was no good playing games in secret and hoping that new players would be attracted that way'.<sup>354</sup>

However, the concept of representative matches was fiercely debated within the organisation. Many felt that the standard of the game was not yet high enough to open themselves to potential widespread criticism. Pollard was adamant in her condemnation of this approach, successfully arguing that if the game was to develop, it needed the cooperation of the press to raise awareness to potential members who didn't know the organisation existed. It was decided by a large majority to hold a representative match during the 1930 season.<sup>355</sup> *Women's Cricket* published the following statement explaining the decision,

this policy of the Women's Cricket Association is not approved by some players and of course they have every right to their opinion. The WCA wants, however, to make cricket possible for as many women as possible. This cannot be done by playing cricket secretly away in odd corners all the time. If a public match is directly or indirectly the

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<sup>354</sup> Pollard, *Cricket for Women and Girls*, 23.

<sup>355</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1929 Year Book*, 1929, 2.

means of getting into the Association even one more women's cricket club then that match will not be in vain.<sup>356</sup>

The first representative match was organised at Beckenham Cricket Ground between two sides representing 'London and District' and 'the Rest of England'. The entrance fee was priced at 6d. Although only a small crowd attended, members of ten schools were present and all expenses were covered, primarily due to the generosity of Beckenham CC, both through the help and encouragement of the officials and the ground being lent for free. The match was seen as successful due to the affiliation of two new clubs and from the positive articles by *The Times* which referred to the public match as the Association, 'carrying on their excellent pioneering' and *The Cricketer* who stated, 'if any mere man visited the Beckenham ground last week in the expectation of seeing a series of amusing and unpremeditated antics....he must have been considerably surprised'.<sup>357</sup>

#### **IV. Marjorie Pollard and the 'Clothing Problem'.**

As part of the 'Year of Publicity', the Association also decided to directly engage with journalists and editors of newspapers. The reason printed in *Women's Cricket* was 'if the WCA is to grow satisfactorily, it must have publicity, the right publicity so as to get proper recognition. Apart from the Press, there are few ways of getting this'.<sup>358</sup> This was met by approval by *The Times* whose cricket correspondent noted they, 'only seek publicity because

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<sup>356</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1930, 14.

<sup>357</sup> *The Times*, 17 July, 1930: *The Cricketer* reprinted in *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1930, 51.

<sup>358</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1930, 18.

it is the means whereby increased opportunities of doing so can be secured'.<sup>359</sup> The Association appointed a press representative, Marjorie Pollard, primarily due to her experience in writing regularly for the *Morning Post* about women's hockey. Any investigation into women's team games and media in the interwar period will lead to frequent mentions of Pollard.



Picture 2: Portrait picture of Marjorie Pollard.

Source: <http://monash.edu/library/collections/exhibitions/sport/virtual/photos/photo10.html>, accessed 21/07/2015.

Born on the 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1899 in Rugby, Warwickshire, Pollard was the youngest of three children. Educated at Peterborough County Grammar School and Bedford College, she became a journalist and then attended St Peter's Teacher Training College. A famous

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<sup>359</sup> *The Times*, 29 July, 1929. *The Times* was a prominent supporter of women's cricket, however, it must be noted that although articles were included in the sports section of the newspaper, they were printed in the same section as junior and school match cricket.

international hockey player, she held the position of president of the Midland Counties Women's Hockey Association between 1936 and 1963.<sup>360</sup> An accomplished cricket player, she was one of the founding members of the Association and regularly played for the Midlands County Association. Through her media work for both the AEWHHA and the WCA, Pollard was arguably the most prominent female sports journalist in Britain. In 1932 she created and edited a new paper called *Women's Hockey*, which was an unofficial alternative to the AEWHHA magazine, *Hockey Field*.<sup>361</sup> The editor of *Hockey Field*, Edith Thompson praised Pollard's writing abilities stating, 'Pollard has the real journalistic touch, and is very readable. She writes easily with humour'.<sup>362</sup> In 1935 Pollard set up her own small scale publishing house, Pollard Publications, located in Glengarry, Knebworth. Her prominence within both hockey and cricket led to her appointment of the National Women's Organiser for the Keep Fit Campaign, a government run organisation. In this role she was in charge of hockey, lacrosse and netball for the Women's Team Games Board for an annual salary of £400.

In addition to the responsibilities named above, during the first six months of her appointment, she reportedly visited twenty different counties, had interviews with thirty-three local newspapers, attended three conferences and made twenty-one public speeches. In Manchester the crowd of young people who listened to her speak was over 1,200.<sup>363</sup> As well as contributing articles to twelve different papers and periodicals, she also produced

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<sup>360</sup> *Derby Daily Telegraph*, 9 October, 1936.

<sup>361</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 3, no. 4, 1932, 73.

<sup>362</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 26 October, 1929.

<sup>363</sup> *Derby Daily Telegraph*, 13 May, 1938.

instructional films on hockey, cricket and netball.<sup>364</sup> She even had her own brand of women's hockey shoes.<sup>365</sup> Pollard was referred to by the *Wisden Book of Obituaries* as 'the first official reporter of women's cricket in the national press and the first woman radio commentator on the game'.<sup>366</sup> She was awarded an OBE in 1965 for 'services to local government and sport'.<sup>367</sup> Her activities certainly contradict Williams' assertion that no woman cricketer achieved national fame or became as well-known sporting star'.<sup>368</sup>

Pollard worked tirelessly in her campaign to publicise women's cricket and to promote the values of the Association. Her first step was to challenge the negative attention that the Association had been receiving from some newspapers. When negative articles were written about women's cricket, Pollard contacted the journalist or editor and offered to discuss the article to try to change their viewpoint. She explained her approach in an article in *Women's Cricket*,

I have in mind a criticism I saw in a paper not long ago. The editor had seen a picture of girls presumably playing cricket, and on the leg side, quite close to the batsmen were three fielders. The whole thing looked silly and was silly. I ferreted the matter out and found that the photographer had asked square leg to move in and two players

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<sup>364</sup> *Aberdeen Journal*, 29 March, 1937.

<sup>365</sup> *Bedfordshire Times and Independent*, 7 October, 1949.

<sup>366</sup> B. Green, *The Wisden Book of Obituaries*, MacDonald, London, 1986, 713.

<sup>367</sup> Pollard appears to have struggled financially during her later years. In 1971, she wrote a letter to *The Times* stating, 'Like many others in my generation I am now trying to live on savings from earnings. Five years ago this seemed a reasonable possibility. Now with the move into EEC ahead of us how do we, possibly fare under the forthcoming circumstances?....I suppose we could die a bit earlier'. She ended her own life in 1982 and a memorial service was held at the parish church in Roehampton. *The Times*, 22 March, 1982.

<sup>368</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 99.

from the slips to go over and so make a better picture. This was done with the ultimate result that women's cricket was held up to ridicule in that paper. I have since cleared up the matter with the paper concerned and a good and proper picture has been published, and I believe there is goodwill between us.<sup>369</sup>

Pollard's no-nonsense approach towards the press was effective in reprimanding any commentator who she felt had been unfair. An excellent example is the behaviour of Dennis Hendren. Despite running a winter school of cricket, which was promoted and frequented by women cricketers, he reportedly complained, 'I sometimes wonder whether they [women] really want to play cricket for the sake of the game itself or simply to invade another of the provinces hitherto solely occupied by men. This is an age when women try to do anything that men do in order to prove that they can'.<sup>370</sup> To which Pollard in *Women's Cricket* cuttingly retorted 'If you are a teacher, why not ask a class of children to analyse that last sentence'?<sup>371</sup> Of course, it was not always possible for her to successfully alter some opinions and this thankless task was seemingly endless. She once complained,

I had occasion not long ago to get haughty, with a famous professional cricket player who wrote the most arrogant and discourteous non-sense about powdering noses at the wicket, and what he would like to do to our bowling, and that we should never play like he did. This grand article was crowned by a beautiful portrait of the said gentleman. I tried hard to meet him, I wrote, I telegraphed. But no, the great man was impregnable. You see the unfairness of such attacks....no one has the right to make

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<sup>369</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1930, 18.

<sup>370</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 3, no. 5, 1932, 85.

<sup>371</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 3, no. 5, 1932, 85.

profit out of their popularity at the expense of someone else, and then refuse to hear the other side of the question.<sup>372</sup>

It is interesting to note that negative attention nearly always carried a by-line, but positive articles were written by a 'Mere Male', 'A Male Spectator', 'A Husband'. An anonymous letter from Watford to the *Women's Cricket* read, 'with other 'mere men' I was amazed at the display'.<sup>373</sup>

Pollard regularly invited journalists to matches to show them the potential of the women's game. Throughout the match she sat with them, providing a continuous stream of information about the progress and improvement of both the skills of the players and the organisation. Her continuous efforts slowly began to alter the general consensus by the national newspapers in 1931. Under the heading 'The Papers', Pollard wrote that, 'all the usual good class papers are still holding their interest. Those are the papers that definitely give space to Women's Cricket regularly: the *Morning Post*, *Evening News*, *Observer*, *Daily Mirror*, *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic* and now the *Sunday Referee*'.<sup>374</sup> That year, match reports on a representative match were published in the *Evening News*, *Star*, *Standard*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Sporting Chronicle*, *Observer*, *Morning Post*, *The Times*, *Daily Sketch*, *Daily Mirror*, *Daily Herald* and *Daily Mail*.<sup>375</sup> The *Morning Post*, *Observer* and *The Times* also regularly printed match reports, team selections and ran positive commentaries on the progress of the WCA throughout the interwar period.<sup>376</sup> It is clear that it was a constant

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<sup>372</sup> Pollard, *Cricket for Women and Girls*, 135.

<sup>373</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1935, 54.

<sup>374</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1931, 29.

<sup>375</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1931 Year Book*, 1931, 11.

<sup>376</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1929 Year Book*, 1929, 5.

battle to ensure the publicity was positive. In 1932, Pollard complained, 'there has been a flush of ridiculous rubbish visiting certain papers recently, and in one or two cases that rubbish has flowed from the pens of people who ought to know better'.<sup>377</sup>

Pollard also gained regular contributory columns in the *Morning Post*, *London Evening News*, *The Times*, *Observer*, and later the *News Chronicle*.<sup>378</sup> In these she discussed the women's game, their aims and the organisation. Although Pollard first began writing regular cricket columns for the *Observer* in 1933, her by-line was 'Special Correspondent' until 1935 when her name was printed as the author. In contrast, the *Morning Post* described itself as the 'voice of women's cricket' and hired Pollard not only to publish a column on women's cricket every Wednesday during the season, but also as their women's cricket correspondent to provide match reports on men's games.<sup>379</sup> The Association created a press-cutting book to keep track of all articles published about women's cricket and the Association. Unfortunately, it has proved impossible to locate.

The third part to the 'Year of Publicity' was to imbue a sense of personal responsibility into every woman cricket player in order to ensure that the organisation only received positive publicity. Any affiliated member who was pictured behaving in an inappropriate manner was contacted and berated. Members were educated in the tricks previously used by the press to ensure they captured women cricketers looking foolish, 'if they [the press] want "3 cheers for the winning hit"- or a "dab of powder between the innings" then they

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<sup>377</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 3, no. 5. 1932, 84.

<sup>378</sup> R. Heyhoe Flint and N. Rheinberg, *Fair Play; The Story of Women's Cricket*, Angus & Robertson, Buckinghamshire, 1976, 150.

<sup>379</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1936, i.



have come to the wrong place. If the WCA is to grow satisfactorily it must have publicity, the right publicity so as to get proper recognition'.<sup>380</sup> Pollard in particular was clear on her opinion that the right publicity was imperative, 'if the game of cricket belonged to us, then we could adopt that attitude of not caring what others think. But it does not, we only play it, and in playing it we must certainly offer it decency and respect'.<sup>381</sup>

She continually wrote articles on what she deemed appropriate or inappropriate behaviour to illustrate the importance of personal responsibility. Most of this revolved around personal appearance, which caused friction within the Association. This manifested itself in what the Association dubbed 'the clothing problem'. The growth of clothing specifically for sports increased dramatically during the interwar period. When games took place in the public sphere, upper-class women were expected to display modest behaviour. Thus women's clothing for sport, in reality, became clothing for interaction with men.<sup>382</sup> As this new arena allowed for flirting with the opposite sex, attractive clothes were necessary. Designers began to provide couture sportswear pieces for upper-class sportswomen. The most famous of these was Jean Patou, who opened a specialist sports outlet, 'Coin des Sports', in 1925 and designed outfits for famous sports stars, most notably Suzanne Lenglen, who he dressed both on and off the court.<sup>383</sup> In 1921 Lenglen caused a sensation in a Patou design, consisting of a wide bandeau across her forehead and a pleated shift dress that rested just below the knee, allowing for glimpses of rolled down stockings when she ran.

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<sup>380</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1930, 6.

<sup>381</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1932, 6.

<sup>382</sup> P. Warner, *When the Girls came out to Play; the Birth of American Sportswear*, University of Massachusetts Press, Boston, 2006, 6.

<sup>383</sup> V. Mendes and A. de la Haye, *Fashion since 1900*, Thames and Hudson, London, 2010, 66.

Shoots for fashion magazines such as *Femina*, *L'illustration*, or *Vogue* helped promote new sportswear fashions. As early as 1912 the cover of the August *Femina* showed the Olympic champion Mademoiselle Broquedis in full stride, as her loose skirt hem allowed for fluid movement.<sup>384</sup> Newly established fashion houses began to emulate the couturiers designs that were then replicated in the department stores, which also began to establish sportswear sections dedicating vast space to equipment and clothing.

Unlike the corseted, restrictive Edwardian fashions that reflected society's rigidly defined correct protocol with regards to class, gender and age, the 1920s and 1930s saw clothes increase in fluidity revealing a shift in ideals with regards to acceptable activities for women. The 1920s were dominated by the *garçonne* fashion. Originating from the 1922 novel *La Garçonne*, the look was based on the story of a modern young woman who pursued an independent lifestyle away from her family.<sup>385</sup> A youthful boyish style, which demanded a slender figure, brought a drastic change in the desired female physique with the removal of the corset and exaggerated curves of the Edwardian period. When the women ventured into hitherto accepted masculine sports they also began to share certain types of clothing, most notably the jumper, androgenised by Chanel. This androgynous style was also evident in the hairstyles of the time. By 1926 short hair became normal and the most daring even adopted the Eton crop. By the 1930s, female contours were once more accepted and accentuated; waists and busts were celebrated, yet the attractiveness of slenderness was still emphasised. It is particularly interesting to note, that during the entire history of fashion design, the interwar period is the one era dominated by women

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<sup>384</sup> D. Poirier, *Tennis Fashion*, Assouline, New York, 2003, 10.

<sup>385</sup> Mendes and de la Haye, *Fashion since 1900*, 58.

designers, suggesting that women were designing the new looser garments with other women in mind, rather than men deciding how women should dress. Although it has been claimed the changes in fashion post-war were the result of the aspirations of women who had enjoyed the extra freedoms which the First World War had allowed them, 1920s style actually supported the myth of equality and liberation.<sup>386</sup>

Appropriate clothing was obviously a contentious issue for the Association. The opening page of the *1928 Year Book*, and every year afterwards, had a section entitled 'regulations', under which it was stated that, 'WCA teams must play in white or cream. Hats and knickers must be white. Dresses or tunics must not be shorter than touching the ground when kneeling. Sleeveless dresses and transparent stockings are not permitted'.<sup>387</sup> Yet, from the formation of the WCA until 1939, debate about clothing appeared in the minutes of every annual general meeting and *Women's Cricket*, the official magazine of the WCA regularly complained of the 'clothing problem'. In 1936, an article by Pollard berated the readers, 'have you noticed, it is not those who were in the fight for women's cricket when it was fiercest and most difficult who are anxious to appear as if dressed for tennis or soft-ball or party games'.<sup>388</sup>

The Association experienced rebellion frequently from its members, particularly due to their outdated notions of appropriate clothing. In 1936, affiliated members, Betty and Barbara Peden overthrew the requirement of the WCA to wear stockings with their

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<sup>386</sup> E. Wilson and L. Taylor, *Through the Looking Glass; A History of Dress from 1860 to the Present Day*, BBC Books, London, 1989, 95.

<sup>387</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1928 Year Book*, 1928, 1.

<sup>388</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 7, no. 4, 1936, 66.

accompanying, inconvenient suspender belts. Betty persuaded club members to change to wearing knee- high hose (legally still stockings) while their superiors Mrs Heron-Maxwell and Miss Cox were away for the summer holidays. It was noted by Betty that ‘the furious elders reacted as if they were ruining the whole image of cricket’.<sup>389</sup> Stockings were a particular focus of attention during the 1930s because it was a novelty to expose the leg. They morphed from underwear to outerwear, suddenly visible to others, and thus their novelty was exposed to commentary.<sup>390</sup> On the other side of the world, the *Perth Daily News* reported on the stocking furore, as did the *Melbourne Herald*.<sup>391</sup> *The Times of India* also ran an article on the rebellion stating, ‘the long white stockings forced upon them by the Women’s Cricket Association are a thorn in the side of British women players, it seems from heated views I have heard expressed this week. Some women want bare legs. Others want socks, but the Association is sticking to stockings’.<sup>392</sup> Pollard, in *Women’s Cricket* vented the frustration felt by the older members of the Association towards the younger set with regards their attitude towards clothing,

a controversy has come more or less to a climax....on cricket fields this season we have seen ankle socks with bare legs, knee length stockings with bare knees and the usual white stockings. I would ask those who are anxious to get uniformity that demands bare legs, that the fight we had to get cricket established on good and first class grounds and to get ourselves accepted as cricket players was based on simple principles, **Women cricket players in this country do not own one cricket ground.**

Women cricketer players are entirely dependent upon the goodwill of the owners of

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<sup>389</sup> D. Macpherson, *The Suffragette’s Daughter, Betty Archdale*, Rosenberg, New South Wales, 2002, 119.

<sup>390</sup> Wilson and Taylor, *Through the Looking Glass*, 96.

<sup>391</sup> Macpherson, *The Suffragette’s Daughter*, 119.

<sup>392</sup> *The Times of India*, 11 August, 1936.

cricket grounds. Any one false step- any one power offended- even by the sight of bare legs (and often our legs are not too attractive to other people) may have repercussions that can undo the work of years. The future of women's cricket is worth far more than this alleged and immediate comfort to be obtained from the removal of one piece of suspension webbing [emphasis in original].<sup>393</sup>

Pollard genuinely believed that the removal of stockings as part of the uniform would cause difficulties in obtaining grounds for future matches because, 'the WCA was not yet firmly enough established to enable us to ignore public opinion'.<sup>394</sup>

Her concern was not unfounded. An article by the *Daily Mirror*, entitled 'Dress snobs MAKE sport for girls' claimed that it was because of the WCA's good sense in assuring women cricketers were appropriately attired that they were granted permission to play matches on classic county grounds; 'Imagine women cricketers invading The Oval in principle boy get-up. It is impossible. They would lose all privileges they have hardly earned. Now, all sportsmen, even members of the MCC take their hat off to women cricketers- their dress has won them the day....allow women cricketers' one scrap of licence in their dress and all the old trouble will be revived'.<sup>395</sup> It is clear that the dramatic tone used in the *Daily Mirror's* article was only echoing sentiments voiced by the Association earlier in the decade when Pollard wrote, 'if we are going to play cricket on good grounds, in respectable and tradition haunted places- then this clothing question must be given much more attention'.<sup>396</sup>

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<sup>393</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1937 Year Book*, 1937, 9.

<sup>394</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1937 Year Book*, 1937, 9.

<sup>395</sup> *Daily Mirror*, 2 August, 1938.

<sup>396</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1930, 3.

Pollard continuously reprimanded her fellow cricketers via *Women's Cricket* about the 'clothing problem'. It is easy to imagine her shuddering as she wrote, 'imagine a Lacrosse or Hockey team all in different garb. I mean don't imagine it- the prospect is too ghastly'.<sup>397</sup> In another article she described her 'shame' that anyone may believe that women cricketers played in trousers,

the other day I was showing to an elderly lady friend some press photographs of the various matches that had been played last season. After a moment of two with surprise in her voice she said, "but I thought all women played cricket in trousers and hats". I, of course, blushed with shame and assured her that we most certainly did not. Then I said, "whatever made you think that"? The answer was "well, all pictures I ever saw of women cricket players showed either trousers or shorts".<sup>398</sup>

Unfortunately, the dogged approach that was successful when dealing with members of the press, erred on the side of a nagging house-mistress when used internally within the Association, causing some discomfort to some members who found her unapproachable. She recalled that

one day I was stumped for something authentic to write about in a certain newspaper. So, I wrote to a player; I consider her a friend of mine....The reply I got- about a week later was: "You are a nuisance and an old know all". Perhaps I am , but I have set my hand to the difficult task of getting women's cricket as a game, known, recognised and

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<sup>397</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1930, 19.

<sup>398</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1932, 6.

established by way of the press....I am prepared to be regarded as a nuisance and a know all (though both are contrary to my nature).<sup>399</sup>

She was at times highly critical of particular players. In 1937 she published her personal diary on the season's cricket with one entry stating, 'there is something just not right about this team, it lacks solidarity somehow, and if Maclagan and Snowball fail, well I don't believe the rest could make 100 between them. I am in the mood for rudeness, so perhaps I had better stop'.<sup>400</sup> Similarly, when commenting on school cricket in 1938 she stated, 'I saw and played against Cheltenham, Royal School, Bath and Clifton High School; I am not going to be unkind, I should hate to be that, but the girls batted very badly'.<sup>401</sup>

It is clear that many Association members were intimidated by her constant tirades as to the concept of personal responsibility in relation to the press. Pollard herself recounted attending a match and overhearing a player say "Come on, we'd better be quick over tea, Pollard's here".<sup>402</sup> Pollard's behaviour encouraged many players to remain affiliated in name only.<sup>403</sup> During fundraising activities prior to hosting the Australian women cricketers in 1937, it was Pollard who led the berating of ordinary members, 'do you know I have proved over a period of five years, that only 5% of games players take any real notice of letters, circulars or requests. Five players out of every hundred it would seem are sufficiently

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<sup>399</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1936, 1.

<sup>400</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 8, no. 3, 1937, 52.

<sup>401</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 2, no. 3, 1931, 52.

<sup>402</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 9, no. 4, 1938, 9.

<sup>403</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1936 Year Book*, 1936, 10.

intelligent and polite enough to be able to answer correspondence. Actually, of course, it's not lack of intelligence, it's just sheer waywardness'.<sup>404</sup>

The relationship between the Association and the national press was varied dependent on the publication and the activities of the Association. There is no doubt that Pollard worked extremely hard to try to gain positive press for the Association and her tireless work caused many publications to give them fairer press. A dominant character, Pollard also caused friction within the organisation with her constant admonishment of behaviour which she deemed inappropriate. This was particularly hard for the younger generation of cricketers, whose primary interest was to enjoy the game; this clashed with the older committee and the message it was attempting to promote. One of Pollard's primary methods of communicating with other members of the Association was through its official magazine *Women's Cricket*.

#### **V. *Women's Cricket*, the WCA's own sporting journal.**

In her role as press representative, Pollard encouraged several magazines to print instructional articles about women's cricket. *New London Magazine*, *The Gateway*, *The Girls Own Paper*, the *YWCA Gazette* and *The Girls Own Outdoor Book* published by the Religious Tract Society all published instructional articles aimed at women and girls to encourage them to start playing cricket. In 1930, in her role as press representative, Pollard created the

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<sup>404</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1936, 42.



first magazine dedicated to women's cricket. *Women's Cricket* was formed after the *Hockey Field* (the official AEWHA magazine) and *Lacrosse* (the official LLA run magazine) both published articles by Pollard on women's cricket. These articles promoted the organisation to women who already played a winter team game and were potentially seeking an activity for the summer months. They also provided instructions on cricketing techniques. These articles were so well received across the two magazines' readerships that the WCA committee members unanimously decided that they should run their own publication.<sup>405</sup> The magazine was loaned £20 by the committee to cover the initial costs of setting up, with the understanding that the policy of the paper would be 'to make cricket possible, enjoyable, and fruitful for all women and girls'.<sup>406</sup> Priced at 6d. per edition, *Women's Cricket* was published monthly throughout the cricketing months of May to September. The first edition, launched in May 1930 was twelve pages in total. It contained letters of celebration and congratulations from famous women such as Lady Stanley Baldwin, Edith Thompson, editor of the *Hockey Field* and Margaret Stanstead, Principal of the Bedford Physical Training College.<sup>407</sup> Thereafter, all editions were sixteen pages and featured instructional articles, match reports, pictures, advertisements, general news, rule amendments, fixture lists and lists of affiliated clubs, schools and members.<sup>408</sup>

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<sup>405</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1929 Year Book*, 1929, 2.

<sup>406</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1930, 1.

<sup>407</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1930, 3.

<sup>408</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1929 Year Book*, 1929, 2.

*Women's Cricket* aimed to emulate *Hockey Field*, which had been started by Thompson whilst she was at King's College in 1901 'as a link between all clubs'.<sup>409</sup> It was believed that the paper was successful in bringing the organisation together, as many people who had experienced isolation previously were able to have an insight into the activities of other women cricket members. In 1935, it was requested that all clubs appoint a press correspondent to send updates and news from each club for the magazine.<sup>410</sup> Forms were sent out to affiliated clubs to encourage them to send in match reports and any other areas of interest to be printed. Pollard, supported by her assistant Miss Chamberlain, produced a report on the progress of *Women's Cricket* at the annual general meeting. During this report she made it clear that she welcomed feedback from colleagues in the form of concern, advice, suggestions, contributions or criticism.

Pollard also saw *Women's Cricket* as a vehicle not only to share news across the organisation, but also as a method of further educating women cricketers in the game. The reason given for this was, 'women cricket players, have as yet no background, no tradition, no history to our game, I feel all the more strongly that we should read all we can, of what is best in the men's game'.<sup>411</sup> To achieve this, *Women's Cricket* published book reviews on several publications and encouraged its members to purchase the specific texts. Williams has argued that 'more books were published between the wars about cricket than any other

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<sup>409</sup> M. Pollard, *Fifty Years of Women's Hockey, the story of the foundation and development of the All England Women's Hockey Association 1895-1945*, Pollard Publications, London, 1936, 4.

<sup>410</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1930 Year Book*, 1930, 8.

<sup>411</sup> It is interesting to note that *Women's Cricket* carried several articles throughout the interwar period on the activities of women cricketers prior to the formation of the WCA, which makes this assertion rather odd. *Women's Cricket*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1933, 9.

team ball game. Whilst little is known about which cricket books sold most copies, the number of titles alone suggests that the desire to read about cricket exceeded that of other sports, which in itself indicates the cultural significance accorded to cricket'.<sup>412</sup> Books reviewed in *Women's Cricket* included; *The Game of the Season* by Hugh de Selincourt, *The fight of the Ashes 1930* by P. F. Warner, *Playing for England* by Jack Hobbs and *Getting Wickets* by C. V. Grimmett to name a few. Reviewing *The Game of Cricket* by A. P. F. Chapman, P. G. H. Fender, D. R. Jardine and H. D. G. Leveson-Gower, Pollard gushed, 'the book has been a source of real pleasure during the winter months and I can truthfully say that I have never before so much enjoyed what is really a strong instructional piece of work....it should be in every school and college library and all clubs should at least possess one copy'.<sup>413</sup> She also named the four best instructional books on cricket as being, the aforementioned *The Game of Cricket*, *The Boy's Book of Cricket* by F. A. Hemsley, *Cricket* by D. M. Lyons and *Over!* by Hugh de Selincourt.

However, in line with the Association's decision to insist men and women's cricket was completely separate, many of the reviews contained the reassurance that the book was also suitable for women cricketers. When reviewing *Strokes and Style in Cricket* by W. G. Quaife, Pollard specifically noted, 'this book could well be in every schoolgirl's and every woman cricket player's bookshelf'.<sup>414</sup> It is interesting to note that publishers clearly thought that there was a market for women who wanted to read cricket books. This was evident in two publications; *Cricket* by D.M. Lyon, and *Cricket; How to Succeed* by D. R. Jardine, which both

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<sup>412</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 68.

<sup>413</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 2, no. 1, 1931, 9.

<sup>414</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1932, 16.

included a separate chapter on the topic of women's cricket. The latter's was guest written by Marjorie Pollard. This book was written as part of the 'How to Succeed' series on sport, which included swimming, lawn tennis, hockey and athletics. In her chapter Pollard asserted that an improvement of throwing into the wicket would take at least a generation to achieve.<sup>415</sup> Lyon's instructional *Cricket* contained some assumptions about the women's game, 'I suspect that women players, like boys, think it rather grand to bowl over-arm. I suspect that they think under-arm bowling is far beneath their dignity. Under-arm bowling, chiefly because of rarity, would I firmly believe, be successful to-day especially among ladies'.<sup>416</sup> In her review Pollard responded to this chapter rather half-heartedly positive, 'we are given some gratuitous advice- a little late in the day perhaps- but obviously this is the first instructional book written by a man, that has included a chapter about us'.<sup>417</sup>

Pollard also wrote books aimed at sportswomen to give instruction. She wrote *Hockey: How to Succeed*, an illustrated instructional booklet priced at 6d. in 1934, which had a foreword by president of the AEWHA Miss H. M. Light.<sup>418</sup> This was followed by *Hockey for Women*, priced at 7/6. This publication gained praise from the *Bedfordshire Times and Independent*, which enthused, 'besides being a great player, Miss Pollard is an able writer, not only on hockey but on various other branches of sport. Her latest book, *Hockey for Women* has been a great success'.<sup>419</sup> In 1934, Pollard wrote and published the book *Cricket for Women and Girls* which described the formation of the women's game and included

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<sup>415</sup> Quoted in the *Dundee Courier*, 26 May, 1936.

<sup>416</sup> Quoted in *Women's Cricket*, vol. 3, no. 3, 1932, 41.

<sup>417</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 3, no. 3, 1932, 43.

<sup>418</sup> *Western Morning News*, 17 January, 1935.

<sup>419</sup> *Bedfordshire Times and Independent*, 1 November, 1929.

instructional advice on playing cricket. In 1937, she published *The Australian Women's Cricket Team in England 1937*. The anonymous reviewer in the *Derbyshire Times and Chesterfield Herald* was positive, stating

each match played during the tour is dealt with in detail and in critical fashion. Miss Pollard has proved herself not only a keen critic of games, as well as a player of them, but equally good as a writer. Published at 2/6 it is of special interest to women while men players will probably be surprised on reading it to know of the enormous interest there is in the country in women's cricket.<sup>420</sup>

Lyon and Jardine weren't the only male cricket authorities who were willing to offer their advice to the women's game. A. E. R. Gilligan, cricket correspondent to the *News Chronicle* when asked to write an article for women's cricket stated, 'in view of the wonderful strides that women's cricket has made, I think that if I gave a few hints on one or two "faults" I noticed last year, this would be much better than writing a long article on faults or condemning women's cricket, such as I noticed in one of our daily papers last season'.<sup>421</sup> Guest articles from prominent male cricketers such as A. E. Lawton, ex-captain of Derbyshire were also published in *Women's Cricket* providing instructions on how to bat.

The inclusion of articles by male cricketing authorities within *Women's Cricket* showed that *Women's Cricket* was accepted as a valid publication by its male counterparts. This was also evident from the support *Women's Cricket* gained from the leading men's cricketing journal *The Cricketer*. Set up by the leading men's cricketer P. F. Warner in 1921, he envisioned the periodical, according to Birley, to be the sporting equivalent of the *Morning*

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<sup>420</sup> *Derbyshire Times and Chesterfield Herald*, 24 December, 1937.

<sup>421</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1932, 10.

Post 'the stoutest pillar of respectability'.<sup>422</sup> The *Cricketer* was positive about the work of the Association from its formation and supported women playing cricket. In 1930 it gave space to discuss the public match at Beckenham stating its support, 'the work being done by the Association is distinctly praiseworthy, if only because it is proving, and in no uncertain manner, that the game is suitable for women. The fair sex have been playing cricket for about two hundred years, and it is a matter of congratulations that their interest have at least been placed on a sure and sound footing'.<sup>423</sup> The periodical was advertised in *Women's Cricket* with the line 'The *Cricketer* will appeal to all readers of women's cricket....may we send you a specimen copy'?<sup>424</sup>

They also regularly mentioned women's cricket in the *Cricketer Winter Annual* and provided favourable reviews on works published by the Association. Following the example set by the AEWHA, whose rule book sold over 15,300 copies between 1923 and 1938, the WCA set up a subcommittee to draft a book, which once approved, was published in 1933, priced at 6d.<sup>425</sup> *Notes on the Laws of Cricket* proved popular with over 1,000 copies sold within the first year. Copies were sent to all national newspapers and to well-known critics.<sup>426</sup> It received favourable reviews, particularly in *The Cricketer*, which printed, 'One must admire the enthusiasm of the Women's Cricket Association, who have just produced a

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<sup>422</sup> D. Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, Aurum Press, London, 1999, 215.

<sup>423</sup> *The Cricketer* reprinted in *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1930, 7.

<sup>424</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1935, 60.

<sup>425</sup> Pollard, *Fifty Years of Women's Hockey*, 41.

<sup>426</sup> Pollard, *Cricket for Women and Girls*, 26.

most excellent book of *Notes on the Laws of Cricket*....and right well has the work been done'.<sup>427</sup>

By 1936 over 2,000 copies of this publication were sold and a further 1,000 printed. Following this success the subcommittee also published a pamphlet on how to coach cricket. *Coaching Cricket* was published in 1934, priced at 4d. It sold over 450 copies during the season. This was quickly followed in 1934 by the book *Cricket for Women and Girls* written by Pollard. *The Cricketer* stated 'this must obviously become a standard work for women's cricket....it has our unqualified approval'.<sup>428</sup> It received widespread approval. The *Manchester Evening News* gushed, 'an eminently sensible book....written by that amazing woman Marjorie Pollard'.<sup>429</sup> Never one to avoid self-promotion, the sub-heading of the book contained the sentence; 'cricket from the woman's point of view by the world famous woman athlete'. In 1939 the subcommittee published the *WCA Handbook*. Costing 6d. it was the first book to contain an explanation of the laws of the game and articles on umpiring, equipment and actual play in one publication.<sup>430</sup> In 1937 Pollard wrote a piece on women's cricket for *The Times Special Cricket Number* which celebrated the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the MCC, and in 1938, an article on women's cricket was printed in *Wisdens' Annual*.

*Women's Cricket* had mixed success. Initially, it saw a surge in popularity. After its first year it had a circulation of over 500 copies, with almost half of the individual members of

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<sup>427</sup> *The Cricketer* reprinted in *Women's Cricket*, vol. 4, no. 4, 1933, 42.

<sup>428</sup> *The Cricketer* reprinted in *Women's Cricket*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1934, 23.

<sup>429</sup> *Manchester Evening News* reprinted in *Women's Cricket*, vol. 5, no. 4, 1934, backpage.

<sup>430</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 10, no. 2, 1939, 22.

the Association becoming subscribers. The following year was even more successful, over 700 copies of the May 1931 edition were sold and there was an overall increase of approximately 50% in subscribers throughout the year, with fifty people committing to become life subscribers. It also had an established international audience with copies sent to America, Australia, Canada, France, Holland, India, Kenya, New Zealand, Shanghai, South Africa, and the Argentine by 1935.<sup>431</sup> However, as is evident from the above section on the national press, Pollard used *Women's Cricket* as a vehicle through which to communicate her frustrations on the activities of various members and to promote her own position. In almost every edition Pollard bemoaned the lack of new subscribers or castigated those who had failed to pay subscription fees. In 1934 30% of clubs affiliated to the WCA didn't order any copies and neither did 40% of individual members.<sup>432</sup>

*Women's Cricket* provided the Association with its own voice, which it could use to communicate topics that the editor felt was of high importance. Through advertisements the magazine gained the support of national businesses such as John Lewis, which validated the necessity for women to have sporting attire. *Women's Cricket* was also used by Pollard as a method of building alliances with other organisations, particularly men's cricket.

## **VI. Conclusion.**

The interwar period saw an increase in the number of sports that women had an opportunity to participate in. Government policies to increase the fitness of the population

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<sup>431</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1930 Year Book*, 1930, 13.

<sup>432</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1934, 2.



in the 1930s were complemented by a rise in the number of women who were choosing to engage in sports during their leisure time. The WCA was formed in 1926 by a group of hockey players looking for an activity to fill the summer months. As a result the Association was heavily influenced by the AEWHHA with relation to structure, constitution and its relationship with its male counterparts. By emulating the AEWHHA, the Association was able to quickly structure its organisation and to successfully disseminate power throughout the organisation. Unlike the AEWHHA, the WCA was heavily reliant on its male counterpart for access to grounds.

The relationship between the national press and the Association was varied. Although initially negative, the press took a more positive interest in the game as the organisation grew. In part this was due to the Association not only combatting the negative reports, but also producing its own publicity through books, broadcasts, newspaper articles and the official Association magazine *Women's Cricket*. This allowed the Association to have its own voice, through which it could communicate, not only with its own affiliated members, but also any interested parties. *Women's Cricket* was also used to forge relationships with leading male cricketing contemporaries, in particular *The Cricketer*, which was the leading men's cricket journal in this time period.



### Chapter three: The Women's Cricket Association, international relationships and domestic repercussions.

The previous chapter has described the formation and structure of the Women's Cricket Association (WCA). It has also discussed the relationship between the WCA and its male counterparts and the press. This chapter aims to build on this knowledge by further exploring these relationships as well as investigating the relationship the Association developed with its international counterparts, and how organising international tours impacted on domestic developments. The first section of this chapter will explore the first international tour in women's cricket of 1934/5 when a representative English team visited Australia and the effect of the tour for the hosts.<sup>1</sup> The second section will consider the domestic repercussions that the 1934/5 tour had on the Association and the preparations to host a return visit from the Australians in 1937.<sup>2</sup> The third section will assess how successful the 1937 tour of England by the Australians was for the English side.

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<sup>1</sup> For more information on the 1934/5 women's cricket tour to Australia see R. Cashman and A. Weaver, *Wicket Women, Cricket & Women in Australia*, NSW University Press, New South Wales, 1991, 70-100: J. L. Hawes, *Women's Test Cricket, The Golden Triangle 1934-84*, Book Guild, Sussex, 1987: R. Heyhoe Flint and N. Rheinberg, *Fair Play; The Story of Women's Cricket*, Angus & Robertson, Buckinghamshire, 1976, 34-45: N. Joy, *Maiden Over; A Short History of Women's Cricket and a Diary of the 1948-49 Test Tour to Australia*, Sporting Handbooks, London, 1950: D. Macpherson, *The Suffragette's Daughter, Betty Archdale*, Rosenberg, New South Wales, 2002: G. Morgan, *Women's Cricket Touring in 1934/5 and 1948/9; An Autobiography by Grace A. Morgan*, BPR Publishers, Wiltshire, 2009, 1-108.

<sup>2</sup> For more information on the 1937 women's cricket tour to Australia see Hawes, *Women's Test Cricket*: Heyhoe Flint and Rheinberg, *Fair Play*, 34-45: Joy, *Maiden Over*.

## I. 1934/5 English tour to Australia.

Following the examples of both the men's Ashes series and international women's hockey matches which first occurred in 1927, the proposal for matches between the English and Australian women's cricket teams was welcomed during the 1930s.<sup>3</sup> Whilst women's cricket began to grow in popularity in Britain during the interwar period, it also gained increased interest in Australia and New Zealand. The history of women's cricket in Australia is however, slightly different to that of Britain.<sup>4</sup> The first known women's cricket match between organised cricket clubs in Australia took place in 1886, between the Fernleas and Siroccos.<sup>5</sup> During the 1900s women's cricket gained popularity in Victoria, Tasmania and New South Wales, with the first inter-state match occurring in 1900 between Victoria and New South Wales at Sydney.<sup>6</sup> Twenty-one clubs joined the Victorian Women's Cricket Association, founded in 1905, playing for an oak and silver shield.<sup>7</sup> The First World War caused the Victorian Association to abandon women's cricket. However, similar to Britain, women's cricket in Australia experienced a resurgence in popularity in the 1920s and 1930s. Cashman and Weaver in *Wicket Women, Cricket & Women in Australia* have described the 1930s as 'the golden years of Australian women's cricket'.<sup>8</sup> The Victorian Association was

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<sup>3</sup> J. Williams, *A Contemporary History of Women's Sport, Part One: Sporting Women, 1850-1960*, Routledge, London, 2014, 157.

<sup>4</sup> For more information on the history of Australian women's cricket see Cashman and Weaver, *Wicket Women: C.*

Papasergio and J. Moy, *The History of Women's Cricket in Western Australia, 1930-1980*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1989:

J. Pollard, *Australian Cricket, The Game and the Players*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1982.

<sup>5</sup> Pollard, *Australian Cricket*, 1118.

<sup>6</sup> K. Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, Scolar Press, Aldershot, 1994, 48.

<sup>7</sup> Joy, *Maiden Over*, 46.

<sup>8</sup> Cashman and Weaver, *Wicket Women*, 70.

reformed in 1923, and encompassed thirty-nine clubs by 1939.<sup>9</sup> Other state cricket associations were subsequently formed; New South Wales (1926), Queensland (1930), South Australia (1934) and Western Australia (1935). Inter-state matches began to be played. In 1930, women who had played cricket during the 1900s organised themselves into a group called the 'Pioneer's Association' which aimed to provide support to the next generation of players. They aided the creation of the Australian Women's Cricket Council (AWCC) in 1931.

In New Zealand women were playing organised matches in the Nelson province in 1886.<sup>10</sup> Public schools such as Mount Eden, Auckland and Wellington included the game in their physical education curriculum.<sup>11</sup> The first organised women's cricket organisation, the Aucklands Association, was formed in 1928. The New Zealand Women's Cricket Council was formed in 1934 and incorporated Southland, Otago, Canterbury, Nelson, Wellington, Auckland and Wanganui Associations from both islands.

The first international women's cricket tour was initially discussed in 1933 when the secretary of the WCA, Miss Cox, met with a member of the YMCA and woman cricketer, Miss Bennet, whilst on a trip to Australia. They discussed the possibility of a women's cricket tour and Bennet agreed to raise the suggestion to the AWCC at the next general meeting.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Pollard, *Australian Cricket*, 1118.

<sup>10</sup> H. Beckles, 'A purely natural extension: women's cricket in West Indies cricket culture', in H. Beckles and B. Stoddart (eds.), *Liberation Cricket: West Indies Cricket Culture (Sport, Society & Politics)*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1995, 225.

<sup>11</sup> I. Duncan, *Skirting the Boundary: A History of Women's Cricket*, Robson Press, London, 2013, 62.

<sup>12</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 12 May, 1933.

The idea was met with enthusiasm and the AWCC subsequently sent an invitation to the Association to send a touring team. The invitation was accepted eagerly by the Association, which began to plan the excursion.

Although the AWCC offered to cover all expenses whilst the Association's team were guests in Australia, it was unable to pay for the Association's travelling expenses to transport its players to Australia. Similarly a cable received from New Zealand had stated, 'delighted at prospect of English visit, can guarantee billets, entertainments, matches, but regret no travelling expenses, writing fuller details, trust satisfactory'.<sup>13</sup> The Association committee ruled that any player wishing to participate would have to pay their own fare. In April 1934, the following letter was sent to every member of the Association by Miss Cox:

Women's Cricket Association

Australian Tour

The WCA has accepted an invitation from the Australian Women's Cricket Council to send a team to Australia in December to play the States and three matches against Australia. It is probable that the team will leave England in October and arrive home again in April. It is hoped to travel out via the Suez Canal and return by New Zealand and the Panama Canal.

Members of the team will pay their own expenses to and from Australia, but are the guests of that country from the moment of landing. The estimated cost of the return voyage to Australia is £80 providing the dates fit so that tourist accommodation can

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<sup>13</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 5, no. 3, 1934, 34.

be utilised. An extra £5 would be entailed if the team returned via New Zealand. It is felt that at least £100 should be allowed by each player for the cost of the tour.

All WCA members and members of affiliated clubs are entitled to make application to take part in this tour. Applications should be of good club standard. A Selection Committee will consider the names sent in and choose a team of sixteen players.

Although members may not be able to state definitely in the course of a few weeks whether or not they can go to Australia, the Association committee is anxious to receive by April 21<sup>st</sup>, the names of any player who are likely to be able to make the trip, so that preliminary arrangements can be made.<sup>14</sup>

An invitation was also received for the team to play in Cape Town, either on the outward or homeward journey. Women first started playing cricket in South Africa in 1888 and by the early twentieth century there were two women's teams; the Wanderers club in Johannesburg and the Ramblers club in Bloemfontein. Odendaal has described how 'nurses attached to the British forces are known to have played cricket during the South African War and in April 1902 a match was played between 'Ladies' and 'Gentlemen' in order to collect funds to buy literature for soldiers'.<sup>15</sup> In 1932, Winifred Kingswell, one of the pioneers of women's cricket in South Africa, formed the Peninsula Ladies Cricket Club (PLCC) in Cape Town. The invitation telegram read 'we can promise the team a really good time, both

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<sup>14</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1935, 6.

<sup>15</sup> A. Odendaal, "Neither cricketers nor ladies': Towards a history of women and cricket in South Africa, 1860-2001', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 28, no. 1, 2011, 121.

entertainment and sightseeing as well'.<sup>16</sup> Kingswell commented on the Anglo- Australia tour stating, 'if cricket in South Africa is not merely a passing phase it should not be long before a triangular contest between these three main cricketing countries in the world will be held'.<sup>17</sup> For unknown reasons, this part of the tour never came to fruition.<sup>18</sup>

It is worth noting that this first women's international tour was organised immediately after the infamous men's Bodyline Tour of Australia in 1932/3.<sup>19</sup> D. R. Jardine, the appointed captain, was clear that he was seeking retribution from their resounding defeat at the hands of the Australians during 1930. During the selection process, he deliberately chose bowlers who had an intimidatory style, who could bounce the ball towards the batsmen's unprotected chest and head. Jardine reportedly held a meeting with the selected bowlers, Larwood and Voce, to ensure they understood the aggressive style that would be expected of them.<sup>20</sup> These dangerous tactics led to what *Wisden* described as 'probably the most unpleasant [Test] ever played'.<sup>21</sup> The situation was exacerbated by the Australian press, which not only reported a heated exchange of words between the English tour manager, Warner, and the Australian captain, Woodfull, but denounced the English side of bad

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<sup>16</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 5, no. 3, 1934, 40.

<sup>17</sup> Odendaal, 'Neither cricketers nor ladies', 123.

<sup>18</sup> The PLCC affiliated to the WCA in 1934. Further developments, such as the formation of the South Africa and Rhodesia Women's Cricket Association, didn't occur until 1952. Odendaal, 'Neither cricketers nor ladies', 124.

<sup>19</sup> For a more detailed look at the Bodyline Tour see D. Birley, *A Social History of Cricket*, Aurum Press, London, 1999, 221-259; D. Frith, *Bodyline Autopsy, The Full Story of the Most Sensational Test Cricket Series: Australia v England 1932-33*, Aurum Press, London, 2002; L. Frewin, *The Boundary Book: Second Innings*, Bounty Books, Oxon, 1960.

<sup>20</sup> Birley, *Social History of Cricket*, 236.

<sup>21</sup> Birley, *Social History of Cricket*, 236.



behaviour.<sup>22</sup> This was made worse when the Australian Board of Control (ABC) publicised a telegram they had sent to the MCC which stated, ““Bodyline” bowling has assumed such proportions to menace the best interests of the game....in our opinion it is unsportsmanlike. Unless stopped at once, it is likely to upset the friendly relations between Australia and England’.<sup>23</sup> The use of the word ‘unsportsmanlike’ caused great upset to the MCC, given their self-cultivated reputation that cricket was the most British and gentlemanly of all games. In retaliation the MCC offered to cancel the remaining matches of the tour. The Australian government, scared that an insult to the English could affect trade when the country was suffering from low agricultural prices, applied pressure to the ABC to continue the tour and to send a cable to the MCC contradicting their earlier message. The ABC obliged asserting, ‘we do not consider the sportsmanship of your team to be in question’.<sup>24</sup> In the two years that followed, prior to the proposed return visit by Australia to England, the controversy of the tour remained at the forefront of international cricketing conversation for both the ABC and the MCC.

It was in these tense conditions that the WCA and the AWCC arranged the first women’s international tour. Marjorie Pollard, aforementioned editor of *Women’s Cricket*, made her position on the Bodyline Tour clear in an article for the magazine. She wrote,

A. W. Carr, captain of Notts is reported to have said that he intends to use “the leg trap” in county cricket. Which means, I suppose, that we shall see the “bodyline bowling” of which we have heard so much- possibly too much!....any bowler who

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<sup>22</sup> R. Holt, *Sport and the British; A Modern History*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989, 235.

<sup>23</sup> Frith, *Bodyline Autopsy*, 218.

<sup>24</sup> Birley, *Social History of Cricket*, 238.

forces the batsman to defend his stumps with the rightful weapon is the spectator's friend....the effectiveness of the English bowling with Larwood as "the spearhead" of the attack....I take off my hat to Harold Larwood!<sup>25</sup>

She also reviewed several of the cricketer's books in *Women's Cricket* following the bodyline tour, these included; *The Fight for the Ashes* by J. B. Hobbs, *Jardine Justified* by Bruce Harris, *Larwood* by Arthur Mailey and *Bodyline* by H. Larwood. She wrote

through all the books there is the assertion that the English Team were not given a "fair deal"- and some of the incidents- much distorted no doubt by the Press, sound really unpleasant....Larwood's own book *Bodyline*....is indeed a fast furious and virile piece of work- full of criticism of Australia and Australians, but also full of much sound advice for bowlers and players. A strong lively book in which the words humbug, abuse, hysterical, boo and hiss occur frequently. Larwood certainly had a thin time.<sup>26</sup>

It was clear that Pollard's sympathies lay with the English men's touring side.

Despite the aforementioned books warning of the Australian press, and crowds of barrackers, over thirty women applied for places on the tour, with fifteen chosen by the selection committee. These were; Betty Archdale (Great Comp, in Kent), M. Burletson, (Anstey Physical Training College), M. Child (Cuckoos, in Cobham), Betty Green (Civil Service), M. Hide (Cuckoos), J. Partridge (Wycombe), J. Liebert (Preston), M. Maclagan (Minley Manor), G. Morgan (Civil Service), M. Richards (Dublin), E. Snowball (Winchester), D. Spear (Norwich), M. Taylor (Gunnorsbury), D. Turner (Gunnorsbury) and C. Valentine

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<sup>25</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1933, 31.

<sup>26</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1933, 46.

(Cuckoos). The players were mostly from the South East of England, all were unmarried and the average age was twenty-four.<sup>27</sup> The tour was six months long in total, which also included a detour to New Zealand to play its women cricketers. They set sail on October 22<sup>nd</sup> 1934 on the Cathay SS, after a farewell dinner hosted by the chairman Mrs Heron-Maxwell and other members of the committee who were not making the journey. Asked by one of the travelling members whether Mrs Heron-Maxwell was slightly envious not to be going on the trip her brusque reply was 'she didn't like travelling and she didn't like meeting people'.<sup>28</sup>

It is clear that the women saw the tour as a great adventure. Grace Morgan kept a diary throughout the tour, which has subsequently been published. *Women's Cricket Touring in 1934/5 and 1948/9* has provided invaluable details of the boat journey to Australia, their adventures as tourists, and the actual cricket played.<sup>29</sup> On the journey to Australia she detailed the fun they had on board, playing deck cricket against the officers from first class, or table tennis.<sup>30</sup> She wrote, 'we ragged some of the officers cabins....we floured their pillows and the inside of their hats, sewed up any coats or shirts that were lying about, put paper in the electric light switches so that they would not go on, put oil or cream on their sponges, took their batteries out of their torches and wetted their bath towels'.<sup>31</sup> And, 'some had stationed themselves aloft behind some fire buckets and these were tipped on to....followers when they came for the victims. Flour bombs were thrown at

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<sup>27</sup> Morgan, *Women's Cricket Touring*, 16.

<sup>28</sup> Macpherson, *The Suffragette's Daughter*, 94.

<sup>29</sup> Morgan, *Women's Cricket Touring*.

<sup>30</sup> Morgan, *Women's Cricket Touring*, 21.

<sup>31</sup> Morgan, *Women's Cricket Touring*, 30.

them next and of course stuck as they were wet. Treacle was also smeared on their faces'.<sup>32</sup> These practical jokes were very similar to the activities that men's touring teams also engaged in. The women's cricket team also performed plays, read poetry or walked around the deck for entertainment. The journey took them past the coast of Africa, where local tradesmen would sail up to the ship in little boats to try to sell local goods.

Nor did the fun stop when they reached Australia. Betty Green recalled in *Women's Cricket* that, 'the greatest fun of all was the kangaroo hunting....we chased them in motor-cars over rough country, and it was rather like speed boating, only with more bumps'.<sup>33</sup> At Deniliquin, the tea interval was enlivened by a display of boomerang throwing and singing by the aboriginals who presented the tourists with boomerangs and flowers made from feathers.<sup>34</sup> For those women fortunate enough to make the trip, it was clear that the AWCC had spent considerable time organising a generous and enlightening tour. *Women's Cricket* reported,

at every arrival or departure there were civic receptions, speeches, welcome dinners or afternoon tea and photos with local prominent figures. At their first engagement at Freemantle Town Hall, over 200 local people welcomed them. During a meal arranged at Goulborn the local Mayor asked them to stay and marry the local men so they could breed good Australian cricketers to defeat the English in future!<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Morgan, *Women's Cricket Touring*, 30.

<sup>33</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1935, 8.

<sup>34</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1935, 8.

<sup>35</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 6, no. 4, 1935, 68.

Prior to the tour, the WCA and AWCC had ensured that compromises on any discrepancies in play had been settled. A letter from the AWCC had informed the WCA that they played eight balls to an over, following the example of the men's team and also used the same size ball of the men.<sup>36</sup> The WCA felt the full size ball was too big for women's hands, due to complaints about the difficulty to spin successfully. As a result they recommended a smaller and lighter ball which 'shall not weigh less than 4, 15/16 ounces and not more than 5, 1/16 ounces, and it shall not measure less than 8, 10/16 inches, and not more than 8, 3/4 inches in circumference'.<sup>37</sup> Together the WCA and AWCC agreed to use the six ball over as dictated by the rules of the MCC but that they would use the 5, ½ ounce ball favoured by the Australians. However, when in Australia, an argument arose concerning the hours of play. Morgan, in her diary, recalled that 'the AWCC had arranged for the match to be played from 1.15pm to 6pm each day, without consulting us. Our committee disapproved as it would be practically impossible to finish any match under the present two-day ruling as there wasn't long enough for play'.<sup>38</sup> It is clear that the English team was unaware of interstate tension and rivalries in Australia. As noted above, although women's cricket had been established in individual states for a while, it had only recently merged as a national governing body. Victoria was keen to play the same long hours that the English side wanted, while New South Wales wanted shorter hours. One state official suggested that they wanted the state games to be drawn so as to arouse more interest in the test games, following the easy victories for the English side during the first match. As captain for the tour, Archdale wrote a 'long firm letter' to the committee of the AWCC, making 'it clear that

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<sup>36</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 5, no. 3, 1934, 40.

<sup>37</sup> M. Pollard, 'Women's Cricket', in D. R. Jardine, *Cricket; How to Succeed*, Evans Brothers, London, 1934, 30.

<sup>38</sup> Morgan, *Women's Cricket Touring*, 43.

they had not come 12,000 miles to play a lot of drawn games'.<sup>39</sup> The matter was quickly resolved in favour of the English point of view.

Before the tour, the Association believed that women's cricket was much more advanced in Australia than in England and the tourists went into the first game extremely nervous.<sup>40</sup> However, it soon became clear that the Australians were substandard in comparison to the English side. Appendix VIII shows all the matches played by the touring side. As it illustrates, the touring side were unbeaten throughout their entire tour of Australia. Out of twenty-one matches, they won fifteen, drew four and had two abandoned due to rain.<sup>41</sup> Maclagan, one of the stars of the tour, scored the first known century in women's international cricket against Australia at Sydney, and, on one occasion, took seven wickets for ten runs. For the Australians, Peggy Antonio, a seventeen year old spin bowler, caused chaos initially for the English side, which had little experience facing good spin bowling.

Due to the low level of interest in women's cricket in Australia prior to the English visit, the AWCC had seen the tour as a method of advertising the game to potentially interested women, who may be inspired to affiliate. Appendix VIII illustrates how games had been organised across different states and against local teams with the aim of generating interest throughout the country. Although they had gained access to the national ground at Sydney for one of the three England versus Australia fixtures, it was not believed the tour

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<sup>39</sup> Macpherson, *The Suffragette's Daughter*, 102.

<sup>40</sup> *Portsmouth Evening News*, 25 July, 1934.

<sup>41</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 5 April, 1935.

would be overly popular with spectators. The small crowds previously seen at women's games meant the AWCC did not consider that it would be able to raise substantial funds from gate receipts to cover the cost of playing host to the English side. It had a bank balance of just 14/8 when it issued the invitation to the WCA.<sup>42</sup> In order to cover the costs of providing transport within Australia and accommodation, members had spent many hundreds of hours knitting, toffee making and arranging social events in order to raise the necessary funds. One player, Nell McLarty had made the team's shirts after her employer, Henry Bucks, allowed her to use their machines.<sup>43</sup>

As a result, any gate receipts were profit for the AWCC. The interest shown in the tour was overwhelming for the hosts. A crowd of 3,500 attended the match against West Australia. There was an average of 4,500 spectators over the three day match at the Sydney Cricket Ground. After the first two days, an attendance of over 7,000 had reaped receipts of approximately £300. After the second test match, profits had reached £800, with the AWCC optimistic that it would increase to over £1,000 by the end of the tour.<sup>44</sup> This popularity, and subsequent financial success continued. At the third test at Melbourne, the attendance totalled just under 14,000 for the three days, which translated into just under £500. Nor was it only the test matches that attracted large crowds. At some smaller grounds, spectators lined the boundary four deep and climbed trees in order to get a good view of the match. In December, a public holiday was held on the day of their visit in one of the towns and almost the entire population attended the game.<sup>45</sup> The English team reported of locals poking their

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<sup>42</sup> Cashman and Weaver, *Wicket Women*, 83.

<sup>43</sup> Cashman and Weaver, *Wicket Women*, 73.

<sup>44</sup> *Australian Women Weekly*, 19 January, 1935.

<sup>45</sup> Morgan, *Women's Cricket Touring*, 47.

heads through their train carriage windows in remote locations to ask questions on the previous day's play.<sup>46</sup> The activities of the visitors became so popular that Betty Snowball and Myrtle Maclagan were approached by two men working on a ditch whilst walking in the Blue Mountains who asked "how did the batting end up yesterday"?<sup>47</sup>

The large crowds brought many barrackers with them. Barracking was well known to take place in Australia during the men's Ashes series, especially following the unhappy reaction from the crowd during the Bodyline Tour. In June 1933, in response to the Australian Board of Control's request that bodyline bowling be banned from the upcoming tour by the Australians, the MCC sent a telegram stating, 'barracking has unfortunately always been indulged in by spectators in Australia to a degree quite unknown in this country. During the late tour, however, it would appear to have exceeded all previous experience, and on occasions to have become thoroughly objectionable'.<sup>48</sup> The Association players were continuously asked by the local press about their reaction to the shouts emanating from the spectators. Interestingly, however, there is no evidence of the press asking them their opinion of the Bodyline Tour, or its effect on Anglo- Australian relations. It can be assumed however, that given the proclivity of the Association committee to insist that women's cricket was completely separate from the men's game, as discussed in the previous chapter, that they were unlikely to willingly publish any comments that inferred that the men's game could impact negatively on the women's. The English side took the barracking in its stride, reacting with humour to the comments, which were for the most

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<sup>46</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1935, 11.

<sup>47</sup> Macpherson, *The Suffragette's Daughter*, 111.

<sup>48</sup> Frith, *Bodyline Autopsy*, 368.



part, humorous and without malice. Betty Green stated that the crowds were fair on the whole, appreciative of good play but witty during slow periods. She commented particularly of the call of, "Urry up, Miss, I've got ter gow and milk the cow"! in her diary published in *Women's Cricket*.<sup>49</sup>

The 1934/35 tour legitimised women's cricket in Australia. Papasergio and Moy argue that the visit of the English women had given women's cricket a greater respectability and acceptability in the eyes of the public and the press.<sup>50</sup> The players were aware that their play and behaviour was under close scrutiny and that their performance, and the reaction it generated, was vitally important to the standing of women's cricket. At the farewell dinner given by the Victorian WCA the tourists were told their 'visit has been thoroughly appreciated and has helped Australia women's cricket considerably'.<sup>51</sup> The touring team had demonstrated the potential ability of women's cricket and showed that the game was suitable for women.<sup>52</sup> The popularity of the tour also encouraged the growth of organised women's cricket in Australia. In New South Wales the touring team had inspired the affiliation of six schools.

The New South Wales Women's Cricket Association committee sent twenty-five guineas to the Association in commemoration of the visit of the first international women's cricket team to Australia. They asked that a small token might be bought, which would be a permanent remembrance to the tour, and requested that the rest of the money be used

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<sup>49</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1935, 32.

<sup>50</sup> Papasergio and Moy, *History of Women's Cricket*, 3.

<sup>51</sup> Morgan, *Women's Cricket Touring*, 78.

<sup>52</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1936, 28.

towards the advancements of women's cricket. The Association committee decided to spend some money framing photographs of the 1934/5 touring team. The rest of the money was devoted to aiding clubs that had recently affiliated. Each club was sent a cricket ball and the two WCA publications, *Notes on the Laws of Cricket* and *Coaching Cricket*, together with a leaflet explaining the gift and giving advice on the care of the cricket ball.<sup>53</sup>

The day after the third and final test, the English side set sail from Melbourne to New Zealand aboard the *Waganella*. It was evident that the English side was vastly more experienced than the New Zealand team. In the only test match between England and New Zealand, Betty Snowball achieved a record score of 189 runs in 222 minutes.<sup>54</sup> The English side won by an inning and 337 runs. Despite this, the visit from the English side was apparently invaluable in helping the development of the game. Appendix IX shows the matches played by the touring side in New Zealand. M. Hutton-Whitelaw, an Auckland representative player, wrote to the WCA stating that prior to the tour, women's cricket had received little recognition and men regarded it as a joke. However, since the tour the press were dedicating more space to women's cricket and the public had retained their enthusiasm for the game.<sup>55</sup> The touring team set off home on 23<sup>rd</sup> February on the *Rotorua* which arrived back in England on 4<sup>th</sup> April. The diary of Morgan shows that the return journey was not as excitable as the outward journey, with repeated entries concerning washing and letter writing.

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<sup>53</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 6, no. 4, 1935, 62.

<sup>54</sup> Hawes, *Women's Test Cricket*, 24.

<sup>55</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1936, 49.

It is clear that the visit by the English side to Australia had been an overwhelming success for the hosts. Keen to replicate the benefits the hosts had gained from the tour, the WCA immediately issued an invitation to host a representative AWCC side during the summer of 1937 before the English side had even set off home from New Zealand.

## II. Domestic repercussions of the 1934/5 tour.

The activities of the English touring side were cabled back to the Association committee throughout the tour and reprinted in both *Women's Cricket* and Pollard's weekly column on women's cricket in the *Morning Post*. The Association was delighted that its representative tour had returned unbeaten, and thrilled by news of the interest shown by the Australian male authorities and press. *Women's Cricket* proclaimed, '[we] can imagine no greater experience, no more satisfactory way of using knowledge and also no better way of showing that women's cricket in England is good, decorous and full of spirit'.<sup>56</sup> Despite this claim, there were several incidents noted by the captain in her diary which indicated both poor behaviour and manners. Whilst in Australia many of the newspapers reported on the clothing of the cricketers. This was also very common in England, as discussed in the previous chapter, and had caused much friction between the Association committee and the press. However, the tourists apparently reacted to the writings within the Australian newspapers with hilarity. Morgan wrote in her diary, 'Betty decided that the fuss about their apparel was one of the penalties that women paid in this not yet liberated world'.<sup>57</sup> She also described the Pioneer Ladies, who were responsible for the progress of women's cricket in

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<sup>56</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1934, 6.

<sup>57</sup> Morgan, *Women's Cricket Touring*, 100.

Australia, as 'nice but I can't imagine them playing cricket for they seemed much more like a mothers meeting'.<sup>58</sup>

The Association members were surprised to learn that women's cricket in Australia had transformed from the exclusive game of private school girls, to being played in state schools, factories, businesses and working-class suburbs.<sup>59</sup> Apart from in New South Wales, girls hadn't had the opportunity to learn the game at school and instead played for local factory teams. The first of these was the Semco factory team, established in 1923. This was followed by two other factory teams; Pelaco, a shirt manufacturers and Raymond's shoe factory, which both fielded teams from 1931.<sup>60</sup> Thus the players affiliated to the AWCC were predominantly working-class, as were the organisers, many of whom were men.<sup>61</sup> The Western Association's Women's Cricket Associations' Cricket Committee comprised of Mr A. Evans (president), Mr M. J. Sinclair (vice president), Dr Bentley (patron), Marie Jegust (secretary) and two delegates from each club.<sup>62</sup> Members of the touring side noted their shock that the players were predominantly from a working-class background. Their behaviour towards the Australians was on occasion discourteous, 'at a luncheon given by the Women's Service Guild, we even sang grace. I am afraid some of the team could not restrain their amusement'.<sup>63</sup> And 'some of our team found it difficult to relate to people who did not speak the same language. The Australian accent was also a bit of a shock. But

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<sup>58</sup> Morgan, *Women's Cricket Touring*, 75.

<sup>59</sup> Cashman and Weaver, *Wicket Women*, 70.

<sup>60</sup> Cashman and Weaver, *Wicket Women*, 73.

<sup>61</sup> Macpherson, *The Suffragette's Daughter*, 104.

<sup>62</sup> Papasergio and Moy, *History of Women's Cricket*, 3.

<sup>63</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 6, no. 4, 1935, 68.

by and large any criticisms were obviously superficial and trivial'.<sup>64</sup> Morgan was clearly surprised when it became apparent that the Australian women had taken their criticism to heart. Miss Partridge having taken a walk with one of the Australian organisers returned with the news, 'that certain Australians did not like us and thought we were very snobbish. This was such a bombshell as we thought we were getting on so well that for a time we were absolutely speechless. However, we decided to be more careful in future, to accept all invitations and not make any comparisons'.<sup>65</sup> This confession is particularly interesting when compared to the Association's official stance printed in the *1935 Year Book*, which read, 'special thanks were given to the touring team and their captain Miss Archdale for their fine record in Australia and New Zealand in upholding the ideals of the Association in behaviour'.<sup>66</sup>

The fact that women's cricket in Australia was predominantly working-class was clearly a shock to the Association which, from its creation, had been clear that its members, similar to the All England Women's Hockey Association (AEWHA), should belong to the middle and upper classes. At the formation meeting of the Association, the committee was clear on the socio-economic background that it expected its members to have. Under the heading 'Qualifications of Members', the 1926 Yearbook contained the following statement,

It was thought necessary to have some knowledge of the suitability of those wishing to become members....it was decided that intending members must be proposed and seconded by people approved by the WCA....all those present, or who had been

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<sup>64</sup> B. Archdale 'When Cricket was Fun' reprinted in Macpherson, *The Suffragette's Daughter*, 113.

<sup>65</sup> Morgan, *Women's Cricket Touring*, 51.

<sup>66</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1935 Year Book*, 1935, 7.

unable to attend but had written a letter to indicate their support, were included in these approved personnel.<sup>67</sup>

The women who were part of the executive committee in 1926 all belonged to the upper and upper middle classes and resided predominantly in the Home Counties. None of the twelve committee members in 1932 lived further north than Hertford. Mrs Heron-Maxwell owned the Great Comp estate in Kent, which covered four and a half acres of land on which she housed cricket and hockey matches.<sup>68</sup> Mrs Scott Bowden also owned property in the form of the Park Hotel in Malvern. Mrs Arthur Moores, who was president of the Northern Counties Association was able to house the entire Australian cricket team in her house for three days during the 1937 tour.

This selective attitude ensured that the organisation remained exclusive. In this policy it was emulating the AEWHA and the Ladies Lacrosse Association (LLA), both of which also aimed to keep the organisations open only to middle- and upper-class women. Furthering this stance, the WCA was deliberate in the publications it chose to advertise its organisation. It selected magazines that were aimed at young women with a disposable income, who were au fait with other sports such as tennis and hockey. *The Gateway*, self-promoted as the 'Magazine of Opportunity' was targeted by the Association. Aimed at middle- and upper-class women, it was 'full of interest for the intelligent modern girl'.<sup>69</sup> This monthly magazine was edited by an ex-hockey player and thus dedicated considerable space to women's sports. The inclusion of women's cricket by *The Gateway*, was celebrated by the

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<sup>67</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1926 Year Book*, 1926, 1.

<sup>68</sup> *The Advertiser*, 11 March, 1938.

<sup>69</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1930, backpage.

Association as a signal of acceptance that it was now placed alongside tennis, golf and athletics as a fashionable sport for suitable women to engage in.

During its formative years the Association only circularised fee-paying schools and colleges, which provided an education for middle- and upper-class girls. Although initially the affiliation fee for schools was set at only 1/-, in 1927 the committee debated whether the registration fee for schools, colleges and clubs should be increased from 1/- to 5/-. This raised concerns by some members who believed 5/- was too expensive for schools when cricket was only played during the summer term. Their concerns were countered by others who were more worried that a small affiliation fee would 'lower the prestige of the Association'.<sup>70</sup> As the LLA demanded a school subscription of 10/- and the AEWHA charged between 5/- and 12/- the WCA clearly believed it needed to charge similar amounts to reflect the same status. Eventually it was agreed that the subscription should be 2/6 to reflect the fact that cricket was only played during one school term. In 1938 this was altered to 7/6 the same as other clubs, which was broken down to include 5/- to the WCA, 2/- to the county and 6d. to the district. When the Association first began to play public matches in 1929, it sent invites to specific schools to watch the game. Each school girl was charged 6d. to gain entrance. At the 1930 annual general meeting it was proposed by two members, Miss Straker and Miss Hewlett that as the standard of play was not good enough, that there should be no gate money charge. They were roundly defeated by every other Association committee member that was present as they feared that the removal of an entrance fee

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<sup>70</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1927 Year Book*, 1927, 7.

would lead to 'swarms of small boys'.<sup>71</sup> It also prevented any girls who didn't belong to these elite schools from gaining entrance.

Similar debates over other affiliation fees occurred during the earliest years. At the formation meeting of the Association there was a debate on appropriate affiliation fees. Initial proposals placed a playing member's subscription at 10/- but after discussion this was dropped to 5/- by a narrow margin of nine votes to six, with the caveat that 'members could send more if they pleased'.<sup>72</sup> To place this fee in context, 10/- was recommended by social investigator Sir John Orr as the weekly price at which a man could procure a diet that was adequate in both quantity and quality. The committee further qualified that after the first 100 members had been enrolled, an entrance fee of 5/- was added to the subscription of 5/- but to encourage the formation of clubs, a group of not less than ten members was allowed to join at a subscription of 4/- per head, without an entrance fee but the clubs itself would pay a registration fee of 1/-.<sup>73</sup> Associate members' fees were also dropped from an initial suggestion of one guinea, to 10/6d. The affiliation fees were therefore out of reach for those women who did not have a sizeable allowance, or disposable income. For working women, for whom the average wage was less than 10/- a week, the fees were not attainable.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1930 Year Book*, 1930, 1.

<sup>72</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1926 Year Book*, 1926, 1.

<sup>73</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1927 Year Book*, 1927, 7.

<sup>74</sup> For more information on working class wages during the interwar period see K. Laybourn, *Britain on the Breadline, A Social and Political History of Britain 1918-1939*, Sutton, Gloucestershire, 1990, 7-40; S. Rowbotham, *A Century of Women, the History in Britain and the United States in the Twentieth Century*, Penguin Books, London, 1997, 184-186; J. Stevenson and C. Cook, *Britain in the Depression, Society and Politics 1929-39*, Longman Group, Essex, 1994, 24-25, 38-39; J. Stevenson and C. Cook, *The Slump*, Quartet Books, London, 1979, 16-18, 37-38.



It was clear that many members of the Association had little concept of what constituted average wages. Betty Archdale, captain of the 1933/34 WCA tour to Australia wrote,

as regards personal finance, some of us arrived home penniless. But when one thinks of the many thousands of miles we travelled for the official round-the-world fare of £91/8/-, it is surely a sound investment. Naturally we have had to pay a good deal in tips, current expenses, presents, side trips in New Zealand, and above all photography, raised the bills...without exception we were all students or in jobs....we were nice people with nice manners but had no money at all.<sup>75</sup>

Archdale, who was employed in the Civil Service, clearly had a slightly misplaced concept of 'no money'. As a student, she had travelled to Switzerland before her LLM exams in order to 'free herself of any distractions'.<sup>76</sup> As a trained lawyer Archdale was responsible for all the Association's legal work, including drawing up the constitution. She was later appointed principal of the women's college of the University of Sydney in 1946.

For some members of the committee, money was obviously of little object. When it was proposed that associate members should be able to subscribe to life membership, the initial proposal of £3/3/- was actually increased to £5/5/-. Although the motion was carried, there were four dissentients who expressed their concern at how large this amended amount was. In response, ten of the committee members present immediately offered to

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<sup>75</sup> Macpherson, *The Suffragette's Daughter*, 91.

<sup>76</sup> Macpherson, *The Suffragette's Daughter*, 91.

become life members and paid the fee. Again, to place this in context, in 1938, 88% of the population had incomes of less than £5 per week. Of these, 31% earned only £2/10/-.<sup>77</sup>

Not only were affiliation fees out of reach for the majority of women, but there were extra costs associated with membership to the Association. Equipment, clothing and travel expenses were all additional costs to the individual. The Association's official magazine, *Women's Cricket*, cost 6d. per copy. As well as including instructional articles, match reports and pictures, it also contained advertisements. From the outset, the magazine aimed not only to return the start-up fee of £20 loaned by the Association, but to turn a profit. The primary method of accomplishing this was to follow the same method as the newspaper press; by selling advertising space to minimise the subscription fee and increasing circulation. Despite paying back the start-up loan within two years, the subscription rates remained at 6d. per individual copy. It is interesting to note that *Net Ball*, which was also edited by Marjorie Pollard, was evidently aimed at the working-class girl as it was priced at only 3d. In 1934, *Women's Cricket* contained nineteen advertisements spread over sixteen pages. From its first publication, *Women's Cricket* promoted specific manufacturers as 'official' producers of uniform and equipment. As the production of moderately priced, mass produced clothing improved, the department stores soon sought to out-perform the others by linking themselves to specific sports or organisations. Women's cricket was a focal point for John Lewis and Lilywhites, which became official suppliers of the WCA. In 1930, the addresses of the stores were printed in the magazine along with other details, 'the green WCA blazer with badge may be obtained from John Lewis and Co., 278-88 Oxford Street, London, W1, priced 32/9. The green and white striped tie from Thos. Plant and Co., 18,

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<sup>77</sup> Rowbotham, *A Century of Women*, 185.

Colonnade, Cheltenham, priced 2/6 and 3/6. Sweater, trimmed green, from Lillywhites, Ltd., Piccadilly Circus, SW1, price 18/6'.<sup>78</sup> Bats were advertised for 27/6 from Lilywhites, and WCA approved cricket balls at 12/- each.<sup>79</sup> Interestingly, men's bats were also priced at a similar level, between 25/- and 42/- depending on the size required and balls between 11/- and 13/- depending on whether they were club or county.<sup>80</sup>

The advertisements in *Women's Cricket* show the products and prices deemed suitable for its subscribers and provides an insight into the expected level of disposable income that the average member was expected to have. In 1930 Pollard wrote an article on transport, discussing the merits of four cars that were suitable, reliable and economical, ranging from £122 to £175. She noted 'a car makes all the difference to games- it is possible to arrive at a match not tired and harassed by trains and connections and the getting from the station'.<sup>81</sup> Pollard herself owned a Singer 8 H.P., priced at £150.

Courting advertisements in *Women's Cricket* led to an important change on the ruling of amateurism within the Association. The Association was clear that its membership was open for amateur players only. In 1938 what officially constituted an amateur was debated by the Association committee in response, not only to enquiries by advertisers wanting to sponsor individual players during the forthcoming tour to Australia and New Zealand, but also because of Pollard's activities, writing for the press and establishing Pollard

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<sup>78</sup> *Women's Cricket Association, 1930 Year Book*, 1930, 1.

<sup>79</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 2, no. 2, 1931, 30.

<sup>80</sup> *Whitstable Times and Herne Bay Herald*, 3 May, 1930.

<sup>81</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 5, 1930, 7.

Publications, as discussed in the previous chapter. Pollard in an article for the *Observer* detailed the reasons why the concept of amateurism was being debated,

another matter of importance that will be discussed at the annual general meeting is one which concerns the amateur status. This season, with an England team being chosen, and so much in the public eye, it was natural (in these days) that manufacturing firms should offer free equipment to certain players. The WCA is a young association, and so is at the moment free to make its own bed, it is untrammelled by traditions, prejudices and precedents. It has before it the experiences and sorrows of other associations who are in the throes of defining what is now an amateur. Naturally it is anxious to avoid pitfalls and so this question of how much the receiving of free equipment affects amateur status is going to be thoroughly aired.<sup>82</sup>

In 1938 the Association changed its definition of amateurism from 'an amateur is one who does not play for money' to 'a player is not disqualified from playing by reason of accepting a position with a manufacturer or retailer of sports equipment, nor is she debarred from writing for the press, broadcasting or coaching for a fee; but she should not allow her name, initials or photograph to be used for the purpose of commercial advertisement'.<sup>83</sup> This is unsurprising given that men's cricket had similar rulings that allowed players to benefit monetarily whilst remaining an 'amateur'. Birley has similarly

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<sup>82</sup> *Observer*, 22 August, 1937.

<sup>83</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1938 Year Book*, 1938, 15.

stated that the AEWHA had an annual income of £900 during the interwar period, whilst remaining amateur.<sup>84</sup>

It is clear that some of the women who could afford to affiliate to the Association felt uncomfortable with the elitist stance of the committee. The highlight of the Association's cricketing calendar was the week-long excursion to Malvern, Colwall to replicate the week in 1926 that led to the formation of the Association. This event, known as 'Cricketing Week', required members to be able to afford to take a full week away from work and to pay the travel and accommodation, which required a deposit fee of 10/-.<sup>85</sup> Once in Malvern, the week would encompass teams, which were randomly selected, playing each other every day, with entertainment provided for the evening. The cost and time implications meant that less than 8% of the organisation ever attended Cricketing Week. Despite this, the September issue of *Women's Cricket* was always dedicated to the event excluding those who could not afford the time or money to attend. One anonymous member wrote to *Women's Cricket* asking about accommodation if she could attend Cricketing Week; 'what constitutes the right to stay at the Park Hotel. Is it reserved for the committee and for want of a better word the "Grandeess?"' The reply from Pollard, was sharp; 'It is foolish to think that it is reserved for "Grandeess" and I think that it would be an immense pity to let such a feeling grow'.<sup>86</sup> It was evident that this feeling of disillusionment did continue to fester. Under the heading 'Exclusive and Expensive', *Women's Cricket* reported that the editor had received a letter from a girl stating 'I long to play cricket but I have been told that all your

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<sup>84</sup> D. Birley, *Playing the Game: Sport and British Society 1910-45*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1995, 207.

<sup>85</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1928 Year Book*, 1928, 4.

<sup>86</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 5, 1930, 8.

clubs are exclusive and expensive'.<sup>87</sup> Pollard's response was to acknowledge that the tactful language of the letter really meant that the WCA were 'snobbish'. Although confirming that membership was expensive, as 'rents, equipment, teas, travelling, are all involved', Pollard felt she had assured the enquirer that they were not exclusive.<sup>88</sup>

In particular, the 1934/5 international tour to Australia created additional friction within the Association as to the committee's bias towards its wealthier members. Although the invitation to tour Australia was met with enthusiasm by the Association, the cost of the venture proved problematic for many of its members. As noted in the section above although the tour was, in theory, open to all members of the Association, it was in reality inaccessible to all but an elite few. Only those who were in a position to leave their home or jobs without pay for six months, and raise the return fare were able to apply to the selection committee for a place on the tour.<sup>89</sup> The financial costs were out of reach for all except the wealthiest individuals. One member, D. Macpherson recalled that the travel expenses were the equivalent of forty-three weeks of her salary. Another, Miss E. M. Child, had to leave her job at Queen Ethleburghs' School in Yorkshire in order to attend the tour as they wouldn't sanction the time off.

Those individuals who could afford both the travelling fee and the time away from work to take part in the 1934/5 tour to Australia then faced the selection committee. They unapologetically selected players based on their social suitability, rather than cricketing

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<sup>87</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1936, 22.

<sup>88</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1936, 22.

<sup>89</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1934, 1.

ability. The decision to award Betty Archdale with the captaincy was not well received within the general membership of the Association, who felt strongly the honour should have been awarded to Molly Hide, a superior player and experienced captain.<sup>90</sup> An article printed in *Women's Cricket* noted 'Archdale has been chosen captain. She is an experienced and travelled person. Sane, sensible, level headed and broad minded. A good bat, a willing field and an enthusiast'.<sup>91</sup> Archdale accepted that her appointment as captain was not due to experience or cricketing ability, but on account of her law degree which it felt gave her preparation for any speeches that needed delivering.<sup>92</sup>

The elitist stance of the Association committee caused a backlash within the membership of the Association. In her diaries Archdale recalled, 'there was a group in Surrey who stressed the fact we weren't really an English team, THE English team, we weren't selected on merit. They were absolutely right, we were a sort of touring team and the first real selected English team, selected on merit regardless of whether you could pay, was after the war'.<sup>93</sup> Many newspapers, particularly in the North of England, also condemned the selection process. However, it is important to note that this was also true of other sports that attracted players of the upper and upper middle classes. Rugby Union, lacrosse and hockey all organised tours during the interwar period where players were expected to pay their own fares.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Macpherson, *The Suffragette's Daughter*, 92.

<sup>91</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 5, no. 3, 1934, 38.

<sup>92</sup> Macpherson, *The Suffragette's Daughter*, 92.

<sup>93</sup> Macpherson, *The Suffragette's Daughter*, 114.

<sup>94</sup> M. Pollard, *Fifty Years of Women's Hockey, the story of the foundation and development of the All England Women's Hockey Association 1895-1945*, Pollard Publications, London, 1936, 19.

The domestic tension caused by the evident class bias of the Association committee caused difficulties in the preparation for the return tour by the Australians in 1937. The initial plan of the tour contained three representative matches of three days each, five district matches of two days each and two one day matches per district, ending with a three day representative match versus Our Touring Team of 1934 at the Oval.<sup>95</sup> It is clear that planning the visit placed immediate pressure on the Association committee. Not only had the AWCC executed a well-planned social itinerary, but the support of its male counterparts had ensured that the finest grounds and fairest social commentary had also been provided. The enormity of providing the same courtesy was overwhelming. A sub-committee of Miss Archdale, Miss Pollard and Mrs Somerset was appointed in 1935 to make the necessary arrangements for the visit of the Australian team. A pyramid structure was created as an effective method of disseminating responsibility whilst retaining control over activities and finances. Each location appointed a representative who made the local arrangements and reported them to a district secretary. All potential local activities were collated and reported to the sub-committee for approval. The full programme of the Australian visit, containing lists of matches, entertainment, receptions, and even the addresses of the temporary residencies of the Australians was sold for 6d.<sup>96</sup> Posters and handbills were issued from headquarters to each region in advance of the arrival of the visitors.

Funding the tour proved to be problematic for the Association. It was calculated that a minimum of £1,000 would need to be raised by April 1937. *Women's Cricket* ran an appeal

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<sup>95</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1935 Year Book*, 1935, 12.

<sup>96</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1937, 1.



to all cricketers asking for them to help take responsibility for raising the necessary funds. Many clubs enthusiastically took up the mantle. By October 1935, thirty clubs wrote letters pledging their help towards the fund, including one school and five county associations. A variety of fundraising methods were used. One member, Joy Liebert, designed special stamps of women playing cricket, which were not only used as a method of publicity, but were sold at an inflated price, with the profit designated for the fund. Harlow CC wrote to *Women's Cricket* to share its fundraising idea: 'each member had to take it in turns to provide something, wrapped up to be raffled off for 3d. to raise money for the Fund, it made it more exciting than simply demanding money and spectators usually bought a raffle ticket'.<sup>97</sup> Galmpton and Torquay WCC agreed to raise money through its cricketing performance, with '1d. fine from anyone making a duck and 1d. fine from every member of the team for every individual 25 scored against them'.<sup>98</sup>

Despite their hard work, by July 1936 only £306/10/2 had been received. As 1937 became a coronation year, the committee was faced with a sudden and unfortunate increase, not only in prices, but in demand for accommodation and transport, particularly in the capital. The pre-arranged boat on which the Australians were travelling on to Britain was cancelled and the only available alternative caused the team to arrive on May 3<sup>rd</sup> instead of May 31<sup>st</sup>.<sup>99</sup> The committee asked members to open their homes to provide private accommodation during the month of May and to raise additional funds to incorporate the increased costs.<sup>100</sup> The proposed money needed to entertain the Australians was revised to

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<sup>97</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1936, 36.

<sup>98</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1936, 56.

<sup>99</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1936 Year Book*, 1936, 12.

<sup>100</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1936, 62.

a minimum of £1,500.<sup>101</sup> The additional financial realities proved a great strain for the committee, which from the outset had continuously belied a tone of panic underneath all correspondence of the hospitality fund. The Association only managed to raise £900 before it raised a public appeal for help, which allowed it to reach the total needed.

As well as financial concerns, it was vital for the Association that it gained the support of male cricketing authorities. The 1934/5 tour had shown how supportive men's cricketing authorities were towards women's cricket in both Australia and New Zealand. The men's cricketing grounds of Sydney, Melbourne, Perth, Brisbane, Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch had been opened for the women's cricket tour.<sup>102</sup> The Association committee realised that in order to award the visitors with the same privilege, it would have to gain the support of its male counterparts. The Association began to openly court men's opinions and support in order to gain access to prominent grounds and to help financially. After the father of Herts and Stevenage player M. Mackintosh donated 5 guineas towards the 1937 hospitality fund, Pollard, in *Women's Cricket* simpered, 'if any other players have fathers who can be tackled (when in the right frame of mind, of course) we shall be delighted'.<sup>103</sup> The hon. treasurer, D. S. Snell equally implored, 'for any clubs who have difficulty in raising funds, smaller contributions will be most acceptable. If there are any fathers, husbands, brothers or friends who would also like to help, all donations will be very gratefully received'.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 7, no. 5, 1936, 96.

<sup>102</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1935, 33.

<sup>103</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 7, no. 4, 1936, 66.

<sup>104</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 6, no. 4, 1935, 62.

Although Edgbaston and Worcester county grounds had been offered to the WCA during the 1932 season and were again offered for the 1937 tour, the Association also approached the Oval seeking permission to host a fundraising match at the ground. The fact that the AEWHA had hosted an England versus Scotland match which had attracted over 9,000 spectators only months earlier, may have been a persuasive factor in the Oval's agreement to host the game.<sup>105</sup> The game, played between the 1934/5 touring side and 'The Rest' was scheduled for June 1935. The match was heavily promoted, newspaper advertisements regularly ran and pamphlets were inserted into every edition of *Women's Cricket* providing all details of the upcoming match.<sup>106</sup> The match became a symbol of the potential support women's cricket could expect for the future tour and indicate the level of external interest in the game. *Women's Cricket* urged its members; 'why not be the first women and girls to see the first women play at the Oval? Why not be there in person to show our team how pleased you were with their performance in Australia? We must concentrate on the date, it is of such vital importance; not only to us all, but to the very future of the WCA'.<sup>107</sup> The Association needed to prove to the Oval authorities that they were justified in loaning them the ground through a large crowd and subsequently, a large gate receipt. This in turn, it was hoped, would lead to the loan of other county grounds for the 1937 tour.<sup>108</sup> Over 2,000 tickets were sold before the match, which unfortunately ended in a draw due to heavy rain.

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<sup>105</sup> Pollard, *Fifty Years of Women's Hockey*, 43.

<sup>106</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1935, 1.

<sup>107</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1935, 1.

<sup>108</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1935, 2.

Following the match, the MCC donated £25<sup>109</sup> and Surrey CCC and Yorkshire CCC both gave £10 each towards the hospitality fund.<sup>110</sup> The MCC also invited the touring ladies to watch the Gentlemen versus Players match at Lords during their trip. Headingley, Old Trafford and the Oval also offered their grounds for the Australian tour. However, the generosity of the ground authorities was not necessary indicative of their support, but perhaps their financial ambitions. The Australian men's tours had begun as a private commercial event by the Australians. However, the MCC had quickly taken responsibility for organising test matches and inviting the Australian teams.<sup>111</sup> These matches were highly profitable and had led to the expanding of test series from three to five matches in order to allow various grounds to reap profits. It was hoped that the women's matches would attract similarly large crowds.

### III. 1937 tour and its repercussions for the Association.

In May 1937 the Australian team composing of sixteen players and a manager arrived in England. These were; Peggy Antonio (Victoria), Nancy Clements (Victoria), Elsie Deane (Victoria), Molly Flaherty (NSW), Winnie George (Victoria), Pat Holmes (NSW), Amy Hudson (NSW), Nell McLarty (Victoria), B. Peden (Comp CC, Kent), M. Peden (NSW), Hazel Pritchard

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<sup>109</sup> *The Times*, 25 May, 1937.

<sup>110</sup> *Observer*, 9 May, 1937.

<sup>111</sup> For more information on the commercialisation of men's cricket see R. Light, *Cricket's Forgotten Past: A Social and Cultural History of the Game in the West Riding of Yorkshire 1820–1870*, unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, De Montfort University, 2008; Holt, *Sport and the British*, 286-287; W. Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain, 1875-1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, 90-99; J. Williams, *Cricket and England, A Cultural and Social History of the Interwar Years*, Routledge, London, 1999, 161-182.

(NSW), Kath Smith (Queensland), S. Summers (South Australia), Alice Wedgemund (NSW), Alicia Walsh (NSW) and the manager Mrs O. Peatfield. The cricketers had an average age of twenty-two, and when asked by a British journalist how they preferred to be addressed, they insisted that they should be referred to as 'girl cricketers', rather than 'women cricketers'.<sup>112</sup> Cox in 'The Rise and Fall of 'The Girl Footballer' in New Zealand 1921' has argued that the use of the term 'girl' varied from generation to generation, but during the interwar period a 'girl' was a female between twenty and twenty five years old.<sup>113</sup> They had submitted to strict rules whilst travelling to England; 'no member shall drink, smoke, or gamble while on tour. No girl may be accompanied either by her husband, a relative or a friend. While on board ship no girl shall visit the top deck of the liner after dinner. Members of the team must retire to bed by 10pm during the voyage. Members will do physical drill on deck at 7:15am daily except Sunday'.<sup>114</sup>

The cost of the tour was £75 for fares and approximately £50 extra to pay for clothing, equipment and pocket money. The Australian team had used £300 raised by the 1934/5 tour to help players afford the travelling costs.<sup>115</sup> However, as discussed earlier, the majority of the players were working-class women and many of them experienced difficulties in raising the money. A report in the *Dundee Courier* prior to their arrival provided the occupation of some of the players; 'Margaret Peden, the captain, is a social worker, Sue Summers is an educational worker, Hazel Pritchard is paid to buy jewellery, Barbara Peden is

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<sup>112</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 5 June, 1937.

<sup>113</sup> B. Cox, 'The Rise and Fall of 'The Girl Footballer' in New Zealand during 1921', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 29, no. 3, 2012, 444.

<sup>114</sup> *Dundee Courier*, 24 September, 1936.

<sup>115</sup> Cashman and Weaver, *Wicket Women*, 99.

an architect, Nancy Clements, typist, Winnie George, machinist, Amy Hudson, packer, and Peggy Antonio, cardboard box machinist'.<sup>116</sup> Sue Summers and her family only managed to raise £30 of the amount necessary when the ex-international cricketer Arthur Mailey heard of her struggle. *The Advertiser* in Adelaide reported that,

with the assistance of other ex-national and first class cricketers who were in Adelaide for the fourth Test, he [Mailey] arranged a benefit match against a South Australian women's cricket eleven at the Unley Oval, and the whole of Sue's travelling expenses was raised. Since then various friends and organisations have helped to supply funds for clothing material and incidental expenses.<sup>117</sup>

Peggy Antonio, whose spin bowling had proved so troublesome to the English side in 1934/5, was another who received external aid to afford the trip. A director of the Victorian Stevedoring Company, Mr M'Leod, offered to pay the £75 for the sake of her deceased father, who had been an employee of his.

The social side of the tour was a success. A special motor coach was chartered for the whole of the tour to prevent potential missed engagements due to transport mistakes. They arranged a full social calendar which included a visit to Warwick, Cadbury's and Rowntree factories, Fountains Abbey, Lake Windermere, Blackpool, Oxford, the theatre to see Henry V, the coronation ceremony and tea at 10 Downing Street with the Prime Minister's wife, Lucy Baldwin, who was famously an ex-cricketer for the White Heather Club.

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<sup>116</sup> *Dundee Courier*, 10 June, 1937.

<sup>117</sup> *The Advertiser*, 25 March, 1937.

However, the cricket results proved disappointing for the English team as they struggled against a vastly improved Australian one. Appendix X shows the details of the tour, who the Australians played, where they played, the results, expenses and gate receipts. As the table illustrates, the Australian team was easily victorious against most of the English sides, although the test games proved more equal. The Australian team had dedicated considerable time to improving its abilities after their heavy defeats during the 1934/5 tour. The English captain, Molly Hide, remarked, 'the Australians showed evident signs of intensive coaching and practice backed up by tremendous keenness and enthusiasm- the result of this was the Australians took a much shorter time to reach the same standard as English women'.<sup>118</sup> The reports from the 1937 tour indicated the strength of the Australian team compared to the English ones, 'we may have been able to teach the Australians something in 1934- they are now repaying us, plus a thumping interest'.<sup>119</sup>

As well as the disappointing cricketing results, the tour also failed to achieve the same acceptance of women's cricket in England as had been experienced during the 1934/5 tour in Australia and New Zealand. The size of the crowds remained relatively low. Appendix X shows the size of the crowds at each of the games where known. The number of spectators grew from 1,000 at the games in early June, to 10,000 by the end of July, which were the largest crowds the Association had ever attracted. However, this number remains low when compared to the men's game. In July 1934 the men's fourth test match attracted 38,000

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<sup>118</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1938, 6.

<sup>119</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 8, no. 2, 1937, 34.

spectators at Headingley.<sup>120</sup> The effort expended by the Association to gain access to men's county grounds meant that this was particularly disappointing.

It was during the Australian visit in 1937 that the battle to gain recognition by the press, as discussed in the previous chapter, came to a head. The coverage by the press when the Association team had visited Australia during the 1934/5 tour was constant. They were highly supportive of the Australian team as Pollard relayed in disbelief in the *Observer*, 'the Australian newspapers said that England had no chance of winning this game at Brisbane. England had not had the opportunity of meeting those spin bowlers again and the heat and conditions were all against them'.<sup>121</sup> The players became used to being inundated with questions from journalists and seeing coverage across several pages of the newspapers. In Sydney, when the team went to the cinema, the players were told they had just missed seeing themselves on the newsreel. The manager of the cinema quickly arranged for it to be re-run during the intermission so they could see the coverage. Indeed, after the large amounts of positive attention given to the tourists in Australia, Archdale was rather dismayed to find that when she arrived back in London, the train driver thought her 'carrying her cricket bat was the funniest thing he'd ever seen!'<sup>122</sup>

The press were initially supportive during the 1937 tour. The players' abilities were praised by all national and regional newspapers as well as their behavioural conduct with regards to timing and manners. 'Women at the Oval' dominated the headlines and daily

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<sup>120</sup> *Aberdeen Journal*, 23 July, 1934.

<sup>121</sup> *Observer*, 2 June, 1935.

<sup>122</sup> Macpherson, *The Suffragette's Daughter*, 87.



match reports were printed. Many reports acknowledged that the correspondent had expected to be 'bored' or find the 'play substandard' but were pleasantly surprised. *The Times* stated, 'these matches have drawn attention to the extent to which cricket has become a woman's game and have given a final answer to those who had, in their inexperience, supposed that women were incapable of playing a game that, until a few years ago, was man's universal province'.<sup>123</sup>

*The Times* was so positive in its reports, that it was accused of romancing women's cricket and 'writing up' the match.<sup>124</sup> 'Our cricket correspondent', wrote in *the Times*, 'for weeks afterwards I was told that I had exaggerated the standard of play and that I had lost all sense of proportion and had temporarily gone off my head. That was the comment only of those who were not there and so were saved the temptation of losing their reasons. Actually, indeed, it was an astonishing performance'.<sup>125</sup> In response *The Times* and other newspapers began to differentiate men's opinion on women's cricket by referring to contributors as those who 'were there' and those who 'weren't there', referring to their attendance. This phrase became a gauge on whether a reader's opinion was unfairly biased with regards to women's cricket. Letters of support were printed from male readers who were eager to share their experience of men who 'weren't there' claiming they were embellishing the details of the matches.<sup>126</sup> In another article titled 'Women in Cricket; Comparison with County Sides', the author, J. C. Squire stated, 'I have been informed by diehards who "weren't there", (a) politely, either "you are exaggerating" or "you must be

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<sup>123</sup> *The Times* reprinted in *Women's Cricket*, vol. 8, no. 5, 1937, 97.

<sup>124</sup> *The Times*, 17 July, 1937.

<sup>125</sup> *The Times*, 14 April, 1938.

<sup>126</sup> *The Times*, 17 July, 1937.

romantic about women”, or (b) “they are only fit to cope with men playing left-handed with broom sticks” or “you are talking through your hat””.<sup>127</sup> The famous cricket writer Neville Cardus was also positive about the women’s performance. The *Courier Mail* in Brisbane reprinted an article from the *Manchester Guardian* with the heading ‘Neville Cardus Praises Women Players’. He wrote, ‘their play must have convinced the most stubborn die-hards that women cricketers can be as skilful and as natural as tennis or hockey players’.<sup>128</sup>

However, the easy victories achieved by the Australians led other newspapers to accuse the Association of ‘playing at’ cricket. Reports claimed that the English women did not take cricket as seriously as the Australians, and that was why they were losing. The *Manchester Guardian* in particular was critical of the selection process stating, ‘one feels that the Women’s Cricket Association does not look upon the game seriously. The team for Blackpool was chosen before the end of the first test match. If the viewpoint is that cricket is only a game, and so need not be taken seriously, then why go to the trouble and expense of inviting a team from the other side of the world?’<sup>129</sup> Two months later the paper raised the same issue again, ‘at the beginning of the season the Women’s Cricket Association took the matter of selecting a team in a light hearted, almost careless, spirit. The selectors chose the team for the first Test without seeing the Australians play’.<sup>130</sup> Pollard challenged this idea, ““We don’t care in England whether we win or lose, after all, it’s only a game” ....now

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<sup>127</sup> *The Times*, 16 April, 1938.

<sup>128</sup> *Manchester Guardian* reprinted in the *Courier Mail*, 26 June, 1937.

<sup>129</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 26 June, 1937.

<sup>130</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 3 August, 1937.

that to me is absolute bunk. To suggest that we only play light-heartedly because we are not so good at the moment is rudeness'.<sup>131</sup>

The irony of the Association taking umbrage against suggestions of them wanting to just play friendly cricket is substantial. As discussed in the previous chapter, throughout its formation years, the Association was emphatic that the organisation played cricket solely for fun, and was against competitive cricket. It consistently refused to agree that its teams played to win, in order to retain a feminine image of the game. However, by 1937 there had been a general shift by both the government and some sporting organisations as to the purpose of sport. By the 1930s, the assertion that the purpose of participation in sport was to build good character and high morals, as discussed in chapter one, was replaced by a stronger desire to win. MacDonald in *Strong, Beautiful and Modern: National Fitness in Britain, New Zealand, Australia and Canada, 1935-1960*, argues, 'the British 'games ethic' was being surpassed by a 'science' of winning. American, German and other European athletes were celebrating victory more often than their British counterparts'.<sup>132</sup> She continues, 'it ran against....the wider notion of playing the game for the game's sake – something which defined what it was to be British, or even more specifically, English. But by the mid-1930s....a fear that Britain was being left behind in a world where games and sport were pursued for state rather than athletic glory was one concern'.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 8, no. 3, 1937, 52.

<sup>132</sup> C. MacDonald, *Strong, Beautiful and Modern: National Fitness in Britain, New Zealand, Australia and Canada, 1935-1960*, UBC Press, Vancouver, 2013, 9.

<sup>133</sup> MacDonald, *Strong, Beautiful and Modern*, 9.

Following the criticism by the press in 1937, the Association promoted a different, competitive ethos, ensuring that it was delivering the same message as other sports organisations. Reflecting the new focus on winning, the Association was quoted in the *Western Mail* stating, 'next summer they will play representative matches of rather greater significance than those in the past- matches in which results will really matter. It is intended to add the spirit of healthy rivalry to "the game for the games sake"'.<sup>134</sup> In 1937, Miss Child, a Surrey representative, urged more coaching by men, rather than women, in order to improve quicker. That year the Association engaged well-known male cricketers and coaches to provide winter nets and coaching, paid for by a grant by the WCA.<sup>135</sup> The English captain, Molly Hide, urged players to engage in coaching and winter nets to improve before the next international tour in order to be victorious.

Following the tour, press interest in women's cricket decreased substantially. At the beginning of the 1938 season Pollard reported that *The Telegraph* had decided it would no longer support women's cricket, 'several people have written to me (albeit rather bitterly) "why don't you put women's cricket news in *The Telegraph*". The answer to this is simple, because *The Telegraph* said quite firmly at the beginning of the season that they would not be publishing either news or results'.<sup>136</sup> A reason was not provided for this decision. At the same time, the *Morning Post*, which had previously advertised itself as the 'voice of women's cricket' in *Women's Cricket* was also no longer available. The newspaper, which

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<sup>134</sup> *Western Mail*, 16 September, 1937.

<sup>135</sup> *Observer*, 4 September, 1938: When asked by representatives from affiliated county associations to recommend a uniform cricket coaching fee, the Association committee decided to follow the fee adopted by the AEWHA of 10/6. *Women's Cricket Association, 1937 Year Book*, 1937, 15.

<sup>136</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 9, no. 3, 1938, 41.

had been the oldest daily paper, had a circulation of under 200,000 in 1937, and was absorbed into *The Telegraph*.<sup>137</sup> Pollard lamented this loss stating, 'I think we are only just beginning to realise how much that paper did for us in the actual building up and popularising of women's cricket....if only 500 women players would take pen and paper and write to the editor of any newspaper and say "why doesn't your paper print news of women's cricket something would be done"'.<sup>138</sup> This tactic appears to have worked. In the same year, *Women's Cricket* printed an open letter stating, 'Dear fellow members of the WCA. Thank you very much indeed for those postcards you wrote to the *News Chronicle*. Without your cooperation my idea would have been useless'.<sup>139</sup> Pollard followed this up in the next edition stating 'I am glad to tell you that I shall again be writing women's cricket....regularly in the *News Chronicle*. We have the definite promise of space every week'.<sup>140</sup> Given that the *News Chronicle*, which was formed in 1930 by the merger of the *Daily News* and the *Daily Chronicle*, was controlled by the Cadbury family, who were supporters of the Association from its formation, with the Bournville factory loaning grounds and fielding numerous teams, this support is perhaps unsurprising. The paper catered for a liberal 'progressive' readership, and sold 1,317,000 daily copies in 1939.<sup>141</sup>

However, the 1937 tour did lead to extra publicity for women's cricket through both radio and film. During the interwar period, newspapers weren't the only popular vehicles through which to disseminate public opinion and news. The number of households owning

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<sup>137</sup> L. C. B. Seaman, *Life in Britain between the Wars*, B. T. Batsford, London, 1970, 123.

<sup>138</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 9, no. 3, 1938, 41.

<sup>139</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 9, no. 5, 1938, 86.

<sup>140</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1939, 17.

<sup>141</sup> Seaman, *Life in Britain*, 126.

radios increased to over eight million, which was 71% of households in 1939.<sup>142</sup> Beddoe has argued that radio held a far greater audience than any newspaper. In particular it opened up a new world to many women who listened whilst completing domestic chores.<sup>143</sup> Regular radio broadcasting began in 1922 when the British Broadcasting Company was formed. In 1927 this became the first major public corporation, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). It was responsible for the dissemination of unbiased information and culture to the public, whilst remaining independent of government.<sup>144</sup> Its first Director General, Lord Reith insisted that the BBC should be a public service. Stevenson has argued that 'in many ways radio merely made more effective the national cohesion already established by the press, the railways and mass education before 1914. Although there was an increasing awareness of national events, radio provided the means by which the latest news, sporting events and celebrities could be brought quickly to an audience of millions'.<sup>145</sup> The number of households owning radio licenses increased from 36,000 in 1922 to 2,000,000 in 1926 and over 8,000,000 in the late 1930s.<sup>146</sup>

Holt has asserted that the first sports broadcast on the BBC was a boxing match between Kid Lewis and Georges Carpentier in 1922.<sup>147</sup> In 1927 the BBC began providing coverage of cricket matches with Pelham Warner's summary of Surrey and Hampshire on

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<sup>142</sup> N. Wigglesworth, *The Evolution of English Sport*, Routledge, London, 1996, 40.

<sup>143</sup> D. Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty: Women between the Wars 1919-1939*, Pandora, London, 1989, 129.

<sup>144</sup> J. Stevenson, *Social History of Britain, British Society 1914-45*, Penguin Books, London, 2008, 407.

<sup>145</sup> Stevenson, *Social History of Britain*, 411.

<sup>146</sup> Stevenson, *Social History of Britain*, 408.

<sup>147</sup> Holt, *Sport and the British*, 311.

the evening of 7<sup>th</sup> May.<sup>148</sup> Williams provides a detailed summary of the growth of cricket coverage during the 1930s; 'regular reports of Test cricket beginning in 1934 when the Australians toured England... These reports consisted primarily of short summaries of play provided by an eye witness present at a match and brief description of play as it was happening'.<sup>149</sup> By 1938 cricket was the sport most often broadcast on BBC radio.<sup>150</sup>

In 1935 the BBC approached the WCA seeking a representative to discuss the organisation. Pollard noted her surprise in the *1935 Year Book*, 'a pleasing side light is that the BBC approached us to give the talk and we did not ask for it. Imagine that nine years ago'!<sup>151</sup> Pollard had previous radio experience speaking on women's hockey during Children's Hour in 1924.<sup>152</sup> She eagerly accepted the request by the BBC, and on September 7<sup>th</sup> 1935, she became the first female to provide comments on women's cricket for the England versus Australia match on the radio. In preparation for the Australian visit of 1937, Pollard undertook training with the BBC to learn how to improve as a sports commentator. A fellow cricketer, Nell Murray reported in the *Daily News* in Perth, 'they say it takes three months to make an expert [commentator]', and that Pollard was engaging in practice runs by commenting on the Wightman Cup, but not for public consumption.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> J. Williams, *Cricket and Broadcasting*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2011, 11.

<sup>149</sup> Williams, *Cricket and Broadcasting*, 12.

<sup>150</sup> Williams, *Cricket and Broadcasting*, 12.

<sup>151</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1935 Year Book*, 1935, 12.

<sup>152</sup> N. Tomkins and P. Ward, *The Century Makers, A History of the All England Women's Hockey Association 1895-1995*, All England Women's Hockey Association, Shrewsbury, 1995, 76.

<sup>153</sup> *Daily News*, 7 August, 1936.

Pollard gave a running commentary on the day's play between England and Australia at Northampton on the afternoon of Saturday 12<sup>th</sup> June 1937.<sup>154</sup> Unfortunately the British Library archives only hold two minutes of this particular broadcast, during which Pollard was complimentary of the batsmen, whilst applause can be heard in the background. Although no other broadcasts are available it can be assumed there was a reasonable level of interest as Pollard was invited back to speak on the BBC several times afterwards, on June 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, 28<sup>th</sup> and July 12<sup>th</sup> that year. In 1939, prior to the cancelled 1939 tour by England to Australia, Pollard gave a running commentary for twenty-five minutes, on the 'Touring Team for Australia' versus 'The Rest of England' which was held at the Oval.<sup>155</sup>

Pollard also spoke many times on regional radio. This had been put into effect after 1927 when the country was divided into five districts, each with its own station. These transmitted two programmes, the National and the Regional. Two more regions, Wales and Northern Ireland, were added in 1937. The inclusion of regional broadcasts allowed for more material based on local activities.<sup>156</sup> In August 1938 Pollard was invited on Midland 1,013 kc/s. (296.2 metres) as part of a regular feature called 'cricket interval' which had 'occasional commentary on current events for cricketers'.<sup>157</sup> Pollard gave a review of the 1938 women's cricket season. She also discussed other team games on the radio. In 1939, the Midlands radio had a feature called 'Sport in the Midlands' which included an eye-witness account of the annual netball tournament in Derby by Pollard.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> *The Times*, 12 June, 1937.

<sup>155</sup> *Western Morning News*, 22 July, 1939.

<sup>156</sup> C. L. Mowat, *Britain between the Wars 1918-1940*, Methuen & Co, London, 1955, 245.

<sup>157</sup> *Western Daily Press*, 19 August, 1938.

<sup>158</sup> *Lancashire Evening Post*, 7 May, 1938.



Huggins and Williams assert that 'radio reporting of sports events....suggests a cultural interest in sport, though as with press, one cannot be certain of how it created or reflected public interest'.<sup>159</sup> In the first systematic attempt to establish the size and nature of the public for different types of broadcast programmes, questionnaires were sent to 4,700 licence holders and their families with 35% returned completed. The Audience Research Special Report was produced in 1939 from the response. It stated, 'to a large extent the voting of men and women was substantially alike. There are, however, a certain number of differences which are illustrated below. In three cases types of programme had substantially higher votes from men than from women....running commentaries on cricket was liked by 66% of men but only 30% of women'.<sup>160</sup>

The cinema also experienced vast growth in popularity as a social activity, which by 1919 attracted half the population twice a week.<sup>161</sup> The newsreels shown prior to a film offered images of new behaviour, fashions and activities being undertaken both domestically and internationally. Huggins and Williams have stated 'women's participation in over twenty different sports was being shown annually and about 5% of sporting newsreels featured women'.<sup>162</sup> Women's cricket was one of the sports shown on these newsreels in the cinema. The British Pathe YouTube site has approximately eighteen short clips of women's cricket from the interwar years, varying in length between thirty seconds

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<sup>159</sup> M. Huggins and J. Williams, *Sport and the English 1918-1939*, Routledge, Oxon, 2006, 15.

<sup>160</sup> Audience research special reports, BBC WAC ref R9/9/3 (LR/71), 4.

<sup>161</sup> J. Walvin, *Leisure and Society 1830-1950*, Longman, Suffolk, 1978, 133.

<sup>162</sup> Huggins and Williams, *Sport and the English*, 36.

and four minutes.<sup>163</sup> The first representative match at Beckenham, is shown, as is a representative match at Northampton. Visual representations such as these snippets of films, act as tools of normalisation for society. By introducing an audience to the activities of women cricketers via short films they not only challenged the audience to evaluate their perception of the game, but also demonstrated what was possible.<sup>164</sup> Dyreson, in 'Aggressive America: Media, Nationalism and the 'War' over Olympic Pictures in Sport's 'Golden Age'', argues that as 'newsreels did not broadcast sporting events live they provided free access to sporting images that still photographs from newspapers and magazines had historically possessed'.<sup>165</sup> An advantage to film was that it acted as an advertisement to the acceptability of members of the public wanting to watch women's cricket. Many of the films panned out to show the spectators, which encompassed a range of ages and genders.

The Pathe reels available were mixed as to whether they had commentary. The advantage of a lack of commentary was that it allowed members of the audience to draw their own conclusions as to whether what they were viewing was frivolous or interesting, rather than being informed thusly by a commentator. Unlike pictures, whose images can be undermined or bolstered depending on the written content surrounding the pictures, films had the advantages of occasionally being free from bias. Although two of the Pathe reels available had slides with words on it for the audience to read, these were positive messages

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<sup>163</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P4pVOxiOF8>, accessed 20/04/2015.

<sup>164</sup> N. Barker-Ruchti, K. Grahn and C. Annerstedt, 'Moving towards Inclusion: An Analysis of Photographs from the 1926 Women's Games in Gothenberg', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 30, no. 8, 2013, 874.

<sup>165</sup> M. Dyreson, 'Aggressive America: Media Nationalism and the 'War' over Olympic Pictures in Sport's 'Golden Age'', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 22, no. 6, 2005, 977.

with one stating, 'but don't think these ladies are as slow as our ultra-rapid camera show them on the screen'! and another reading, 'if not quite feminine Bradmans they play remarkably good cricket'.<sup>166</sup> One of the clips, showing one of the England versus Australia test matches, the commentator remarked that 'the ladies put up an excellent show, even if they didn't look like W. G. Grace', which Huggins and Williams assert 'hint[ed] at both change and continuity in the same sentence'.<sup>167</sup>

The Association also made its own instructional film about women's cricket, emulating the successful instructional film created by the AEWHA. The Hockey Film was shown in halls and clubs across the country throughout the 1930s, with Pollard usually providing additional commentary or lecturing.<sup>168</sup> In 1938 the Association committee dedicated £125 and set up a sub-committee with the intention of creating the first women's cricket film, and showing it in private homes or large halls.<sup>169</sup> This had been inspired by the popularity of photographs and film that Miss D. Turner had taken during the 1934/5 tour to Australia and subsequently shown to the Association.<sup>170</sup> Pollard and two other photographers, Miss Carlebach and Mrs Jackling, took pictures of practices and games, which were then edited and captioned. The film showed games in progress, then correct attire and equipment to use, then instruction on batting, fielding and bowling.<sup>171</sup> The film was approximately 800 feet in length and cost 10/6 to hire.

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<sup>166</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P4pVOxiOF8>, accessed 20/04/2015.

<sup>167</sup> Huggins and Williams, *Sport and the English*, 61.

<sup>168</sup> *Gloucestershire Echo*, 20 March, 1934.

<sup>169</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1938 Year Book*, 1938, 14.

<sup>170</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 6, no. 1, 1935, 11.

<sup>171</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1939, 3.

The preview of the cricket film was held at Caxton Hall in March 1939. *Women's Cricket* reported the amusing story that 'the streets around Westminster were gaily decorated and the crowds were enormous, so much so that three of the actresses found themselves being escorted across Westminster Bridge by a posse of life guards. Unfortunately, after having bowed and waved to the crowds, they discovered the French President was also in town that day!<sup>172</sup> Due to the disturbance to women's cricket caused by the Second World War the cricket film was only shown twelve times by 1945. One such occasion was at Leamington High School for Girls, which the *Leamington Spa Courier* reported that Pollard gave an 'instructive and entertaining inductor address, and then gave a running commentary on the film'.<sup>173</sup> On another occasion, the film was shown on behalf of the National Fitness Committee in the General Lecture Hall of Leeds University. The *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* stated, 'admission is free, and it is hoped that women team games players will take this opportunity of seeing a film which has been made especially for them'.<sup>174</sup> A third time it was shown in Bristol at the Royal Empire Society Lecture Hall, with additional commentary provided by the hon. secretary of the West WCA and Gloucestershire captain Miss C. M. Loader.<sup>175</sup>

However, the Association failed to translate this additional publicity from the tour into increased numbers of affiliated members or clubs. Although 1938 saw an increase of eleven affiliated clubs, this was in line with the natural growth of the Association, rather than

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<sup>172</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1939, 3.

<sup>173</sup> *Leamington Spa Courier*, 12 May, 1939.

<sup>174</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 28 June, 1939.

<sup>175</sup> *Western Daily Press*, 9 May, 1939.

representing an upsurge, as indicated by table 2.1 located in the previous chapter. The Association committee, acknowledging this disappointment, lamented,

we thought that the great success of the Australian Tour and the consequent publicity would result this year in a big increase in the number of clubs and county associations....this has not been the case and I think the reason is that the special efforts on behalf of the Australian tour last year left members rather disinclined for any particular effort in this, our first domestic season, since our visitors have left us. Members have been quite eager to play cricket, but have not been too anxious to do more than that, and development means work. I think this is simply a natural reaction after the special efforts of last season, when clubs and members worked so hard and so successfully.<sup>176</sup>

However, the 1937 tour was a financial success for the WCA. It finished with a balance of £1,229/13/- and proposed to use the money in the following ways,

- 1) A donation of five Guineas to the Royal Sussex Hospital in recognition to their kindness to the Australian player K. Smith who had been operated on there for appendicitis [during the tour].
- 2) A full account of the Australian Tour to be printed for general distribution.
- 3) Donation of £50 to be sent to the Australian Women's Cricket Council for the development of women's cricket in Australia.
- 4) £500 to be set aside with accumulating interest for future tours.

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<sup>176</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1938 Year Book*, 1938, 12.

5) Remainder of the money to be available for use in development of the work of the WCA at Home.<sup>177</sup>

The 1937 tour also cemented the Association as the leading international organisation for women's cricket. At a meeting between representatives of the AWCC and the Association during the tour, the AWCC suggested the creation of an 'Imperial' or 'International Federation' for women's cricket with headquarters in England. The choice of England as the headquarters was due to a number of factors. Not only was it the oldest, and most established, women's cricket council, it was also the first to organise an international tour. Its magazine *Women's Cricket* had an established international audience with copies sent to America, Australia, Canada, France, Holland, India, Kenya, New Zealand, Shanghai, South Africa, and the Argentine by 1935.<sup>178</sup> It also regularly printed news from other countries even commenting on international women's cricket in 1930, discussing the news that a player had scored the first century in one innings at an Auckland Girl's Association match, stating it was of historical interest.<sup>179</sup> *Women's Cricket* was used as a template for the AWCC's own women's cricket magazine, *Australian Women's Cricket*, first published in March 1938. Edited by leading cricketer Dot Debnam it resembled *Women's Cricket* in size, format and colour, but retailed at a lower price of 3d. for the working-class women who played in Australia.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>177</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1937 Year Book*, 1937, 10.

<sup>178</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1930 Year Book*, 1930, 13.

<sup>179</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1930, 9.

<sup>180</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 9, no. 4, 1938, 64.

However, the WCA declined this suggestion stating that the committee, 'did not feel the time was ripe yet for an International Federation'.<sup>181</sup> However, it did accept an alternative suggestion by the AWCC that other countries be able to affiliate to the WCA as Dominion Associations. The Association already had the affiliation of the PLCC in South Africa, which had been a member since 1934. The AWCC created a draft of rules for these associations, which was approved by New Zealand.<sup>182</sup> These were as follows,

Rules for Affiliated Councils and Associations outside Great Britain.

- 1- A Council or Association now or hereafter formed in any part of the world outside Great Britain desiring to be affiliated shall submit a copy of its rules for the approval of the Women's Cricket Association.
- 2- A Council or Association affiliated under these rules shall pay a subscription of ten shillings per year to the Women's Cricket Association.
- 3- A Council or Association affiliated under these rules shall be entitled to appoint one delegate to the Women's Cricket Association annual general meeting.
- 4- A Player shall not be entitled to play in a visiting team in any representative match unless she was born in that part of the world from which the team comes or has been resident there for the year immediately preceding, provided that she has played for the country of her birth.<sup>183</sup>

According to the Constitution and Rules section of the 1938 Year Book, in order for the WCA to further women's cricket they had the power, 'to arrange, control, and regulate visits of teams to and from England, and for this purpose as well....to admit to affiliation any Council

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<sup>181</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1937 Year Book*, 1937, 17.

<sup>182</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1938 Year Book*, 1938, 15.

<sup>183</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1938 Year Book*, 1938, 11.

or Association now or here-after formed outside Great Britain whose rules are approved by the Association'.<sup>184</sup>

An invitation was received in 1938 from the AWCC for a WCA team of sixteen members, including a manager, to tour Australia in 1939/40. It was suggested that the team should arrive in West Australia on November 30<sup>th</sup> and depart Victoria on February 16<sup>th</sup>, thus having ten weeks in Australia rather than the eight weeks during the 1934/5 trip. The tour was planned for six months in total and to include three, three-day test matches; eight, two-day state matches; seven one-day county matches and a two-day international match against Australia. Despite the furore surrounding the 1934/5 tour, any player wishing to represent England was again required to pay approximately £120 for travel and pocket money and to expect additional costs to cover uniform and equipment.<sup>185</sup> Again, the WCA was willing to send a team containing its wealthier members rather than a representative team. *Women's Cricket* stated, 'as usual the team will be chosen from those players who can get the time off from their work and find the necessary passage money'.<sup>186</sup> Players who could afford the trip and were of county standard were asked to send their names to the selection committee made up of committee members, Miss Archdale, Miss Hide, Miss Pollard, Miss Straker and Miss Cox. Unfortunately, the outbreak of the Second World War meant that this tour was cancelled.

#### **IV. Conclusion.**

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<sup>184</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1938 Year Book*, 1938, 2.

<sup>185</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1938 Year Book*, 1938, 13.

<sup>186</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1938, 1.



The interest shown by the Australian men's cricket authorities, the press and the public during 1934/5 tour to Australia was unprecedented. As a result the AWCC not only received large amounts of publicity for its organisation but it also benefitted financially. Similarly in New Zealand, the tour was successful as a method to advertise the existence of women's cricket and to highlight the potential abilities that women cricketers could achieve. It is clear that the 1934/5 tour had large domestic repercussions for the WCA. The elitist attitude of the Association towards its members started to create ill feeling within the organisation, which manifested itself not only in disgruntled letters, but also created a disjointed organisation that meant that raising the necessary funding to host the Australian team proved extremely difficult.

The 1937 tour proved a mixed success for the Association. It failed to attract the large crowds that it hoped would attend an international tour at prominent grounds. The disappointing performance of the English team caused embarrassment for the Association committee which was subject to criticism in the press. However, the growth of radio and newsreels during the interwar period are useful indicators of the interest shown in the game as they both featured women's cricket, albeit sporadically, throughout the interwar period. The tour also served to cement friendly competitive relations between the AWCC and the WCA and was the catalyst to the accepted proposal of affiliation by Dominion Associations to the WCA.

#### **Chapter four: The English Women's Cricket Federation and league cricket.**

Chapters two and three have shown how the Women's Cricket Association (WCA) aided the participation of thousands of middle- and upper-class women to play cricket during their adulthood in the interwar period. Table 2.2 in chapter two showed that the number of women's cricket teams affiliated to the Association increased year on year. However, there were a large number of women's cricket teams that chose to play independently of the Association. The socially exclusive policy of the Association, discussed in the previous chapter, proved a barrier to many women who could potentially have played cricket. High affiliation fees and mid-week games meant many women could not afford the cost or time to join the Association. The exclusivity of the Association committee was responsible for hindering the potential growth of the organisation by not making it accessible to all women.

Research for this thesis has shown evidence of 878 women's cricket teams that played regularly during the interwar period. Details of all of these clubs and their locations are shown across appendices V, XI and XII. The Association only managed to affiliate just over one-third of these. In West Yorkshire and Lancashire, a separate women's cricket organisation was formed, aimed at encouraging the development of the game for working-class women. The English Women's Cricket Federation (EWCF) differed substantially from the WCA in almost every aspect. The cricket played under the EWCF emulated men's cricket in the North of England. It was competitive, organised in either leagues, or knock-out

competitions, and took the form of limited overs. Run by men and aimed specifically at working-class women, it was successful in gaining the affiliation of almost ninety teams.

The first section of this chapter will investigate the availability of leisure for working-class women and the factors that could potentially restrict their participation. The second part will explore the formation, policies and aims of the EWCF and how successful it was in introducing the game to women who would not otherwise have had an opportunity to play cricket. The third section will assess to what degree the EWCF was successful in providing cricket for women of the working-class. The fourth section will investigate the relationship between the local press and the EWCF, particularly how the local press represented women's cricket. The fifth section will explore the relationship between the WCA and the EWCF.

### **I. Leisure opportunities for working-class women.**

Prior to the First World War, opportunities for working-class women to have leisure time was limited. Parratt has noted that the main restrictions to women's access to sport was lack of leisure time, space, society's negative opinions, and cost.<sup>1</sup> The two factors that affected working-class women specifically were a lack of leisure time and cost of participating. Davies in his case study of Salford and Manchester, 'Leisure in the 'classic slum' 1900-1939' has demonstrated that recreational activities showed great inequalities of

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<sup>1</sup> C. Parratt, *"More Than Mere Amusement", Working-Class Women's Leisure in England, 1750-1914*, Northeastern University Press, Boston, 2001, 3.

gender.<sup>2</sup> The concept of the 'male breadwinner', gave a legitimacy to men to spend a portion of their non-working hours on their own leisure. However, for working-class women domestic responsibilities, including childcare and housework greatly restricted any potential leisure time. As domestic activities take place within the home, women remained constantly 'at work'. Men had a distinct separation between the workplace 'as work' and the home 'as not work', whereas women remained in the same environment.<sup>3</sup> This ensured that during the evenings, a time period during which men enjoyed leisure time, women were still completing domestic tasks masquerading as leisure, such as sewing.<sup>4</sup> As women were usually in charge of the household budget, many took on additional paid tasks to 'make ends meet'. For those working-class women who took outside employment in addition to domestic chores, time restrictions prevented any possibility of leisure pursuits.

Langhamer in *Women's Leisure in England 1920-60*, has argued that there was a higher proportion of leisure being experienced by working-class women than Davies has previously asserted but that opportunities for leisure time was dominated by their life-cycle.<sup>5</sup> Prior to marriage, working-class women were subject to their parents' economic standing. Once married and with a young family, both time and money spent was at a maximum.<sup>6</sup> Chinn in *They Worked all Their Lives: Women of the Urban Poor in England*,

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<sup>2</sup> A. Davies, 'Leisure in the 'classic slum' 1900-1939', in A. Davies and S. Fielding (eds.), *Workers' Worlds, Cultures and Communities in Manchester and Salford 1880-1939*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1992, 114.

<sup>3</sup> B. Beaven, *Leisure, Citizenship and Working-Class Men in Britain, 1850-1945*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2005, 5.

<sup>4</sup> M. Tebbutt, 'Women's talk? Gossip and 'women's words' in working-class communities, 1880-1939', in Davies and Fielding (eds.), *Workers' Worlds*, 57.

<sup>5</sup> C. Langhamer, *Women's Leisure in England 1920-60*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2000, 51-52.

<sup>6</sup> A. Davies, 'Leisure in the 'classic slum'', 115.

1880-1939 has shown that families with older children, who were working but had not yet left home, had less output in terms of both effort and money, while the household benefitted from numerous wages through the tradition of 'tipping up'.<sup>7</sup> This process meant that earning members of the family would hand their wages over to the household budget and receive pocket money in return, which they were free to spend on their own leisure. Thus there were only two small time frames in a woman's life where she had the disposable income and time to participate in leisure activities; as an earning adult prior to marriage, and as an older woman with grown-up children.

For many grown-up daughters, the former time frame for leisure had previously been eradicated by their role as second mother to their younger siblings. The difficulty of obtaining birth control ensured most working-class families would have more children than they desired, or could afford. Thus the eldest female child was usually tasked with looking after her siblings in order for her mother to complete household work or paid employment. However, an increase in birth control information in the 1920s meant that many elder daughters were no longer required for this role. The primary methods of birth control advertised were coitus interruptus, abortion through 'special pills', and more practical methods such as sheathes, douches and diaphragms. Beddoe has shown that the increase of working-class women using practical birth control methods rose from 1% to 28% between 1910 and 1930.<sup>8</sup> Although it is important to note that the information and availability of

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<sup>7</sup> C. Chinn, *They Worked all Their Lives: Women of the Urban Poor in England, 1880-1939*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1988, 3.

<sup>8</sup> D. Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty: Women between the Wars 1919-1939*, Pandora, London, 1989, 106.

birth control varied greatly depending on region and remained inadequate for all women throughout this period.<sup>9</sup>

When the First World War was first declared it initially caused unemployment for working-class women. Women working in the luxury and fashion industries lost their jobs as production slowed. The situation caused the Queen to form the Queen Mary's Work for Women Fund, which created workrooms where women who had lost their jobs due to the war could seek employment.<sup>10</sup> As the full scale of the war developed, increased numbers of women were employed. This was in correlation with the large number of men who were conscripted, which created job opportunities for those left behind. Working-class women, in particular, took the opportunity to move into different roles, previously labelled 'men's work', for higher wages. This led to a shortage of women workers in the textile industries and domestic service as they moved into more dangerous, but more highly paid, munitions work.<sup>11</sup> Whilst acknowledging that choice of employment was entirely based on locational opportunities and regional economic disparities, many women were fortunate enough to be able to make decisions on the type of employment they wanted to engage in, based on the benefits the employer could offer. The clean and warm conditions of clerical work, with paid holidays, drew many away from the factories. Similarly, the shortened, regular hours of factory life caused many women, where possible, to shun domestic service.

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<sup>9</sup> Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty*, 107.

<sup>10</sup> M. Drake McFeely, *Lady Inspectors, The Campaign for a Better Workplace 1893-1921*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1988, 126.

<sup>11</sup> G. Braybon, *Women Workers in the First World War*, Routledge, Oxon, 1981, 46; S. Bruley, *Women in Britain since 1900*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 1999, 37-59.

Following the end of the war, the expectance that women should give up their jobs for the men returning from the front, as discussed in chapter two, affected many of the working-class women who had been employed prior to the war effort.<sup>12</sup> Women were expected to re-embrace their assumed pre-war roles of wife and mother, or if they must be employed, to return to traditional working-class women's employment, such as domestic service. Many working-class women found themselves unemployed. The backlash against working women, combined with a decrease in production of certain industries such as munitions, which had employed high levels of women, actually reduced the female workforce to 2% lower than in 1911.<sup>13</sup> A conference on 'women's right to work' was organised in Manchester in September 1919 by the Women's International League.<sup>14</sup>

Their unemployment was made worse by the Out of Work scheme, which forced many to return to a life of servitude. Out of Work donations were first made in December 1918. Under the scheme, women were entitled to a weekly benefit of 25/- for thirteen weeks. In November 1919, some 90,000 women registered as available for work but only 30,000 of these were eligible for benefit.<sup>15</sup> The creation of state benefit regulations ensured that local government could push women into 'appropriate' female employment by withdrawing support for those who refused.<sup>16</sup> For many women, this meant they had to accept a role in

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<sup>12</sup> See Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty*, 50; S. Bruley, 'A Woman's Right to Work & The Role of Women in the Unemployed Movement Between the Wars', in S. Oldfield (ed.), *This Working Day World: Women's Lives and Culture in Britain, 1914-1945*, Taylor & Francis, London, 1994, 40-53.

<sup>13</sup> Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty*, 48.

<sup>14</sup> Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty*, 50.

<sup>15</sup> Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty*, 54.

<sup>16</sup> J. Lewis, *Women in England 1870-1950, Sexual Divisions & Social Change*, Prentice-Hall, Brighton, 1984, 189.

domestic service, or a similarly low paid job, or not be eligible for benefit. This method was successful, with the 1932 Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance reporting that 55,000 women and girls had received domestic service training between 1920 and 1931 and that 31% of the female workforce aged between fourteen and twenty were engaged in 'personal service'.

However, despite pressures from the government and accusations of unpatriotic behaviour by the public press, working-class women were still employed in high numbers during the interwar period. In part this was because young women commanded a much lower wage than their male counterparts, which made them financially appealing as employees. Employers frequently placed adverts for 'healthy strong girls' and 'families chiefly consisting of girls'.<sup>17</sup> Even for those business owners who made a concerted effort to employ men as a priority, some of the newer industries, such as confectionery and bicycle manufacturers experienced such rapid growth that the workforce required was larger than the potential pool of male employees available within their region.<sup>18</sup>

Working girls who were earning a full wage gained the same entitlement as menfolk; a separation between time spent at work and time spent at home. Young wage earners of both sexes were entitled to a share of disposable income for their personal consumption.<sup>19</sup> The shadow of the First World War remained a constant reminder of the value of youth and good health. In effect, the young were given society's permission to enjoy a period of

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<sup>17</sup> Bruley, 'A Woman's Right to Work', 53.

<sup>18</sup> Bruley, *Women in Britain*, 66.

<sup>19</sup> D. Fowler, 'Teenage consumers? Young wage-earners and leisure in Manchester, 1919-1939', in Davies and Fielding (eds.), *Worker's Worlds*, 136.



legitimate leisure, while they had no responsibilities.<sup>20</sup> New forms of recreation provided an opportunity to develop a social life away from the constraints of one street, which had not been available to their mothers or grandmothers. Despite being paid substantially less than their male colleagues, the decline in perishable and consumer goods, combined with a rise in real wages, meant that working-class women experienced an increase in disposable income that they could spend on themselves. More controlled family sizes also led to an increase of income proportion per head. In 1914 the average working-class family spent 60% of its income on food and 15% on rent; by 1937/8, this had fallen to 35% on food and 9% on rent.<sup>21</sup> For the majority for working-class women, this meant an opportunity for the first time to spend money on leisure experiences such as the cinema, dance halls or private sporting clubs.

The most popular leisure activity was the cinema, which by 1919 attracted half of the population twice a week.<sup>22</sup> Its attraction came from the fact that it was cheap with the best seats costing only 1/- and the majority of tickets costing only a couple of pence. It was accessible, warm and glamorous; an escape from reality.<sup>23</sup> Dance and music halls were also popular throughout the interwar period as a means to meet members of the opposite sex.

Individual sports also began to grow in popularity for those working-class women who had the leisure time. Rambling became very popular in the 1930s, although for working-class women, their expeditions were less adventures than those of the middle-class,

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<sup>20</sup> Langhamer, *Women's Leisure*, 50.

<sup>21</sup> J. Stevenson and C. Cook, *Britain in the Depression, Society and Politics 1929-39*, Longman Group, Essex, 1994, 26.

<sup>22</sup> J. Walvin, *Leisure and Society 1830-1950*, Longman, Suffolk, 1978, 133.

<sup>23</sup> J. Hill, *Sport, Leisure & Culture in Twentieth Century Britain*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2002, 59.

dictated by the cost of travel.<sup>24</sup> Athletics and bowls also began to increase in popularity. Public swimming baths grew in popularity because it was cheap, with many offering free instruction, making it an easy source of leisure.<sup>25</sup> Athletics began to grow in popularity, where available. In Bradford the Bradford Amateur Sports Association was one of the first organisations to offer women entry to compete in a sprint and a 230 yard race with an open handicap. Twenty-eight women entered the 230 yard race in 1931.<sup>26</sup>

Workplaces offered many working-class women their first introduction to team games. Although the lack of physical education available in schools, and the provision of workplace teams for working-class women will be discussed in more depth in chapter five it is worth noting that the increase of working-class women in factories during the interwar period, as opposed to domestic service, allowed for an increased demand for team games. Parratt has asserted that the North of England in particular encouraged the participation of working-class women in sports due to the formation of leagues.<sup>27</sup>

Hockey gained popularity, particularly in the North of England, with a sudden increase in the number of work teams competing in leagues and tournaments.<sup>28</sup> McCrone notes that by 1907 'there were signs that the game was passing from a sociable pastime for those with

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<sup>24</sup> Langhamer, *Women's Leisure*, 77.

<sup>25</sup> Langhamer, *Women's Leisure*, 79.

<sup>26</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 16 June, 1931.

<sup>27</sup> C. Parratt, 'The making of the healthy and the happy home': recreation, education, and the production of working-class womanhood at the Rowntree Cocoa Works, York, c.1898-1914', in J. Hill and J. Williams (eds.), *Sport and Identity in the North of England*, Edinburgh University Press, Keele, 1996, 69.

<sup>28</sup> M. Pollard, *Fifty Years of Women's Hockey, the story of the foundation and development of the All England Women's Hockey Association 1895-1945*, Pollard Publications, London, 1936, 16.

plenty of leisure to be an enterprise, a recreation and an enthusiasm for those working for a living for it was beginning to be played in schools for less well-to-do girls and by clubs formed in factories and offices'.<sup>29</sup> Although a full study of women's working-class hockey has not yet been completed, local newspaper articles indicate that in Leeds one league encompassed over ten teams.<sup>30</sup> Birley has shown that in Manchester, the Sunday Schools Women's Hockey League had six divisions, with an average of eleven teams in each.<sup>31</sup> This provided working-class women an opportunity to play competitive hockey away from the All England Women's Hockey Association (AEWHA), whose costs were too high for most working-class women to affiliate to. From 1910 onwards, the AEWHA noted that the northern counties were producing clubs in works, offices and factories that were not affiliated,

The AEWHA, whose members at the time played their matches mid-week and held their meetings at 2:30 on any afternoon, seemed to have little to offer such teams, and possibly a scant understanding of the players. The North produced many such clubs. The members worked hard five and a half days a week and played hard on Saturday afternoons....No one is suggesting that they did not provide, for thousands of girls, an extremely interesting and happy and healthy Saturday afternoon.<sup>32</sup>

Langhamer has shown that in Liverpool and Bolton, rounders experienced a great deal of popularity from working-class women primarily because there was an organisation to

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<sup>29</sup> K. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, 1870-1914*, Routledge, London, 1988, 134.

<sup>30</sup> J. Williams, *Cricket and England, A Cultural and Social History of the Interwar Years*, Routledge, London, 1999, 101.

<sup>31</sup> D. Birley, *Playing the Game: Sport and British Society 1910-45*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1995, 207.

<sup>32</sup> Pollard, *Fifty Years of Women's Hockey*, 17.

attract them.<sup>33</sup> In Bolton and its surroundings the number of women's rounders teams rose from twenty in 1920 to fifty-nine in 1939.<sup>34</sup> Netball also became popular as it required a smaller space than cricket or hockey and could be played on any surface. Women's football, as discussed in chapter two, also experienced a brief spell of popularity, especially in the Lancashire region, with the famous Dick, Kerr's ladies football team who played in charity games throughout 1921-1922. There were approximately 150 clubs playing women's football by 1921.<sup>35</sup>

Lower living costs and increased wages meant that some working-class women were able to enjoy a larger amount of leisure activities than previously available.<sup>36</sup> Although due to the life-cycle the amount of time women had to enjoy leisure was limited to before they started a family, nevertheless it became acceptable that women who earned money would retain a small portion for their own leisure. Although the total number of working-class women engaging in sport is unknown, it is possible to suggest that many more working-class women would have participated in team games had there been an organisation local to them to encourage their involvement. Hockey, rounders, football and netball are all

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<sup>33</sup> Langhamer, *Women's Leisure*, 82.

<sup>34</sup> M. Huggins and J. Williams, *Sport and the English 1918-1939*, Routledge, Oxon, 2006, 11.

<sup>35</sup> See Birley, *Playing the Game*, 204: A. Melling, 'Cultural Differentiation, Shared Aspiration: The Entente Cordiale of International Ladies' Football, 1920-45', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), *Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender*, Frank Cass, London, 1999, 27-53: J. Williams, *A Contemporary History of Women's Sport, Part One: Sporting Women, 1850-1960*, Routledge, London, 2014, 130.

<sup>36</sup> For further information see Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty*: G. Holloway, *Women and Work in Britain since 1840*, Routledge, Oxon, 2005: P. Horn, *Women in the 1920s*, Amberley Publishing, Gloucestershire, 1995: Langhamer, *Women's Leisure*: M. Pugh, *Women and the Women's Movement in Britain 1914-1959*, Macmillan Education, Hampshire, 1992.

examples of games that attracted large numbers of working-class women through the workplace when they were given the opportunity to participate. The removal of some of the aforementioned restrictive factors allowed some working-class women an opportunity to play games that had previously only been open to middle- and upper-class women.

## II. The formation and growth of the EWCF.

Evidence on the history of working-class women playing serious, or competitive, cricket prior to the First World War is sporadic. Appendices I and III list the number of women's teams playing cricket between 1880 and 1918. A lack of archival information, or club histories, means that it is not possible to definitely assert that the women's cricket teams listed in the appendices were not working class. However, the inclusion of prefixes such as 'Lady' and 'Hon', in many of the match reports suggests that the players were predominantly upper-class as discussed in the previous chapter. Nonetheless, this is not to state that working-class women were not playing cricket during this time, but that it has not been possible to locate their existence.

The first possible evidence of working-class women playing cricket was in Manchester when a women's cricket league was formed in April 1913. The *Manchester Evening Chronicle* noted that although the league had only one division of eight clubs, its popularity suggested that there would be a second tier the following season.<sup>37</sup> This announcement is particularly significant as it appears to be the first mention of a women's cricket league in the British Isles. Appendix XIII shows the location of the league and the teams that affiliated.

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<sup>37</sup> *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, 28 April, 1913.

Unfortunately, no other details, such as who ran the league, or how it was formed, were found. However, it is clear that women's cricket must have been played in the area in previous years as the *Irish Independent* asserted in 1911 that, 'there are no fewer than five women's cricket teams at Worsley, near Manchester, and arrangements are being made to form a Women's League next season'.<sup>38</sup> The *Port Pirie Record and North Western Mail* reported that 'the Sedgley Park Ladies' Club, who are recognised champions of the district, are looking forward to a successful season....last year they carried all before them, only losing one match out of sixteen played!'<sup>39</sup> The fact that this was an Australian paper indicates the significance of the creation of the league. Unfortunately, it is not known who these games were played against, apart from the Harpurney Ladies, which also joined the league in 1913.

The *Port Pirie Record and North Western Mail* was not the only paper in Australia to comment on the formation of the league. *The Register* also reprinted an article from the *Westminster Gazette*, which printed news of the formation of the league followed by a poem:

Gladys, while the winter breezes  
Keep you from the variant mead  
Whereupon the fancy seizes  
You to be, indeed,  
Gracefuller than Grace, yet lacking  
Just a little of his skill,

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<sup>38</sup> *Irish Independent*, 19 July, 1911.

<sup>39</sup> *Port Pirie Recorder and North Western Mail*, 3 May, 1913.

Since you must, perforce, be 'slacking'  
Let me share your thrill  
When the Umpire, calling "Over".  
Puts you, so to speak, in clover.  
Tell me, in these days of leisure.  
Where the fascination lies  
That illuminates with such pleasure  
Your untutored eyes  
While you wait beneath the soaring  
Ball that slowly cleaves the sky  
Ere you hear the people roaring  
"Miss it!" and – you cry!  
What emotion. Gladys, trouble you  
When you're vanquished, l.b.w?  
Let me share you exultation  
As, in fancy, you delight  
In the googly's vain temptation  
And, with all your might.  
Opening your shoulders, bash it  
Gladys, flee- "encore"!  
Let me be, with you, dejected  
When things are as you expected.  
Through your hairpin skirt, their duty  
As you move with nimble feet,

Like Godvia, in your beauty  
(but much more discreet):  
Though you're shapelier than Woolley  
And more exquisite than Tate.  
Yielding "brightness" plentifully  
That we've lacked of late:  
Though you're charming at the wicket,  
Frankly, Gladys- is it cricket?<sup>40</sup>

The *Manchester Evening Chronicle* printed the league results every Monday during the 1913 season. It also reported that the best players from the league had been selected to form a team representing Lancashire to play against Cheshire which took place at Stockport in June 1913.<sup>41</sup> Lancashire lost to Cheshire, by seventy-four to fifty-seven runs. Despite the reports asserting that the league would have a second season, there is no evidence of this. There was also no further mention of the league found during the war years, although in 1919, the Manchester Ladies Cricket Team, which was nicknamed the 'Cheer Ho's' challenged any team in the country to a game. According to the *Manchester Guardian* this challenge was accepted by Bradford and a date arranged, with the match styled as a Lancashire versus Yorkshire county match.<sup>42</sup> The first leg was played at the M.A.C. ground at Fallowfield on 9<sup>th</sup> August that year. The return fixture was played the following week in front of 2,000 spectators at Undercliffe CC in Bradford. Lancashire was victorious by twenty

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<sup>40</sup> *Westminster Gazette* reprinted in *The Register*, 26 April, 1913.

<sup>41</sup> *Manchester Evening Chronicle*, 19 June, 1913.

<sup>42</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 17 July, 1919.



runs.<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately it has not been possible to locate further details of any subsequent matches. Although the report provided a picture of the cricketers and their names, it has proved difficult to discover anything further about these players. Thus, again, it is not possible to assert that the players were working class.

However, the fact that they were organised into a league suggests they may have been. League cricket first developed in the late nineteenth century and increased in popularity during the First World War when county championship cricket was suspended.<sup>44</sup> It was played primarily by working-class men in the northern counties and the Midlands. With no competition for players or spectators, the game attracted increased levels of interest. Teams in the league table were awarded points for each win, with trophies and cups offered to the league winners. League and cup games were highly commercialised, aimed at retaining the crowd's interest and as a result play was hard and fast. Grounds were enclosed and admission fees charged.<sup>45</sup> R. Genders, the famous league cricketer, referred to league cricket as 'cricket played in a business like way'.<sup>46</sup> These cricket clubs began to experiment with different methods of appealing to, and then retaining large crowds. Saltaire CC, playing in the Bradford League, signed leading county cricketer Sidney Barnes by offering high payments and an opportunity to play weekly.<sup>47</sup> This signing led to increased spectators. Other league clubs quickly replicated this idea, signing former county

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<sup>43</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 17 July, 1919.

<sup>44</sup> J. Hill, 'League Cricket in the North and Midlands, 1900-1940', in R. Holt (ed.), *Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1990, 121.

<sup>45</sup> Hill, 'League Cricket', 34.

<sup>46</sup> R. Genders, *League Cricket in England*, Laurie, London, 1952, 41.

<sup>47</sup> Birley, *Playing the Game*, 88.

professionals as 'star players' in a bid to attract high levels of spectators. The *Manchester Guardian* called league cricket in Lancashire, 'real amateur cricket played for the love and the fun of the thing....they have no time for dawdling, they play at full pressure while they are at it, and in an afternoon one may see as many runs in a League match as are scored in a day and a half on a county ground'.<sup>48</sup> Leagues primarily attracted members of the working class, suggesting that the 1913 Manchester League probably contained working-class players. There is no definite reason why leagues first became popular in these areas, but football, rugby league, rounders, netball, hockey and baseball were all played in this form in the industrial districts of the North and Midlands of England.

The first known working-class women's cricket team, after the First World War, was formed at Hey's Brewery in Bradford in 1926, although it is not clear who it competed against prior to its affiliation to the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League in 1931. Slightly more is known about the Dearne Valley Women's Cricket League. Formed in 1927 in Doncaster in South Yorkshire, the league encompassed six teams.<sup>49</sup> Appendix XIII provides a list of the teams that played in this league. The league had the support of the local newspaper, the *Mexborough and Swinton Times*. Prior to the formation of the league, both Hickleton Ladies and Barnburgh Ladies advertised a wish to play matches against any other women's teams in the district and provided contact details in the newspaper. Hickleton also had ladies bowls and ladies tennis sections of the club.<sup>50</sup> Match reports and advertisements for the league were printed in both the sports section and local regional news section.

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<sup>48</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, reprinted in J. Williams, 'The really good professional captain has never been seen! Perceptions of the Amateur/ Professional Divide in County Cricket, 1900-39', *Sport in History*, vol. 26, no. 3, 2006, 431.

<sup>49</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 96.

<sup>50</sup> *Mexborough and Swinton Times*, 10 June, 1927.

Matches were played on a Thursday evening and admission fees were usually dedicated to a local charity.<sup>51</sup> Despite its popularity, there is no further evidence of the league after the 1927 season, nor of any of the affiliated individual teams playing again.

Happily, a more complete picture of the formation and dissolution of the activities of the Holme Valley women cricketers is known. In 1928, in the Holme Valley region of West Yorkshire, Miss Tinker, the female president of the Holmfirth Cricket and Athletic Club began to organise women's matches, comprised solely of married players, to raise money toward the ground purchase fund. Frank Pollard, a member of their local rivals Holmbridge CC, realised the large sums of money that were being raised and suggested to his committee that a women's knock-out competition should be organised to benefit Holmbridge CC.<sup>52</sup> It advertised the competition in the *Holmfirth Express*, and received eleven entrants comprising of work teams, local men's teams with women's sections and church teams.<sup>53</sup> It is important to note that prior to 1928, there has been no evidence of women's cricket being played in this locality and it is thus astounding that over 100 women were reportedly instantly interested in playing in the tournament. Williams has shown that the large number of women who were interested in cricket was indicated by their support of men's cricket clubs. He notes, 'at county clubs between 10% and 20% of the members were women....in 1930 Lancashire had 1,387 lady members....and 4,055 men members....for the rest of the 1930s the number of women members remained between a fifth and a quarter of the number of men members'.<sup>54</sup> Comparatively, Yorkshire in 1920 had nearly 6,000 male

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<sup>51</sup> *Mexborough and Swinton Times*, 8 July, 1927.

<sup>52</sup> *Holmfirth Express*, 19 April, 1930.

<sup>53</sup> *Holmfirth Express*, 2 June, 1928.

<sup>54</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 106.

members and only sixty-eight female members, although this increased to 600 female members by 1930.<sup>55</sup> Williams also notes that in 1930 '15% of the membership income of Kent and Lancashire came from women members, though for Yorkshire the figure was only about 5%'.<sup>56</sup> It is unknown how many women were members at most local league cricket clubs, although it is known that at Nelson CC one-third of the members were women in 1924.<sup>57</sup>

Matches were played on Wednesday evenings from 6:15pm, with overs limited to twenty per innings. The Holmbridge CC tournament was an instant success with between 1,000 and 2,000 people attending each game.<sup>58</sup> Given that the entrance fee was usually between 2d. and 3d. the large number of spectators frequently lead to gate receipts of £10 or over.<sup>59</sup> Another local team, Thongsbridge, realising the potential financial benefits also created a women's competition. Scholes CC also organised a women's competition with a spokesman stating, 'there seems no reason why the club should not look to an interesting and auspicious competition. At least, little sleep need be lost in relation to the "gates", inasmuch as they will, no doubt, take care of themselves'.<sup>60</sup> Towards the end of the 1928

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<sup>55</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 107.

<sup>56</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 107.

<sup>57</sup> Williams argues that, the 'need for income from female spectators....the dependence of clubs playing recreational cricket on the services of women, discouraged cricket from becoming permeated with an aura of masculinity which women would have found repellent'. Williams, *Cricket and England*, 94: This concept was echoed in a speech by Mr. A. C. Day, president of the men's Bradford Evening Cricket League who acknowledged that 'the league would not be financially sound today but for the work done by those women'. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 30 November, 1935.

<sup>58</sup> *Holmfirth Express*, 16 June, 1928.

<sup>59</sup> *Holmfirth Express*, 28 July, 1928.

<sup>60</sup> *Holmfirth Express*, 18 August, 1928.

season, a reporter at the local newspaper, the *Holmfirth Express* noted his astonishment that despite the encroaching football season, interest in women's cricket refused to begin flagging, even in September.<sup>61</sup>

The success of the 1928 season caused a sudden boom in popularity in women's cricket in the region. In 1929 six separate competitions were organised, with entrance fees ranging from 6d. to 3/6. with the winners receiving trophies or sets of spoons. The influx of competitions caused Holmbridge CC to suggest the possibility of creating a women's league in order to retain its self-title of 'pioneers of ladies cricket'.<sup>62</sup> Formed in 1930, six teams joined, playing weekly matches of double innings, to gain four points for a win. Appendix XIII shows the teams that joined the Holmbridge League.

The activities of the Holme Valley women cricketers were reported on favourably in the *Yorkshire Observer*, *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* and *Keighley News*. However, this support actually led to the dissolution of most of the women's cricket in this region. A report in the *Holmfirth Express* stated,

the girl cricketers of the Holme Valley are indignant because their game and methods are being imitated by hundreds of other girls in all parts of the West Riding....ladies teams have been formed at Leeds, Huddersfield, Bradford, Wakefield, Morley, Otley, Meltham, Barnsley, Bramham, Burley- on- Wharfedale and Oulton and scores of villages. In most cases not only the sport but the method of the competitions organised in the Holme Valley have been emulated. Indeed, some clubs have gone so

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<sup>61</sup> *Holmfirth Express*, 21 September, 1928.

<sup>62</sup> *Holmfirth Express*, 19 April, 1930.

far as to apply to the Holmbridge CC for copies of their rules and regulations concerning the competitions....in consequence, the game has now become so commonplace that Holme Valley people who still take an active interest in it are few. Great difficulty has been experienced by local clubs this season in getting people to attend matches. The skipper of a Holme Valley girls' eleven complained to me bitterly the other day of the manner in which local girl cricketers has been aped, "it is a great shame, that clubs cannot form methods of their own without taking those of others. I shall be very surprised if there is a single girl cricketer left in the Holme Valley by the arrival of next season".<sup>63</sup>

Although it has not been possible to find evidence of all of the women's cricket listed in the previous paragraph, there was a definite increase in the number of women's knock-out tournaments in West Yorkshire. In 1929 there were twelve women's cricket teams in Leeds that regularly played each other. They were; J. Cohen's and S. Rhodes, DCL Company, Girl Guides of Thorner, Hunslet YWCA, J. and S. Rhodes, Joshua Wilsons Ltd, Leeds Caledonians, Prospect Mills, the Training College, Vernon Heatons, Wilsons and Leeds WCC, which was formed from staff working at the *Yorkshire Evening Post*. Primarily works teams, they played each other in informal matches until 1934 when they were persuaded by the EWCF to form a structured league. In Keighley, the *Keighley News* reported in 1929 that, 'the ladies competition organised by Keighley CC is proving exceedingly popular. The few games already played having attracted good crowds. Some interesting cricket has been witnessed and spectators have been agreeably surprised by at the ability displayed by the

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<sup>63</sup> *Holmfirth Express*, 13 September, 1930.

fairer sex'.<sup>64</sup> In 1930, Keighley CC organised the Keighley Ladies Knock-Out Competition, with a cup donated by the mother of the captain of the men's side.

In Bradford, Lidget Green CC began to host a women's cricket tournament in 1930, after the intervention of Bradford Conservative councillor Hannah Drake. Whilst attending a men's cricket match at Lidget Green CC, where her husband held the position of president, she observed that a large number of female spectators were displaying an active interest in the match. After talking to a number of the women, she learned that they wanted an opportunity to play cricket. After suggesting to her husband that Lidget Green CC host a women's knock-out tournament, she donated a small trophy named the 'Mrs George Drake Cup' as a prize. Drake was one of only three female Bradford councillors, referred to affectionately by the local newspapers as the 'Three City Mothers'. Despite belonging to different political parties, Mrs Drake, Mrs A. Meggison and Mrs C. Grundy, all supported one common policy, 'that the girls and women of Bradford should be given every chance to engage in sports, whether they be at school, in offices and mills, or their home'.<sup>65</sup> Lidget Green CC was reportedly overwhelmed by the large number of teams and individuals wanting to participate. Recognising an opportunity to provide a large number of working-class women with an opportunity to access sport, Hannah Drake contacted the Bradford Men's Evening Cricket League president, Mr F. H. Timperley and requested that he might consider an affiliated women's league.

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<sup>64</sup> *Keighley News*, 20 July, 1929.

<sup>65</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 18 August, 1934.

On the 19<sup>th</sup> January 1931, the Bradford Men's Evening Cricket League held its annual general meeting at Cambridge House, Bradford. Mr Timperley raised the concept of an affiliated women's cricket league stating that 'the officials of the League had realised for some time that there was a real desire on the part of the women of Bradford to take part in competitive cricket and it was with this in mind that the formation of this league was proposed'.<sup>66</sup> The men's committee agreed to the formation and affiliation of the women's league and agreed to support its creation through the loaning of equipment, grounds, coaching and financial aid. It also agreed to approach the Bradford Parks Committee with a view to obtaining permission for the playing of ladies cricket on the parks' recreation grounds.<sup>67</sup> The league was named the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League. Sixteen clubs entered women's teams and sixty-seven women independently submitted their names to the league asking for assistance in finding a club to affiliate to.<sup>68</sup> It is clear from these numbers that there was a large number of women who wanted an opportunity to play cricket.

The first season was an overwhelming success. Hundreds of spectators attended each league match. Local newspapers ran copies of league tables and fixtures as well as publishing weekly match reports and feature items on the players. Throughout the 1930s, the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League remained popular and provided an opportunity for local sides to compete. Appendix XIII provides a list of the thirty-seven teams that were affiliated to the league during the 1930s. Although the origins of the clubs

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<sup>66</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 20 January, 1931.

<sup>67</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 6 February, 1931.

<sup>68</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 14 April, 1931.



will be discussed in more detail in chapter five it is worth noting that the teams were primarily either works teams or men's clubs that had created a women's section. Some teams, such as Whetley Mills, only affiliated for two seasons, due to a lack of interest at the firm, whereas others, like Hey's Brewery, were a constant feature. Primarily, due to the fact they had been playing since 1926, it was Hey's Brewery that proved victorious in the league several times, particularly in the opening seasons. The league also organised knock-out tournaments throughout the season for teams to compete for.

The Bradford Evening Women's Cricket League was quickly inundated with requests for inter-city matches from Leeds, Brighouse and Keighley.<sup>69</sup> In response, Mr Timperley suggested that it was necessary to create a governing body to control the women's game. He arranged a meeting at the Talbot Hotel, Bradford on 11<sup>th</sup> November 1931. The Federation's *Official Handbook* reported,

All known Women's Cricket Organisations were invited....Leeds, Brighouse, Bingley, Bradford, Shipley, Keighley, Huddersfield and Sowerby Bridge, it was deemed expedient to act in co-operation to all such bodies, the aforesaid representatives, acting under full authority for and on behalf of their respective organisations, resolved themselves into an association to be known as "The Yorkshire Women's Cricket Federation".<sup>70</sup>

The organisation was based on the same lines as the men's Yorkshire Cricket Federation, which was set up in 1929. The Yorkshire Inter-City and Town League was also

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<sup>69</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 2 May, 1931.

<sup>70</sup> English Women's Cricket Federation, Yorkshire Section, *Official Handbook*, Unknown, Huddersfield, 1938, 1.

established to encourage neighbouring towns to play each other. Appendix XIII shows the teams that played in the Yorkshire Inter-City and Town League. The League was well supported, particularly in areas such as Huddersfield and Keighley that didn't have a local women's cricket league. Appendix XIV is a copy of the rules, which affiliated members of the league were expected to adhere to. It has only been possible to find the rules from the 1938 season, which unfortunately prevents analysis of how the rules altered during its existence. Matches were usually played on Wednesday evenings, with players travelling together on a chartered bus. These matches were highly competitive, with teams holding trials in advance in order to select the best possible side. The Bradford team was coached by well-known professional cricketers, Stanley Douglas (Yorkshire CCC) and J. S. Buller (Worcestershire and Yorkshire CCC).<sup>71</sup> It was so competitive that in 1932, the Brighouse captain Mona Greenwood was accused of trying to poach players. The *Yorkshire Observer* noted, 'Miss Greenwood is rather perturbed because of certain statements which have been made concerning alleged influence by her having resulted in Miss Nelson of Bradford, and Miss Humphries of Huddersfield, joining Brighouse, the club with which she is associated'.<sup>72</sup> She vehemently denied the accusations, stating that her interest lay only in the progression of women's cricket.<sup>73</sup> Teams also sought to have the best grounds to play on. The *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* reported that '[Keighley] having been assured of the loan of the Lawkholme Lane ground. Leeds hope to secure the Headingley ground and the Bradford women are wondering....if their venue in Bradford will be Park Avenue'.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 20 July, 1931.

<sup>72</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 23 June, 1934.

<sup>73</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 23 June, 1934.

<sup>74</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 2 May, 1931.

In 1933 the Yorkshire Women's Cricket Federation (YWCF) was approached by Littleborough CC, situated on the border between Yorkshire and Lancashire, which wanted to form an affiliated women's team. Realising the desire of working-class women in Lancashire to also play cricket, the YWCF successfully aided the creation of the Lancashire Women's Cricket Federation (LWCF), and the Lancashire Inter-City and Town League. Appendix XIII lists all the teams that played in the Lancashire Inter-City and Town League. They played for the Whittaker Trophy and the Taylor Rose Bowl. Supported by the men's Central Lancashire League, women's cricket proved equally as popular across the Pennines. The LWCF and YWCF both had separate rules that affiliated teams had to adhere to. Appendix XV is a copy of the rules that members of the YWCF had to adhere to.<sup>75</sup>

The formation of the LWCF also led to county matches between the YWCF and the LWCF. These games were extremely competitive. Those picked to represent Lancashire and Yorkshire played for the 'Hannah Drake Trophy', a large trophy dedicated by the Bradford councillor for county matches.

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<sup>75</sup> Unfortunately it has provide impossible to locate a LWCF rule book, although it is presumed that one existed.



Picture 3: The Hannah Drake Trophy surrounded by the 1937 Yorkshire and Lancashire representative players.

Source: *Yorkshire Observer*, 28 July, 1937.

There were three county matches played annually in 1934 and 1935. This expanded to five in 1936 and 1937. These games proved to be popular with spectators, with up to 5,000 people attending. They also gave the organisation an opportunity to showcase its ability. At a county match in 1936, in which Yorkshire were victorious, its captain Miss Mona Greenwood became the first women to score a century in a county game, hitting seventeen 'fours'.<sup>76</sup> Greenwood and her batting partner, Miss Bertha Nelson, scored 102 runs in forty-two minutes, much to the delight of the crowd.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>76</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 8 July, 1936.

<sup>77</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 8 July, 1936.

On 20<sup>th</sup> April 1934, at a general meeting at the White Hart Hotel in Todmorden in Lancashire, it was proposed to combine the Yorkshire and Lancashire Women's Cricket Federations to form the English Women's Cricket Federation. Mr Timperley (Yorkshire) was appointed president of the Federation, Mr H. Joy (Yorkshire) was appointed secretary and Mr S. Whitaker (Lancashire) was made treasurer.<sup>78</sup> Appendix XI shows all the clubs affiliated to the Federation and the spread of the clubs across Lancashire and West Yorkshire. There is no particular geographical pattern to the location of the affiliated teams; they were based primarily in the West Riding area of Yorkshire, particularly around Bradford because of the formation of the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League. Although the origin of these cricket clubs will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter it is worth noting that the eighty-seven clubs that affiliated to the Federation were primarily either work-based or formed as women's sections of men's clubs. Appendix XVI contains a copy of the 1938 rules of the EWCF. The primary objectives of the EWCF was to:

provide organised cricket matches for women, irrespective of class, and with a minimum expense to the players; to develop friendly relationship between all women's cricket organisations; to protect the interested and promote the welfare of all women's cricket clubs; and to take steps to place women's cricket on a similar footing to men's cricket....the Federation, while carrying out this work, do not intend to allow the movement to interfere with men's cricket, nor do they agree with girls playing matches against the opposite sex, or to the playing of mixed teams.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 21 April, 1934.

<sup>79</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 21 May, 1934.

The EWCF was primarily run by men. The *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* succinctly noted, 'in domestic life women are for the most part respected as 'bosses' but not so in the case of the cricket Federation. This organisation is almost completely managed by men as indicated by the fact that the annual meeting was attended by twelve men and only five women'.<sup>80</sup> At the formation meeting of the EWCF, Mr Timperley appealed to the women present to elect a woman president and other women as officials. However, no nominations were forthcoming, leading Mr Timperley to believe that the women 'evidently thought their Federation would be better established if placed in the care of men who had experience of such things'.<sup>81</sup> There were however, several women in prominent positions including; Hannah Drake, president of the Yorkshire Section, Mrs E. K. Taylor, president of the Lancashire section, Mrs I. Major, chairman of the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League and Miss N. Leeming, chairman of the Leeds and District Women's Cricket League. Nonetheless, Mr Timperley made it clear that he hoped, as the Federation expanded, more women would take up positions of office. At the general meetings, representatives of every club were welcome, resulting in hundreds of women attending.

The five main management members were Mr F. Timperley, president of the YWCF, former president of the men's Bradford Evening Cricket League, and assistant manager of the Bradford and District Newspaper & Co Ltd.<sup>82</sup> Mr H. Joy, who held varying roles on the committee and was an official spokesman. Mr T. Metcalfe, secretary of the men's Bradford Evening Cricket League who subsequently became secretary of the Bradford Women's

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<sup>80</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 6 March, 1933.

<sup>81</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 23 May, 1932.

<sup>82</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 25 July, 1931.

Evening Cricket League. He was a former cricket player for Bowling Old Lane CC in Bradford before joining the Yorkshire Council. After playing with Drifffield Town for two seasons as a professional he became an umpire in the Bradford League once he retired.<sup>83</sup> Mr S. Oddy, editor of the *Yorkshire Observer* who held varying roles on the committee and was a constant and staunch supporter of women's cricket both through his newspaper and in person. Finally, Hannah Drake, the Bradford councillor, remained involved in the running of the organisation throughout its existence. Drake was a Conservative councillor for the Bolton ward. She was first elected a member of the old Bradford Board of Guardians in 1925, and served until poor-law work was absorbed by the Corporation. She took a special interest in the welfare of children, and held the position of chairman of the Bradford Children's Committee. She was first elected to the city council in October 1930.<sup>84</sup>

The actions of these committee members cannot be underestimated when assessing the reasons for widespread support for the YWCF. Without these committee members, the progression of limited overs women's cricket for the working-class in Yorkshire from infrequent knock-out competitions to the highly organised, tiered structure would have been improbable. The successful affiliation with the Men's Bradford Evening League eradicated the primary restrictions previously seemingly insurmountable such as access to grounds, equipment, coaching and male support. As the *Yorkshire Evening Post* reported, 'there would be no organised cricket for girls in Bradford, certainly not of the present flourishing order, had it not been for masculine aid. These are the facts without prejudice. The girls of Bradford wanted cricket matches....the result was the formation last November

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<sup>83</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 11 June, 1931.

<sup>84</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 29 July, 1938.

of the Bradford Girls' Evening Cricket League'.<sup>85</sup> Because of their positions within the Bradford Evening League and local media, they were uniquely placed to be able to convince local organisations that women's cricket was a valid enterprise. Additionally, the committee's intimate knowledge of the men's organisation allowed it to replicate the structure, ensuring it was seen as a competent organisation by the cricketing community.

### III. How successful was the EWCF?

It is important to understand that the primary motivation for encouraging women's cricket under the EWCF was to aid men's cricket. Although this will be explored in more detail in chapter five, it is worth noting that the principal reason why men's clubs agreed to the formation of women's sections under the Federation was to benefit the men's game.<sup>86</sup> Mr Timperley declared that he 'saw no other way for the future success of men's cricket than by fostering the progress of the game among women'.<sup>87</sup> This was achieved firstly by ensuring that all women players had to become a member of the cricket club they played for. This boosted membership fees and ensured that there was a greater pool of members to contribute or help organise fundraising events, which were vital to ensure a cricket club survived during the winter months. Secondly, women's matches were only played on evenings when the pitch wasn't required for the men's teams. The popularity of the women's games drew spectators who paid entrance fees, increasing the clubs' revenue. It is clear that as the motivation was financial, that the Federation committee wanted to

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<sup>85</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 11 June, 1931. The Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League was referred to by a few different names by newspapers including the Bradford Ladies Evening Cricket League and Bradford Girls Evening Cricket League.

<sup>86</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 20 January, 1931.

<sup>87</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 100.



encourage as much interest in the game as possible with players, spectators and the community.

In 1934, Mr Metcalfe was quoted in the *Yorkshire Observer* saying, 'the strict policy of the Federation is to aid men's cricket, so favour all and discourage none'.<sup>88</sup> Encouraging women to want to play the game doesn't appear to have been particularly problematic for the Federation committee. As discussed in the previous section, there was a real desire by women to play cricket when given an opportunity. In 1931, the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League had a membership of sixteen clubs and 200 registered players.<sup>89</sup> Blythwick sports club in Shipley entered two teams into the league after sixty-seven women put their names down as prospective players.<sup>90</sup> The same year, when the *Yorkshire Evening Post* and *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* organised a charity game between Bradford and Leeds, 187 women responded to the advertisement placed in the *Yorkshire Evening Post* for an opportunity to represent Leeds.<sup>91</sup> In 1933, when Huddersfield relocated its club from Holme Valley to the more central location of Paddock, the new club had over 100 women members.<sup>92</sup> In 1932, the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League comprised of twenty-four teams, played in three divisions.

Although it is not known exactly how many women affiliated to the Federation during its existence, it is possible to estimate. In 1932 an article in the *Bradford Telegraph and*

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<sup>88</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 6 April, 1934.

<sup>89</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 11 June, 1931.

<sup>90</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 14 April, 1931.

<sup>91</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 14 April, 1932.

<sup>92</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 2 May, 1933.

*Argus* stated, 'the membership of the Federation is already 2,000 and this figure is growing daily'.<sup>93</sup> A search of all match reports in the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* between 1931 and 1938 found 987 different women who played in teams affiliated to the Federation. However, players' names were only printed in some of the match reports, and increasingly, once county matches were played, the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* rarely printed the names of players in the lower leagues suggesting the figure could be much higher. Even when players' names were printed, it only included those who played in the match, not those who were members but not selected. For example, in 1934, after the formation of the Leeds and District Women's Cricket League it was reported that 'the English Federation have in Leeds 150 girls playing cricket and registered with the Federation'.<sup>94</sup> However, through match reports it was only possible to locate the names of forty-two of these, with no names found for the Tingley Mills, Wilson and Mathieson's or William Sykes teams. Taking into account the expansion of the Federation after 1932 to incorporate the Lancashire teams, Leeds and District Women's Cricket League and other local teams, and the natural turn-over of players throughout the years, it can be estimated that the total number of women playing women's cricket under the Federation was probably between 3,000 and 4,000.

Little is known about the majority of women who played under the Federation. Most names that were printed in match reports have been untraceable. It has therefore been difficult to find why the majority of women chose to play cricket. One anonymous player stated her preference for the game was because, 'it's good exercise and strenuous....it is

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<sup>93</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 28 June, 1932.

<sup>94</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 25 June, 1934.

such a thrill to knock up fifty and if you are a bowler, it is nice to see wickets falling down'.<sup>95</sup> Another, in a personal interview stated that it was, "'the done thing' for women who worked at the mill to play frequently, recounting that her auntie and several women 'up her street' had also played for them in their youth".<sup>96</sup> The majority of the women who played for the Federation were in their teens and early twenties. There were reports of star players being as young as twelve years old.<sup>97</sup> This was familiar in other women's sports that catered for working-class women, such as hockey, netball and women's football, which allowed players as young as eleven to play. Unlike the WCA, which had a minimum age requirement of sixteen to gain affiliation, Federation membership was open to all who were skilled enough to play.

However, despite not being able to discover much about individual players, it is known that collectively the membership of the Federation was mainly working and lower middle class. Mr. Oddy was quoted as saying that 'the majority of the players were working-class'.<sup>98</sup> This is evident not only from the types of works teams which were affiliated, such as mills and factories, but from the occupational roles, where known, of the players. Miss Mary Tetlow, who was assistant secretary to the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League in 1932, was a departmental manageress at Hey's Brewery in Bradford. She was a member of their first cricket team, formed in 1926, and continued to play throughout the Federation's existence.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 6 November, 1936.

<sup>96</sup> Joan Newsome personal interview, London, 17 August, 2010.

<sup>97</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 10 July, 1935.

<sup>98</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 6 March, 1937.

<sup>99</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 6 April, 1932.

However, it is also clear that there were also a number of lower middle-class women who chose to affiliate to the Federation. The secretary, Mr. Joy stated in 1934 that 'their aim was to foster cricket for middle-class and working-class girls'.<sup>100</sup> Reinforcing this, prior to the first county match between Yorkshire and Lancashire in 1932, the YWCF committee noted that the Lancashire team was composed of a different class of women to the Yorkshire team.<sup>101</sup> The affiliated players from Lancashire were seen as being middle-class as they were mostly students at Manchester University.<sup>102</sup> There is other evidence of players who could be seen as middle-class; Betty Dobson, the hon. secretary of the Federation had her own car, which, as discussed in the previous chapter was financially out of reach for the majority of the working-class.<sup>103</sup> Lily Riley, who played for Burnley Ladies, taught at Mansfield Council School, which was seen as a lower middle-class profession.<sup>104</sup>

Despite the enthusiasm for women's cricket, as noted above, it is clear that the Federation had to remove any potential barriers to participation, in order to gain as many members as possible. As highlighted in the first section of this chapter, Parratt has noted the primary factors preventing participation were; lack of leisure time, space, society's

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<sup>100</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 27 March, 1934.

<sup>101</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 20 June, 1932.

<sup>102</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 20 June, 1932.

<sup>103</sup> Lily Riley taught boys how to play cricket at Mansfield Council School and under her tutelage they won their local school's trophy, the Sunderland Cup. *Burnley Express*, 27 September, 1941.

<sup>104</sup> *Burnley Express*, 27 September, 1941.

negative opinions and money.<sup>105</sup> As noted in the introduction, and the first section of this chapter, this thesis focuses on those women of the working-class who, due to their point in the life-cycle, had no dependents to support and thus were able to enjoy some personal leisure time between work and any domestic responsibilities. The fact that the committee of the EWCF and the club representatives had experience of organising men's cricket meant they understood the time restrictions facing working-class players. Evening matches already existed for some men's teams because it allowed for the encouragement of participation and spectatorship by being closely attuned to the recreational patterns of an industrial population.<sup>106</sup> Play started at 6pm and lasted between two and three hours, depending on the light, thus keeping within the limited time frame of the working and domestic arrangements of the working-class.<sup>107</sup> This structure was replicated by the EWCF, which aided the participation of working-class women as most would have been unable to commit to playing regularly during the day, even on a weekend, due to work and family obligations. The fact that the majority of teams were either works teams or men's cricket clubs also ensured that space wasn't an issue for the women's game. The clubs lent their grounds for both matches and practices, with the caveat that they couldn't borrow the ground if the men needed it.

One of the dominant factors for many working-class women was cost. The Federation committee attempted to make playing cricket as cheap as possible. In an article in the *Yorkshire Observer*, they stated, 'first and foremost is a desire to provide organised cricket

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<sup>105</sup> Parratt, *More Than Mere Amusement*, 3.

<sup>106</sup> Hill, 'League Cricket', 137.

<sup>107</sup> Hill, 'League Cricket', 134.

matches for women, irrespective of class, and with minimum expense to the players'.<sup>108</sup>

Following the traditions of the men's leagues, all travelling expenses and equipment costs were covered by the clubs. The Bradford women's cricket team had their equipment paid for out of the funds of the YWCF.<sup>109</sup> The annual affiliation fee for each player was 6d. and for each club 2/6.<sup>110</sup> In 1934, this was altered to 1/- per player. In comparison, as noted in the previous chapter, the annual affiliation fee to the Association was 5/- per player. The Women's Health and Beauty League had an annual subscription of 2/6 or a pay- as- you- come basis of 6d. per session.<sup>111</sup> Minutes of the Todmorden CC annual general meeting in 1936, stated that when asked by a reporter why the members preferred cricket to tennis, one woman replied that cricket was cheaper.<sup>112</sup>

The Federation also had a more relaxed attitude towards clothing, which for some presented an additional cost and thus a preventative factor to their participation. Unlike the middle-class members of the Association who, as mentioned in the previous chapter, were encouraged to acquire the latest sporting fashion from John Lewis, working-class members of the Federation were reduced to either sewing their kit at home, or reliant on hand-me-downs from elder members of their family. For the vast majority of the working-class the categorised way of fashionably dressing was financially out of reach. However, the need for separate clothes dedicated as 'sportswear' did successfully filter through to the working

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<sup>108</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 21 May, 1934.

<sup>109</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 8 March, 1932.

<sup>110</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 4 March, 1932.

<sup>111</sup> J. J. Matthews, 'They had Such a Lot of Fun: The Women's League of Health and Beauty Between the Wars', *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 30, no. 1, 1990, 26.

<sup>112</sup> *Todmorden CC Minutes* reprinted in *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 6 November, 1936.

class. The raised hemlines of the 1920s, which retained popularity in sportswear, was of particular financial importance to the working-class woman as it reduced the cost of the material purchased to create homemade outfits.

The only strictures the Federation placed on clothing were based on sensibilities, such as the need for players to wear properly spiked boots. Not only were players risking their safety, but the trend to wear running spikes was damaging the wicket. Similarly, the only rule placed on dress was that bowlers must appear in a white sleeveless pullover, or sweater, if they were not already dressed in white. As white material and clothing was not only expensive but impractical for the working-class to keep clean, the Federation was caught between accepting the financial limitations of its players and the need to adhere to cricketing sensibilities, such as the need for a batsman to see the bowler's arm clearly. The result was, at local league level in particular, teams often took to the field in a mismatch of uniforms with regards to colour, style, sleeve length, stockings and footwear.

Many players in the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League, especially those playing for Central Ladies, played in flannel trousers each week. Clothing for women had changed during the interwar period, with an emphasis on wearing comfortable and functional clothing. In 1933 Gloria Miniprio became the first woman to play in trousers at the English Ladies' Golf Championship. However, for the majority of Federation players the wearing of flannel trousers must not be confused as a deliberate feminist stance; they simply wore the only white clothes that were available to them. Similar to their male counterparts who turned out for their local teams in overalls or jumpers several sizes too big, the women were reliant on hand-me-downs from relatives. This received minimal

attention from the local press, even when they printed pictures to accompany the match reports. During the first 'War of the Roses' county match between Yorkshire and Lancashire, Yorkshire stated that all players should wear white for this match but that the choice between dress and trousers remained optional.<sup>113</sup> The pictures of the Yorkshire team show that three players opted for flannels instead of skirts, yet this received no commentary in the article.<sup>114</sup> It is interesting to note that any discussion on clothing were always raised by female officials despite the organisation being run primarily by men.<sup>115</sup> As the Federation began to increase in popularity and status, stricter regulations were imposed.<sup>116</sup> In June 1933, the question of whether women should be allowed to play in trousers was discussed in a formal setting at a meeting of the Yorkshire Women's Cricket Federation Board of Management. Despite the cost implications, it ruled that players should be attired in white dresses for all matches.<sup>117</sup> In reality, this rule was only imposed at county matches; players in local and town teams continued to wear flannel trousers or a skirt and top combination.

The deliberate move by the Federation to ensure that participation in women's cricket was as cheap as possible meant that the game was opened to women that were unable to avoid the high affiliation fees of the Association. However, despite the obvious interest by working-class women in wanting to play cricket, it would not have been possible had the EWCF not successfully gained the support of the local community towards women's cricket. To appreciate the significance of potential disapproval, it is necessary to understand the role

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<sup>113</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 24 June, 1932.

<sup>114</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 30 June, 1932.

<sup>115</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 27 March, 1935.

<sup>116</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 9 May, 1933.

<sup>117</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 9 June, 1933.



of women within a working-class community. Although traditionally stereotyped as subjugated to their male contemporaries, working-class women were often pillars of strength and power within the community. Elder women would dominate streets and neighbourhood as a matriarchal figure. Finch in 'Do Families Support Each Other More or Less than they did in the Past?' has described how as part of this role they would ensure that neighbours assisted one another during hard times.<sup>118</sup> If the main breadwinner of one family lost their job, other women would cook extra to provide meals until they found new work.<sup>119</sup> If a woman fell ill, other women in the neighbourhood would help each other with childcare, or with domestic chores until she recovered. In time, all households had at some point relied on the others, creating a community feeling of 'looking out for each other'. Not only did women offer support on a street by street, or neighbourhood basis, but they were instrumental in cohesively providing support on a larger scale for local causes. Women were responsible for organising fetes, bazaars and dances to raise funds for the local church or hospitals.

Davies has described the role of elder women in controlling the morals of a particular street or area within a community.<sup>120</sup> Gossip was used as an important control, with every inhabitant aware of the scrutiny and repercussions if they displayed poor judgement or bad

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<sup>118</sup> J. Finch, 'Do Families Support Each Other More or Less than they did in the Past?', in M. Drake (ed.), *Time, Family and Community: Perspectives on Family and Community History*, Open University, London, 1994, 99-101.

<sup>119</sup> A. Melling, *Ladies' Football: Gender and the Socialisation of Women Football Players in Lancashire 1926-1960*, unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Central Lancashire, 1999, 109.

<sup>120</sup> Davies, 'Leisure in the 'classic slum'', 112.

behaviour.<sup>121</sup> As Chinn notes, a person's economic standing was of secondary importance to their character traits.<sup>122</sup> In communities where generations were bred and people didn't migrate, one person's actions could reflect badly on an entire family for decades. Thus it was important that young women behave in a manner that reflected positively on not only herself, but her family and wider community. This was particularly true when seeking employment. Chinn describes how Booth, in his famous survey of London, made a specific social distinction between 'factory girls' and 'girls who worked in factories'.<sup>123</sup> The former represented flighty young women who worked for the sole aim of raising sufficient funds to spend on dancing, or in the music hall.<sup>124</sup> This contrasted greatly with the latter girl who was quiet and hardworking. She was seen as a respectable member of the community. However, each community had a slightly different code of respectability. In a series entitled 'Girls we all know', the mill girl of Lancashire was depicted as capable, self-reliant, and engaging in leisure activities. These characteristics were positively described.<sup>125</sup> Whereas in Birmingham, the concept of this frivolous fun seeking young woman was seen as being lower working-class, in Lancashire there was a sense of earned leisure and she remained a member of the respectable member of the working class.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> M. Tebbutt, *Women's Talk: A Social History of 'Gossip' in Working-Class Neighbourhoods 1880-1960*, Aldershot, London, 1995.

<sup>122</sup> Chinn, *They Worked all Their Lives*, 119.

<sup>123</sup> Chinn, *They Worked all Their Lives*, 119.

<sup>124</sup> Chinn, *They Worked all Their Lives*, 93.

<sup>125</sup> Langhamer, *Women's Leisure*, 54.

<sup>126</sup> Langhamer, *Women's Leisure*, 54.

Nonetheless, there remained strictures on which activities 'respectable' working-class women could participate in. Women's football in particular is indicative of how parent and/or community disapproval could prevent access to a leisure activity that women wanted to participate in.<sup>127</sup> As discussed in chapter two, women's football experienced popularity in the areas surrounding Preston in Lancashire, during the First World War and the early 1920s as a method to raise funds firstly for war veterans, and then later for striking workers. The games were also used as morale boosters for ex-soldiers and the unemployed.<sup>128</sup> Despite this, Taylor in *The Association Game, A History of British Football* has stated that, 'opposition towards the women's game was never far from the surface. Player and clubs often faced a level of contempt from the press and the public that reflected deep-rooted prejudices concerning gender roles and appropriate behaviour'.<sup>129</sup> In 1921 the English FA banned affiliated clubs from loaning their grounds for women's football because 'football is quite unsuitable for females and ought not to be encouraged'.<sup>130</sup> Ironically, Collins in *Rugby League in the Twentieth Century, A Social and Cultural History*, writes that 'the popularity of women's soccer in the Lancashire coalfields in the early 1920s can to some extent be ascribed to the fact that in rugby league-playing areas soccer was always seen as being a less masculine sport and therefore more acceptable for women'.<sup>131</sup> After the FA's ruling, support for women's football waned. However, the effort by the Dick, Kerr's ladies guaranteed it was never seen as negatively in Preston as in other areas of the country. This attitude was also reflected in Huddersfield, whose team, the Huddersfield Rovers had

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<sup>127</sup> Langhamer, *Women's Leisure*, 54.

<sup>128</sup> Melling, *Ladies' Football*, 117.

<sup>129</sup> M. Taylor, *The Association Game, A History of British Football*, Pearson Education, Harlow, 2008, 135.

<sup>130</sup> Taylor, *The Association Game*, 135.

<sup>131</sup> T. Collins, *Rugby League in the Twentieth Century, A Social and Cultural History*, Routledge, Oxon, 2006, 155.

played against Dick, Kerr's. One of their players, Margaret Wheelan, who was subsequently captain of the Bradford women's cricket team, had been selected to play in a representative England team against France, Scotland, Ireland and Wales.<sup>132</sup> The *Yorkshire Evening Post* commented favourably on her exploits as a female footballer, writing that the experience had made her capable of receiving fast balls and hard knocks on the cricket pitch.<sup>133</sup>

Cricket for working-class women never experienced the same level of negative attention as women's football, although it was not without its critics. J. J. Booth, the president of the Bradford Cricket League was vocal in his disapproval of women's cricket. From the outset he was adamant that cricket was a man's game and women playing interfered with the men's game. He was not, however, opposed to clubs having women's sections as 'those clubs which did well for the men were those which had a fine battalion of women on the grounds providing teas and refreshments and using their sweetness and charm to counteract the possible bad dispositions and bad language of the men'.<sup>134</sup> However, when rumours of a resurgence of women's football reached him in 1934, he performed a complete reversal on his opinion. At the third annual dinner of the YWCF, held at the Queens Hotel in Leeds, he openly acknowledged his change of heart. He led a speech discussing women's participation in sports. Condemning women's football as 'a disgusting exhibition', he claimed that it was 'going to develop masculine women and if there was one thing worse than an effeminate man it was a masculine woman'.<sup>135</sup> Instead, he recommended that women start to participate in women's cricket referring to it as 'the

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<sup>132</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 13 June, 1931.

<sup>133</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 15 June, 1931.

<sup>134</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 23 March, 1935.

<sup>135</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 23 March, 1934.

finest physical engagement they could engage in'.<sup>136</sup> He was joined in this opinion by Mr Timperley, who declared that, 'football was a scandal played by women and hockey was dangerous but cricket was a grand British game and a suitable game for women'.<sup>137</sup> Many previous supporters of female footballers turned their attention to women's cricket. The *Lancashire Evening Post* was particularly vocal that an area previously known for excelling in women's football should also excel in women's cricket. The Preston League was established in 1934, initially with only four teams; Preston Ladies, Enisgn, P.S.L and St. Cuthberts, which cumulatively had over eighty members. The following season, this had increased to over 170 members. They played for the Ewart Bradshaw Shield and the *Lancashire Daily Post* supplied prizes for the best batting and bowling averages. Despite much encouragement from local papers Dick, Kerr's declined an invitation to the league because it didn't have a suitable pitch to play games on. The *Lancashire Evening Post* reported, 'Dick, Kerr's had considered running a team but owing to some difficulty in securing the use of the ground at Ashton Park they withdrew at the last moment'.<sup>138</sup>

The respectability of the game was also encouraged by the presence of local dignitaries at high profile games as guest speakers and to present prizes. At Park Avenue in 1935, the Mayors of Bradford, Leeds, Brighouse, Dewsbury, Huddersfield, Halifax and Keighley were all present.<sup>139</sup> In 1936, when Yorkshire were beaten for the first time by Lancashire on Yorkshire soil, it was reported that the Bradford councillors, Mr T. J. Robinson,

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<sup>136</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 23 March, 1934.

<sup>137</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 23 March, 1935.

<sup>138</sup> *Lancashire Evening Post*, 3 May, 1934.

<sup>139</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 2 July, 1935.

Mr B. Alderman and the president of the men's Bradford Evening Cricket League, Mr A. C. Day, were seen jumping out of their seats to urge on Yorkshire to score the runs they needed to reach the Lancashire total.<sup>140</sup> This obvious display of support showed the everyday man that figures of authority believed the game to be respectable. Equally, an interview of Mrs Grundy, one of the aforementioned 'three mothers' Bradford councillors following a county match in 1934 led George Thompson, the star sports writer of the *Yorkshire Observer* to state, 'if Mrs Grundy says so [that girls should play cricket], Bradford girls and their mother should not, at least, object!'<sup>141</sup> This is not to suggest that these working-class communities would be unable to resist an attempted imposition by their social superiors but to acknowledge that their presence at women's cricket games provided obvious and visual support of the respectability of the sport.<sup>142</sup>

The acceptance of women's cricket, by the community was, in part, because male cricket clubs had become an important part of working-class community life. They appealed to all ages and both genders through extra activities such as attached bowling greens, indoor billiards and table tennis. During the winter they held dances and whist drives, as well as providing a bar for people to socialise at.<sup>143</sup> Women played an important role within the men's clubs by fulfilling traditional women's work. They served teas during men's games, washed and mended the kit and cleaned the pavilion. Clubs usually had a ladies committee, which was responsible for the social element to the cricket club. Many cricket clubs regularly held bazaars where women would not only serve on the stall but produce

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<sup>140</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 20 June, 1936.

<sup>141</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 18 August, 1934.

<sup>142</sup> N. Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain 1750-1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998, 49.

<sup>143</sup> Genders, *League Cricket*, 30.

the majority of the homemade products and refreshments for sale. Organising dances, whist drives and dinners, the ladies committee ensured that cricket clubs continued to raise the additional funds needed to survive the off season. There is no evidence that the prominence of ladies committees made it easier to establish women's cricket teams, primarily because the ladies committee was usually made up of older women, who were either the mother or wife to members of the men's teams. However, the continued presence of women within the club house, fundraising activities and social events meant that, in working-class communities, cricket wasn't seen as an exclusive part of the men's sphere and therefore completely separate from women's involvement. Whilst not denying that the focal point of the club was the men's game, the wider social activities encouraged the membership and participation of women.

To what degree did the working-class man, or non-playing woman, support women's cricket? It is difficult to discover exactly how many people watched Federation matches. The records of local cricket clubs have rarely survived and those that have, failed to provide any crowd numbers at women's cricket matches. Any figures that are known come from the local and national press. Although these are not the most reliable source because they did not always publish attendances and sometimes greatly inflated the figures, they provide the only information available. An examination of the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, *Yorkshire Evening Post* and the *Yorkshire Observer* between 1931 and 1937 produced only thirty-three examples of estimated attendances (removing duplicates across newspapers where the figures were the same). The number of spectators present ranged from 300 to 8,000, the latter at the first Yorkshire- Lancashire County match at Park Avenue, Bradford in 1932. The crowd size varied considerably based on the type of match being played. There are so few

attendance records for local league matches that complete analysis is impossible. The Inter-City and Town League matches varied greatly depending on the teams, but figures show a range of between fifty and 400 spectators. Huddersfield and Keighley, in particular, were well supported. Huddersfield CC relocated from Thongsbridge, in the Holme Valley area, to the central town location of Paddock in 1933 with the intention of attracting more spectators for women's cricket. They saw crowds reportedly 'as large as the men's league matches'.<sup>144</sup> As neither Huddersfield nor Keighley had a local women's league, women's cricket matches remained only a weekly activity consolidating interested spectators. When Keighley hosted Bradford in 1931, the match attracted over 400 spectators. County matches on average attracted 3,000 spectators, although this varied greatly depending on the weather. The 1934 match at Blackpool and the 1937 game at Morecambe both had a prediction of a 5,000 strong crowd. However, on both occasions it rained heavily ensuring spectators stayed away. Whilst acknowledging the high crowd sizes in the first season were primarily due to the novelty of the game and curiosity, the continuation of high numbers of spectators shows a genuine level of support for the women's game. Many male cricketers were also regular spectators. Male spectators were frequently quoted in the local press praising the women's game for its fast pace, as one man stated 'there's summat abaht these lasses, they get on wi t'job in cricket- t'men mess abaht ter much. T'lasses go in to score runs, not ter see who can stop theer t'longest [sic]'.<sup>145</sup>

Most spectators walked to local matches from either home or work. However, for those travelling to inter-city or county away matches, motor coaches were the most popular

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<sup>144</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 21 June, 1933.

<sup>145</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 5 July, 1937.



option. The team representing Bradford in the Yorkshire Inter-City and Town League always met at the Alhambra Theatre, in the centre of Bradford, for all away matches. The motor coach would leave at 6:45pm with friends and family welcome to travel with the team for an extra shilling. For county matches, the Federation created a well organised transport operation where motor coaches ran from Bingley, Brighouse, Halifax, Sowerby Bridge and Keighley at a reduced return fare, including the cost of admission to the ground, to encourage and enable spectators to attend.<sup>146</sup> For those living outside these districts, names and addresses of committee members were given as contact points for travelling information and organisation.<sup>147</sup> Unfortunately, it is unknown how many people regularly used this method of transport.

There is little evidence of any bad behaviour from the crowd. Good natured heckling was a frequent occurrence, similar to the barracking experienced by the representative Association team during the 1934/5 tour in Australia, which the players took a little while to acclimatise to. In 1931, many Bradford women cricketers admitted to being overcome by nerves when playing at Headingley, unaccustomed to the noise of a large crowd. Reports primarily described good natured, excitable crowds cheering and lamenting enthusiastically. Only one incident of bad behaviour at a tournament was found, printed in the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, that described the following;

intense feeling among the players and their supporters is said to be responsible for the death of women's cricket in the Holme Valley. Last season there were over a score of women's cricket teams in this district but now there are no more than two or

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<sup>146</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 27 June, 1932.

<sup>147</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 27 June, 1932.

three....when to-day a *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* representative asked one of the chief promoters whether they had any plans for the forthcoming season he replied with an emphatic “No. The Rampant ill-feeling exhibited last season has caused us to abandon all thought of the idea”. In the closing stages of the season the women, especially those among the spectators, showed a lamentable lack of sportsmanship and fairness by jeering and booing the players on the field of play. So wild were the demonstrations made by these women that both the crowds and game became almost unmanageable.<sup>148</sup>

The composition of the crowd at Federation matches varied according to the type of match played and the admission price. Local league games were family events, with the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* regularly advertising Bradford Women’s Evening Cricket League matches in the ‘Nig Nog’ section of the paper, an area designated at advertising local events suitable for children, whose mascot was a gollywog. For the Inter-City and Town League matches, admission was capped at 3d. per adult, half the price of admission to men’s league games, ensuring that workers with disposable income could afford to attend. As the players were predominantly working class in occupation, it is assumed that the majority of spectators also were. Admission prices for county matches were staggered with a price set at 3d. for the enclosure and 3d. extra from the stand.<sup>149</sup> By setting the entrance at the same figure as the Inter-City and Town League matches, it ensured that their regular supporters could still afford to attend. However, the additional charge allowed for those with more disposable income the privilege of a seat throughout the proceedings.

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<sup>148</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 22 April, 1931.

<sup>149</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 24 June, 1932.

Unfortunately there are no figures available to indicate how many people paid extra to enter the stand. Although newspapers frequently published pictorial evidence and commented on the popularity of the game with local, middle- aged men, there are no articles found which refer to the class of the spectators.<sup>150</sup>

Support for the women's game is evident, not only from the high numbers of spectators, but from the collections. Emulating the men's game, if a player made a significant contribution to the game a cap would be passed round the ground for crowds to donate any spare change for the player. At men's games officials of the club would start collecting once a batsman made fifty runs.<sup>151</sup> At an inter-city match between Keighley and Bingley, a collection from the crowd for Miss Dolphin, daughter of Arthur Dolphin, the Yorkshire wicket keeper, was £3/5/8.<sup>152</sup> Mona Greenwood, who reached fifty runs at a match between Brighouse and Keighley, received £2/4/4 from the collection.<sup>153</sup>

Unfortunately it has not been possible to locate the average collection in men's cricket at the equivalent level to make a comparison. The size of the collections are indicative of the high skill some of these women clearly possessed. Contrary to the WCA's claims that its members played a different game to men's cricket, the EWCF clearly advertised that its members were playing the same fast paced, limited overs game as their male counterparts. Although interestingly, women couldn't score 'sixes' during Federation games; any ball which was hit over the boundary, without bouncing, constituted a 'four'. This rule also didn't appear in the Federation official rules, as illustrated in appendix XVI, yet scorers were

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<sup>150</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 21 June, 1933: *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 5 May, 1931.

<sup>151</sup> L. N. Constantine, *Cricket and I*, Allan, London, 1933, 140.

<sup>152</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 23 June, 1932.

<sup>153</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 7 June, 1934.

instructed to note any 'six' as a 'four'.<sup>154</sup> There is no known reason for this rule, although there has only been one found example of a Federation players achieving this feat. Mona Greenwood hit, what would have been a 'six', during a Federation versus Association match, for the Federation in 1935.<sup>155</sup> The Federation continuously claimed that women were capable of playing at the same skill level as men, but needed the opportunity to practice. A column printed in the *Yorkshire Observer* urged,

there were approximately sixty "ducks" in the league matches this week, and only sixteen players managed to reach double figures!....the only way to remedy it is by assiduous practice for an hour or so on two or three nights each week, in addition to the recognised fixtures....get out of the "ducks" class....How about it, you Yorkshire lasses?<sup>156</sup>

#### **IV. Local newspapers and the EWCF.**

The national press and its influence on the WCA, as discussed in chapter two, was not the only relationship between the press and women's cricket. The local press also played an important role in influencing the opinion of communities on local activities of its residents. Many local papers struggled to survive against the competitive nature of the national papers. Although there was an 80% increase in daily sales between 1920 and 1937, the number of provincial newspapers declined. The 'circulation wars' described in chapter two, benefitted the national newspapers with mass readership whilst decimating many of the

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<sup>154</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 3 July, 1935.

<sup>155</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 3 July, 1935.

<sup>156</sup> *Yorkshire Observer* reprinted in *Women's Cricket*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1933, 3.

local newspapers. The number of provincial morning papers decreased from forty-one in 1921, to twenty-eight in 1937. Similarly, the number of provincial evening papers declined from seventy-nine to forty-eight in the same time period.<sup>157</sup> Branson and Heinemann state that during the interwar period, 'more readers....bought copies of fewer papers than ever before'.<sup>158</sup>

The local press and sport enjoyed a strong relationship during the interwar period, particularly for those sports, or teams, that the national press primarily ignored such as rounders, bowls, netball, and women's cricket not affiliated to the WCA. The local press helped to advertise these games and to introduce their existence to a locality. The coverage of sport by national and local newspapers increased between the wars. However, the degree to which the prominence of a sport within the local press can be seen as support is varied. Huggins and Williams argue that this was an indication that those who controlled newspapers clearly believed that sport was sufficiently important for it to be reported or helped to sell newspapers. It does not prove that interest in sport was growing.<sup>159</sup> Daily newspapers in particular had limited material from which to produce a varied paper and so were likely to publish scores sent to them by a club secretary each week as a method of filling space.

The weekly published *Holmfirth Express*, which discussed the activities of the aforementioned Holme Valley women cricketers, was disapproving of women's cricket

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<sup>157</sup> J. Stevenson, *Social History of Britain, British Society 1914-45*, Penguin Books, London, 1990, 404.

<sup>158</sup> N. Branson and M. Heinemann, *Britain in the Nineteen Thirties*, Cox & Wyman, London, 1971, 249.

<sup>159</sup> Huggins and Williams, *Sport and the English*, 15.

tournaments in its tone and content. The anonymous reporter delighted in writing details that portrayed the women as frivolous, 'there was a touch of that feminine vanity in the action of one of the ladies from Springlane who approached the scorer and threatened to go home if he put the first of her two Christian names in his book for it was a name, which she stated, she did not care for'.<sup>160</sup> In a later report, s/he gave warning to their readers, 'don't taunt, jibe, or reproach lady cricketers respecting their game. Don't speak sarcastically about it. I warn you, they're awfully touchy'.<sup>161</sup> Despite this obvious disapproval the *Holmfirth Express* dedicated space not only to match reports every week but also in the advertisement section. There was an advertisement for a ladies match or competition in every single edition between 23<sup>rd</sup> June to 2<sup>nd</sup> September during 1928, 20<sup>th</sup> April to 23<sup>rd</sup> August throughout 1929 and 12<sup>th</sup> April to 13<sup>th</sup> September in 1930.

Nonetheless, it is obvious that some local newspapers were supportive of women's cricket. The *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, *Yorkshire Evening Post*, *Yorkshire Observer* and *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* were ardent supporters of the women's game from their formation. In Yorkshire, the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* supported women's cricket with such enthusiasm that Williams notes, representatives of Lancashire clubs 'marvelled at the reports of women's cricket in Yorkshire newspapers'.<sup>162</sup> An investigation into the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* shows that from 1931 until 1937 there were 412 articles written about women's cricket. The content of these articles varied greatly. Many of them were reprinting the scorecards that had been sent to them by the club's secretaries whilst

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<sup>160</sup> *Holmfirth Express*, 13 June, 1928.

<sup>161</sup> *Holmfirth Express*, 30 June, 1928.

<sup>162</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 105.

others were opinion pieces on the ability of the teams, or match reports following an important game. It is interesting to note that there has not been found a single article or reference to the fact that the women who played competitive league cricket had been at work all day prior to playing a three hour cricket match. This indicates the level of acceptance this concept had within these working-class communities. Almost a quarter of all articles focused on the structure, or day to day running of the Federation. In particular, extra columns were printed on women’s cricket prior to, and immediately after county matches. The games played between Yorkshire and Lancashire garnered a lot of support from the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*. Table 4.1 shows the number of article printed on each type of match between 1931 and 1937.

Types of Matches	
	2
Charity	9
	5
County Matches	3
Friendlies	4
	2
Inter-City	5
Inter-League	1
International	5
	1
Versus WCA	0
	1
Veteran	5

Table 4.1: Types of matches commented on by the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*.

Source: *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, between 1931 and 1937.

N.B. The international matches refer to the Anglo-Australian matches hosted by the Women’s Cricket Association.

County matches gained more column inches than any other type of women's cricket, rivalling the space dedicated to men's county matches. Under headlines that ran across an entire page the newspapers would declare 'YORKSHIRE AGAIN WOMEN'S CRICKET CHAMPIONS' [emphasis in original].<sup>163</sup> In part, this was due to the fact that the YWCF committee included the assistant manager of the Bradford and District Newspaper Company (Mr Timperley) who encouraged the newspaper to focus on women's cricket in order to gain a greater interest in the game and subsequently a larger 'gate'. It is particularly interesting to note that given the main purpose of women's cricket was to support the men's game, as discussed in the previous section of this chapter, of the 412 articles printed by the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, only fifty specifically mentioned gate money, and thirty-nine referred to crowd sizes.

The *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* was also involved in organising many of the charity matches that the Federation engaged in. As discussed in the previous section of this chapter, the Federation was careful to integrate its organisation into the community to gain support for its activities and to encourage acceptance of the game. In order to achieve this, the committee and the newspapers organised charity events, with all proceeds going to local causes. Women's cricket has a history of providing teams for matches in order to support local charities. All the teams that played for the Dearne Valley League were involved in charity matches except for Hickleton Ladies, which was affiliated to an athletic and social centre that also produced women's tennis and bowls teams. Brampton LCC when requesting

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<sup>163</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 6 July, 1935.



fixtures stated that it was 'again playing in aid of the Central Relief Committee Funds'.<sup>164</sup>

This charitable purpose appears to have gained the support of many locals, however, it also led to the criticism from one anonymous reader of the *Mexborough and Swinton Times* who sarcastically asked, 'where are the games of yesteryear? Last year the ladies cricket team in Houghton did so well that one expected to see them at play again this year. Is the team still in being; or was it only the need for funds to feed the children?'<sup>165</sup>

During the first season of the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League, the *Yorkshire Evening Post* published a speech by the secretary Mr Metcalfe, where he joked that the women of Leeds preferred swimming and hockey to cricket. Alec Wormald, a coach at Leeds CC in Headingley wrote to the *Yorkshire Evening Post* requesting, that in the absence of a female cricket authority in Leeds, it would offer its assistance in gathering a representative team to accept this challenge.<sup>166</sup> The *Yorkshire Evening Post's* women's page editor wrote up valuable hints aimed at the female reader, under the title, 'Girls really can play cricket. Hints for those who have no brothers to teach them'.<sup>167</sup> 187 women responded to the advertisement for an opportunity to play in the match.<sup>168</sup> Together, the *Yorkshire Evening Post* and the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* organised the first large scale women's cricket match between teams representing Leeds and Bradford at Headingley. All proceeds were donated to the Alexandra Rose Fund, the charity set up by Queen Alexander on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of her wedding to King Edward. All expenses were met by the newspapers.

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<sup>164</sup> *Mexborough and Swinton Times*, 29 April, 1927.

<sup>165</sup> *Mexborough and Swinton Times*, 15 July, 1927.

<sup>166</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 25 April, 1931.

<sup>167</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 5 May, 1931.

<sup>168</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 14 April, 1932.

Spectators were charged 3d. for admission, with Bradford spectators paying 1/- to include the twenty mile round trip and a guaranteed seat in the ground.<sup>169</sup> For weeks before the game, the two newspapers provided extensive coverage as both teams hosted trial games to find the strongest sides. Over 6,300 spectators of both genders were reported to have watched the two hour game, which resulted in a gate of £72/2/9. The *Yorkshire Evening Post* and *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* reported that hundreds of spectators scaled the fence when they realised the game had begun, so this number should have been higher. The gate money was divided into two. From one portion £5 was allocated to the Burley and Kirkstall Nursing Division of the St John Ambulance Brigade and the remainder £31/1/5 devoted to the Leeds General Infirmary. From the other portion, the expenses of the Bradford team, amounting to £7/10/- were defrayed, and the balance, £28/11/4 was sent to the Bradford Royal Infirmary.<sup>170</sup>

During the rest of the season, the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, *Yorkshire Evening Post*, *Yorkshire Observer* and *Yorkshire Sports and Argus* collectively organised seven charity matches. At the larger grounds, such as Headingley and St Michaels, in Wakefield, the numbers of spectators was over 3,000. At smaller grounds, such as the league clubs of Keighley and Undercliffe in Bradford, the crowds recorded were over 1,000. The large size of these crowds can be partially attributed to curiosity, as in 1931 women's cricket was still viewed as a novelty by many. Nonetheless, the support by the local newspapers to these charity matches ensured that women's cricket matches remained at the forefront of community activities. At high profile charity matches, local dignitaries were invited as guest

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<sup>169</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 11 June, 1931.

<sup>170</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 26 June, 1931.

spectators and to present prizes. In 1932, batting prizes were donated and awarded by the editor of *Yorkshire Sports*, Mr S. H. Holdsworth. The *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* also regularly donated cricket bats as prizes for the players who had the best batting average, or scored the most runs in a single game.

Newspaper organised matches were consistently more popular than any other form of organised women's cricket throughout the 1930s. Primarily this was because of their aim of raising money for local causes. Not only were the fees of renting impressive grounds, such as Headingley, waived but the Yorkshire Council repeatedly rearranged men's cricket matches to allow the matches to take place on a Saturday afternoon, when the majority of potential spectators had free time. By the end of the first season the officials of the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League were able to report that they had been able to contribute over £50 to local charities, 'we thought we were starting on a delicate thing when we founded the league, but it has proved more popular than we imagined. I think the amount of money we have been able to distribute has been a marvellous achievement for the first season'.<sup>171</sup> The financial statement revealed that the income that season amounted to £136/14/10 ½ and the expenditure to £66/13/2. Out of the balance the committee recommended the allocation of funds to; the Bradford Royal Infirmary, Bradford Hospital, Brighouse JOC, Eccleshill branch of the St John Nursing Association, Bingley Cottage Hospital Fund and the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* NigNog Fund, the newspaper's children's section. Even with this generosity, this left a balance of £17/15/10 to invest into the next season.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 22 September, 1931.

<sup>172</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 22 September, 1931.

The *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* was not the only local newspaper to offer support to the EWCF. The *Yorkshire Observer* had a mixed relationship with women's cricket. Self-proclaimed as 'the leading authority for all women's cricket', it sponsored the publication of the Federation's *Official Handbook*.<sup>173</sup> The *Yorkshire Observer* advertised every game, printed fixture lists, match reports, league tables and scores. The committee was quoted frequently and reports from inside the meetings were also published. Again, given that the editor of the *Yorkshire Observer*, Mr Oddy, was on the Federation committee, this support was unsurprising.

Similar to the national papers, the *Yorkshire Observer* also hired guest columnists to write on women's cricket. In 1934, the anonymous 'Onward' was hired. Although the identity of 'Onward' still remains unknown, it was clear from their comments that s/he held a position of authority within the Federation. The column was used as a direct voice to communicate with the players, answer accusations and advertise games. However, 'Onward' was replaced after one season because of their criticism of player selection for a county match. The replacement was Ruby Humphries, the Yorkshire and Brighouse women's star bowler. Born in 1915, she started playing for Brighouse aged fifteen. In 1936 she affiliated to both the Association and the Federation in order to play against the Australians in the 1937 tour. She represented Yorkshire for both organisations and played under the North of England team from 1936 to 1938 for the Association. She claimed that her 'sole object is to help to place women's cricket on the map and only plain, straightforward

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<sup>173</sup> English Women's Cricket Federation, Yorkshire Section, *Official Handbook*, 1.

methods will attain this object'.<sup>174</sup> Her first column was a full of hints under the heading 'Bowling, Fielding, Batting, Practice and Dress'. Aside from tips about the line and length when bowling, she also offered advice such as, 'always be as charming as possible, as you know you are playing a noble game' and 'on no account must you take part in excessive throwing of a ball, as it is very damaging to the shoulder muscles'.<sup>175</sup>

Despite the support given by the *Yorkshire Observer* to women's cricket, it is clear that the editor believed women to have a different understanding of the game to men. In July 1934 it was announced that Mona Greenwood, star all-rounder and captain for Yorkshire, would be a new columnist, reporting on the men's test matches against Australia.<sup>176</sup> The *Yorkshire Observer* claimed that many women would like to 'understand the salient points and features of the game, given clearly by one of their own sex'.<sup>177</sup> It was not unusual to hire women journalists for the purpose of appealing to women readers. Lewis in 'Our Lady Specialists at Pikes Lane' has discussed the inclusion of two women as football reporters stating, 'we can only speculate that the newspaper wanted to cash in on some women's liking for the game by having a weekly column on football orientated towards potential women readers....the reporters were designated 'Our Lady Specialists', 'Our Lady Artists''.<sup>178</sup> In the column announcing her appointment it was claimed that Greenwood would answer the following questions about female spectators, 'Is it a social event for them, or is that

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<sup>174</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 5 June, 1937.

<sup>175</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 24 May, 1935.

<sup>176</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 18 July, 1934.

<sup>177</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 18 July, 1934.

<sup>178</sup> R. Lewis, 'Our Lady Specialists at Pikes Lane: Female Spectators in Early English Professional Football, 1880-1914',

*International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 26, no. 15, 2009, 2174.

above everything else, one must see and be seen at the Test Match? How many of them really know cricket’?<sup>179</sup> The final line of the advertisement stated ‘and who knows, too, but that the men also will find in her comments something of which they themselves had not thought’?<sup>180</sup> Not only did this indicate that the general male spectator would probably have a greater insight than the women’s county captain and highest scoring batter, but her column was published two pages later in the paper than their male columnist, cementing the concept that her opinion was secondary to a man’s. It is clear that they believed most females viewed cricket as a social event, rather than as a serious sport. This viewpoint was also consolidated in the hiring of George Thompson to comment on high profile women’s cricket matches, such as county games or tournament finals. Thompson was the star columnist for the *Yorkshire Observer*, writing on rugby league and football for the paper throughout the 1930s. The fact that he wrote on women’s cricket at high profile games is indicative that the newspaper believed it would appeal more to their male readers if written from his point of view.

That the *Yorkshire Observer* had a tendency to trivialise women’s sport is also evident in 1935 when it started a competition to find ‘the ultimate sports girl’. The point of the competition was stated as,

There is general agreement that the popularity of sport among women has resulted in improved health, but there is considerable difference of opinion as to which form of sport produces the most graceful and charming girls. Lawn tennis, golf, and other pastimes each have their champions, and to put the question to the test “The

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<sup>179</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 18 July, 1934.

<sup>180</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 18 July, 1934.

Yorkshire Observer” is offering substantial cash prizes. The judging will be from photographs, which will be printed in the *Yorkshire Observer*, and any sports girl or sports woman who participates in tennis, golf, swimming, badminton, rowing, dancing, riding, cricket, football, hockey, gymnastics, athletics, cycling, netball, or any woman driver of a motor-car or motor-cycle having a driving licence, may compete.<sup>181</sup>

Given that the first prize was £30 and second place was £20 it is unsurprising that hundreds of girls sent in pictures of themselves that were printed in the paper, of which dozens were cricketers. Barker-Ruchti, Grahn and Annerstedt argue that ‘photographs are not only a product of gender dispositive, but also an influential agent within public discourses of gender’.<sup>182</sup> Thus these pictures were excessive in the editors’ aim to reinforce social ideals by reassuring readers that the girls were attractive and not ‘masculine’. In 1934, the *Yorkshire Observer*, ensured that the presence of one of the Bradford female councillors, Mrs Meggison was seen as reinforcing the importance of femininity for the players. It included a quote from her that “that they didn’t want to see Bradford’s women of the future built up on massive, muscular lines, but that the necessity of keeping fit....should be furthered”.<sup>183</sup> Barker-Ruchti, Grahn and Annerstedt continue that as pictures of women in competitive sport was still relatively novel in the interwar period, that many newspapers sought athlete portraits or group photographs....[which] reinforce traditional notions of

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<sup>181</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 18 May, 1935.

<sup>182</sup> N. Barker-Ruchti, K. Grahn and C. Annerstedt, ‘Moving towards Inclusion: An Analysis of Photographs from the 1926 Women’s Games in Gothenberg’, *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 30, no. 8, 2013, 875.

<sup>183</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 18 August, 1934.

femininity'.<sup>184</sup> However, it could also be argued that as entrants were choosing which image of themselves they wanted to promote; that they were constructing their own identity.

Pictures were a popular method of taking up space in a newspaper. A search of the *Yorkshire Observer* during the peak of the Federation's popularity between 1934 and 1938, found 291 articles. Of these, forty-six of them had pictures of the women's cricketers. Many of the pictures, especially of the leading cricketers such as Yorkshire's Mona Greenwood or Ruby Humphries, were portrait style. For local newspapers, cost was also an important factor on the types of photographs that featured in an article. It is likely that the primary reason for the prominence of portrait style was because the pictures could be regularly reprinted, unlike action shots which cost money for the creation of the printing blocks and couldn't be reused. By running the aforementioned competition, the *Yorkshire Observer* was not only reaping the benefit of free photographs that they could reprint if relevant when commenting on sporting events, but they were also hoping to increase circulation. Emulating the competitions held in national newspapers, which aimed to retain the loyalty of readers, the inclusion of these pictures ensured that a girls' family and friends would want to buy the paper in case she was featured, as a keepsake, or to see rival entrants in the competition.

The *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* and *Yorkshire Observer*, may have dedicated the most space to the Federation, but they weren't its only supporters. Smaller papers such as the *Brighouse Echo* and *Todmorden Advertiser* not only designated space to advertising future matches, printing scores and league tables for the EWCF but also dedicated weekly

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<sup>184</sup> Barker-Ruchti, Grahn and Annerstedt, 'Moving towards Inclusion', 875.



columns to match reports, discussion of committee meetings and published minutes from the meetings. The *Keighley News* discussed the women's league games in exactly the same style and serious tone as the men's game, albeit in fewer column inches. As the seasons progressed the editors of the local papers allocated more column inches to women's cricket than the workers, church or youth cricket leagues, although not as many as were dedicated to the men's Bradford Evening Cricket League. All mentions of women's cricket were included in the cricketing pages, unless it was prior to the county match, in which case they were mentioned in the sports pages, and on the front page, or page three. The *Yorkshire Sports* supplement even included women's cricket when it began to give awards each week for the best batting or bowling performances within all the cricket leagues with winners announced in the popular Saturday edition. Prizes were awarded to the best batting or bowling performance in either the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League or the Inter-City and Town League. The overwhelming positive publicity by the local newspapers not only portrayed women as having a right to play cricket but encouraged localised cross-gender support. The *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* regularly attempted to galvanise support from its male readers, in one instance stating, 'whilst many women will, no doubt, be present, men should not run away with the idea that the match will be a 'tame' affair. It will be a grimly fought out struggle and Bradfordians should roll up in force to encourage their womenfolk in the field'.<sup>185</sup>

The EWCF's teams were not the only women's cricket teams that received support from the local press. As shown in appendix XII, there were over 400 women's cricket teams playing during the interwar period that were neither affiliated to the Association or the

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<sup>185</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* reprinted in the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 17 June, 1931.

Federation. Although more will be discussed about these clubs in the next chapter it is important to note that they didn't have a vehicle like the Association's official magazine *Women's Cricket* through which to build relationships and project their own opinions. Similarly, the national press paid them minimal attention. For these clubs the local press was of paramount importance as a method of advertising their existence, gaining support within the community and encouraging potential cricketers to affiliate. Many of these unaffiliated teams benefitted from a supportive local press, like the Federation. The *Lancashire Evening Post* and *Burnley Express* were very supportive of local women's cricket, regardless of what organisation, if any, the teams played for. It was the *Lancashire Evening Post* in particular, that encouraged the creation of the Preston Women's Cricket League, which eventually affiliated to the Association.<sup>186</sup>

As local cricket clubs relied upon newspapers to advertise their fundraising activities, the support of a local newspaper was important to the existence of a club. In Bedford, the *Bedfordshire Times and Independent* advertised the suggestion of the formation of a women's cricket club, printing the contact details for interested parties.<sup>187</sup> The *Portsmouth Evening News* was widely supportive of all women's cricket, reporting on local matches and encouraging the formation of clubs. In 1933, the editor commented 'several inquiries have reached us for names and addresses of secretaries of women's cricket teams. If secretaries will supply the information it will be published in the 'evening news' and fixtures can be made'.<sup>188</sup> The *Nottingham Evening Post* was equally as supportive, regularly printing cricket

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<sup>186</sup> *Lancashire Evening Post*, 14 February, 1934.

<sup>187</sup> *Bedfordshire Times and Independent*, 27 February, 1920.

<sup>188</sup> *Portsmouth Evening News*, 24 March, 1933.

fixtures and reports under the heading 'All Sorts of Sports', which referred to men's as well as women's games. Wallington LCC reported, 'it is cheering to be able to record that our local papers are not prejudiced against women's cricket and a short while ago an article was published about our club and women's cricket in general, while every week they are quite willing to insert a report on our matches'.<sup>189</sup> Some papers were more amenable than others for feedback. Canterbury WCC reported in 1936 that, 'one thing we have accomplished-we have made our local press promise not to report our matches under the "Eve at the Wicket" headline'.<sup>190</sup> The *Essex Newsmen* however, was not as supportive. In 1937, prior to the Australian women's tour it printed the following letter by the hon. secretary of Chelmsford CC, in the column written by 'Reflex' with the introduction, 'Ha Ha- stop a minute. The following has been passed on to me by the editor',

Dear Sir – The comments made by "Reflex" concerning the publicity arrangements for the visit of the Australian Women's Cricket to Chelmsford have been the subject of much discussion in sporting circles in the town, but may I hasten to add that the discussion has been caused more by the injustice of the remarks than by their generosity. We were favoured by notices of the game in the London and County Press and in addition 500 posters were issued in Chelmsford and within a radius of ten miles. All the local bus companies displayed bills, and cinemas co-operated by showing slides....may I therefore suggest that "Reflex" would have been better occupied in giving the fixture a helpful preliminary "boost" than in waiting until after the visit of the tourist and indulging in unfair criticism?<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>189</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 7, no. 4, 1936, 76.

<sup>190</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 7, no. 3, 1936, 57.

<sup>191</sup> *Essex Newsmen*, 19 June, 1937.

It is clear that in local newspapers, women were given a much larger allocation of space for their sports and activities. Unlike the national newspapers which tended to offer limited space to women's sport, local newspapers appear to have been willing to dedicate columns and editorials to the subject. Women's sports were usually printed on the same page as men's sport, although admittedly next to the junior sections, rather than the men's. Davies in 'Bowling Maidens Over: 1931 and the beginnings of women's cricket in a Yorkshire town' has described how the *Brighouse Echo* in West Yorkshire, 'at first, reports about the women's exploits appeared on the 'news' pages, away from the regular round-up of the men's matches on the 'sport' page. However, by the end of the summer of 1931, the women had forced the hand of the *Echo* sports editor and made their way on to the same pages as their male counterparts'.<sup>192</sup> The *Western Daily Press* included the Bristol University WCC fixtures in the same area as the men's cricket clubs' fixtures, albeit afterwards.<sup>193</sup>

The local press was also extremely important in the support of local women's clubs especially as there has been no evidence found of national newspapers advertising, or commenting on, women's cricket clubs that were not affiliated to the Association. The local papers were not only supportive in the printing of scores, and advertising local matches, but they also aided fundraising activities. As many women's cricket clubs needed to pay ground rents and supply equipment to their players, they regularly held dances, social events and

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<sup>192</sup> P. Davies, 'Bowling Maidens Over: 1931 and the beginnings of women's cricket in a Yorkshire town', *Sport in History*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2008, 286.

<sup>193</sup> *Western Daily Press*, 8 June, 1933.

fêtes to try to raise the necessary funds to survive. The local papers were of paramount importance to their continued existence.

#### **V. The relationship between the WCA and EWCF.**

The Association and Federation had a fractious relationship. As the Association expanded its presence in the northern counties of Yorkshire and Lancashire, following the formation of county associations, the two organisations frequently clashed. The Association disapproved of the fact that men held positions of authority on the Federation committee and that the organisation encouraged competitive play. Gate money and the inclusion of trophies and collections led the Association to believe that the Federation was encouraging the 'wrong' type of cricket and the affiliated players were being taken advantage of. Equally, the Federation was highly critical of the Association, viewing it as exclusive and not as highly skilled. From 1933 to 1938 the two organisations vied with each other as to which was the leading governing body of women's cricket.

From 1926 until 1934, the WCA was adamant on its position towards league cricket. It categorically and repeatedly stated in its annual reports, newspaper columns, publications and *Women's Cricket* that it 'can say definitely that we have no aspirations whatsoever to play county matches as we know them in men's cricket. There will never be competitive cricket, with points for a win, and a table to slide down or climb up'.<sup>194</sup> In part this was because it, similar to the Federation, was emulating the structure of the men's game. In men's local cricket in the South East of England, cricket was rarely played in leagues. The WCA was following the example set by the men's county authorities who were derisive towards the league game, due to its own amateur status.<sup>195</sup> Its opinion can be summarised by the following, which was printed in *Wisden*, 'the menace of the Lancashire and Yorkshire leagues cannot be ignored....from what I am told leading professionals constantly receive from league clubs offers of better terms than they are getting from the counties, naturally the temptation of more money for less work is very strong'.<sup>196</sup>

Their other influence was the experience of the relationship between the AEWHA and league hockey in the 1910 and 1920s.<sup>197</sup> The AEWHA was highly successful during its first ten years at spreading women's hockey amongst the middle and upper classes. However, during the 1910s it began to experience difficulties in expanding further, due to lack of grounds or available spaces.<sup>198</sup> Meanwhile, works teams began to form in the North of

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<sup>194</sup> M. Pollard, *Cricket for Women and Girls*, Pollard Publications, London, 1934, 128.

<sup>195</sup> R. Bowen, *Cricket: A History of its Growth and Development throughout the World*, Eyre and Spottiswode, London, 1970, 145.

<sup>196</sup> <http://www.espnricinfo.com/wisdenalmanack/content/story/151679.html>, accessed 23/05/2015.

<sup>197</sup> McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 134.

<sup>198</sup> Pollard, *Fifty Years of Women's Hockey*, 16.

England. In 1910 a league was formed in Oldham that had thirty-six teams and four divisions within three years. Marjorie Pollard, press representative of the WCA in *Fifty Years of Women's Hockey*, explains the dilemma for the AEWHA,

The North produced many such clubs. The members worked hard five and a half days a week and played hard on Saturday afternoons. In the organisation of their fixtures they copied their menfolk and gathered themselves together in leagues. They played for points. Then some Director or Mayor presented a cup and before you could say "knife" competitions were on. Even from this point alone the AEWHA could not countenance such teams, because of their edict "Clubs or affiliated association and playing for cups or in a prize competition would be deemed guilty of 'misconduct' under Rule 13".<sup>199</sup>

Despite pleas from the official AEWHA magazine, *Hockey Field*, that the two types of hockey should be united in order to further the game, many ladies' clubs refuted the concept, concerned that it would lead to encouragement of cross-class socialising off the field.<sup>200</sup> However, the growing popularity of lacrosse across elite schools and physical training colleges caused the AEWHA to reassess its position on league hockey.<sup>201</sup> After the First World War, the AEWHA allowed leagues to affiliate, providing they ceased to play for trophies. Within three years this compromise led to the addition of an extra 150 clubs.<sup>202</sup> The vice president Miss C. J. Gaskell explained the continued ruling against competitive

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<sup>199</sup> Pollard, *Fifty Years of Women's Hockey*, 16.

<sup>200</sup> *Hockey Field* reprinted in McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 134.

<sup>201</sup> Birley, *Playing the Game*, 41.

<sup>202</sup> N. Tomkins and P. Ward, *The Century Makers, A History of the All England Women's Hockey Association 1895-1995*, All England Women's Hockey Association, Shrewsbury, 1995, 75.

playing, 'the rule that forbids the playing for cup and trophies, is as I believe, one of the main foundations upon which our Association has built up the position it holds in the athletic world today....we shall be wise to keep out playing for trophies if we mean to preserve in its full strength that amateur spirit that is such an important asset to our nation'.<sup>203</sup> The refusal to allow prizes remained a barrier for most league hockey teams that continued to play independently, until the 1933-1934 season when the AEWHA finally allowed league competitions to affiliate and continue to play for trophies.<sup>204</sup>

The Women's Cricket Association had a similar rule in the County Association Official Rules, which are detailed in appendix IV. Rule 8 stated, 'that no member of any affiliated county association or club shall institute or take part in any cricket challenge cup or prize competition; exceptions shall be made in favour of schools and colleges where such competitions are already instituted'.<sup>205</sup> Pollard, in an article for the *Observer* described the competitive nature of the Federation,

there is in the North a great deal of women's cricket, played between towns and mills. It is very competitive; each side has twenty four overs and uses them. The games are played in the evening, the crowds are large and enthusiastic, and a player who makes fifty or achieves a "hat trick" gets a collection. Well, personally I am pleased that these girls play cricket, but somehow I cannot reconcile myself to these hectic timed affairs and certainly not to the collection.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> Tomkins and Ward, *The Century Makers*, 94-95.

<sup>204</sup> M. Pollard, *Hilda M. Light Her Life & Times, A Tribute by Her Hockey Friends*, All England Women's Hockey Association, London, 1972, 36.

<sup>205</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1930 Year Book*, 1930, I.

<sup>206</sup> *Observer*, 23 June, 1935.



There has been no evidence found of the Federation committee's opinion of the Association's style of play. However, there is evidence that both organisations disapproved of the structure of the other. The Federation disliked the organisational method of the Association. In an article in the *Yorkshire Observer*, the committee emphasised the democratic organisation of the Federation, which held regular meetings where all proposals were decided by a majority vote, and representatives were appointed to the committee. They accused the Association, with its executive committee, of autocratic rule.<sup>207</sup>

The Association particularly disliked the fact that the Federation was run predominantly by men. Pollard in an article for the *Observer* noted her concerns, 'I am convinced that these girls can be exploited for purposes of a "gate"....women should organise their own affairs'.<sup>208</sup> Pollard was particularly vitriolic about the potential exploitation of women. When referring to the famous Hambledon match of 1811, referred to in the first chapter, Pollard dramatically declared, 'I do not like to think about that game, because it savours of sheer exploitation....not for its simple aim of the providing of a game of cricket for twenty two women and girls'.<sup>209</sup> The Association's stance towards the Federation being run by men is interesting when remembering, as noted in the previous chapter, that many Australian women's teams were run by men, yet this received no public comment from the Association. Interestingly this standpoint by the Association is similar to the 'play days' that female physical educators promoted in America in the 1930s which

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<sup>207</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 25 June, 1934.

<sup>208</sup> *Observer*, 23 June, 1935.

<sup>209</sup> *The Times*, 25 May, 1937.

emphasised participation over competition during the 1930s. L. Couturier in “Play With Us, Not Against Us’: The Debate About Play Days in the Regulation of Women’s Sport’ has described how women physical educators,

determined to avoid what they saw as abuses in men’s athletics, the women took an oppositional stance to competition and instead promoted participation.... by keeping girls out of the fray of competitive athletics, women physical educators ensure that their students did not transgress gender or class lines while protecting their own control of women’s sport.<sup>210</sup>

An article by one of the physical educators Ethel Perrin stated she was in favour of athletics for girls if the competition was the ‘right kind’. She was critical against commercialisation, exploitation and impropriety of male coaches.<sup>211</sup>

As discussed in chapter two, the concept of forming county associations was first mooted in 1928, but caused great debate for five years, until the WCA committee agreed to their formation in 1933. It is important to note that the reason the committee agreed to county associations in this year was because they felt it was necessary to steer women’s cricket away from the influence of the LWCF. The executive committee ‘strongly urged’ the formation of county associations,

because it was desirable to run county association teams in those parts of the country where it was felt to be necessary to counteract leagues and ensure cricket was being played on the right lines and not exploited by men. Durham and Lancashire had both

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<sup>210</sup> L. E. Couturier, “Play With Us, Not Against Us’: The Debate About Play Days in the Regulation of Women’s Sport’, *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 25, no. 4, 2008, 422.

<sup>211</sup> Couturier, ‘Play With Us, Not Against Us’, 428.

got county associations, and had run successful county association teams which had materially assisted in getting women's cricket in the North on the right lines. This necessity was not perhaps felt so much in the South, where so far cups and prizes were not being offered by the men.<sup>212</sup>

The repetition of the word 'men' is indicative that the Association was deeply concerned about this factor.

The Lancashire Women's Cricket Association was formed in January 1933 at the Manchester University Women's Union. The affiliated teams were primarily based at educational institutions; Levenshulme High School, Manchester High School, Whalley Range School, Withington Girls School, Liverpool College, Liverpool Physical Training College and Liverpool University. There were clubs teams as well; Blackpool, Bolton Women, East Lancs, Huyton, Manchester CWS (part of the co-operative group), Manchester Women and St. Anne's.<sup>213</sup> In their desperation it was admitted that the county association was formed without the appropriate preparation or in fact 'before we desired it'.<sup>214</sup>

The Association was forced into being by a series of circumstance which made haste imperative. It was literally a race between league and county formation, and it says much for the energy and foresight of certain local club members that the county won. It meant, however, that we were a county before we fully realised the fact, and before we desired it.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1932 Year Book*, 1932, 6.

<sup>213</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1933 Year Book*, 1933, 19.

<sup>214</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1933 Year Book*, 1933, 19.

<sup>215</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1933 Year Book*, 1933, 20.

The behaviour by the Lancashire County Association is indicative of a class divide within the North of England, also evident in the division between rugby league and rugby union, rather than a North / South divide across England. Appendix VII shows that although overall there is a higher proportion of women's cricket clubs affiliated to the Association in the South of the country, that there is also a large number in the North, particularly congregated around Yorkshire and Lancashire. When comparing appendix VII to appendices XI and XII, which show teams affiliated to the Federation and those with no affiliation respectively, it shows an extremely larger proportion of all women's cricket was played within Lancashire and Yorkshire. The spread of these teams between the two governing bodies and those that were independent illustrates the substantial class division within these counties, and how they were reflected in the type of cricket they chose to play based on the aims of the organisation and affiliated costs.

It is interesting to note that despite the fact that league cricket was forbidden under the rules of the Association, that the Lancashire County Association gained the affiliation of three clubs from the Preston and District League, and the entire Liverpool League without any negative repercussions from the organisation. Interestingly, the WCA also had the affiliation of two leagues; the Wolverton League in Buckinghamshire and the South Northamptonshire League in Northamptonshire, whose location was outside the North and Midlands, where league cricket usually existed. Appendix XIII shows all the women's cricket leagues that existed during the interwar period. It shows that there were twelve leagues that existed during this time period, and that half of these were actually affiliated to the WCA. Despite these examples, it is clear that other county associations rigidly adhered to the rules. In 1936 the Middlesex County Association reported that it had lost the affiliation

of B. D. V. Raleigh Sports Club in Nottingham because they had joined a league.<sup>216</sup>

Unfortunately it has proved impossible to locate which league they joined.

As a result of the haste of the Lancashire WCA there were no regulations beyond a dress code and the Association ruling that no member of any affiliated county association or club should institute or take part in any cricket challenge cup or prize competition. It was given access to Old Trafford for one of its matches and although the crowd was small, it received letters from the men's Lancashire CCC showing their support. Captain Howard, the Lancashire secretary wrote, 'I can assure you that all our members who saw the match were greatly impressed by the skill displayed'.<sup>217</sup> By 1934 it had nine affiliated clubs and five affiliated schools. The formation of county associations within the Association allowed individual counties more autonomy over affiliation fees, which opened up playing opportunities for women from poorer backgrounds. Kent County Association set its affiliation fees at a modest 2/6 for clubs and 1/- for schools in addition to an annual 5/- per club or school fee to the WCA.<sup>218</sup>

It was this behaviour by that Association, which led to the formation of the EWCF. The Federation committee attempted to strengthen its influence by joining the YWCF and LWCF together, as described earlier in this chapter. The first suggestion for the new title of the organisation was the 'Northern Counties Women's Cricket Federation'.<sup>219</sup> Concerns were raised that this title would present the idea that the Federation was second in importance

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<sup>216</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1936 Year Book*, 1936, 39.

<sup>217</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1934 Year Book*, 1934, 10.

<sup>218</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1933 Year Book*, 1933, 10.

<sup>219</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 13 March, 1934.

to the WCA and in the event of the MCC taking control of women's cricket it would become a subsidiary to the Association.<sup>220</sup> Mr Joy proposed and Mr Christopher (Burnley CC) seconded the motion that the Lancashire and Yorkshire Federations unite under the title of 'the English Women's Cricket Federation'.<sup>221</sup> Mr Joy, stated that he believed that the combining of the two counties to form the EWCF 'would allow any female to play competitive cricket if she wished to'.<sup>222</sup>

The Federation's primary issue with the Association was that it was concerned only with players from the middle and upper classes. The Federation committee was adamant that it was 'largely composed of clubs providing cricket for working-class girls who are unable to play during the week, except in the evenings'.<sup>223</sup> The committee argued that the affiliation fees of the Association were out of reach for working-class girls and that the organisation was exclusive. During the 1934/5 Association tour to Australia, the Federation was relentless in its condemnation of the fact that players had to pay their own fares in order to participate stating, 'as only those who were able to pay their own expenses were eligible for selection, it cannot be termed "a representative team" as the Association must have quite a number of better players than those who are making the trip, but who, unfortunately, cannot bear the cost'.<sup>224</sup> Throughout the 1934 season, local newspapers frequently carried quotes from Federation management offering outrage that no Federation player had been invited to apply for the tour by the Association, 'several ladies were on view

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<sup>220</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 13 March, 1934.

<sup>221</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 21 April, 1934.

<sup>222</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 21 April, 1934.

<sup>223</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 8 July, 1937.

<sup>224</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 28 May, 1934.

in this match who, if a representative English team visits Australia cannot possibly be left out'.<sup>225</sup> Similar to the Federation, there is limited information available about the individual women who played cricket under the Association but it is known that collectively the members were predominantly from the upper and upper middle classes. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Association was keen to rid itself of its reputation for being exclusive. In *Women's Cricket*, Pollard wrote, 'the Association is democratic to a degree- it has in its ranks all sorts and types of players, doctors, artists, factory workers, teachers, clerks, architects, waitresses- in fact workers of every description'.<sup>226</sup> Muriel Elsworth, a member of the WCA wrote in a letter to the *Yorkshire Observer*, 'the Women's Cricket Association is not exclusive in any sense. Any club or individual can become a member for a moderate fee'.<sup>227</sup>

The Federation committee was also vocal in its frustration that the Association assumed it was the ruling body of all women's cricket. The secretary, Mr Metcalfe, denounced them as 'largely composed of teachers who had ample leisure to play in their holidays. They had money behind the organisation and indulged in propaganda to increase its prestige'.<sup>228</sup> In an article by the anonymous 'Onward' for the *Yorkshire Observer* in 1934, the assumed supremacy of the Association was questioned. The key question asked was, 'how long has the WCA has been the governing body of the game among the fair sex'?<sup>229</sup> The article continued to correctly assert that at this juncture there was no official ruling authority on the women's games and the Federation was as entitled as the Association to

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<sup>225</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 20 August, 1934.

<sup>226</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 2, no. 3, 1931, 51.

<sup>227</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 7 July, 1937.

<sup>228</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 13 March, 1934.

<sup>229</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 25 June, 1934.

consider itself the governing body, 'anyone interested in women's cricket knows that the English Federation, especially in the North is supreme'.<sup>230</sup> This continued the following season when aforementioned member of the Association, Muriel Elsworth, wrote a furious letter to the *Yorkshire Observer* in response to a note by the editor that the English side selected to tour Australia was based on exclusivity, rather than talent.<sup>231</sup> Elsworth asserted that 'it is the equivalent of criticising the MCC for not selecting a player from the Lancashire League', reiterating the Association's belief that it was the parent organisation.<sup>232</sup>

It is clear that the Association committee encouraged the northern county associations of the WCA to engage with the Federation to learn as much as possible about their Federation counterparts. Pollard in her column for the *Observer* noted, 'we are naturally anxious to get these factory and town clubs into the WCA, but our offers may seem very dull. It is difficult to know how to tackle this problem: but it is being done, and somehow I think that women's cricket in the North will shortly all be under the jurisdiction of the WCA'.<sup>233</sup> In July 1935, the Yorkshire Section of the Association wrote to Hannah Drake requesting a match between the two governing bodies.<sup>234</sup> The Federation agreed to the game, which took place on the evening of the 2<sup>nd</sup> July. The game was played in the limited overs style of the Federation, which may have impacted the scores. The Federation was victorious, needing only eleven overs to surpass the Association's total of sixty-seven.<sup>235</sup> A

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<sup>230</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 25 June, 1934.

<sup>231</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 2 July, 1937.

<sup>232</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 7 July, 1937.

<sup>233</sup> *Observer*, 23 June, 1935.

<sup>234</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 7 June, 1935.

<sup>235</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 3 July, 1935.



match quickly followed between the Federation and the Lancashire County Association on Saturday 6<sup>th</sup> July at Turf Moor in Burnley, Lancashire. Unfortunately, it is not known who instigated the match. The Federation was again victorious as the Association gained 122 runs for three wickets, which the Federation surpassed in only eighty minutes.<sup>236</sup>

The northern sections of the Association continued to frequently challenge the EWCF to further matches in a bid to understand the attraction of the league based organisation and to advertise to all women cricketers that there was an alternative organisation.<sup>237</sup>

Although they were always heavily defeated, it is clear that they were hoping to encourage some members to defect from the Federation to the Association. In *Women's Cricket*, the committee of the Yorkshire County Association made clear this policy,

it is a pity we cannot learn a little from the Federation players, whose timed matches do at least teach them to go for the bowling and though this may lead to indiscriminate "swiping" among the tail-enders, produce some forceful bats, who can score rapidly against good bowling. Players like N. Lees of Brighouse would do much to strengthen the North WCA.<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 8 July, 1935.

<sup>237</sup> Interestingly, entrance fees were charged at each of these games. Gate receipts from a match between a representative Lancashire County Association team and a representative EWCF team on 6th July 1934 raised £15/10/10. This was shared between both organisations, after the ground fee etc. had been paid. There hasn't been found any evidence that the Association committee were unhappy with this, despite the concerns noted above that charging gate money led to the exploitation of players.

<sup>238</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 9, no. 3, 1938, 44.

They were only partially successful in this aim. News of the intended 1937 tour of England by Australia was a powerful pull to the most highly skilled Federation players. Three of the most prominent members of the Federation chose to also join the Association in 1936; Mona Greenwood, E. Marchant and Ruby Humphries. All three played for Brighouse in West Yorkshire and following the North trials in May that year, were all selected to represent the Association against the Federation in all the coming season's fixtures.<sup>239</sup> Greenwood became the first Federation player to play at the Oval for an England XI Association match against the southern counties of the WCA.<sup>240</sup> She was joined by Humphries and Marchant for the 'West versus North' match on 7<sup>th</sup> June when they made their debut for the Association, which served as a trial for an upcoming 'England versus the Rest' match.<sup>241</sup> Unfortunately, it has not been possible to define which social class these three ladies belonged to, nor their occupation. However, given the fact that they could afford the travel, equipment and affiliation costs for both organisations, it is assumed that they had a high level of disposable income.

As discussed in the previous chapter, domestic repercussions for the Association following the 1937 tour were mixed. However, one positive was that the tour served to establish the WCA as the national governing body of women's cricket, and caused the Federation to slip into obscurity. According to newspaper reports, the Federation had attempted to organise international matches in 1933. The *Courier Mail* in Brisbane printed an article reporting, 'Anglo-Australian women's test matches and an interchange of visits

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<sup>239</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 23 May, 1936.

<sup>240</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 5 June, 1936.

<sup>241</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 5 June, 1936.

were prophesied....in an address at the [Federation] annual dinner, held at Bradford.<sup>242</sup> In 1934, when the committee voted to change the title of the organisation to the English Women's Cricket Federation, it was reported by the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* that it 'believed that changing the title from county to national would aid the progression of the Federation to a national governing body with a chance to arrange test matches with women's teams from Australia, Scotland and Wales'.<sup>243</sup> The anonymous 'Onward' claimed, the officials of the Federation are persevering and they hope in another season to be able to issue a challenge to the Australian ladies for test matches in Australia, and return matches in this country. This can only be done when sufficient funds are in hand to defray players' expenses, in order that a truly representative team can be selected.<sup>244</sup>

However, there is no evidence of a fund ever being established and it is clear that the primary frustration of the Federation management was that the Association had successfully negotiated the first international women's cricket tour.

The 1937 tour proved particularly hard for the Federation's management, especially as the Australians toured Yorkshire and Lancashire, playing at Blackpool, which had hosted many Federation county games. It was forced to admit its secondary position to the Association, with *Yorkshire Observer* columnist Ruby Humphries stating 'I have been asked many times for "the date and place of the Federation's match" against the Australian touring team, and I think it is time the air was cleared a little regarding the tourists. They are

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<sup>242</sup> *Courier Mail*, 20 October, 1933.

<sup>243</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 21 April, 1934.

<sup>244</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 28 May, 1934.

the guests of the Women's Cricket Association and, therefore, the Federation will not have a match against them'.<sup>245</sup> The fact that star players Humphries and Greenwood both affiliated to the Association in order to have an opportunity to play international cricket was indicative of the primary position the Association now held above the Federation. Humphries was also invited by the BBC to provide match reports and discuss women's cricket. In August 1937, the BBC asked her to give a fifteen minute talk on women's cricket for Northern Broadcasting.<sup>246</sup> In 1938 she was also invited to speak on the 'Spotlight on Sport' series on how women's cricket could play an important part in the National Fitness Campaign.<sup>247</sup> It is important to note that Humphries was only invited to speak on the radio once she had affiliated to the Association; she was never invited as a representative of the Federation. Unfortunately, no copy of either recording was found.

Following the 1937 tour, the Association changed its official policy towards league cricket and working-class women declaring,

the first chapter of the Association's history has come to an end; now with the second chapter members must devote themselves to the consolidation of the organisation which has been set up throughout the country and concentrate on the formation of more clubs and to giving help to improve the conditions of play in industrial centres, so that cricket might be possible for all.<sup>248</sup>

The sudden interest that the WCA developed in the working-classes was primarily due to the formation of the Women's Team Games Board in 1937. The Women's Team Games

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<sup>245</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 8 May, 1937.

<sup>246</sup> *The Times*, 4 August, 1937.

<sup>247</sup> *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette*, 5 April, 1938.

<sup>248</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1938 Year Book*, 1938, 8.

Board was established by the government as part of the 1937 Recreation and Physical Training bill. The Women's Team Games Board committee comprised of two members from four prominent women's sports; cricket, hockey, lacrosse and netball.<sup>249</sup> Its objective was to encourage the growth in women's team games throughout the country with the aim of permanent representation on the Central Council of Recreative Physical Training.<sup>250</sup> Twenty-two Area Committees were formed to review existing facilities and recommend potential grants for growing local activities. Marjorie Pollard, who was elected the national organiser, urged members to apply for secretary posts on the Local Area Committees of the National Advisory Council, in order to keep the prominence of women's sport and its needs to the forefront of decisions made.<sup>251</sup> She recounted, 'it was very fortunate we had received this publicity [from the 1937 tour] at exactly the right time. Here was the Government scheme and the money to be allotted; we must see that it is used wisely and economically for the good of the greatest number of both sexes and all classes'.<sup>252</sup> She explained to the Association committee that government grants were to be made available, which could be used to purchase and equip grounds if it was successful in its applications. One of the aims of the National Advisory Council was to create new playing fields, and Pollard stressed the necessity to ensure these spaces were created for women's recreation as well as men's. She appealed to members to raise £100 so that they could obtain a further £100 promised by the National Fitness Council.

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<sup>249</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1937 Year Book*, 1937, 15.

<sup>250</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1937 Year Book*, 1937, 8.

<sup>251</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1937 Year Book*, 1937, 8.

<sup>252</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1937 Year Book*, 1937, 9.

MacDonald has shown that any opposition to this work was 'generally focused on whether all sections of society would benefit equally from its provisions, rather than on its overall purpose'. She continues that 'Ede (Labour MP Tyneside) raised the uncomfortable question of the continuing class basis of some of the major national sports. Was it true that men who earned a living 'by their hands' were still ineligible to compete in races organised by the Amateur Rowing Association'?<sup>253</sup> In order to be successful in winning the grants, the organisations were required to prove they were providing facilities for women of all classes. In 1938, Pollard specifically stated, 'The WTGB is interested in League Cricket in the North of England, and most anxious that it shall be part of the WCA, and is working to that end'.<sup>254</sup> In order to achieve this she pleaded with members of the WCA, 'it is the responsibility of all players to see that anyone wanting to play any game should be able to do so. We must break down the fallacy that clubs are 'exclusive' and that costs are exorbitantly high'.<sup>255</sup> During the 1938 annual general meeting the following discussion took place,

LEAGUE CRICKET. The executive committee greatly helped by its northern representatives, considered the matter in some detail, the opinion being unanimous that it was highly desirable to bring all women's cricket under one governing body.

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<sup>253</sup> C. MacDonald, *Strong, Beautiful and Modern: National Fitness in Britain, New Zealand, Australia and Canada, 1935-1960*, UBC Press, Vancouver, 2013, 9.

<sup>254</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1938 Year Book*, 1938, 25.

<sup>255</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 9, no. 1, 1938, 1. The Association also discussed reducing the affiliation fee of school leavers, although the conclusion of the debate is unknown. Pollard argued, 'at the end of the school term some 25,000 girls will be leaving the secondary and high schools. Every one of those girls will have had the opportunity of playing team games of some sort. Do those 25,000 go on playing team games? I fear they do not. Why is this? Are team games, after schooldays are over, unattractive, expensive, difficult, or what is it that keeps these young players from joining clubs? Sometimes I think it is expense....would it be possible for clubs to take in school-leavers at a nominal subscription for the first year or so?' *Women's Cricket*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1938, 21.

The present stumbling block is that the cups and trophies played for by the leagues are forbidden by the WCA. Conditions were studied in Lancashire, Yorkshire and Northumberland, and ultimately the suggestion made by the North Council was adopted for recommendation to the annual general meeting....We hope that all our members will do their best to help the Leagues, where desired, in the matter of fixtures, coaching and serving on committees.<sup>256</sup>

As a result of this discussion, the Association altered its official policy towards league cricket. Reiterating that efforts needed to be devoted to 'help to improve the conditions of play in industrial centres, so that cricket might be possible for all', the County Rules of Affiliation were altered to read 'no member of any county association or club shall institute or take part in any cricket challenge cup or prize competition: exceptions shall be made in favour of schools, colleges and leagues'.<sup>257</sup> It is clear that this change in policy allowed the Association committee to now outwardly seek the affiliation of leagues. The *Northampton Mercury* reported that in 1939, Pollard even wrote to the Kettering and District Cricket League asking if there was any desire for a women's cricket league and if the men would provide support.<sup>258</sup> It also gained the affiliation of the Manchester and District League after this change in policy, with *Women's Cricket* noting 'this new cricket league which is really an offshoot of the Manchester Sunday School Hockey League, has started with a membership of nine clubs. All have a most comprehensive set of fixtures arranged for them and the league handbook is most impressive and certainly shows that for industrial districts the

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<sup>256</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1938 Year Book*, 1938, 14.

<sup>257</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1938 Year Book*, 1938, 4- 8.

<sup>258</sup> *Northampton Mercury*, 27 January, 1939.

league system is splendid'.<sup>259</sup> However, given the fact that the Lancashire County Association had other leagues affiliated to it prior to the rule change, as discussed above, this was probably not as a consequence to the rule change.

The relationship between the Association and the Federation illustrates that neither organisation was willing to work with the other for the furtherance of women's cricket. Their structures, aims and methods were diametrically opposed and as a result, neither viewed the other as providing what it deemed 'the right sort of cricket'. The Federation committee experienced frustration with the superior attitude that the Association took towards it, and its claims to be the governing body of women's cricket. Equally, the Association felt strongly that women's cricket should be run by women and disliked the competitive, league based cricket that the Federation provided. The Association's aim to understand the Federation's structure and appeal, in order to persuade Federation players to defect to the Association, was only partially successful. Primarily this was because it was only the most highly skilled players who saw the Association as their opportunity to play international cricket, which the Federation could not provide. The interest the Association took in working-class women, after the introduction of the Women's Team Games Board is indicative of the superior attitude of the Association committee, which took little interest in aiding working-class women's cricket, or understanding the restrictive factors, until it had an opportunity to benefit from it. Unfortunately, the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 means that it is impossible to know how successful its sudden interest in working-class women would have been.

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<sup>259</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 10, no. 2, 1939, 54.



## VI. Conclusion.

The Federation aimed to 'provide organised cricket matches for women, irrespective of class, and with a minimum expense to the players; to develop friendly relationship between all women's cricket organisations; to protect the interested and promote the welfare of all women's cricket clubs'.<sup>260</sup> It achieved mixed success in these aims. Joy has asserted that 'thanks to the Federation, many a factory and business girl was enabled to enjoy a game of cricket which the organisation of the WCA was at that time and place in no position to provide'.<sup>261</sup> It provided access to women's cricket for thousands of working-class women who would have otherwise not have had an opportunity to play. By keeping costs as low as possible, it created an organisation that brought together women cricketers across parts of Lancashire and West Yorkshire.

It is clear that, particularly in West Yorkshire, many working-class women were interested in playing cricket when they were given the opportunity to participate in knock-out tournaments and similar events. The creation of the YWCF, LWCF and their subsequent merging to form the EWCF illustrates that women wanted to play competitive cricket and were eager to affiliate to an organisation which allowed them to do so. The different levels of women's cricket, from local leagues, to the Inter-City and Town League, and county matches, shows not only that there were differing standards of women's cricket, but that the affiliated women enjoyed playing in a competitive atmosphere. The fact that the women

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<sup>260</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 21 May, 1934.

<sup>261</sup> N. Joy, *Maiden Over; A Short History of Women's Cricket and a Diary of the 1948-49 Test Tour to Australia*, Sporting Handbooks, London, 1950, 44.

engaged in regular coaching, and played to the same rules as the men's game, with relation to fast pace, limited overs and highly competitive play meant that women's cricket proved highly popular with spectators, who flocked in their hundreds, and sometimes thousands to watch women's cricket.

The EWCF was successful in providing competitive cricket for many working-class women who would not have otherwise not had the opportunity. The fact that the committee was predominantly male, and that these members had strong links in either industry, newspapers, or men's cricket clubs helped to alleviate many of the barriers which would previously have prevented access for women. By gaining the support of the men's clubs, through the promise that the purpose of women's cricket was to aid the men's game, the Federation had instant access to grounds, equipment and coaching that would have otherwise proved expensive to provide. The support of the local newspapers ensured that the women's game gained large amounts of positive coverage and advertising, which helped to reinforce a positive image of the game within the community. The promotion of the game as 'respectable', through public endorsement by prominent members of the community also aided the acceptance of the women's game by the community.

However, it failed to spread further than these locations. Mr S. Holdsworth, editor of the *Yorkshire Sports*, suggested that there was room for expansion in women's cricket, and that unless it was developed beyond the boundaries of Yorkshire and Lancashire the Federation was scarcely justifying the name of 'National'.<sup>262</sup> Efforts were made to affiliate pre-existing clubs in the East Riding of Yorkshire, Wharfedale, and Airedale. The Federation

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<sup>262</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 6 March, 1937.

also reportedly attempted to persuade Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire to become county members of the Federation.<sup>263</sup> Despite the popularity of women's cricket in these areas, the Federation failed to even arrange an interview with their secretary.<sup>264</sup> It also failed to gain the affiliation of the Preston Ladies Cricket League despite assertions that, 'it is thought that the newly formed Preston Ladies Cricket League will be members of the Federation before too long'.<sup>265</sup> The Preston Ladies Cricket League, which affiliated to the Association, was formed because the Lancashire Inter-City and Town League was seen as too far south within the county to allow for easy travel. Yet the Federation made no attempt to gain the affiliation of the league to house intra-county matches within Lancashire. The Federation also turned down requested fixtures from Hull twice. Newspaper research has shown that Hull WCC was the only known women's cricket club functioning in East Yorkshire in 1931, despite the existence of four women's clubs in the 1920s; Goole Ladies, Snaith Ladies, Sproatley LCC and Beverley High School. It is clear these were no longer functioning as Hull WCC contacted the Federation to request matches to stimulate interest in the area. However, the Federation committee decided that Hull's request could not be entertained, owing to the inconvenience and expense of such a long journey for an evening match.<sup>266</sup>

The Federation also displayed naivety in its relationship with the Association. Agreeing to play friendly matches against the northern sections of the Association, the Federation was hoping to show its superiority, unaware that the aim of the Association was to promote its own organisation in the hope of reducing the Federation's influence. Without the

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<sup>263</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 20 August, 1934.

<sup>264</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 11 June, 1934.

<sup>265</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 7 May, 1934.

<sup>266</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 3 July, 1931.

existence of the Federation it is likely that women's cricket in the North of England would not have developed so rapidly in the 1930s. Not only were thousands of women given an opportunity to affiliate to the Federation, but its existence was viewed as a threat to the Association, which admitted that it set up the Lancashire Association prematurely in order to ward off its perceived influence.

## Chapter five: The clubs.

The previous chapters have described the formation, aims and structure of two women's cricket governing bodies during the interwar period; the Women's Cricket Association (WCA) and the English Women's Cricket Federation (EWCF). We have seen that both these organisations encouraged the growth of women's cricket clubs and offered their support where necessary.

However, as briefly mentioned in chapter four, of the 878 women's cricket teams that this thesis has shown were playing during the interwar period, over half of these were not affiliated to either organisation. This point is illustrated in appendices XI, XII and XIII. Unfortunately, limited information is available on the clubs that weren't affiliated, with the exception of those based in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire and Portsmouth, which were heavily supported by their local newspapers allowing for some limited insight.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the limited information available, it has been possible to trace the origins of many of the existing 878 teams playing during this period. Table 5.1 shows that the origins of women's cricket teams have been divided into a total of seven categories for the purpose of this thesis. These are; 'education', which incorporates schools, colleges and university teams; 'men's clubs', which include all women's teams that were either set up by an existing

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<sup>1</sup> The local newspapers which were particularly supportive, as discussed in chapters two and four were the *Burnley Express*, *Lancashire Evening Post*, *Nottinghamshire Evening Post* and *Portsmouth Evening News*, *Yorkshire Observer*, *Yorkshire Post* and *Leeds Intelligencer*

men's cricket club, or reliant on a men's club for their existence; 'none', which were those teams that appear to have been formed by the women players independently of any existing organisation; 'other organisations', which includes cricket teams that were formed as an offseason activity for established hockey, lacrosse or athletics teams, or as part of an existing organisation such as Girl Guides; 'religious', which were teams formed by the church; 'workplace', which include those teams which were either organised, or supported, by their employer. The final category is 'unknown'. Due to the limited evidence available on many of the women's cricket teams it has proved impossible to locate the origin of almost a quarter of known women's cricket teams. It is worth noting that many of these teams had women's hockey teams, or men's cricket clubs, which played in the same location, under the same name, and so there is a possible connection. However, in the absence of specific evidence these teams have been categorised as 'unknown' to prevent inaccurate inflation of the other categories.

<b>Origin of the Cricket Club</b>	<b>No Affiliation</b>	<b>WCA Affiliation</b>	<b>EWCF Affiliation</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Education</b>	32	151	1	<b>184</b>
<b>Men's Clubs</b>	46	8	35	<b>89</b>
<b>None</b>	48	18	1	<b>67</b>
<b>Other organisations</b>	36	21	2	<b>59</b>
<b>Religious</b>	14	0	8	<b>22</b>
<b>Unknown</b>	170	80	2	<b>252</b>
<b>Workplace</b>	101	74	30	<b>205</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>447</b>	<b>352</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>878</b>

Table 5.1: The origins of all active women's cricket teams 1919-1939.

Source: *Women's Cricket* all volumes, *Women's Cricket Associations Year Books* 1927- 1945 and all newspapers listed in the primary source section of the Bibliography.

The purpose for this categorisation is to explore 'how' women started playing cricket. Academic work on women's sport has tended to focus on explaining how women were given an opportunity to play during their education<sup>2</sup>, although some work has also been completed on workplace sport.<sup>3</sup> However, limited attention has been placed on the formation and running of clubs outside of these arenas and how women entered sport, as an adult, through these. Conversely, there has been more academic attention paid to how men formed and accessed clubs.<sup>4</sup> Williams has illustrated that there were vast differences

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<sup>2</sup> For more information on girls playing sport in schools, colleges and universities see S. Delamont and L. Duffin (eds.), *The Nineteenth Century Woman, Her Cultural and Physical World*, Croom Helm, London, 1978; C. Dyhouse, *No Distinction of Sex? Women in British Universities 1870-1939*, University College of London, London, 1995; J. Hargreaves, *Sporting Females; Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports*, Routledge, London, 1994, 63-87; K. McCrone, 'Emancipation or Recreation? The Development of Women's Sport at the University of London', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1990, 204-229; K. McCrone, 'Play Up! Play Up! And Play the Game! Sport at the Late Victorian Girls' Public School', *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 23, no. 2, 1984, 106-134; K. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, 1870-1914*, Routledge, London, 1988; K. McCrone, 'The 'Lady Blue': Sport at the Oxbridge Women's Colleges from their Foundation to 1914', *British Journal of Sports History*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1986, 191-215.

<sup>3</sup> For information on girls playing sport in the workplace see A. Davies, *Leisure, Gender and Poverty: Working-Class Culture in Salford and Manchester, 1900-39*, Open University Press, Buckingham, 1992; Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*: C. Parratt, "More Than Mere Amusement", *Working-Class Women's Leisure in England, 1750-1914*, Northeastern University Press, Boston, 2001; C. Parratt, "The making of the healthy and the happy home': recreation, education, and the production of working-class womanhood at the Rowntree Cocoa Works, York, c.1898-1914", in J. Hill and J. Williams (eds.), *Sport and Identity in the North of England*, Edinburgh University Press, Keele, 1996, 53-83; F. Skillen, *Women, Sport and Modernity in Interwar Britain*, P. Lang, Oxford, 2013, 145-180.

<sup>4</sup> For an overview see J. Hill, *Sport, Leisure & Culture in Twentieth Century Britain*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2002; R. Holt, *Sport and the British; A Modern History*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989; M. Huggins and J. Williams, *Sport and the English 1918-1939*, Routledge, Oxon, 2006; W. Vamplew, *Pay Up and Play the Game: Professional Sport in Britain, 1875-1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988. For specific sports see T. Collins, *Rugby League in the*

between men's cricket clubs. He notes a few discrepancies; that some hired professionals, some were resolutely amateur, some played in leagues, others played only in friendlies, some were little better than scrubland, other had manicured wickets and a pavilion.<sup>5</sup> He also notes that entrance to different types of cricket clubs were usually based on class, 'teams of factory or colliery clubs usually consisted of blue-collar workers....practically all public schools had Old Boys' clubs, whilst other clubs had players drawn predominantly from the public schools....teams of rural villages reflected the full range of local society'.<sup>6</sup> Mason in *Association Football and English Society 1863-1915* has noted that men's football teams usually came from the workplace, the public house or the local church.<sup>7</sup> The congregation of large numbers of men tended to result in the formation of men's sports teams. However, prior to the First World War, there were limited locations where large numbers of women came together, which perhaps hindered the development of women's clubs.

This chapter will explore how each of the categories listed in table 5.1 helped women to access sport. It will attempt to ask 'why' cricket teams were formed, who instigated their formation and subsequently who ran them. It was also look at how influential the WCA or EWCF were in their formation and why so many cricket teams refrained from affiliating to either organisation. The first section of this chapter will look at women's cricket teams that

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*Twentieth Century, A Social and Cultural History*, Routledge, Oxon, 2006: T. Mason, *Association Football and English Society 1863-1915*, Harvester Press, Brighton, 1980: J. Williams, *Cricket and England, A Cultural and Social History of the Interwar Years*, Routledge, London, 1999.

<sup>5</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 36.

<sup>6</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 49-50.

<sup>7</sup> Mason, *Association Football*, 49-53.



had their origins in schools, colleges or universities. The second section will investigate those teams that were subsections of men's clubs and the motivation behind their formation. The third section will explore workplace teams and why employers provided facilities for their female employees to play sport. The fourth section will look at the small number of religious based women's cricket teams and question why there weren't more religious teams. The fifth section will look at cricket teams that came from other organisations such as hockey, or athletics and why they made a seasonal switch to cricket. The sixth section will briefly explain those clubs which appear to have been created solely of their own volition, categorised in table 5.1 as 'none'.

#### **I. Schools, colleges and universities.**

Table 5.1 shows that a total of 184 cricket teams that had their origins in either schools, colleges, universities or old girls organisations. It is important to note that schools, colleges and university teams were only included in table 5.1 if they played cricket against non-educational cricket teams, rather than solely inter-school competitions. The reason for this separate categorisation is to provide an accurate picture of the number of girls and women choosing to participate in adult women's cricket. Inter-school competition would include a number of girls who perhaps hadn't chosen to play cricket, but were forced to participate in a friendly game because it was part of the curriculum.

As table 5.1 demonstrates, the vast majority of schools, colleges and university teams were affiliated to the WCA. Over 40% of all its teams had an origin in education. These were the backbone of the organisation and the Association was careful to court their affiliation

from its formation. Education-based teams were important to the Association for a number of reasons. Firstly, they provided a constant pool of potential affiliates. As school leavers could no longer play for their educational institutions, it was important for the Association to be able to contact these individuals, in the hope that they could offer guidance to help them find clubs to continue playing cricket after they left school.<sup>8</sup> It was vitally important that new members were constantly introduced to women's cricket to replace those women who retired from the game. The Association committee annually contacted games mistresses of affiliated schools for lists of those girls who would be leaving that year, in the hope that they could further their interest in women's cricket through providing contact details of local clubs, or assisting the formation of an 'old girls' club.<sup>9</sup> This method proved successful during the Association's early years. Several members of the Association were games' mistresses, such as the famous wicket keeper Betty Snowball who was games mistress at St Swithians in Hampshire; Miss E. Bull who was on the staff at St. Paul's Girls' School in London and the Leeds player E. Boyd, who was an athletic mistress at Leeds Modern School.<sup>10</sup>

However, many schools didn't return their leavers' forms. By 1932 forms were sent out to seventy schools but only twenty-two were returned.<sup>11</sup> In 1938, there was an argument in the Association's official magazine, *Women's Cricket* that these forms should not be sent to the games mistress but that schools should appoint a specific games

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<sup>8</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1928 Year Book*, 1928, 5.

<sup>9</sup> *The Times* asserted that the WCA, 'had been formed in order to provide "Old Girls" with opportunities to continue playing cricket'. *The Times*, 29 July, 1929.

<sup>10</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 12 June, 1931.

<sup>11</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1932 Year Book*, 1932, 11.

correspondent, 'one person on the staff of a school could make herself responsible to see, that girls leaving school, know the names and addresses of the secretaries of the clubs of which they could belong'.<sup>12</sup> The article continued that just as most schools had a careers mistress whose job it was to help girls get jobs, a similar role could be created to ensure girls remained in physical activities.

Secondly, the Association wanted to gain the affiliation of as many clubs as possible to develop the organisation. The Association committee agreed to circularise an annual letter to the headmistresses of all known schools and colleges where cricket was currently played, with the aim of gaining their support.<sup>13</sup> In 1931, this letter was sent to nearly 1,000 schools.<sup>14</sup> Once county associations were formed in 1933, some counties continued to specifically target girl's schools as potential affiliates. In Kent, girls' cricket had been growing in popularity throughout the interwar period. In 1930, the *Kent & Sussex Courier* stated, 'cricket is now one of the standard games of our Girls' Schools....The Kent Education Committee on Monday reported that they had been considering samples of cricket balls for use among the girls'.<sup>15</sup> Kent County Association ran a schools coaching programme at Tonbridge in 1933, where Miss K. Doman, a founding member of the Association, coached representatives from seventeen schools.<sup>16</sup> This led to seven newly affiliated schools.<sup>17</sup> The

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<sup>12</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 9, no. 3, 1938, 41.

<sup>13</sup> *Women's Cricket Association, 1926 Year Book*, 1926, 3.

<sup>14</sup> *Women's Cricket Association, 1931 Year Book*, 1931, 9.

<sup>15</sup> *Kent & Sussex Courier*, 31 January, 1930.

<sup>16</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 4, no. 3, 1933, 47.

<sup>17</sup> *Women's Cricket Association, 1934 Year Book*, 1934, 9.

following year it succeeded in gaining a further six schools' affiliation.<sup>18</sup> Table 5.2 illustrates the spread of affiliated educational institutions across the country. It provides evidence that certain counties, such as Kent, were more successful in attracting schools than others.

Surrey County Association held annual school coaching. In 1936, nine schools each sent five players to receive the coaching.<sup>19</sup> The following year, members of Surrey County Association circularised fifty schools, offering to provide further coaching, but only fourteen replied.<sup>20</sup>

Total no. Schools	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
<b>East District</b>						
<b>Cambridgeshire</b>	1	1	0	0	0	0

<sup>18</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1935 Year Book*, 1935, 25.

<sup>19</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 7, no. 1, 1936, 8.

<sup>20</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1935 Year Book*, 1935, 30.

Essex	1	2	2	5	6	4
Hertfordshire CA	3	2	3	3	3	2
Kent CA	5	12	18	15	14	13
Norfolk CA	0	0	0	0	0	0
Suffolk	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Midland District</b>						
Bedfordshire	0	0	0	0	0	0
Derbyshire	0	0	0	0	0	0
Leicestershire	0	0	0	0	0	0
Northamptonshire	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nottinghamshire CA	1	1	1	1	1	1
Shropshire	1	1	1	0	0	0
Staffordshire	1	1	1	1	1	1
Warwickshire	3	3	2	4	4	4
Worcestershire	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>North District</b>						
Cheshire	1	1	1	3	3	3
Durham	1	1	1	1	0	0
Lancashire CA	5	5	5	4	4	4
Northumberland	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yorkshire CA	3	3	3	3	4	7
<b>South District</b>						
Berkshire CA	1	1	2	2	2	2
Buckinghamshire CA	1	1	1	1	1	1
Middlesex CA	9	8	6	7	7	5
Oxfordshire	0	0	0	0	0	1
Surrey CA	2	3	6	7	8	8
Sussex CA	3	3	4	5	5	9
Civil Service	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>West District</b>						
Devon	2	2	2	2	2	3

Dorset	1	1	1	1	1	0
Gloucestershire	3	3	2	2	2	3
Hampshire CA	2	3	3	4	4	5
Herefordshire	0	0	0	0	0	0
Somerset	2	2	1	1	1	1
Wiltshire	2	2	2	2	2	2
<b>Scotland</b>						
Scotland	1	1	1	1	1	1
<b>Wales</b>						
Wales	2	1	2	2	2	2
<b>South Africa</b>						
South Africa	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>New Zealand</b>						
New Zealand	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>83</b>

Table 5.2: Affiliated schools per county and district in Britain 1933-1938.

Source: Women's Cricket Association *Year Books* 1933 to 1939.

Thirdly, girls' schools provided the first introduction to cricket for many upper- and middle-class girls. It was therefore important for the Association to attempt to impose some control over how they were taught, in order to ensure that girls enjoyed the game and wanted to continue it during adulthood. In order to retain interest in the game, the Association allowed schools to participate in competitions for trophies and prizes from its formation.<sup>21</sup> It never attempted to ban this element of school competitions as it did with league cricket prior to 1938. Primarily this was due to the fact that cricket had direct competition from tennis, which had grown in popularity during the 1880s and also saw a surge in popularity during the interwar period. Girls were taught tennis at an earlier age and

<sup>21</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1930 Year Book*, 1930, ii.

it was possible for girls to play tennis casually between friends as there were plenty of clubs, rather than the commitment of joining a women's cricket team with regular fixtures.<sup>22</sup>

In 1938, a disagreement broke out in *Women's Cricket* when an anonymous contributor claimed that a decrease in the number of school leavers affiliating to the Association was because schools were taking the enjoyment out of cricket by coaching girls the correct strokes, but not how to enjoy the game.<sup>23</sup> She claimed that by teaching girls to enjoy the game first, it would cause more members to join the Association, who could be taught the precision strokes afterwards, 'the fact remains that clubs are not increasing....whether it is through over-coaching or their own over-estimation of the standard required to carry on, was unknown'.<sup>24</sup> The response, by an anonymous games mistress, illustrated the difficulty cricket had in appealing to school girls. Not only did it require vast space, and enough willing participants, but the long periods spent fielding caused many girls to quickly become bored. At the first annual general meeting, it was suggested that a representative Association side should tour schools and physical training colleges where it was known women's cricket was played. The Association also printed a book on technique and the laws of the game, *Notes on Cricket*, which was aimed at school girls, and others new to the game, in order for them to learn the basics. Unfortunately it has not been possible to locate this publication.

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<sup>22</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 9, no. 4, 1938, 52.

<sup>23</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 9, no. 3, 1938, 52.

<sup>24</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 9, no. 3, 1938, 52.

Finally, as noted in chapter two, expansion by the Association was hindered by a lack of access to its own private grounds. Rather than remain solely dependent on the generosity of male cricket ground owners, the Association also borrowed grounds from the larger girl's schools, many of whom had large, private grounds, on which cricket pitches were created. The committee provided advice for the care and upkeep of these grounds. In 1932 they sent a circular to schools, stating, 'we realise that amongst the larger schools there are some of the most beautiful grounds in the UK, but in schools where money is scarce, and there is no proper groundsman, we believe the information supplied was of real use'.<sup>25</sup> Dartford Physical Training College in particular lent its grounds on a regular basis to the Association. Colwall, where the annual 'cricketing week' festival, described in chapter three, was held, had four local cricket grounds belonging to private schools, which loaned them to the WCA. Particularly during the summer months, the loaning of grounds was restricted by the holiday. The Association lamented, 'This month's [August] activity has been restricted....the obvious reason for this is that it is holiday time.... the grounds on which we rely, are closed with the schools and colleges'.<sup>26</sup>

Table 5.3 shows the number of schools that were affiliated to the Association between 1927 and 1938, and the type of school they were.

Types of Schools	Total
Grammar School	17
High School	6
Independent	70

<sup>25</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1932 Year Book*, 1932, 11.

<sup>26</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 4, 1930, 1.



<b>Old Girls</b>	11
<b>Other</b>	4
<b>Physical Training College</b>	7
<b>Secondary School</b>	11
<b>University</b>	16
<b>Unknown</b>	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>151</b>

Table 5.3: Schools affiliated to the Women's Cricket Association 1927-1938.

Source: Women's Cricket Association Year Books 1927 to 1938 inclusive.

N.B. 'Other' incorporates adult education, Quaker schools and teaching training colleges.

As discussed in chapter one, it was the fee paying boarding school of the middle and upper classes that embraced the games playing ethic towards the end of the nineteenth century. The secretary of the Association, Vera Cox stated, 'cricket has been played in all the leading girls' schools for over twenty five years'.<sup>27</sup> It was through these institutions that the game was popularised, as they continued to play it throughout the interwar period.

Hargreaves argues that 'the class divisions in physical education for girls in Britain which were established at the end of the nineteenth century were reproduced in the twentieth century'.<sup>28</sup> During the interwar period, these schools continued to embrace games playing and cricket was played in the majority of public girls' schools. The growth in popularity of the game during the summer months is also evident from an article in the *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, which reacted to the announcement of the formation of the WCA with the assertion,

in all the well-known public schools for girls and in the physical training colleges,  
cricket has been played for many years, and the game is largely encouraged in the

<sup>27</sup> *Aberdeen Journal*, 26 July, 1928.

<sup>28</sup> Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 120.

smaller girl's schools throughout the country. When keen cricket players left their schools there was very little opportunity to carry on their favourite game, though a few isolated clubs have existed in various parts for many years.<sup>29</sup>

This is not to state that girls' cricket had the support of all parents or staff members at these schools. Physical education for girls was still widely debated throughout the interwar period, particularly team games, despite the large number of schools that already played them. In 1921 a committee was formed at the insistence of the College of Preceptors, the first professional body for teaching, to consider the effects of physical education on girls. Representatives were appointed by the Royal College of Physicians, Royal College of Surgeons, British Medical Association, Medical Women's Federation, British Association for Physical Training, Ling Association, National Union of Women Teachers, Association of Assistant Mistresses in Secondary Schools, Private Schools Association and the College of Preceptors. The Head Mistresses' Association did not accept the invitation to send representatives. In reply to a questionnaire, 629 replies were received of which 233 were from medical practitioners and 158 were from medical students. 185 replies came from headmistresses, ninety-five being from state-aided schools and the others from independent schools. Its report stated,

cricket was very generally approved, but some doubted its utility as a game for girls. Football met with less approval than any other game: of fifty-two schoolmistresses who expressed their views of it, and among women students, though a few approved, many more objected to it on physical or other grounds. In general it was regarded as entailing too much strain....among the particular games which the committee had

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<sup>29</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 16 December, 1926.

under consideration, tennis, netball, lacrosse, golf, hockey, cricket, and football, only the last is considered unsuitable for girls.<sup>30</sup>

Others felt differently about the suitability of cricket for girls. Mr. H. J. Huskinson, the Blackpool Organiser of Physical Training condemned girl's cricket in his 1934 annual school report to the Blackpool Education Committee reprinted in the *Lancashire Evening Post*. It read, 'it has been observed....that in the case of two girls' schools cricket has been attempted. This is strongly to be deprecated. Cricket is definitely not a suitable game for young growing girls. It is too one-sided in its physical results on the body'.<sup>31</sup> In a debate in *The Times* one reader contributed,

some of your correspondents have pointed out the good and the harm that certain forms of exercise and certain games do to girls, but nobody yet, so far as I am aware, has drawn attention to another aspect of games, i.e., the physical injuries that girls are liable to incur through playing them. I refer more particularly to cricket, lacrosse, and hockey, and as a parent, invite other parents of girls to join me in an emphatic protest against compulsory cricket at girls' schools. I feel I can count on the support of all- and there are no means few- whose daughters have had their front teeth knocked out at cricket, lacrosse, or hockey. To my mind cricket is a monstrous game to force girls to play, and should be barred forthwith.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> *The Times*, 9 August, 1922.

<sup>31</sup> *Lancashire Evening Post*, 6 June, 1934.

<sup>32</sup> *The Times*, 4 May, 1922.

In chapter three, the aim of the Association to try to guarantee that its members were of a high socio-economic standing was discussed. This preference ensured that it was the independent schools that the Association targeted, to gain the affiliation of the 'right sort' of girl. As a result, the independent schools that played under the Association were some of the leading girls' schools in the interwar period. It is clear that these schools not only had the benefit of games mistresses and large grounds as described above but that money was little object to many of them. Harrogate College in West Yorkshire arranged a tour to introduce cricket to school girls in Canada.<sup>33</sup> Two teams made up from schools girls at Harrogate College, Cheltenham Ladies College, Roedean and the Beehive in Bexhill visited Canada as guests of the Overseas Education League of Canada. In return the Canadian girls took the tourists camping in the Rockies, near Banff.<sup>34</sup>

Many girls from independent schools continued with higher education. There were also fourteen higher education institutions that were affiliated to the WCA. These were; Battersea Polytechnic, Bristol University, Cambridge University, City of London College, Kings College (two departments), Leeds University, London University, Manchester University, Nottingham University, Oxford University, Reading University, Royal Holloway College and Exeter University College.<sup>35</sup> Many of these, and others were also part of the University of London Athletic Union, which was also affiliated to the WCA which included;

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<sup>33</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1938 Year Book*, 1938, 47.

<sup>34</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1939, 4.

<sup>35</sup> There are a list of all affiliated educational teams in the back of every Women's Cricket Association *Year Book* from 1926-1938.

University College, Bedford College, Royal Holloway, London School of Economics, East London College, Goldsmiths and King's College of Household Science and Social Studies.<sup>36</sup>

The universities provided grounds for local Association-affiliated teams to play on. Reading University WCC noted that, 'members of the men's eleven have been heard to scoff at "women's cricket", but it doesn't make the least impression on us, we have the groundsman on our side fighting hard'.<sup>37</sup> Nottingham County Association played on the Nottingham University grounds, which had been loaned by Sir Julian Cahn.<sup>38</sup> Similarly the Yorkshire County Association played on the Leeds University ground. Leeds University WCC was formed in 1932. The previous year, the *Yorkshire Post and Intelligencer* reported, with most of the examinations now over, that hectic last fortnight of the session at Leeds University has been entered upon. Among a large section of university women there is enthusiasm for cricket and an inter-faculty tournament is being arranged for next week. This has as its aim an attempt to find "talent" which might be sufficient to warrant the starting of a women's cricket club next season.<sup>39</sup>

It is clear that the Leeds University women's cricket team was proficient. In 1936, the *Yorkshire Post and Intelligencer* boasted 'the Women's Cricket Club had a joy day against Liverpool University on Saturday, when they knocked up a score of 182 for the loss of only five wickets in a very short time. Liverpool had no adequate reply'.<sup>40</sup> Clearly keen to play as

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<sup>36</sup> *The Times*, 20 April, 1932.

<sup>37</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 7, no. 4, 1936, 76.

<sup>38</sup> *Nottingham Evening Post*, 13 April, 1931.

<sup>39</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 19 June, 1931.

<sup>40</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 31 May, 1934.

much as possible, the University engaged Leeds WCC, which was affiliated first to the Federation, and then the Association in several games and allowed them to practice at the University ground until it secured its own ground at Fulneck, a Moravian community with its own independent school in Pudsey, West Yorkshire.<sup>41</sup>

Oxford University affiliated to the Association in 1934 and was the only Association affiliated side in Oxfordshire for the duration of the interwar period.<sup>42</sup> Miss A. Bull, who was captain of the English team, was previously captain of the Oxford University women's cricket and hockey eleven.<sup>43</sup> The colleges that played cricket were Lady Margaret Hall, Somerville, and St. Hilda's. In 1935, a match was arranged between the women's cricket teams of Oxford and Cambridge Universities, in which Oxford University was victorious by four wickets.<sup>44</sup> Cambridge University subsequently affiliated to the Association in 1937. The delay in affiliation was reportedly due to a lack of interest. The Cambridge University WCC stated in its annual report to the Association committee, 'our membership....was rather low,

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<sup>41</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 11 April, 1938.

<sup>42</sup> The affiliation of Oxford University is remarkable given that prior to 1914, cricket was forbidden. McCrone has detailed how Lady Margaret Hall first sought to play cricket in 1886 but Somerville refused to loan their ground for the match. In 1901 students petitioned the hall council 'that they might be allowed to play cricket with the High School Games Club or any other Ladies Clubs in Oxford'. The council refused their request due the masculine qualities associated with cricket and none of the Oxford women's colleges fielded cricket teams before 1914. At Cambridge, Girton College had been playing since the 1870s but didn't establish a club until 1893. During that season the first formal competition was played against Newnham College for a cup donated by an Old Newnhamite. One of the students, Hertha Ayrton, wrote to her friend of her fellow students' cricket playing, 'you have no idea how funny they look; they run shockingly with their heads a mile in front of them....I suppose they will improve in time but at present they send me into fits of laughter'. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation*, 31-42.

<sup>43</sup> *Portsmouth Evening News*, 27 January, 1934.

<sup>44</sup> *Observer*, 9 June, 1935.

but we are hoping for an increase in numbers during the coming season. We had a fairly successful season last year, though we only had four matches, all of which we lost. As yet, we have only two fixtures for 1939'.<sup>45</sup> There has been found only one university that was playing women's cricket against teams outside academia which was not affiliated to the Association. Aberdeen University regularly engaged in matches against the affiliated St. Leonards school, but remained unaffiliated.<sup>46</sup>

It is also interesting to note that although the Federation never gained the affiliation of any university team in 1932 when the first Yorkshire versus Lancashire county matches were being organised by the EWCF, the majority of players who played for Littleborough, Oldham and Timperley were Manchester University students.<sup>47</sup> Despite this, Manchester University never affiliated to the Federation but was one of the founding members when the Lancashire County Association was formed. Other founding members included; Liverpool College, Manchester High School, Withington Girls' School, Liverpool Physical Training College and Liverpool University. It is clear that the Association was more appealing to educational institutions than the Federation due to its mid-week games.

For those girls who couldn't afford the fees to attend an independent school, the Education Act of 1902 established state- run secondary schools for girls. These were referred to as either 'secondary schools', 'county schools' or 'grammar schools'. Although

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<sup>45</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1938 Year Book*, 1938, 35.

<sup>46</sup> Although the Scottish contingent had some highly skilled members, there wasn't enough interest to warrant a separate organisation. Regular representative English versus Scottish matches were played, but the qualification for playing for the Scottish team was birth or attending school in Scotland, which aided them in being able to have a team.

<sup>47</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 20 June, 1932.

the 1902 Act resulted in an almost tenfold rise in the number of girls in recognised secondary schools by 1914, only 14% of all children actually attended.<sup>48</sup> Hunt, in *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women, 1850-1950* has argued that this was because all schools in the secondary sector charged fees of between three and five guineas per term. As such they were financially out of reach for the majority of the working-class, thus leading to their domination by the middle class.<sup>49</sup> Although 'free places' were available for pupils who won scholarships, the additional financial commitments meant many families were unable to send their daughters to these secondary schools. Not only were there extra costs of books and equipment, but the school leaving age in secondary schools was sixteen, as opposed to fourteen in the elementary sector, thereby increasing the number of years before she could contribute to the family income. Although there are examples of some women cricketers who were able to take advantage of scholarship offers. Miss Betty Hargreaves, who played for Burnley Ladies, was awarded a High School Scholarship on the result of her high school certificate at Burnley High School. She subsequently studied medicine at Liverpool University, after winning a university scholarship of £50 and was also awarded the George Adami Prize in pathology, which was valued at £9, and the J. Hill Abram prize in pharmacology.<sup>50</sup>

During the interwar period the secondary sector emulated the games playing that took place in the boarding schools. Hargreaves states that during the interwar period, 'the games curriculum in girls' public schools, endowed schools and grammar schools was well

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<sup>48</sup> D. Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty: Women between the Wars 1919-1939*, Pandora, London, 1989, 34.

<sup>49</sup> F. Hunt, 'Intro', in F. Hunt (ed.), *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women, 1850-1950*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1987, xviii.

<sup>50</sup> *Burnley Express*, 18 July, 1942.



established and included cricket, hockey, lacrosse, netball, rounders and tennis'.<sup>51</sup> There is evidence that many secondary schools were taking up girl's cricket where possible. Table 5.3 shows that eleven secondary schools were affiliated to the Association. However, the Association regularly received letters from school girls asking for advice as their secondary school didn't include cricket in the curriculum. One letter read, 'I attend a county school for girls, and since I do not play cricket at school I cannot get help on the cricket question from my games mistress'.<sup>52</sup> Another girl wrote, 'as yet our school is not a cricketing school, but we intended to take it up again this year (having dropped it for rounders- urgh- three years ago) but we were unable to find a field so had to drop the idea, but we are hopeful about next year. In any case I will practice with my brother'.<sup>53</sup> In Middlesex, the county association, in collaboration with Gunnersbury WCC, created a 'nursery school', which provided free coaching for twenty girls each Tuesday and Thursday evening. These girls were not given the opportunity to play cricket at school, but wanted an opportunity to learn the game.<sup>54</sup>

There was also a small number of secondary schools that were playing competitive cricket against external clubs that were not affiliated to the Association. In Brighouse, in West Yorkshire, Davies in 'Bowling Maidens Over: 1931 and the beginnings of women's cricket in a Yorkshire Town' notes a number of secondary school teams that were documented as playing cricket including, Brighouse Secondary School, Hove Edge Girls,

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<sup>51</sup> Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 121.

<sup>52</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 10, no. 3, 1939, 72.

<sup>53</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 10, no. 3, 1939, 72.

<sup>54</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 10, no. 2, 1939, 34.

Rastrick New Road Girls and Victoria Central School Old Girls.<sup>55</sup> The *Dundee Evening Telegraph* in 1929 published an article stating, 'a new movement is in progress in Leicestershire, where the girls in secondary schools are taking up cricket as the best game for the summer season....the headmistress finds that character is developed in quite a different way to what it would be in playing any other game'.<sup>56</sup> However, it is clear that the majority of secondary schools still did not play cricket. An article in the *Hartlepool Mail* argued, 'cricket for women in the North is taking hold. The chief difficulty is that schools will not take it up seriously in Durham County. Durham County School and Sunderland High School are the only affiliated schools in the County, and it is obvious that until girls do begin to learn cricket at school there will always be a scarcity of women club cricketers.'<sup>57</sup>

The EWCF gained the affiliation of only one education based team; St Joseph's Catholic College in Bradford. Founded by the Order of the Sisters of the Cross and Passion in 1908, it was a direct grant grammar school which served working- and lower middle-class girls in the Bradford region.<sup>58</sup> However, Halifax CC's women's section, which played in the Yorkshire Inter- City and Town League, was made up primarily from girls who attended Halifax Technical College.<sup>59</sup> All the players who represented Bradford against Brighouse in an inter-city match in 1931 were former students of either the girl's secondary school or the

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<sup>55</sup> P. Davies, 'Bowling Maidens Over: 1931 and the beginnings of women's cricket in a Yorkshire Town', *Sport in History*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2008, 284.

<sup>56</sup> *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 29 April, 1929.

<sup>57</sup> *Hartlepool Mail*, 29 February, 1932.

<sup>58</sup> <http://www.hawaiilibrary.net/article/whebn0019470539/st.%20joseph>, accessed 24/02/2015.

<sup>59</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 4 May, 1932.

central school in Brighouse.<sup>60</sup> As the Federation allowed girls as young as twelve to affiliate, a number of school girls played under the Federation for local cricket teams, separate to their school. Unfortunately, it has proved difficult to find which schools they actually attended.<sup>61</sup> In 1936, Yorkshire experienced its first defeat against Lancashire primarily due to the bowling of a school girl, Joan Sandiford. The *Yorkshire Observer* noted, 'it was this girl - a school girl, fifteen years of age- who did most to beat these supposed women cricket cracks from Yorkshire. She bowled thirteen overs for twenty-nine runs'.<sup>62</sup> Another star player was V. Holdsworth, a twelve year old, who played for Bowling Old Lane CC in Bradford. The *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* marvelled at her prowess in one game, 'she took seven wickets for four runs, including two wickets in succession on two occasions. At one period she secured four wickets for no runs in one over'.<sup>63</sup>

It was noted by Ruby Humphries, in her weekly *Yorkshire Observer* column, that Lancashire, 'encourage young girls to play before they leave school. Something must be done in Yorkshire to stimulate interest'.<sup>64</sup> This concept was also echoed by the 'Three City Mothers', the only female councillors in Bradford mentioned in the previous chapter. As part of their pledge to encourage and provide opportunities for women and girls to participate in sports and games, they argued for the inclusion, where possible, of cricket in all Bradford schools, 'they have made up their minds that if girls played cricket at the

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<sup>60</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 20 July, 1931.

<sup>61</sup> The only example found was Miss Wrightman who learnt to play at Skipton Grammar School in North Yorkshire. In adulthood she represented Bradford in the Inter-City and Town League in 1932.

<sup>62</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 20 June, 1936.

<sup>63</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 10 July, 1935.

<sup>64</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 3 July, 1937.

Bradford schools they would be able to continue the sport as soon as they left by joining the local women's clubs, in which there are many young players'.<sup>65</sup> That the Federation allowed girls as young as twelve to affiliate, compared to the Association, which had a minimum affiliation age of sixteen, is reflective of the socio economic background the Association catered for, as it assumed any affiliated member would still be in education until sixteen and not have any need to affiliate to an adult women's cricket club. The Federation, however, was specifically aimed at providing women's cricket for women and girls of the working-class and thus understood that as many girls would not have the opportunity to play cricket whilst at school, it could provide them with access to the game.

For many working-class children, the only education available to them was the elementary system. This system focused primarily on the three Rs and domestic science for its female pupils. The majority of working-class girls were expected to leave school once they reached fourteen, the age which the Fisher Education Act of 1918 had ruled was the earliest school leaving age, in order to gain employment to pay towards the family income. By 1929, only 38% of girls received a full secondary education and gained their High School Certificate.<sup>66</sup> Physical education at elementary schools was limited predominantly to drill or gymnastics, primarily due to a lack of access to the space required to play games. The *Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools* published in 1933 by the Board of Education, explained that the options of games depended largely on the,

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<sup>65</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 18 August, 1934.

<sup>66</sup> J. Purvis, *Hard Lessons, The Lives and Education of Working-Class Women in Nineteenth-Century England*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1989, 80.

facilities offered in the district and the standard of training in ball games the school can show as a whole. It referred to the difficulties of introducing to girls in elementary schools those games played in private girls schools: "Cricket presents considerable difficulties owing to the cost of good pitches. It may be possible in certain schools to secure both the service of a teacher who is a first-class coach and the right facilities for play, but unless suitable conditions are available, the game should not be attempted".<sup>67</sup>

Netball in particular began to grow in popularity in the girl's elementary schools as the court required less space and upkeep than a hockey or cricket pitch as it could be played on any surface. No evidence has been found of girl's cricket being played in any elementary school.

It is clear that cricket was only provided by elite schools, or those fortunate enough to have large grounds. Those girls who attended a public school, physical training college or university were introduced to the game and encouraged to play. For those girls who attended local high schools, or most grammar schools, games were limited, restricted by space and cost. Hargreaves has argued that, 'inter-school competition consolidated class differences because matches were played between teams from similar schools, and clubs for school leavers were composed of players with similar class backgrounds'.<sup>68</sup> This is true for girl's school cricket. For girls who attended elementary schools, their first experience of cricket was predominantly once they entered the workplace.

## **II. Workplace teams.**

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<sup>67</sup> *Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools* reprinted in Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 121.

<sup>68</sup> Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 122.

Following the discovery that many recruits for both the Boer War and the First World War weren't fit for service, and the growing interest in improving the fitness of the nation, as described in chapter two, efforts were made to ensure that the health of the worker became a priority. The National Council of Sport in Industry and Commerce was formed in 1937, whose principle objectives were,

to take all necessary steps for the protection and development of the sports movement in industry and commerce; to provide a clearing centre for the benefit of affiliated bodies for the pooling of ideas in administration and the circulation of information; and to assist in the promotion of new representative organisations of sport in industry and commerce where such organisation does not already exist.<sup>69</sup>

A government-run agency, it offered assistance to those work teams that wanted to set up sports clubs, stating, 'if all industry and commerce can be inspired to provide facilities for physical recreation, through the medium of sport, for their workpeople, the Government objective of a physically fit nation will be largely achieved'.<sup>70</sup> It also created a journal *Sport in Industry*, which published articles on the benefits of work teams and showcased the activities available in different businesses. There were several governmental reforms focused on improving working lives during the interwar period.<sup>71</sup> Although the 1920

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<sup>69</sup> *Sport in Industry*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1938, 3.

<sup>70</sup> *Sport in Industry*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1938, 3.

<sup>71</sup> The conditions of factory workers had been slowly improving for women since the Factory Act of 1844 which classified them as protected persons. The subsequent Ten Hours Act in 1847 further limited the workday of women and children in textile mills; in 1867 this also applied to all factories employing more than fifty people. In 1893, female factory

Employment of Women, Young Persons and Children Act had prohibited the employment of women on night work, it was not uncommon for women and children to work up to sixty hours a week. The 1937 Factory Act laid down a maximum forty-eight hour week for women, limited their overtime hours and prohibited Sunday work.<sup>72</sup> It also strengthened safety regulations and improved basic external factories such as temperature and lighting. Factory canteens began to be introduced and medical treatment became available. Lloyd George declared in a speech, 'the workers of today are the mother of tomorrow', reinforcing the belief that the primary aim of women was to bear children.<sup>73</sup>

As the annual number of working hours decreased from 2,624 per person in 1913 to 2,267 in 1938, the shorter working week and Saturday afternoons off created more opportunities for leisure.<sup>74</sup> In the Cadbury confectionery publication, *Bournville Work & Play*, the dilemma for the employer is noted,

modern methods of production have created new physical and psychological needs which did not exist in an earlier, less complex and less highly organised state of industry....here is another aspect of the connection between work and leisure that should be mentioned....whatever disadvantage present day methods involve, they

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inspectors were appointed for the first time, with the hope of helping those mistreated female employees who were too scared to inform male inspectors.

<sup>72</sup> P. Summerfield, *Women Workers in the Second World War: Production and Patriarchy in Conflict*, Routledge, London, 1989, 22.

<sup>73</sup> J. Watson, *Fighting Different Wars: Experience, Memory, and the First World War in Britain*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004, 140.

<sup>74</sup> S. Jones, 'Work, Leisure and Unemployment in Western Europe between the Wars', *British Journal of Sports History*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1986, 66.

have at least coincided with shorter hours and shorter hours have raised the problem of how leisure thus created can be best utilised.<sup>75</sup>

Business owners began to provide facilities to allow workers to spend this time at sport. Recreational clubs quickly began to form and many entered into external competitions. The sports provided for employees varied according to each employer, depending on the size of the workforce, the cost to the employer, land available to them and the views of the business owner as to which activities were suitable.

Why did business owners encourage works teams? The motivation for providing such facilities were, for some companies, a moral responsibility. Munting in has described how some employers, such as Cadbury and Rowntree's, used sport as a method to ensure their workforce used their leisure time productively. He argues that just as the public schools used sport as a vehicle to build character and infuse moral and physical health, employers also began to follow the same logic.<sup>76</sup> They introduced pension schemes, holidays, educational opportunities and recreation as a means of improving the lives of their workforce. Cadbury was one of the forerunners of enlightened employment practices. It was the first British company to introduce a weekly half-holiday.<sup>77</sup> In the 1900s Cadbury introduced compulsory evening classes for those under the age of eighteen. The lessons were divided strictly along gender lines with girls learning needlework, care of infants,

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<sup>75</sup> Bournville 1926 Work & Play, 3.

<sup>76</sup> R. Munting, 'The games ethic and industrial capitalism before 1914: the provision of company sports', *Sport in History*, vol. 23, no. 1, 2003, 48.

<sup>77</sup> C. Kennedy, *The Merchant Princes, Family, Fortune and Philanthropy: Cadbury, Sainsbury and John Lewis*, Hutchinson, London, 2000, 21.



cookery, laundry work, English, physiology and arithmetic.<sup>78</sup> For women over the age of eighteen, evening classes in music, history, art, French, German and millinery were available. The company was keen for employees to run their own clubs, stating in *Bournville 1926 Work and Play*, 'a less tangible asset rising from the employer's participation in the factory social activities, if they are run on democratic and not paternal lines, is that, in addition to the better relations between worker and management, the worker acquires in himself sharpened faculty and fuller capacities derived from his experience in those activities'.<sup>79</sup>

For other business owners, the motivation was predominantly to benefit their business. By increasing facilities to improve the health of their workers, they were maximising potential productivity. Not only did reduced price canteens ensure employees received appropriate levels of nutrition to complete physical jobs, but by providing recreational facilities, employers ensured that workers' spare time was spent effectively. The Conservative MP for Blackburn, Captain Elliston remarked on a scheme of 'keep-fit' activities for Lancashire factory workers. He noted approvingly, that it was a 'useful antidote to the deadly monotony of mechanized industry'.<sup>80</sup> When giving evidence to the British Departmental Committee on the notion of holidays with pay in 1937 and 1938, many employers stated that providing leisure activities led to a happier workforce with reduced absenteeism.<sup>81</sup> Employers accepted that offering sport had a positive outcome on a

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<sup>78</sup> Kennedy, *The Merchant Princes*, 42.

<sup>79</sup> *Bournville 1926 Work & Play*, 3.

<sup>80</sup> C. MacDonald, *Strong, Beautiful and Modern: National Fitness in Britain, New Zealand, Australia and Canada, 1935-1960*, UBC Press, Vancouver, 2013, 38.

<sup>81</sup> Jones, 'Work, Leisure and Unemployment', 75.

workers' productivity and increased production. By ensuring the happiness of workers it also reduced the turnover, saving money from having to retrain workers.<sup>82</sup>

Sporting clubs provided an opportunity for workers to maintain their physical fitness, which converted to a higher level of efficiency whilst working. Recreational clubs also served to exercise some control over leisure time. By providing regular, cheap sources of recreation, employers attempted to guide workers away from public houses, or other pastimes, such as gambling, which could cause a worker to be less productive. Recreational provisions also served to build good relations between workers and management, who would encourage and help to form clubs. It also created loyalty between the workforce and the company by evoking a sense of a 'team' that they all belonged to, particularly when sports clubs took part in competitions. Lyons, the confectionery producer, stated in the industrial magazine *Sport in Industry*, 'we have learnt that clubs for recreation and sports help to unify the staff: that they provide workers with the healthy activities and interests necessary to physical fitness: and that they encourage team work, not only in play, but also in work'.<sup>83</sup> Rowntree, in *The Human Factor in Business* noted that 'there are definite advantages in having supplementary work schemes. They often provide opportunities for meeting employees from other departments and belonging to different grades; for instance, social functions at the works'.<sup>84</sup> This also aided the public perception of the company within a local community. It advertised that the employer wanted to help the area, cementing its centrality both to the individual and to the community as a whole. Skillen has shown that

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<sup>82</sup> N. Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain 1750-1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998, 59.

<sup>83</sup> *Sport in Industry*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1938, 7.

<sup>84</sup> B. S. Rowntree, *The Human Factor in Business*, Longmans, Greens and Co, London, 1938, 137.

companies regularly advertised their recreational provisions in the local newspapers and regularly held gala days, inviting the local residents.<sup>85</sup>

As women began to enter the workplace towards the end of the nineteenth century, some progressive firms began to provide recreational activities for both genders. At Cadbury, physical education mistresses were hired to provide coaching in cricket, hockey, netball, swimming and gymnastics to the women employees. Similarly, at Rowntree's confectionery works, a 'social worker' Mary Wood was appointed in 1896. Her job was to look after the female employees. She encouraged them to participate in sport to improve their physical strength.<sup>86</sup> As increased numbers of women entered the workplace during the First World War more industries began to expand their social activities to incorporate both male and female employees. As discussed in chapter two women's football grew in popularity as teams engaged in charity games, particularly in Lancashire, throughout 1921-1922. There were approximately 150 clubs playing women's football by 1921.<sup>87</sup> Conversely, there has been minimum evidence of women's workplace cricket teams playing during the war years. However, there is evidence of games being organised in order to raise money for charity. In 1915 the *Coventry Evening News* reported on a ladies cricket match against men from the City Police Force and Special Constabulary as part of a fair to entertain

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<sup>85</sup> Skillen, *Women, Sport and Modernity*, 156.

<sup>86</sup> Munting, 'The games ethic', 59.

<sup>87</sup> See D. Birley, *Playing the Game: Sport and British Society 1910-45*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1995, 204:

A. Melling, 'Cultural Differentiation, Shared Aspiration: The Entente Cordiale of International Ladies' Football, 1920-45', in J. A Mangan (ed.), *Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender*, Frank Cass, London, 1999, 27-53; J. Williams, *A Contemporary History of Women's Sport, Part One: Sporting Women, 1850-1960*, Routledge, London, 2014, 130.

wounded soldiers.<sup>88</sup> This match raised £166/12/3 for the Coventry and Warwickshire Hospital.<sup>89</sup> In Tamworth, there is evidence of a ladies cricket match played against men to benefit the Dosthill Red Cross Society.<sup>90</sup> In Bristol in 1917, there was a match between Foye House wounded soldiers and a ladies team with a concert provided afterwards.<sup>91</sup> However, as appendix III illustrates there are nine examples of women's cricket clubs that were formed during the war years to play women's cricket as a sport, as opposed to solely for charity, as discussed in chapter two.

During the interwar period, providing sporting provisions for women continued. Netball, hockey, tennis and lacrosse were the main sports offered to female employees. *Sport in Industry* produced articles about providing sport for girls in a factory setting.<sup>92</sup> For many working-class women, these provisions provided their first opportunity to play team games, which hadn't been offered at their educational institutions. By 1927 Cadbury had three rugby football pitches, fifteen cricket, nine hockey and five netball pitches, fifty-three tennis courts and four bowling greens.<sup>93</sup> Subscription to the Bournville girls' athletic club was 3/- or 1/6 for girls under sixteen with an entrance fee of 6d. Membership to the athletic club in 1927 totalled 1,188.<sup>94</sup> Rowntree's confectionery works was explicit in its policy for inclusion stating, 'our aim is to see that each evening and on Saturdays there is a fair choice

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<sup>88</sup> *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 30 July, 1915.

<sup>89</sup> *Coventry Evening Telegraph*, 18 November, 1915.

<sup>90</sup> *Tamworth Herald*, 24 July, 1915.

<sup>91</sup> *Western Daily Press*, 14 August, 1917.

<sup>92</sup> *Sport in Industry*, vol. 2, no. 4, 1939, 11.

<sup>93</sup> *Bournville Works Magazine*, vol. xxv, no. 3, 1927, 83.

<sup>94</sup> *Bournville Works Magazine*, vol. xxv, no. 5, 1927, 163.

of recreation for every employee, particularly now that we have recently engaged young women and youths from other areas who are away from their homes and acquaintances'.<sup>95</sup> By the late 1930s it had three football pitches, three hockey pitches, three cricket squares, a baseball pitch and seven tennis courts.<sup>96</sup>

Table 5.1 shows that of the known women's cricket teams operating during this time period, almost one-quarter of the total number of teams originated from the workplace. Seventy-four workplace teams were affiliated to the Association, which represented one-fifth of the total number of teams affiliated to the Association. In 1931 *Women's Cricket* lamented, 'alas as most women work, the question of more than whole or half day matches will never arise except at holiday times'.<sup>97</sup> The large number of works teams is particularly interesting as the Association was precise about the socio economic background of the women it wanted affiliated to its organisation during its formation years. It is clear that acceptance of membership to the WCA was based on the reputation of the employers, rather than directly related to the employees. Many employers only employed women based on a predetermined notion of 'respectability', which followed, but was not exclusive to, class divisions. The growth of public service occupations, the Post Office and Civil Service meant that new job roles opened up for women. Clerical work shifted from a masculine to feminine occupation, which middle-class women moved into.<sup>98</sup> The acceptance of women working as clerks was encouraged by the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women, which specifically targeted the Civil Service as a potential employer for middle- and lower

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<sup>95</sup> Rowntree, *The Human Factor*, 134.

<sup>96</sup> Huggins and Williams, *Sport and the English*, 11.

<sup>97</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 2, no. 3, 1931, 51.

<sup>98</sup> M. Pugh, *Women and the Women's Movement in Britain 1914-1959*, Macmillan Education, Hampshire, 1991, 20.

middle-class women.<sup>99</sup> By 1913, it had fixed hours of work, which incorporated a 48 hour week over six days, and provided annual holidays. Although a 'respectable' employer of middle-class women, the Civil Service was not seen as a particularly desirable employer. Clerical work was regarded as low status by many in comparison to teaching.<sup>100</sup> This was in part due to the sectionalising of clerical work as 'women's work' which meant it was regarded as requiring little skill or ability. Bagilhole in *Women, Work and Equal Opportunity: Underachievement in the Civil Service* has shown that the low wages paid by the Civil Service had traditionally attracted males from the lower end of the class spectrum, but by re-assigning the roles as 'women's work' it actually attracted females from a higher class who sought 'respectable work' in good conditions.<sup>101</sup> The First World War caused the Civil Service to employ even greater numbers of women. In August 1914, it employed 192,800 men and 36,000 women; by January 1918 the numbers were 136,000 men and 1,444,600 women.<sup>102</sup> As women's white collar work was concentrated in a few industries, it meant that works teams had a large supply of potential members for women's sporting teams.

The Civil Service Women's Cricket Association was formed in 1931 to encourage the formation of more clubs in the Civil Service. This Association received full county status in 1933 due to its size. The following season forty-four new recruits gave their name as interested players. The Civil Service County Association included the Ministry of Health, Headquarters Club, Ministry of Labour Club, London Telephone Service and His Majesty's Office of Works' Cricket Club. The teams affiliated to the Civil Service were unique in that

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<sup>99</sup> B. Bagilhole, *Women, Work and Equal Opportunity: Underachievement in the Civil Service*, Avebury, Aldershot, 1994, 53.

<sup>100</sup> P. Horn, *Women in the 1920s*, Amberley Publishing, Gloucestershire, 1995, 52.

<sup>101</sup> Bagilhole, *Women, Work and Equal Opportunity*, 60.

<sup>102</sup> Bagilhole, *Women, Work and Equal Opportunity*, 60.

they always provided their own women umpires and scorers. Grace Morgan, who was part of the 1934/5 touring side, was the Civil Service captain from its inception. She worked for the Ministry of Health at Kew and held the position of hon. secretary from 1936 to 1939. Following the Second World War, she was elected chairman from 1951 to 1958, and then president of the Civil Service County Association. The interest and respect given to sport within the Civil Service is evident from the actions of the Civil Service Sports Council. When preparing for the international tour of 1934/5 to Australia and New Zealand, as described in chapter three, Morgan asked for leave from the Ministry of Health. However, when the application for leave was made, the Director of Establishments refused it. The Civil Service Sports Council intervened on her behalf and the Director changed his mind and even allowed her additional time off to prepare for the tour.<sup>103</sup>

In Nottingham, there were seven women's work cricket teams that were affiliated to the WCA and played each other regularly during the 1930s; Boots Athletic Club, Boots WCC (welfare department), Lewisons WCC, Meridan WCC, Player's Girls CC, Raleigh WCC and Wolsey LCC. Appendix XVII shows that workplace teams associated to the WCA were mainly larger organisations, employing hundreds of women, such as Bournville, Cadbury, Lyons and the Civil Service, which also all featured in *Sport in Industry*. Cadbury was one of the first teams to affiliate to the Association, and provided its ground for representative matches. In 1927 it had six women's cricket teams, with cricket practices held every dinner hour and

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<sup>103</sup> G. Morgan, *Women's Cricket Touring in 1934/5 and 1948/9; An Autobiography by Grace A. Morgan*, BPR Publishers, Wiltshire, 2009, 11.

most evenings. Rowntree's established a girl's cricket club in 1912, but its competition did not extend beyond the factory.<sup>104</sup>

As employers paid the subscription fees and provided the equipment, subscriptions were kept to a minimum, which allowed some working-class women such as those working at Peak Frean and B.D.V Raleigh factories in Nottingham to have an opportunity to play under the umbrella of the WCA without the costs. It is difficult to ascertain what proportion of affiliated members to the Association were working class. The affiliation of works teams suggests that there would have been some members who were factory workers, waitresses and mill girls. However the only acknowledgement of working-class women in the Association came from Marjorie Pollard, who stated, 'the association is democratic to a degree- it has in its ranks all sorts and types of players, doctors, artists, factory workers, teachers, clerks, architects, waitresses- in fact workers of every description'.<sup>105</sup> Although it must be reiterated that official publications, organised activities and general regulations for Association members were based on middle-class expectations and any working-class players were predominantly excluded from any activities organised by the Association prior to 1937, when they began to take an interest in working-class women as detailed in the previous chapter.

For most working-class women, whose primary experience of physical education was confined to Swedish Gymnastics and military drill, workplace teams gave them their first introduction to games. Langhamer asserts that workplaces 'offered women access to both

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<sup>104</sup> Parratt, 'The making of the healthy and the happy home', 69.

<sup>105</sup> M. Pollard, *Cricket for Women and Girls*, Pollard Publications, London, 1934, 130.



land and a large pool of potential team mates who may otherwise have bypassed sporting opportunities due to lack of opportunity'.<sup>106</sup> Table 5.1 shows that thirty workplace teams were affiliated to the Federation. This represents almost 38% of all Federation teams. Of these thirty teams, they were all either mills, breweries or factories, with the exception of St Luke's Hospital, the Bradford newspaper headquarters and Leeds WCC, whose original members were formed from employees from the *Yorkshire Evening Post*.<sup>107</sup> All workplace teams played in either the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League or the Leeds and District Women's Cricket League. In 1934 ten of the twelve teams in the YWCF's Leeds and District Women's Cricket League were work teams.<sup>108</sup> Workplace teams made up the highest percentage of teams in the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League including some of the largest employers in the West Riding area such as W. N. Sharpe Ltd, which produced stationery and Montague Burtons, the famous clothiers.

When the Federation was first formed, it deliberately targeted local factories and firms such as Bowling Dye Works, which had men's cricket teams affiliated to the men's Bradford Evening Cricket League, in the hope of encouraging them to expand their extra-curricular activities to female employees as well.<sup>109</sup> One of the reasons for this targeting was that workforce teams were able to overcome the practical restraints that existed on working-class women's participation in cricket as discussed in chapter four.

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<sup>106</sup> C. Langhamer, *Women's Leisure in England 1920-1960*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2000, 91.

<sup>107</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 10 June, 1963.

<sup>108</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 101.

<sup>109</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 20 May, 1931.

Firstly, as the workplace organised the games, expenses were minimal for the players to make up the team affiliation fee of 2/6. The transport, uniform and equipment were provided by the company. Thus there was the opportunity for women to socialise with their workmates without needing large amounts of disposable income.

Secondly, it is clear that a number of local works teams already had women's sporting sections before the formation of the Federation. It is known that Bowling Dye Works had a hockey team of which many members agreed to switch to cricket in the summer.<sup>110</sup> Hey's Brewery first formed a women's cricket club in 1926. Similarly, Montague Burton's had a works cricket team by 1929. The *Yorkshire Evening Post* reported in 1929 that

a Leeds athletic outfitter to-day said he had already sold a good deal of equipment which he knew was going to be used by women and girls, and he had also had a great many inquiries. Principally, he said, it seemed to be the welfare organisations of big works that were buying the equipment for the women's sections of their sports clubs.<sup>111</sup>

The success of women's hockey in the workplace teams in particular, aided the creation of women's cricket teams as it provided employers with a summer team game to occupy the employee's leisure time which didn't require additional expense, as a men's cricket team usually already existed.

A third reason was that the creation of workplace women's cricket teams legitimised the sport as 'respectable'. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Federation was keen to

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<sup>110</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 24 August, 1931.

<sup>111</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 11 April, 1929.

ensure that women's cricket was seen as a respectable game in order to gain support from the local community. The addition of workplace teams provided more support for the game against those who criticised women playing cricket. Interestingly there is very little documented about factory or works owners debating the rights of women to play sport. In an oral interview, Mrs Joan Newsome, whose mother and auntie played for Copley Marshalls Mill in Huddersfield, recalled that her mother hadn't learnt to play cricket at school but had started playing the game for Copley Marshalls when a team was organised to play in knock-out tournaments in the area. She stated that there were practices during the week before a match. She remembers that it was just 'the done thing' for women who worked at the mill to play frequently, recounting that her auntie and several women 'up her street' had also played for them in their youth.<sup>112</sup> The number of works teams affiliated to the EWCF is indicative of their perceived value. President of the Leeds and District Women's Cricket League, Jacob Kramer, a well-known painter, said that he 'welcomed the inauguration of an organisation which would help to prompt the bodily well-being of those whose occupations for the most part kept them indoors most of the day'.<sup>113</sup> The Federation continued to target workplace teams as potential affiliates throughout its existence. In 1937, Ruby Humphries, wrote in the *Yorkshire Observer*, 'I have heard several rumours recently that firms are running women's teams. If anyone knows anything definite I wish they would communicate with me'.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Joan Newsome personal interview, London, 17 August, 2010.

<sup>113</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 5 May, 1934.

<sup>114</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 31 July, 1937.

Many affiliated workplace teams were family-run firms, which saw the benefit of work teams socialising during their leisure time because it could improve morale and consolidate loyalty to the firm by making the workforce feel that they belonged to the workplace. The chairman of Montague Burton's sports club, Mr A. W. Roberts, 'stressed the value of team spirit not only in sport but in industry'.<sup>115</sup> Also by affiliating to the Federation, employers were able to benefit financially. Following the example set by the men's cricket clubs, works teams charged gate money for spectators. The gate money helped pay for the annual affiliation subscription, new equipment and upkeep of the ground, which ensured the continuation of the club. The entry charge of 3d. per adult ensured that it was of the cheapest options available for evening entertainment.

Why did women want to play women's cricket through their workplace? As stated in the previous chapter, for many working-class women, access to team games were restricted unless an organisation made a concerted effort to eradicate barriers such as cost, time and space. Workplace teams removed many of these barriers as costs were kept to a minimum. The fact that practices and matches were played on an evening abolished both the issues of time constraints and access to grounds. As the majority of firms or clubs already had a men's team in place, access to playing facilities was already established.

Table 5.1 shows that of the 447 women's cricket teams that weren't affiliated to either organisation, 101 of these were workplace in origin. There is evidence that inter-work tournaments in particular were very popular. These first became popular in the 1880s where local firms would challenge each other, with the losing side responsible for buying

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<sup>115</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 5 May, 1934.

the winners a pie and pea supper.<sup>116</sup> Inter-works events encouraged friendly rivalry within the community, and gate money was usually charged with the money raised dedicated to charitable causes. They were also a useful method of self-promotion by the employers who were keen to showcase themselves as an integral part of the community and as a desirable employer. In 1934 a match was held for the benefit of Miss Annie Aspey, an employee of Lister Mills who had been injured in a cycle accident six weeks prior and had only just left hospital. Lister Ladies played the Lister Park Veterans in a two-day match which sold a large number of tickets.<sup>117</sup> Similarly in 1936, Bowling Old Lane CC agreed to play Keighley, according to the *Yorkshire Observer* 'for a collection for a Keighley player, Miss Mary Hollings, who had been unable to attend work for two weeks due to a leg injury sustained during a league match'.<sup>118</sup>

In Yorkshire, several women's inter-work tournaments were run independently of any affiliation. In Guiseley, Leeds, the secretary of the Guiseley CC, Mr B. Griffin, stated that it had organised a tournament that would be, 'open to factories and women's organisations in the district. Up to present about half a dozen factories in the area have formed teams for the purpose of entering the competition'.<sup>119</sup> Many factory teams were formed solely for the purpose of participating in one-off tournaments as a one-off competition, rather than a regularly playing team. The high proportion of workplace teams suggests that playing with

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<sup>116</sup> <http://www.blackbullshepley.co.uk/history.html>, accessed 20/03/2014.

<sup>117</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 29 August, 1934.

<sup>118</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 21 August, 1936.

<sup>119</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 16 March, 1932.

workmates was popular.<sup>120</sup> Bowling Old Lane CC held a knock-out inter-works competition that was independent of the Federation, playing for the Squire Trophy. Eight teams competed in the competition, with Hey's Brewery beating J. Cawthra's in the final.<sup>121</sup> The winners received clocks and Miss Bertha Nelson, who took six wickets for one run, received travelling cases as an additional prize. In areas where there were other teams to play against, many work teams deemed it unnecessary to join an organisation. In some cases, such as Portsmouth and Lancashire, it was because the cost to travel to play rival teams was too expensive. In Portsmouth, they even proposed a ladies cricket league in 1932, in order to try to stimulate local interest in the game, although this never came to fruition.<sup>122</sup>

Despite the efforts of the government, working conditions varied across different industries and employers. Most employers only improved facilities for workers when forced to by the workers or the government.<sup>123</sup> Provisions for workers varied widely, depending on geographical location, space available and the morality of the employers.<sup>124</sup> Not all industries provided these facilities. Despite this, by 1938 the Sports Council claimed it consisted of nearly all the existing business house and works sports associations. It claimed that 'half a million workpeople are offered facilities for playing sports in these clubs and the majority of these workpeople (membership of private sports clubs being denied them on

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<sup>120</sup> J. Williams, 'Recreational cricket in Bolton between the wars', in R. Holt (ed.), *Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1990, 107.

<sup>121</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 29 July, 1931.

<sup>122</sup> *Portsmouth Evening News*, 29 June, 1932.

<sup>123</sup> E. Roberts, *Women's Work 1840-1940*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988, 47.

<sup>124</sup> Roberts, *Women's Work*, 28.

financial grounds) would otherwise have no facilities for continuous sports'.<sup>125</sup> For the majority of working-class women, this statement was true. Workplace teams eradicated the cost, time and space restrictions that prevented the majority of working-class women from accessing team games. Pollard estimated in an article written for *Sport in Industry* that workplace teams allowed '500,000 women and girls [to play] team games in this country....quietly, efficiently and happily for years'.<sup>126</sup>

### **III. Men's cricket clubs with women's subsections.**

Table 5.1 shows that of the known women's cricket teams that were operating during this time period; eighty-nine of these were a subsection of an established men's club. These teams were usually labelled as 'cricket clubs' rather than cricket teams. They were seen as part of the men's cricket club and offered the same support as junior boys' cricket. These clubs were primarily the product of a deliberate policy by male members of the men's cricket club to allow women access to the game. The main motivation for this decision was to benefit the men's game by providing them with an extra source of revenue. As table 5.1 shows, of the eighty-nine clubs identified as being part of a men's team, thirty-five of these were affiliated to the EWCF.

At the formation meeting of the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League, as discussed in chapter four, the residing president Mr Timperley raised the subject of creating

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<sup>125</sup> *Sport in Industry*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1938, 3.

<sup>126</sup> *Sport in Industry*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1938, 21.

an affiliated women's organisation. After mentioning the obvious desire for women in Bradford to have an opportunity to play cricket, he referred to more practical reasons for the men's clubs to support this motion. Firstly, he argued that the affiliation of women's sections for each men's club would lead to an increase in membership. Subscriptions of women members were an important contribution to a club's finances. Williams, has shown that at Nelson CC, in Lancashire, nearly one-third of members were women in 1924, providing 30% of the club's subscription revenue.<sup>127</sup> As gate receipts were dependent on good weather and large crowds, membership subscriptions were vital as a guaranteed source of money for the clubs. The committee was shown figures from the Lidget Green CC ledger which, as discussed in the previous chapter, had begun to host women's tournaments at the behest of Hannah Drake, the Bradford Councillor. The popularity of this tournament had resulted in increased membership as new members of the community were introduced to the club.<sup>128</sup>

Secondly, Mr Timperley discussed the financial gains that he believed the men's clubs would benefit from. As discussed in the previous chapter, by 1931 women's cricket had gained a reputation within West Yorkshire as an event that would attract large numbers of paying spectators who would subsequently produce a good 'gate'. A match between the Digley Hopefuls and the Benj. Meller and Son teams in the Holme Valley League, according to the *Holmfirth Express* had a record crowd of approximately 2,000 and a gate of £9.<sup>129</sup> The activities of these Holme Valley women's cricketers, also noted in the previous chapter, were

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<sup>127</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 207.

<sup>128</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 20 January, 1931.

<sup>129</sup> *Holmfirth Express*, 23 June, 1928.



used as proof to the amount of money the men's cricket clubs could hope to gain from having a women's section. This financial promise was extremely attractive to the men's clubs that were affiliated to the men's Bradford Evening Cricket League. This league was highly commercialised and allowed up to four professional players per side unlike the famous Lancashire League, which only allowed one player to be paid per team.<sup>130</sup>

Finally, it was argued that women's cricket would ignite interest and popularity back into the game within the community. It is evident that in 1931, the men's Bradford Evening Cricket League's popularity was beginning to wane. With the 20<sup>th</sup> March entrance deadline looming, there were only nine clubs that had expressed an interest to enter by 6<sup>th</sup> February, when a minimum of sixteen clubs was required to run the league.<sup>131</sup> It was thought that the increased crowds would encourage the local community to reacquaint itself with the game.

The men's Bradford Evening Cricket League agreed to the creation and affiliation of a women's section, dependent on one important caveat. The men's committee sought assurance that the women's game would remain of secondary importance to the men's game. Its official purpose would be 'to aid men's cricket'.<sup>132</sup> In order to ensure this, all games were to be played on a Monday evening, to prevent interference with the men's fixtures.<sup>133</sup> This caveat was of particular importance in communities where the increased confidence of young women, with free leisure time and new employment opportunities, contrasted greatly with the older generation of males who remained personally affected by

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<sup>130</sup> R. Genders, *League Cricket in England*, Laurie, London, 1952, 14.

<sup>131</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 6 February, 1931.

<sup>132</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 20 January, 1931.

<sup>133</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 20 January, 1931.

the repercussions of the First World War on their local community. This semblance of power was vitally important in the formation of women's cricket for the older generation for whom the new fashions and behaviours of young women were confusing. By emphasising their subordinate role within cricket, they acknowledged the potential benefits women could bring, whilst indicating a desire for women to remain in their supportive role.

As stated in chapter four, the first season of the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League proved more successful than predicted. The committee revealed that the income from 1931 was £136/14/10 ½ and expenditure £66/13/2.<sup>134</sup> Comparatively the men's Bradford Evening Cricket League finished with a balance of just over £5.<sup>135</sup> The men's committee reacted angrily to these financial statements. It argued that although it had agreed to sustain any losses the women's league may have acquired, there had been no discussion on the possibility of sharing any profit. Special objections were raised to the separation of the two bank accounts, and the men's committee passed a resolution that the accounts should be run separately during the season but be pooled at the end. Additionally a further objection was raised about representatives of the women's section making any decisions or arranging any games without the explicit approval and confirmation of the men's section.<sup>136</sup> Thus the men's committee of the men's Bradford Evening Cricket League absolved itself of the prior commitment of financial responsibility for the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League but retained the right to absorb any profits.

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<sup>134</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 22 September, 1931.

<sup>135</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 15 September, 1931.

<sup>136</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 18 March, 1932.

The newly formed Yorkshire Women's Cricket Federation (YWCF) held an emergency meeting in response to these resolutions. It decided by a vote of ten to three that the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League should sever all connections to the men's league and become an independent body responsible for its own management and finances. Two official resolutions were proposed and carried unanimously; '1. That the Bradford Ladies' Cricket League definitely decide that they shall control their own league and business. 2. That the Ladies Cricket League decide that they do not agree to any "pool"'.<sup>137</sup> This decision had potentially severe repercussions for women's competitive cricket. The insistence that the women's league should control its own activities and should benefit financially was in direct contrast to the agreed concept that the overall purpose of women's cricket was to aid the men's game. Had the affiliated clubs dismantled their women's section or refused to allow women's cricket games to take place on their grounds it would have destroyed the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League as these teams were completely reliant on the men's clubs lending their grounds, equipment, coaching and support.

Interestingly, the number of men's clubs that had women's sections actually increased by two in 1932, following the disagreement between the two committees. Although the decision to split the two leagues meant that the men's clubs could not directly access any profit of the women's league, they were not willing to lose the financial benefits that were gained from having a women's section. As women's matches were played on weekday evenings, it was an opportunity for men's clubs to generate profit on an evening when previously only coaching would take place. Grounds which hosted Inter-City and Town League matches were entitled to one-third of all gate receipts. Park Avenue, Bowling Old

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<sup>137</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 18 March, 1932.

Lane, Great Horton, Lidget Green, Undercliffe and Laisterdyke were all named as official host grounds in Bradford. As discussed in chapter four the size of the crowds were larger than anticipated, generating profit from entrance fees. Keighley regularly had over 300 spectators present at its home matches. Equally, a crowd of nearly 400 watched the Dewsbury and Saville versus Brighouse game on Tuesday 29<sup>th</sup> May 1934, and the third Bradford inter- city match that season produced gate receipts of £22.<sup>138</sup> In 1935, an exhibition match at Morecambe CC generated enough gate receipts to allow the men's club to pay the rent for the whole season.

Although reports frequently referred to 'good gates' or 'huge gates', actual figures were rarely released. Throughout the 1930s there are only thirteen published reports of the exact amount of gate money raised. Similarly, although cricket clubs discussed the profit, or loss, its women's section had commanded during a season, individual match finances were rarely shown. Table 5.4 shows the known gates and the type of match they occurred at. The figures illustrated below are substantial, particularly if hosting county matches, as all Inter-City and Town games and local league matches were cancelled to try to ensure a large crowd.

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<sup>138</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 30 May, 1934.

Year	Home	Away	Type of Match	Attendance	Gate Money
1931	Keighley	Bradford	Inter-City and Town	4,000	£22
1931	Skipton	Bradford	Newspaper organised friendly	3,000	£35
1931	Wakefield	Leeds	Newspaper organised friendly	3,000	£50
1931	Huddersfield	Keighley	Newspaper organised friendly	1,000	£12/13/11
1931	Leeds	Bradford	Newspaper organised friendly	6,300	£72/2/9
1932	Yorkshire	Lancashire	County	8,000	£90
1933	Burnley	Crompton	Inter- City and Town League	Unknown	£7/7/8
1934	Yorkshire	Lancashire	County	2,000	£5
1935	Wakefield	Yorkshire	Newspaper organised friendly	3,000	£20
1935	Federation	Association	Federation versus Association	Unknown	£15/10/10
1935	Great Horton	Bowling Old Lane	Final of Bradford Hospital Competition Trophy	600	£6/2/8
1936	Yorkshire	Lancashire	County	3,000	£14/10/-
1937	Lancashire	Yorkshire	County	Few hundred	£10
1938	Yorkshire	Lancashire	County	Unknown	£30

Table 5.4: Attendance and gate money for EWCF organised matches 1930-1939.

Source: *Yorkshire Evening Post*, *Leeds Intelligencer*, *Yorkshire Observer*, *Bradford Telegraph* and *Argus*.

From 1931 to 1935 the EWCF was highly profitable. In particular, the Inter-City and Town League was financially strong. Each affiliated club paid an annual affiliation fee of 5/-.<sup>139</sup> As it grew in prestige it was renamed the Yorkshire Women's Cricket League, which had an affiliation fee of £1.<sup>140</sup> Each club was responsible for the purchase of a minimum of twelve copies of the *Official Handbook*, which included rules, fixtures and advertisements priced at 2d. each.<sup>141</sup> A copy of these rules are shown in appendix XIV. In 1933, Mr. Metcalfe, secretary of the EWCF reported a balance in hand of £19/0/6 only half way through the season.<sup>142</sup> It had a reported credit balance of £11/8/10 at the end of 1935. Its income for 1936, which started with a balance of £9/19/1, totalled £44/16/6.<sup>143</sup> Individual teams such as Littleborough, from the Lancashire section of the organisation, also profited, making £120 from its ladies' team from 1931 to 1934.<sup>144</sup> Similarly, Todmorden CC made £21 during the 1933 season from its women's cricket section. Burnley CC profited from a staggering £100 from its ladies section in the 1937 season, charging spectators 2d. entrance fees.<sup>145</sup> Women's cricket was also successful in increasing membership numbers for affiliated men's cricket clubs. Although the exact figures are unknown, the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* noted, 'since the women's organisation has been introduced it has been responsible for a considerable increase in the membership of the Bingley CC'.<sup>146</sup> In 1933, Todmorden CC reported that fifty women had joined as playing members.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> English Women's Cricket Federation, Yorkshire Section, *Official Handbook*, Unknown, Huddersfield, 1938, 4.

<sup>140</sup> English Women's Cricket Federation, Yorkshire Section, *Official Handbook*, 8.

<sup>141</sup> English Women's Cricket Federation, Yorkshire Section, *Official Handbook*, 8.

<sup>142</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 21 July, 1933.

<sup>143</sup> *Burnley Express*, 1 February, 1936.

<sup>144</sup> *Todmorden Advertiser*, 14 September, 1934.

<sup>145</sup> *Burnley Express*, 23 April, 1938.

<sup>146</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 30 May, 1932.

However, in 1935 interest in the Inter-City and Town League began to stagnate while equipment and transport costs continued to rise. At the annual meeting of the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League on 13<sup>th</sup> March 1935, a financial deficit was shown in the accounts and attributed to losses sustained in running the Bradford team, which competed in the Inter-City and Town League.<sup>148</sup> Although the League had a balance of £1/3/- prizes costing £14/5/- had not yet been distributed for the previous season, which would account for a deficit of £13/2/-. Receipts for the season had provided £34/11/- and expenditures only £12/17/- for the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League, yet the Inter-City and Town League had cost £26/19/- and had an income of only £12/17/-.<sup>149</sup> Travelling costs accounted for most of the expenditure. Bradford players and league officials would travel on a motor coach, which left from outside the Alhambra Theatre, to travel to away games.<sup>150</sup> The contract for the transport of the Bradford teams for their nine away games for the 1935 season had been £12/10/-, compared to £12 for the previous season's eight matches.<sup>151</sup>

Bradford was not the only team that struggled financially. Prior to the start of the 1936 season, it was announced that Leeds was unable to continue playing in the Inter-City and Town League due to travelling expenses and lack of available grounds.<sup>152</sup> In 1937,

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<sup>147</sup> *Lancashire Evening Post*, 19 April, 1933.

<sup>148</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 14 March, 1935.

<sup>149</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 14 March, 1935.

<sup>150</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 30 May, 1932.

<sup>151</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 26 April, 1935.

<sup>152</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 1 May, 1936.

Keighley was forced to resign from the league after it became known that the cricket club was in debt to the tune of £499.<sup>153</sup> Its chairman recommended the discontinuation of the women's section after it had recorded a loss the previous season and had only received three membership subscriptions. He angrily announced that although the women's section had used its ground and equipment, gate receipts were much lower than previous years and he believed the players hadn't 'done their bit' for the club.<sup>154</sup> At the annual general meeting at Todmorden CC the committee questioned the continuance of the ladies section as the profit had fallen from £8/11/8 in 1934 to £6/2/9 in 1935.<sup>155</sup> It eventually dropped out of the EWCF at the end of the 1936 season. Burnley CC urged other clubs not to give up on women's cricket stating in the *Burnley Express*,

in the case of the Burnley ladies club, it was not until the third season that they showed financial profit. They did not despair, but had patience. They saw that the team was improving week after week, and they recognised that they were gaining a welcome addition to the ladies membership and formed the nucleus of a body of loyal and enthusiastic workers.<sup>156</sup>

In an attempt to protect the financial security of the organisation the Federation committee began to publish new rules. The 1938 Federation's *Official Handbook* included Rule 14, which stated 'if the season's expenditure exceeds the income, each team which is a member of the League will be liable for an equal share of the deficiency'.<sup>157</sup> The committee

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<sup>153</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 7 April, 1937.

<sup>154</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 18 December, 1936.

<sup>155</sup> *Todmorden CC Minutes*, 8 November, 1935.

<sup>156</sup> *Burnley Express*, 20 November, 1937.

<sup>157</sup> English Women's Cricket Federation, Yorkshire Section, *Official Handbook*, 11.



also published Rule 17, which imposed 'any team desiring to lodge an objection must do so in writing. Such objection must be accompanied by a deposit fee of 10 shillings....deposit fee to be forfeited if the objection is found frivolous'.<sup>158</sup> Just as financial promise had been the catalyst for the creation of the Federation, it was financial decline that proved to be its downfall.

Given the importance placed on the financial benefits of women's cricket, it is perhaps unsurprising that the Association accused the Federation of exploiting women for its own gain.<sup>159</sup> In all promotional material, the Federation committee was keen to proclaim itself as the champions of women's exercise; that it was providing women of the working-class an opportunity to play cricket and to become healthy. However, despite its promotional stance, whenever the committee was forced to defend its organisation, it always referenced aiding men's cricket as the primary reason for the existence of women's cricket, proving that women's wants remained secondary. When faced with accusations that women's cricket interfered with the men's game, the committee responded with assurances that the purpose of women's cricket was to aid men's cricket. An article in the *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* stated, 'ladies cricket is a serious game and it is a beautiful game....first objectives in helping to start ladies cricket was to help men's cricket....not wishing to see women superior to men or to rival men at the game'.<sup>160</sup> The committee was continuously forced to reiterate that the women's organisation was not trying to supplant the men's teams. For instance, when some players raised the possibility of playing Saturday matches they were

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<sup>158</sup> English Women's Cricket Federation, Yorkshire Section, *Official Handbook*, 11.

<sup>159</sup> *Observer*, 23 June, 1935.

<sup>160</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 23 March, 1935.

staunchly rebuked, 'the men come first in the matter. The grounds belong to them'.<sup>161</sup> As a result women's cricket was seen primarily, by men's cricket clubs, as little more than a fundraising activity. In 1936, the president of the men's Bradford Evening Cricket League, Mr A. C. Day, 'wished women cricketers of Bradford a successful season, with good games and good "gates" and a satisfactory balance sheet at the end'.<sup>162</sup> Nonetheless, it must be noted that there were some people, like the aforementioned Hannah Drake, who genuinely appear to have viewed the primary benefit of working-class women playing cricket as improving their physical well-being and the enjoyment the game would bring them.

Table 5.1 shows that eight teams affiliated to the Association were women's sections of men's clubs. These seem to take a slightly different form than the relationship women's sections of men's clubs had with the Federation. Reports indicate that these women's sections were run completely separately from men's sections, with men's clubs not benefitting from gate money, but still loaning grounds and offering equipment. One of the Association affiliated teams, Bierton LCC was linked to Bierton CC in Buckinghamshire. Its local newspaper, the *Bucks Herald* stated, 'a credit balance of approximately £8 was reported at the annual meeting of the ladies cricket club on Monday evening. In view of this sound position, it was decided to make a donation of £1 to the men's club, in appreciation of their help and use of the pitch'.<sup>163</sup> Similarly, Bedford LCC in Bedfordshire, was affiliated to the County Club, 'under an arrangement which secures to the ladies facilities for net practice'.<sup>164</sup> It is clear that these women's sections were happy to be linked to a men's club

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<sup>161</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 11 June, 1931.

<sup>162</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 6 March, 1937.

<sup>163</sup> *Bucks Herald*, 28 April, 1939.

<sup>164</sup> *Bedfordshire Times and Independent*, 10 May, 1929.

for access to grounds and that many men's clubs were happy to oblige. Parkfield Cedars Old Girls approached Derbyshire CCC to ask if they could practice in the nets. Derbyshire readily agreed to this arrangement, as long as it didn't clash with the men's needs.<sup>165</sup>

Table 5.1 also illustrates that there were forty-six cricket teams that were women's sections of men's clubs and weren't affiliated to either governing body. Twenty-four of these were located in Yorkshire and Lancashire and clearly keen to reap the benefits of a women's section without having to affiliate to an organisation. For most teams that were women's sections of men's clubs, affiliation to either governing body was unnecessary for the most part. As the men's sections hoped to make money from the women's cricket teams, they were unable to affiliate to the Association who forbid the playing of competitive games for financial purposes. Given the failure of the Federation to incorporate teams outside of Yorkshire and Lancashire, who did encourage this type of cricket, teams not in these counties remained independent in order to retain their monetary purpose. It is clear that many of these teams also didn't affiliate to Federation due to potential financial costs. Despite the relatively low affiliation fees, some clubs, such as Guiseley CC in West Yorkshire, hosted their own successful tournament annually and perhaps didn't want to hand over a portion of the gate profits to the Federation committee. At Wilsford CC in Lincolnshire, the *Grantham Journal* reported that in 1931 it made 19/2 from the ladies cricket section.<sup>166</sup> Danbury CC in Essex, received £3/3/- from the Danbury LCC in 1935.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/viewer/bl/0000520/19330308/061/0005>, accessed 29/12/2014.

<sup>166</sup> *Grantham Journal*, 13 November, 1937.

<sup>167</sup> *Chelmsford Chronicle*, 25 October, 1935.

Others had a relationship similar to the Association's affiliated clubs whereby they were linked to a men's club, but not formed for the purpose of making profit for them. In Enmore, the *Taunton Courier and Western Advertiser* reported under the heading 'Women Cricketers Help Men', that 'on Thursday, a dance organised by the ladies cricket club was held at the Memorial Hall....the proceeds were for the fund of the men's cricket team'.<sup>168</sup> However, it must be noted that not all men's clubs offered support for the sole purpose for financial gain. The chairman of St Annes' CC, in Lancashire, told an unknown woman who approached him to ask for an affiliated club 'to invite anyone down....get people interested and then we will form a proper club next year', with no mention of finances.<sup>169</sup> Similarly at Porchester CC, in Portsmouth, the *Portsmouth Evening News* reported that, 'working on the interest displayed last season by many of the fair sex, when much promising talent was discovered, it was decided to inaugurate the Portchester LCC'.<sup>170</sup> At St. Saviours in Bath, the *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette* reported that 'various members of the first eleven promised to help in the coaching of those to whom cricket is at present unfamiliar'.<sup>171</sup>

Why did women want to play as part of men's teams? Firstly, as discussed in the previous chapter, men's cricket clubs were part of the community; many women would have watched male relatives play cricket and the club provided social events, such as dances and whist drives during the winter months that were well attended by members of the community. Secondly, affiliating to a men's club also reduced the costs for the women players. Although expected to pay membership fees to the men's team, the women's

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<sup>168</sup> *Taunton Courier and Western Advertiser*, 30 April, 1938.

<sup>169</sup> *Lancashire Daily Post*, 20 July, 1932.

<sup>170</sup> *Portsmouth Evening News*, 30 April, 1931.

<sup>171</sup> *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, 4 May, 1929.

section didn't have to pay to access the ground. It was also usually given free coaching, free travel and could borrow equipment for free. The famous West Indian cricketer, Learie Constantine recalled in *Cricket in the Sun*, 'one of the pleasant memories of Nelson that I recall was coaching Betty Snowball, of Burnley, a member of the British Women's Cricket team that toured Australia. She was a wicket-keeper and a fine bat, and one of the quickest learners I ever taught'.<sup>172</sup> Similarly, at Helston CC in Devon, the *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser* reported that in 1939 'the ladies have the use of the ground and gear of the Helston Club and are being coached by the Helston Club professional'.<sup>173</sup> Comparatively, the unaffiliated Addlestone WCC was charged 10/6 per season by the men's cricket club for renting its pitch for matches and practices. All teams needed to be financially stable and some teams that weren't part of men's sections had to work hard to keep the club financially secure. During the 1930s there were frequent reports of women's teams organising whist drives and dances to fund its forthcoming season. In 1930 members of Chedworth LCC, Gloucestershire, held a dance and whist drive, according to the *Cheltenham Chronicle* 'for the purpose of raising money to buy a new bat'.<sup>174</sup>

Perhaps just as importantly for young women, cricket provided an appealing prospect of meeting members of the opposite sex. The *Liverpool Echo* in 1884 asserted, 'a match must always precede matrimony, and the church is most easily reached by means of the wicket'.<sup>175</sup> In the aforementioned interview, Mrs Newsome recalled that cricket events were known for providing an opportunity for women to meet their future husbands as they

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<sup>172</sup> L. Constantine, *Cricket in the Sun*, Allan, London, 1933, 85.

<sup>173</sup> *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, 13 July, 1939.

<sup>174</sup> *Cheltenham Chronicle*, 26 July, 1930.

<sup>175</sup> *Liverpool Echo*, 23 September, 1884.

created a safe and socially acceptable way to intermingle after practice.<sup>176</sup> This assertion is given credence by a large number of marriage announcements in local newspapers, where both the bride and bridegroom played for the same workplace club.<sup>177</sup> Similarly, it was a well-known story that the Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin had fallen in love with Lucy Risdale at a cricket match where she made fifty runs.<sup>178</sup>

Newspaper reports and committee minutes nearly always indicated if a woman was married by adding the 'Mrs' prefix. Although it must be noted that names were not printed for every game, many included the names of top scorers or performers. However, there is evidence that approximately 2% of all women named in match reports as playing members were married. The unaffiliated West Turville women's cricket team were all married except for one member. In Holme Valley, St. Johns church team was noted by the local newspaper, the *Holmfirth Express*, for fielding a team of married women.<sup>179</sup> Nonetheless, little is known about these married women, and to what degree their marriage demanded a decision on whether to stop, or continue playing cricket. The *Bradford Telegraph and Argus* reported that in Australia, the leading batsman in Australian women's cricket and captain of the

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<sup>176</sup> Joan Newsome personal interview, 17 August, London, 2010.

<sup>177</sup> There are many examples of this e.g. 'J.T. Hearne, the Middlesex professional was married yesterday at Wellington, Shropshire, to Miss Bowyer, the lady cricketer'. *Irish Independent*, 16 October, 1905.

<sup>178</sup> Two biographies discuss that Lucy Risdale and Stanley Baldwin met during a cricket match. G. Young notes that they met and played cricket together in Sussex. G. Young, *Stanley Baldwin*, Hart-Davis, London, 1952, 23: H. Montgomery-Hyde notes that 'the young Baldwin's interest in Lucy Risdale....is said to have been first aroused when he saw her score a half-century at a Ladies cricket match'. H. Montgomery-Hyde, *Baldwin, The Unexpected Prime Minister*, Hart-Davis, London, 1973: the story is also reprinted in several contemporary newspaper articles including *Western Daily Press*, 21 September, 1942.

<sup>179</sup> *Holmfirth Express*, 30 June, 1928.

Victorian women's eleven, Dot Mummery (*nee* Debnam), the 'Don Bradman of Australian women's cricket', had declined the captaincy of the Australian women's eleven during the 1934/5 tour. In an article entitled 'Kitchen before Cricket', it was reported that Mummery had recognised her recent marriage had altered her priorities and, 'her kitchen is calling and she will therefore retire from competitive cricket'.<sup>180</sup> There are no examples of any woman cricket player affiliated to the Federation who was married. Although married women such as the YWCF president Mrs Hannah Drake and LWCF president Mrs E. K. Taylor, were involved at an organisational level. The Association committee was largely single, with only one of the twelve members married in 1932, and only four of the twenty two members in 1938.

Despite the kindness of some men's clubs, the majority of them provided access to their equipment solely for the benefit of the men's game. As a result, these teams were quick to end their support if the ladies section ceased to be profitable. This not only happened for teams affiliated to the Federation, but for those with no affiliation as well. The *Manchester Guardian* reported in 1936 that 'the Preston Women's Cricket League has decided not to play inter-town matches in the coming season as they lost money on them last year, but have left it open for their clubs to arrange such matches on their own account'.<sup>181</sup> When challenged about the perceived exploitation of working-class women by the Federation, the secretary, Mr Metcalfe, in an interview with the *Yorkshire Evening Post*

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<sup>180</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 18 May, 1934.

<sup>181</sup> *Manchester Guardian*, 24 January, 1936.

asserted, 'it has been well worthwhile. The girls get as much enjoyment as the men out of the game. What else matters'?<sup>182</sup>

#### IV. Church based teams.

Table 5.1 illustrates that a low number of women's cricket teams were organised by churches. Of the twenty-two church based teams playing in the interwar period, 81% of these were in West Yorkshire. These played in either the aforementioned Holme Valley competitions, the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League, or the Leeds and District Women's Cricket League. There were no church based teams affiliated to the Association. This is primarily due to the importance of the role of the church in working-class communities.

The work by Williams and Huggins has shown a strong correlation between churches and working-class sport.<sup>183</sup> The low number of women's church based teams is in direct contrast to the men's game. In 1935 more than 40% of the 288 men's teams from Bradford and its surroundings mentioned by the *Yorkshire Sports and Cricket Argus* were church teams.<sup>184</sup> At the lowest level of leagues in both football and cricket, church teams and even church leagues dominated the sporting scene. The proportion of women's hockey teams connected with churches was also large in the North of England. Williams in 'Churches, sport

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<sup>182</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 11 June, 1931.

<sup>183</sup> Huggins and Williams, *Sport and the English*, 153.

<sup>184</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 147.



and identities in the North, 1900-1939' has shown that in 1920, thirty-five of thirty-eight women's hockey teams in the Bolton areas were connected with churches.<sup>185</sup>

The lack of women's church teams can be attributed to a few possibilities. Firstly, that the church didn't encourage women's cricket matches. In 1867 the *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle* detailed that a match 'announced to be played at the Antelope-ground on Monday, was prohibited by the Rev. Mark Cooper, who has some control over the ground'.<sup>186</sup> Although no explanation is provided for the Reverend's reasons, it is clear that support must have existed as the article vaguely explains the match 'came off in some other place'.<sup>187</sup> However, this example remains an anomaly and although there may have been other parishes that forbid women's cricket during the interwar period, no evidence has been found to support this.

Secondly, church teams were only popular in certain parts of the country during the interwar period. Williams has asserted that there were minimal church teams in the south of the country and that the greatest concentrations of church clubs were found at the humblest levels of recreational cricket. In Lancashire, no church club between the wars played in the Lancashire League or the Central Lancashire League.<sup>188</sup> The minimal numbers of church based teams in the south of the country and the proportionally higher numbers in West Yorkshire indicate a correlation with this assertion. This is also accurate when

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<sup>185</sup> J. Williams, 'Churches, sport and identities in the North, 1900-1939', in Hill and Williams (eds.), *Sport and Identity*, 114.

<sup>186</sup> *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 28 August, 1867.

<sup>187</sup> *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 28 August, 1867.

<sup>188</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 148.

considering that church based teams formed 10% of the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League, the lowest level of women's league cricket.

Thirdly, most of the women's cricket organised by churches was for one-off events, rather than a regularly playing team. Ladies' cricket games were traditionally organised by the reverend or church committee to play at parish fêtes as a means of fundraising for the church, or local community. Following the common theme of allowing women to play cricket to benefit a male run organisation, these matches were usually organised to help restore the roof or bells of the church.<sup>189</sup> The first known example is in 1889 at St Pauls, where collections at the game went towards the restoration of the tower bells.<sup>190</sup> As stated at the beginning of this chapter, any teams of women cricketers that took part in one-off or carnival type games were categorised as not officially a women's cricket team and thus do not count in the figures.

However, this is not to diminish the many games organised between parishes as novelty events through which to raise funds. Although they didn't serve to further the concept of women's cricket as a serious game, they did provide a secondary purpose of creating a sense of acceptability of women's cricket within the community. The presence of church teams in the Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League helped to give the game a sense of respectability. Church clubs enjoyed a symbiotic relationship with local leagues. By allowing the use of church land for local teams, they integrated the church into the working-class community, keeping it a central point of social activity. When the Leeds and District

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<sup>189</sup> *Stamford Mercury*, 21 June, 1889.

<sup>190</sup> *Stamford Mercury*, 21 June, 1889.

Women's Cricket League was formed in 1934, the Church Institute offered to host meetings to elect the committee and officers, despite only one church based team, Queen Street Congregational Church, becoming affiliated.<sup>191</sup> In return, members of the team offered support to the church fund raising and community outreach activities.<sup>192</sup> For women's sport, in particular, the presence of church teams reassured the community that its local reverend saw the game as respectable, rather than inappropriate or immoral. It indicated support for the concept of women playing competitive games.

Although the information available on the low numbers of church teams is limited, it is clear that the inclusion of women's games, usually for a charitable purpose, or to benefit the church, gave respectability to the concept of women playing cricket, even if the novelty aspect of many of the games undermined the notion of competitive women's cricket. The fact that these games were organised from within the congregation meant that would-be players already knew one another and were offered support by other parishioners to make the game a success. This echoes the above section on work's teams, where women were encouraged to play in a familiar setting and given support to form teams.

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<sup>191</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 27 March, 1934.

<sup>192</sup> Williams, 'Churches, sport and identities', 125.

## V. Other types of clubs.

Table 5.1 shows that almost sixty women's cricket teams were originally other sports clubs that took up cricket as a summer game. Many of these clubs were athletic clubs, but over half were originally hockey teams. For many women's hockey clubs that played women's cricket during the summer months, the seasonal switch had several advantages. Firstly, a club structure was already in place, which ensured that women were provided with an avenue to play a different sport whilst in a familiar environment, thus easing the process. Secondly as cricket is a summer sport it had no other team game to compete with, unlike hockey and lacrosse, which were both played in the winter months and therefore directly competed with each other for players.

As table 5.1 shows twenty-one of these clubs were affiliated to the WCA. This is unsurprising given that, as discussed in chapter two, the Association was formed by members of the AEWHA and emulated the organisation in methods and structure. The *Nottingham Evening Post* referred to the WCA as 'made up largely of women who in the winter months are keen followers of hockey'.<sup>193</sup> *The Times* noted that members of the Association were 'hockey and lacrosse players who feel that golf and lawn tennis do not fill their requirements for team games in the summer'.<sup>194</sup> The *Observer* noted that several of the players have made their names in other games, and there are three present English hockey internationals in Miss Doman, Miss Pollard and Miss Anderson. Miss Straker is a member of the English lacrosse team, and Mrs Hatfield has played

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<sup>193</sup> *Nottingham Evening Post*, 17 May, 1929.

<sup>194</sup> *The Times*, 7 May, 1930.

lacrosse for England. Miss Douglas Brown has played both hockey and lacrosse for Scotland, while there are several county hockey plays in the teams.<sup>195</sup>

Miss G. Huggins, M. Bryant and Miss J. O' Donoghue were also international hockey players who toured New Zealand with the English women's touring hockey team. Miss Straker, C. Valentine and I. Green were also members of the English lacrosse team that visited America in 1934.<sup>196</sup> Given this evidence, it is likely that the number of Association affiliated cricket teams, which had origins in hockey, is probably much higher, but that evidence hasn't yet been found to prove this.

The fact that both the AEWHA and the Ladies Lacrosse Association supported women's cricket as a method of keeping active during the off season ensured that the WCA already had a support base and potential members. The *Kent and Sussex Courier* reported that 'the Hildenborough ladies hockey club have formed a cricket club, and a meeting will be held in the drill hall....for any interested'.<sup>197</sup> The *Yorkshire Evening Post* also reported 'there is a strong women's cricket club at Bardsey, which has grown out of the hockey club there'.<sup>198</sup> The *Sevenoaks Chronicle and Kentish Advertiser* reported on 'a Biggin Hill ladies cricket team, composed mainly of members of the hockey club, entertained Sydenham Old Girls'.<sup>199</sup> The Manchester & District Cricket League, which was affiliated to the Association, was an offshoot of the Manchester Sunday School Hockey League. The organisers, Mrs Mitchell and Mrs Austin took the positions of leading officers for the cricket league and nine

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<sup>195</sup> *Observer*, 5 July, 1931.

<sup>196</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1934, 6.

<sup>197</sup> *Kent & Sussex Courier*, 1 April, 1927.

<sup>198</sup> *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 16 December, 1926.

<sup>199</sup> *Sevenoaks Chronicle and Kentish Advertiser*, 9 June, 1939.

clubs, 'Albert Hall, BDC, Chorlton, CWS Printing, Golden Shred, Hope Hospital, Manchester Telephone Area, Phoenix Sports and 'one other' decided to take up cricket as a summer game'.<sup>200</sup>

As table 5.1 shows, the Association wasn't the only organisation that gained the affiliation of clubs that were originally formed for other sports. The Federation also had a number of women's cricket teams that were initially hockey teams. In 1934, when the committee of the YWCF began its successful attempt to create a Leeds and District league it contacted the hon. secretary of the Leeds Women's Hockey League, Mr R. H. Smith for his assistance. Smith responded positively stating that he believed several hockey clubs would be interesting in making a seasonal change to cricket.<sup>201</sup> He stated that 'it is through the hockey league that the cricket league is expected to be formed, with ultimate extension bringing in women's sections to the clubs attached to the Leeds cricket league'.<sup>202</sup>

## **VI. Independent clubs.**

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<sup>200</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 10, no. 2, 1939, 54.

<sup>201</sup> *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, 27 March, 1934.

<sup>202</sup> *Yorkshire Observer*, 6 April, 1934. It must be noted that with the exception of New Leeds CC, the other clubs in the hockey league were workplace in origin so are not counted in table 5.1 as 'other organisation' and are categorised as 'workplace'.

Table 5.1 shows sixty-seven clubs that were formed independently of any organisation and with the sole purpose of allowing women to enjoy playing the game. It has proved difficult to find out information about clubs that were formed for the sole enjoyment of their women players that weren't affiliated to the Association. The primary reason for this is a lack of minutes left behind, and a lack of publicity during their existence. Given that they did not advertise their games to gain gate money, as the Federation clubs did, mentions of these clubs in the press are minimal. Information has been gained from occasional advertisements for winter dances to raise funds for equipment, a society marriage, or the odd rare match report, if they agreed to play a game for charity.

It is clear that many of these unaffiliated teams were fortunate to exist in areas where there was large numbers of women playing cricket. For example during the 1926 season, St Cross Ladies CC played twenty-five games. Thus they didn't need to affiliate to an organisation in order to organise matches. Appendix XIII shows a map of all women's cricket teams that weren't affiliated to either the Federation or Association. As the map shows, Leicestershire, Derbyshire and West Yorkshire had a large number of women's cricket clubs. Fixture lists printed in newspapers show that teams regularly played each other and took part in knock-out tournaments against other local clubs. As there were plenty of other women's teams that were similarly unaffiliated, it meant teams didn't have to pay extra affiliation fees in order to play matches. Equally, it also ensured that teams weren't committed to playing large numbers of matches. Some teams had a limited pool of potential players and were reluctant to affiliate to an organisation that would fine them for not raising a side. Equally, some women didn't have the necessary leisure time to commit to

playing cricket. As discussed previously, although many middle- and working-class women had more leisure time during the interwar period, they were still involved in other activities, or had some, albeit reduced, familial responsibilities. As the Federation and Association grew in strength and the matches became more prestigious, either county or international standard, the players were expected to participate in net practice as well as other matches. Women from Bradford sometimes played multiple times a week, for their local league side, the Bradford city team and then during knock-out competitions. Many women could not commit to this amount of leisure time.

## **VII. Conclusion.**

This chapter has shown the different origins through which women's cricket clubs were formed. Schools, colleges and universities formed the backbone of the WCA. Their membership was of paramount importance to the Association as a method of encouraging girls to continue the game during adulthood. Other organisations that played cricket were also vitally important. As cricket was a summer game it escaped competition with the other prominent female sports of hockey and lacrosse and as such benefitted from AEWHA clubs that switched to cricket during the summer months. Given that the founding members of the WCA were all AEWHA members, it is unsurprising that the two organisations kept close links throughout the interwar period. Because of this close relationship between the AEWHA and WCA, it is assumed that further research into AEWHA affiliated clubs would unearth evidence of more hockey clubs that chose to play cricket as a summer game.



The history of the EWCF is representative of the complex and contrasting relationship women's league cricket experienced with men's cricket clubs. The motivation for providing women's cricket falls into two broad categories; wanting to provide women with an opportunity to play because they would enjoy it, or financial gain. Throughout the interwar period, the two enjoyed a symbiotic relationship. Most teams were formed with the sole intention of financial gain, but this didn't prevent the members from enjoying the opportunity. Similarly, in the rare cases where the teams were formed primarily for the participants, the clubs saw a rise in their finances as a result. For the majority of those involved, however, women's cricket was nothing more than an exercise in fundraising, where support would be withdrawn when it ceased to be profitable. Church based teams were also important for the Federation, although primarily as a method of gaining acceptance within the community rather than for their financial promise.

Both organisations benefitted from workplace women's cricket teams. It is evident that women enjoyed playing in workplace teams due to the large number of their existence. That there existed over 100 workplace teams that were not affiliated to either organisation is additional evidence of the fact that women, and working-class women in particular, wanted to participate in team games, when given the opportunity. It is unfortunate that minimal evidence can be found on the origin of one-quarter of existing teams, and so little is known about many of the clubs which were not affiliated to either the Association or the Federation.

## Conclusion.

This thesis has shown that from 1745 to 1939 women's cricket grew from one-off novelty events to one of the leading team games for women in the country, primarily due to the acceptance of the game within public school education. The acceptance of the rights of girls to access a higher level of education than previously provided was of paramount importance in the history of female sport. Hargreaves has argued that, 'developments in female education during the last third of nineteenth century probably did more to legitimate more active forms of sport and exercise for women than any other factor'.<sup>1</sup> The emulation of the boys' public school model in girls' independent schools ensured an inclusion of physical exercise. This was promoted by the pioneering headmistresses as a method of rebuttal against leading contemporary scientific claims such as Dr Arabella Kenealy who claimed that educated women would be sapped of their energy and incapable of bearing children.<sup>2</sup> Games were promoted as a method of preventing mental fatigue from over studying and as a means to build physical fitness, which would actually aid girls in child bearing and produce healthier offspring. The concept of physical activity for its own enjoyment was a positive externality of the aforementioned policies.

The enjoyment experienced from physical education at school meant that many middle- and upper-class women were reluctant to retire from playing games once they entered adulthood, as had previously been expected. Towards the end of the nineteenth

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<sup>1</sup> J. Hargreaves, *Sporting Females; Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sports*, Routledge, London, 1994, 56.

<sup>2</sup> P. Vertinsky, *The Eternally Wounded Woman: Women, Doctors and Exercise in the Late Nineteenth Century*, University of Illinois Press, Illinois, 1994, 21.

century women's national sporting associations began to form. The pioneering efforts of the All England Women's Hockey Association (AEWHA) and the Ladies Lacrosse Association (LLA) gave legitimacy and respect to the concept of organised women's games. The growth of both individual participation and team game organisations are indicative of a desire by upper- and middle-class women to participate in physical activities. By 1914 women had earned themselves a right to participate publicly in sports, which had been forbidden forty years earlier.

Despite the growth in the number of women's cricket clubs during the 1880s and 1890s, the concept of a women's cricket organisation was seen as premature. However, the formation and growth of two national governing bodies during the interwar period enabled thousands of women an opportunity to play the game. This thesis has provided an in-depth investigation into the formation, structure, organisation and activities of the first governing body for women's cricket, the Women's Cricket Association (WCA). By exploring this organisation, this thesis has added to existing knowledge on how women's sporting organisations were run.<sup>3</sup> By emulating the activities of the AEWHA in its formation, rules and structure, the WCA was able to quickly establish an organisation with districts and county associations to ease the spread of women's cricket. Although there hasn't been space within this discourse, when a thorough investigation of the AEWHA has been completed, it is presumed that further links between the two organisations will be evident.

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<sup>3</sup> For more information on women's sporting organisations see F. Skillen, *Women, Sport and Modernity in Interwar Britain*, P. Lang, Oxford, 2013, 53-100; J. Williams, *A Contemporary History of Women's Sport, Part One: Sporting Women, 1850-1960*, Routledge, London, 2014.

This thesis has also provided an in-depth look into the formation, structure and motivation of the English Women's Cricket Federation (EWCF). By investigating this organisation, it has added to our existing knowledge on working-class women's participation in team games. It has built on existing work such as Chinn's *They Worked all Their Lives: Women of the Urban Poor in England, 1880-1939* and Tebbutt's 'Women's talk? Gossip and 'women's words' in working-class communities, 1880-1939', of how working-class communities supported one another.<sup>4</sup> This thesis progresses our understanding of working-class women's participation in sport in a number of ways. It has reiterated Langhamer's work, *Women's Leisure in England 1920-60* that women's access to leisure was dominated by the life-cycle as the women who participated in women's cricket were primarily young and single.<sup>5</sup> It also builds upon Parratt's assertion in "*More Than Mere Amusement*", *Working-Class Women's Leisure in England, 1750-1914*, of the restrictions working class women faced when attempting to access sport and indicates that when these barriers were removed, working-class women were enthusiastic participants.<sup>6</sup> By investigating the EWCF, it has substantially added to the previous limited information on league cricket in the North of England. Building on the work done by Hill in 'League Cricket in the North and Midlands, 1900-1940' and Williams' in *Cricket and England, A Cultural and Social History of the Interwar Years*, it has shown an insight into the structure of the game and how it was

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<sup>4</sup> C. Chinn, *They Worked all Their Lives: Women of the Urban Poor in England, 1880-1939*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1988, 12-84; M. Tebbutt, 'Women's talk? Gossip and 'women's words' in working-class communities, 1880-1939', in A. Davies and S. Fielding (eds.), *Workers' Worlds, Cultures and Communities in Manchester and Salford 1880-1939*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1992, 49-73.

<sup>5</sup> C. Langhamer, *Women's Leisure in England 1920-60*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2000, 135-137.

<sup>6</sup> C. Parratt, "*More Than Mere Amusement*", *Working-Class Women's Leisure in England, 1750-1914*, Northeastern University Press, Boston, 2001, 3.

played.<sup>7</sup> It has also provided additional information about who, and how, people supported the game. By investigating women's league cricket, it has provided an insight into the men's game and highlighted the pressure that commercialised, gate money cricket caused committees, and the repercussions that financial motivation could have on a local club.

This thesis has provided an in-depth focus on one sport played by women. Women's sport tends to be written about thematic issues, with a range of sports used to emphasise a point.<sup>8</sup> The empirical data collected has provided a more focused approach on the spread of women's cricket, aimed at providing definitive assertions about the volume, type and geographical spread of the game. This approach imitates the approach taken by Collins in *Rugby League in the Twentieth Century, A Social and Cultural History* and Mason in *Association Football and English Society 1863-1915*, which has become popular in academic investigations into men's sports, but not so much into women's sports where the style remains a general overview and focus of case studies to provide evidence to an assertion.<sup>9</sup> In particular, I have concentrated on the different relationships that the Original Lady

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<sup>7</sup> J. Hill, 'League Cricket in the North and Midlands, 1900-1940', in R. Holt (ed.), *Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1990, 121-141; J. Williams, *Cricket and England, A Cultural and Social History of the Interwar Years*, Routledge, London, 1999, 27-39.

<sup>8</sup> Exceptions to this rule include A. Melling, 'Cultural Differentiation, Shared Aspiration: The Entente Cordiale of International Ladies' Football, 1920-45', in J. A. Mangan (ed.), *Sport in Europe: Politics, Class, Gender*, Frank Cass, London, 1999, 27-53; J. Williams, *A Game for Rough Girls? A history of women's football in Britain*, Routledge, London, 2003.

<sup>9</sup> T. Collins, *Rugby League in the Twentieth Century, A Social and Cultural History*, Routledge, Oxon, 2006; T. Mason, *Association Football and English Society 1863-1915*, Harvester Press, Brighton, 1980. For studies on women's sports which provide a focus on case studies and set themes, rather than a single sport see Hargreaves, *Sporting Females: Langhamer, Women's Leisure*; K. McCrone, *Sport and the Physical Emancipation of English Women, 1870-1914*, Routledge, London, 1988; Parratt, *More Than Mere Amusement: Williams, A Contemporary History of Women's Sport*.

English Cricketers, WCA and EWCF had with other women's sporting organisations, the local community, their male counterparts and the press. By focusing on the organisation as a whole, rather than the individual's experience, it has provided a greater overview of the wider social implications of women's cricket, rather than on select characters, which previous studies on women's sport tend to provide. The approach was used to investigate three key questions raised in the introduction; how many women played cricket? Did working-class women have an opportunity to play cricket? To what degree was women's cricket separate from the men's organisation? As such, I have made six key assertions throughout the text; more women played cricket than has been previously thought; physical activities for women only gained acceptance if they were seen as feminine; the existence and progression of women's cricket was almost completely reliant on men for support and access to grounds, coaching, umpiring and positive press; team games were popular amongst women from all class backgrounds; women from working-class backgrounds were subject to restrictions from both men of all classes, and women of a higher class, finally that location played an important role in opportunities for participation in team games, particularly for working-class women.

This thesis has proved that competitive women's cricket clubs were formed much earlier than previously believed. Heyhoe Flint and Rheinberg have detailed that the first known women's cricket club was the White Heather Club formed in Yorkshire in 1887.<sup>10</sup> However, research into the activities of women cricketers in the 1880s has unearthed evidence of the Farnham Female Cricket Club formed in 1864, as well as several women's

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<sup>10</sup> R. Heyhoe Flint and N. Rheinberg, *Fair Play; The Story of Women's Cricket*, Angus & Robertson, Buckinghamshire, 1976,

cricket clubs formed during the 1880s prior to the White Heather Club, as detailed in appendix I. It has also shown there was a much greater number of women playing cricket than had been previously thought. Research for this study has shown that there were almost 900 women's cricket teams that existed between the interwar years. Whilst acknowledging that some teams only lasted one season, the turn-over of players within established clubs and taking into account the probability that there may be many other women's cricket teams that have not been accounted for in my research, this number provides a stark contrast to both Williams' statement that 'the number of women playing regularly never exceeded 5,000'<sup>11</sup> and Holt's assertion that 'women's cricket or football teams. They were laughed at, scoffed out of existence'.<sup>12</sup>

This thesis also expands on Skillen's *Women, Sport and Modernity in Interwar Britain* by further exploring the different ways that women were introduced to the game, with particular attention given to the schools and colleges for middle-class women, and workplaces for working-class women.<sup>13</sup> Whilst it is not the case that all, or even a majority of women wanted to play cricket, it is apparent that a significant proportion of the female population was interested, if not in cricket, then other team games.

It is interesting to note that contemporary sources also seem to have underestimated the popularity of women's cricket. In 1934, *The Listener* claimed,

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<sup>11</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 94.

<sup>12</sup> R. Holt, *Sport and the British; A Modern History*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1989, 128.

<sup>13</sup> Skillen, *Women, Sport and Modernity*.

if the individual genius of a Suzanne Lenglen or a Joyce Wethered has, since the War done much to establish women's tennis and golf as serious sporting activities (in the sense that women's cricket has perhaps not), the achievements of the competitions at the fourth Women's World Games just completed at the White City has probably done the same for athletics.<sup>14</sup>

Reiterating this assertion, table C.1 shows a list of popular organisations and sports and the number of clubs or people that played them provided by the National Fitness Council Review in 1939.<sup>15</sup> The table indicates that women's cricket was one of the least popular sports.

Organisation / Sport	Clubs/ People who played
Swimming	1,000,000 people
Women's League of Health and Beauty	300,000 people

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<sup>14</sup> *The Listener*, 22 August, 1934.

<sup>15</sup> As the data includes both genders it is assumed that all figures provide a total of men and women playing the sport unless specified in the title e.g. women's cricket. However, this may be incorrect in the cases of netball and rugby union, which were predominantly single-sex games.



Athletics	300,000 people
Netball	160,000 people
Cycling	100,000 people
Physical Training Classes	60,000 people
Youth Hostels Association of walkers & cyclists	30,000 people
Amateur Gymnastics Association	7,000 people
Women's Cricket	6,000 people
Football Association	43,000 clubs
Rugby Union	1,000 clubs
Hockey	3,000 clubs

Table C.1. A list of popular organisations and sports and the number of people, or clubs, that participated in them in 1939.

Source: The National Fitness Council Review of the progress of the National Fitness Campaign, reprinted in the *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*.

As this thesis has shown evidence of almost 900 teams, it disputes the accuracy of the figure shown in table C.1. The assumed reason for this inaccuracy is that the National Fitness Council Review of the progress of the National Fitness Campaign was probably referring solely to women affiliated to the WCA, and not incorporating those affiliated to the EWCF, or independent clubs. This opens up further questions about whether the popularity of other women's sports have been underestimated because they weren't affiliated to the main governing body.

This thesis has emphasised the social issues middle- and upper-class women faced when attempting to engage in team games as an adult, and the continuation of social worries about their defeminising influence. It has shown that the WCA and other middle- and upper-class organisations were keen to emphasise that their sport would imbue

feminine ideals into participants. Building on MacDonald's *Strong, Beautiful and Modern: National Fitness in Britain, New Zealand, Australia and Canada, 1935-1960*, and Zweiniger-Bargielowska's 'The Making of a Modern Female Body: beauty, health and fitness in interwar Britain', it has demonstrated how governmental concerns about the fitness of the population led to a promotion of team games, as well as activities such as the League of Health and Beauty.<sup>16</sup> During the interwar period there was a sudden emphasis by the government that both men and women should be encouraged to become physically fit. At the same time, to reinforce this issue, women's magazines began to extol a very slim figure as being the ideal woman's body. The new fashions reflected and reinforced the concept of a tubular shaped woman. Zweiniger-Bargielowska argues that 'women now had a right and duty to cultivate beauty, which required effort and self-control with regard to diet and exercise'.<sup>17</sup> The League of Health and Beauty in particular appealed to women who wanted to exercise in order to be slim, Matthews asserts that that the motivation for many women for joining the League of Health and Beauty, 'whether the goal was healthy baby, boyfriend, or husband, the League's purpose was clearly presented by its leaders and welcomed by its members as better fitting women for their place-beside men as wives and mothers'.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> C. MacDonald, *Strong, Beautiful and Modern: National Fitness in Britain, New Zealand, Australia and Canada, 1935-1960*, UBC Press, Vancouver, 2013, 29-72; I. Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'The Making of a Modern Female Body: beauty, health and fitness in interwar Britain', *Women's History Review*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2011, 299-317.

<sup>17</sup> Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'The Making of a Modern Female Body', 313.

<sup>18</sup> J. J. Matthews, 'They had Such a Lot of Fun: The Women's League of Health and Beauty Between the Wars', *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 30, no. 1, 1990, 28.

The new ideal of the female body gave permission for women to become active in order to achieve it.<sup>19</sup> Barker-Ruchti, Grahn and Annerstedt, have argued that this new ideal, broke away from previous models of passivity and instead became characteristic by autonomy and self-management. While it had previously been external factors that had shaped women's bodies (e.g. clothing, in particular the corset, and also medical advice), the newly emerged ideal asked women to take an active role in the shaping of their selves....those who could achieve this shape were seen as being modern and successful.<sup>20</sup>

Muller argues that it is difficult to assess 'whether women taking part in sport is about freedom or because sport is increasingly implicated in the social construction of womanhood'.<sup>21</sup> Thus unlike the pioneering women at the end of the nineteenth century who had taken up physical exercise against the recommendations of doctors and societal pressures, the women of the interwar period who were physically active were actually behaving in a manner, not only supported, but promoted, by society. MacNeil has argued that 'women move back into position of inferiority by....participating in aerobics less for reasons of fitness and personal freedom and more for reasons that reaffirm the patriarchal notions of femininity i.e. to lose weight, to improve sex appeal'.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> N. Barker-Ruchti, K. Grahn and C. Annerstedt, 'Moving towards Inclusion: An Analysis of Photographs from the 1926 Women's Games in Gothenberg', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 30, no. 8, 2013, 886.

<sup>20</sup> Barker-Ruchti, Grahn and Annerstedt, 'Moving towards Inclusion', 886.

<sup>21</sup> A. Muller, 'Women in Sport and Society', in J. Riordan and A. Kruger (eds.), *The International Politics of Sport in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, Taylor & Francis, London, 1999, 124.

<sup>22</sup> M. MacNeill, 'Active Women, Media Representations, and Ideology', in S. Birrell and C. Cole (eds.), *Women, Sport, and Culture*, Human Kinetics, Leeds, 1994, 282.

This concept is reinforced by the fact that despite the promotion of healthy bodies for women through encouragement to take part in rambling, hiking, cycling and swimming, the validity of team games as a fitness activity was still widely debated. There remained an undercurrent of reluctance by some to the dangers of women engaging in sport. A letter printed in the *Hartlepool Mail* by an anonymous contributor stated the naivety in their viewpoint, 'parents believe....too dangerous for cricket. But the same parents will cheerfully pay the bills for their daughter's dancing and deportment classes when the mere fact of bowling or leaping to catch a ball will have the same result with the additional benefit of being in the open air'.<sup>23</sup> In part this fear was a continuation of the popular biological arguments that gained credence in the nineteenth century and created a genuine concern for the future of the British race.

Zweiniger-Bargielowska has described how Dr Leonard Hill, Director of the Department of Applied Physiology at the National Institute of Medical Research, was a

whole-hearted opponent of any competitive games for women because they tended to make women 'aggressive' ....that 'ultra-athleticism' might 'seriously compromise' young women's 'prospect of maternity' and that 'violent exercises', 'athletic contests' and 'combative games' could potentially turn a 'good wife and mother into a homosexual creature despised of men and scorned of women'.<sup>24</sup>

Lecturing under the auspices of the National Society of Day Nurseries, he was quoted in the *Daily Mail* in the autumn of 1925:

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<sup>23</sup> *Hartlepool Mail*, 29 February, 1932.

<sup>24</sup> Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'The Making of a Modern Female Body', 307-308.

It is the fashion at the moment to teach, or even compel girls to play games which originally were invented for big boys and young men. In teaching and making girls play these games you develop the combative instinct and the combative muscles. In this way you are raising a race of giantesses, who are going to have the combative disposition. Another effect of this ultra-athleticism among girls of today, is to produce a creature who has the male, rather than the female characteristics.<sup>25</sup>

These comments aimed to scare women into the possibility of them 'defeminising' themselves at a time when the demographic imbalance between the sexes, arising from heavy emigration of men in the late nineteenth century and male war casualties during the First World War, caused hypersensitivity to the notion of never getting married.<sup>26</sup>

These prominent worries by some social commentators about the perceived masculinisation of women who played team games, give credence to Williams' assertion that 'the increase in cricket playing among women can be seen as an expression of women's emancipation because it indicated that women were choosing for themselves how they should use their bodies'.<sup>27</sup> However, this notion is contradicted by the experience of women's football during the interwar period. Football was seen as too rough and dangerous for women to play; it would lead to injury and/or the defeminising of the participant. Dick, Kerr's Ladies, which played over thirty domestic and international matches against Scotland and France, sparked an interest in women's football during the First World War and for a

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<sup>25</sup> *Daily Mail* reprinted in N. Tomkins and P. Ward, *The Century Makers, A History of the All England Women's Hockey Association 1895-1995*, All England Women's Hockey Association, Shrewsbury, 1995, 94.

<sup>26</sup> P. Summerfield, *Women Workers in the Second World War: Production and Patriarchy in Conflict*, Routledge, London, 1989, 13.

<sup>27</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 98.

few years afterwards. Its matches, which raised money for charitable causes, were watched by thousands of spectators. By 1921 there were over 150 women's football clubs in Britain and an English Ladies Association was formed.<sup>28</sup> However, in December that year, the English FA prohibited its affiliated clubs from loaning their grounds for the purpose of women's football matches stating, 'the game of football is quite unsuitable for females and ought not to be encouraged'.<sup>29</sup>

I have also explored how the rejection of women's football by many within society, actually aided the acceptance of women's cricket by some men as a 'safer' alternative. The experience of women's football during the interwar period reinforces that women's physical activity was controlled by what Muller refers to as, 'an ideological system of gender roles and values that dictate what a woman can and cannot do with her physicality'.<sup>30</sup> Certain sports were perceived as more compatible with middle class ideals of femininity than others. Treagus in 'Playing Like Ladies: Basketball, Netball and Feminine Restraint' has argued that 'netball embodied one of the key attributes of the dominant mode of femininity of the time: restraint....she must learn a series of disciplined moves....the discipline and restraint required of the netball player reflects the strain required of feminine girls and women through much of the twentieth century'.<sup>31</sup> Games such as lacrosse and hockey also gained grudging acceptance. Tranter has argued that sport remained predominantly male and that the limited acceptance of women's sport was 'only because they had chosen, or

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<sup>28</sup> D. Birley, *Playing the Game: Sport and British Society 1910-45*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1995, 4.

<sup>29</sup> M. Taylor, *The Association Game, A History of British Football*, Pearson Education, Harlow, 2008, 135.

<sup>30</sup> Muller, 'Women in Sport and Society', 122.

<sup>31</sup> M. Treagus, 'Playing Like Ladies: Basketball, Netball and Feminine Restraint', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 22, no. 1, 2005, 102.

been permitted to choose, sports which neither allowed equal competition with men nor conflicted too dramatically with the traditional view of women as docile, fragile and subordinate'.<sup>32</sup>

Women's cricket never faced as severe a backlash as women's football. However, the Association was particularly careful to continuously justify its existence as a means through which to achieve the desired improvement of fitness promoted by the government. In an article in the *Observer*, Marjorie Pollard, the Association's press representative, promoted team games above the activities of the League of Health and Beauty stating, 'two thousand people in an arena, dressed in shorts and singlet's doing physical exercises to the instructions of a loud-speaker does not mean that those 2,000 are either fit or capable or happy....team games-and more team games- and physical perfection will follow'.<sup>33</sup> In 1939 when the Medical Committee of the National Fitness Council appointed a subcommittee to investigate 'the possible ill-effect of violent exercise' and 'highly competitive' sports on girls and women 'from the physical, the nervous and the psychological view-points'. Miss K. Doman, founding member of the Association, and games mistress at Roedean school, defended the "'feminine" appearance and temperament' of the 'athletic girl', whose fertility was not affected in any way by playing sports'.<sup>34</sup>

This can be seen as a contradiction to William's aforementioned assertion that 'women were choosing for themselves how they should use their bodies', as by striving to

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<sup>32</sup> N. Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain 1750-1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998, 91.

<sup>33</sup> *Observer*, 15 August, 1937.

<sup>34</sup> Zweiniger-Bargielowska, 'The Making of a Modern Female Body', 309.

reaffirm their femininity, the Association supported paternalistic assumptions about the 'type' of women who played sport and placated those who viewed women's ultimate purpose to produce children.<sup>35</sup> The Association was not the only organisation to follow this tactic. Alice Milliat, the pioneer of women's athletics, spoke on similar themes whilst promoting the need for the creation of the Fédération des Sociétés Féminines Sportives de France (FSFSF), stating 'we need strong women able to give France healthy, strong and numerous children....our goal is not to change women into phenomena who are capable of breaking records, trying to match male performance'.<sup>36</sup>

The emphasis that the Association placed on appropriate attire served to reinforce the notion that a woman's appearance was of equal importance to her ability. The 'clothing problem' was a continuous issue throughout the interwar period, with the Association committee emphasising the importance of its members' appearance in the continuation of the organisation. Jamain-Samson in 'Sportswear during the Interwar Years: A Testimony to the Modernisation of French Sport' refers to the concept that,

simply by wearing sportswear, women were unintentionally exhibiting their muscles and physical strength while, at the same time, casting off their supposed weaknesses and defying pre-established aesthetics; they were attacking the very thing, among all others, which seemed most important in the identification of a woman, her physical appearance.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 98.

<sup>36</sup> T. Terret, 'From Alice Milliat to Marie-Thérèse Eyquem: Revisiting Women's Sport in France (1920s-1960s)', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 27, no. 7, 2010, 1165.

<sup>37</sup> S. Jamaine-Samson, 'Sportswear during the Interwar Years: A Testimony to the Modernisation of French Sport', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 28, no. 14, 2011, 1952.



The Association's insistence that all players should wear white stockings and below knee length skirts ensured that the only part of a woman's body that was visible were her arms, thus preventing the appearance of leg muscles. In doing so, the Association was deliberately ensuring its members promoted as feminine appearance as possible to prevent additional concerns on masculinisation of team games on women.

The Association was also careful to always portray its cricket as a method of imbuing desirable female physical traits and improving the femininity of the participant. In *Women's Cricket* in 1930, an article insisted that cricket helped women gain feminine values of non-aggression, non-competitiveness and gracefulness.<sup>38</sup> In 1937, Pollard writing in the *Observer* remarked, 'we have been shown that women can bowl easily, gracefully, and even beautifully'.<sup>39</sup> MacDonald has argued that sporting associations and popular exponents differentiated women's exercise for grace and skill, from men's fitness for strength and stamina'.<sup>40</sup>

By emphasising the grace and beauty of women's cricket, the WCA continuously asserted that its game was a different game to men's cricket. In a chapter on women's cricket included in D. M. Lyons' instructional book, *Cricket: How to Succeed*, Pollard noted with apparent pride, [the players] 'recognised our limitations. No one tried to bowl terribly fast; no one tried to lift the ball out of the ground. We realised that we could play cricket but it would have to be a cricket of our own. We did not want to play like men; we wanted

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<sup>38</sup> *Women's Cricket*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1930, 3.

<sup>39</sup> *Observer*, 8 August, 1937.

<sup>40</sup> MacDonald, *Strong, Beautiful and Modern*, 5.

to play women's cricket- and we have kept to that severely'.<sup>41</sup> By removing the competitive characteristics of sport, the Association feminised the game in order to make it more appropriate. This prevented concerns that women were invading a game promoted as the finest example of British manliness and true sporting behaviour by insisting that the two games were different. It is worth reiterating, however, that the women's game was not actually different in form, structure or organisation as it rigidly followed the MCC rules of cricket. This method of insisting on the separation of the sport for men and women was also used by the aforementioned women's athletic organisation FSFSF. Carpentier and Lefèvre in 'The Modern Olympic Movement, Women's Sport and the Social Order during the Interwar Period' state, 'it was not a question of 'doing the same as' but rather of taking a model that worked and adapting and improving it for the specification of women'.<sup>42</sup>

However, the separation of sport by gender leads to the women's performance being trivialised as substandard to the 'real' sport. It indicates women partake in a different, yet inferior, version of the game. The Association's continuous insistence that the two games were different, actually served to reiterate the idea that it was natural for the two sexes to inhabit separate spheres and that the women's was of secondary importance. By stating that it was playing 'women's cricket' the Association implied the game was lesser to men's cricket. This was emphasised by the WCA continuously portraying an imaginary barrier of ability that players were incapable of bypassing, and additionally praising them for the recognition of their own weakness. The Association was also careful to refer to its players as

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<sup>41</sup> M. Pollard, 'Women's Cricket', in D. R. Jardine, *Cricket; How to Succeed*, Evans Brothers, London, 1934, 30.

<sup>42</sup> F. Carpentier and J. Lefèvre, 'The Modern Olympic Movement, Women's Sport and the Social Order during the Interwar Period', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 23, no. 7, 2006, 1117.

substandard to their male counterparts, incapable of reaching their abilities, 'the fact that women cannot reach the same standard as men neither lessens their enjoyment nor seems to them a good reason for ceasing to play'.<sup>43</sup> Lady Stockton, president of the North district of the WCA stated, 'we are not apeing men, and we know that we shall never be able to reach their standard. We are playing cricket because we like it and because we want to keep on with something that we learned at school. But we know we shall never produce a woman Bradman and there is no idea of competing with men'.<sup>44</sup>

This concept reinforces male dominance within the sporting arena, and patronises women's sport as play. Cox in 'The Rise and Fall of 'The Girl Footballer' in New Zealand during 1921', has asserted 'that any modification to the sport reinforced the concept that the game women played was not the real one'. She argues that, 'her sporting performance was always measured against men's...which ensured the reinforcement of being labelled the 'weaker' or 'gentler' sex'.<sup>45</sup> However, Hargreaves in *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain* notes that 'separate organisations have positive attributes as they give women access to masculinised sports, create wider definitions of sporting femininity and provide women with opportunities to administer and control their own activities'.<sup>46</sup> He argues that 'by establishing their own sports organisations rather than demanding a larger role in those controlled by men, women sport players were

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<sup>43</sup> *Observer*, 12 July, 1931.

<sup>44</sup> *Lancashire Evening Post*, 1 February, 1933.

<sup>45</sup> B. Cox, 'The Rise and Fall of 'The Girl Footballer' in New Zealand during 1921', *International Journal of the History of Sport*, vol. 29, no. 3, 2012, 457.

<sup>46</sup> J. Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain*, Palgrave, London, 1986, 73.

acting very much in keeping with the spirit of the new feminism' during the interwar period'.<sup>47</sup> He continues that by separating the male and female games that this 'gave bourgeois women the autonomy to demonstrate achievement in this sphere without being inhibited by invidious comparisons with, or running the risk or being ridiculed by men while leaving the male sports sphere intact as a male preserve'.<sup>48</sup> Barker-Ruchti, Grahn and Annerstedt, also argue that by removing the 'yardstick' of men's performances, it prevents the judgement, evaluation and critique against which a women's organisation will always be subject to.<sup>49</sup>

Building on Hargreaves assertions, it could thus be argued that by insisting that the men's and women's games were separate, the Association aimed to prevent the devaluation of the women's game. Matches between the Association and men's teams were strictly prohibited, '[the Association] steadily discourages any attempt to introduce a spirit of sex-competition or any pretension that women can emulate men at cricket....it will resist all attempts to make cricket and the women who play it ridiculous by comparison or competition with men'.<sup>50</sup> And, 'we do not want, wish, or hanker after games of cricket with men. That suggests that we are adverse to men. It is sound and sane to realise from the start that men and women cannot play team games together or against each other. Mixed hockey was a farce and a failure, and mixed cricket would, I am sure, be as dismal a waste of time'.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, 73.

<sup>48</sup> Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, 73.

<sup>49</sup> Barker-Ruchti, Grahn and Annerstedt, 'Moving towards Inclusion', 887.

<sup>50</sup> *Observer*, 17 May, 1931.

<sup>51</sup> M. Pollard, *Cricket for Women and Girls*, Pollard Publications, London, 1934, 17.

Williams has argued that under Hargreaves' aforementioned criteria of the positive attributes provided by separate organisations that the Association can be seen as an example of this separatist sports feminism.<sup>52</sup> However, this thesis contradicts this assertion by proving that women's cricket was completely reliant on men for both its existence and progression. Despite claims that it controlled its own activities, in reality, the lack of ownership of grounds meant that it remained controlled by the generosity, or otherwise, of men. In an anonymous letter to *The Times* in 1927, this point was reiterated, 'we count on the keen cricketers among our men friends to help and support us. Our chief need is the loan of grounds'.<sup>53</sup> It was primarily this issue that prevented the Association from being a fully independent organisation, completely separate from its male counterparts, like the AEWHA was from the men's Hockey Association. As a result, the WCA was predominantly deferential in its relationship with men. It was constantly fearful that if any member of the Association engaged in inappropriate behaviour it would offend those men who generously lent them their grounds. This is a clear indication of the pressure middle- and upper-class women were under to adhere to societal dictated acceptable behaviour. Pollard, in the minutes of the *1937 Year Book* declared that women cricketers had to display 'dignity, circumspection, caution and submission to public opinion'.<sup>54</sup> When the Lancashire Women's County Cricket Association was formed, the role of president was given to Lady Stockton who the *Lancashire Evening Post* reported was, 'the wife of Sir Edwin Stockton, vice-president of the Lancashire County Cricket Association. Sir Edwin wrote a letter to the

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<sup>52</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 99.

<sup>53</sup> *The Times*, 23 April, 1927.

<sup>54</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1937 Year Book*, 1937, 9.

formation meeting last night, "She knows cricket thoroughly, and is recognised by her cricketing friends as a first-class judge of the game"<sup>55</sup>. Thus she was given the role because of the position of her husband. Eager not to offend those who generously supported women's cricket, either publicly, financially or through the loaning of grounds and equipment, the Association was keen to adhere deferentially to their requests.

The relationship between the Association and its male counterparts was a reflection of the wider societal relationship between upper- and middle-class men and women. Women were given an opportunity to embrace new areas of education, employment and recreation, but only at the behest of the men. Although participation in male dominated sports was made easier if men supported it, this led to women having to play on male-defined terms. The insistence by both sides that the cricket they played were different allowed the male sports sphere, and the privileges associated, to remain intact as a male preserve.<sup>56</sup> Carperntier and Lefèvre discuss that a similar viewpoint was taken within the Olympic Committee; 'women athletes were welcome, but only on the condition that the men remain dominant and that the women respect the existing social order'.<sup>57</sup> As men controlled the grounds that women needed access to, it provided a supplementary means for men to control women's sport by the withholding or granting of subsidies.<sup>58</sup> Despite this overriding control by its male counterparts, the promotion of the Association as an independent female organisation, like the AEWHA, through Pollard's presence in newspapers created the illusion that it was an organisation run solely by women, for women.

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<sup>55</sup> *Lancashire Evening Post*, 1 February, 1933.

<sup>56</sup> Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, 73.

<sup>57</sup> Carperntier and Lefèvre, 'The Modern Olympic Movement', 1122.

<sup>58</sup> Carperntier and Lefèvre, 'The Modern Olympic Movement', 1117.

In complete contrast, the EWCF advertised that its organisation was completely reliant on men. This thesis has built upon Williams' chapter, 'Cricket and Gender' in *Cricket and England*, which provides the only previous mention of the organisation.<sup>59</sup> By examining the motivation, structure, and membership of both the players and committee, it has provided an insight into the close relationships women's sport could foster within the working-class community. Not only were working-class women faced with the same restrictions that also affected upper class women; the threat of defeminisation, the fact that men controlled access to grounds, scientific and societal concerns, but they also suffered from the barriers facing their class; lack of money, lack of time and minimal access to grounds. They faced discrimination not only from male commentators, who sought to protect their own sphere of sport and were reluctant to provide women with access, preferring them to retain their position as facilitators to men's leisure, but from their socially superior sisters who were reluctant to offer support to help working-class women gain the same, albeit, minimal access to sport, fearing it would lead to cross-class socialisation.

It is important to note that the relationship between the WCA and the EWCF is not to be seen as a struggle for control of the women's game between genders, but between what different social classes believed was an acceptable way for women to behave. This thesis has reiterated and built upon previous assertions by Hargreaves that women's sport during the interwar period remained separated on class lines.<sup>60</sup> The WCA committee, which

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<sup>59</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 92–113.

<sup>60</sup> Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, 118–125.

embraced the concept of promoting a feminine image, contrasted greatly with the encouragement of competitive behaviour by the EWCF.

Williams' asserts that 'although the WCA and Federation cricket can be seen as evidence for the existence of class division between women, it is not clear whether these different forms of cricket organisation deepened class divisions among them. How the two bodies regarded each other is not wholly clear'.<sup>61</sup> However, I argue that, in contradiction to this statement, the Association deliberately agreed to the creation of county associations in order to spread their influence, and counter the progression of the Federation in Yorkshire and Lancashire. The motivation of the majority of the male members of the Federation was to benefit men's cricket through increased membership and gate money. However, when accepting that Association cricket was also, in reality, controlled by men it provides a clear indication that what the Association wanted was the image of control across all women's cricket.

The efforts of the Association to deliberately attempt to attract women of the working class was motivated firstly by a desire to prevent the Federation from spreading its influence in the North of England, and secondly in order to benefit the organisation through financial benefits. Encouraged by the government through the formation of the Women's Team Games Board, women's sporting organisations began to claim the rights to grants to support their expansion through access to grounds, equipment and coaching. However, in order to receive the grants, part of the criteria was that sporting organisations must include provisions for working-class women. The increased interest in working-class women

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<sup>61</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, 101.



following the creation of the Women's Team Games Board is further evidence that the Association was only interested in helping working-class women when it benefitted the progression of the organisation, rather than provide the game for all women.

Research into the activities of the EWCF has shown that there were a much higher number of working-class women engaging in sport when provided with the opportunity to do so. Whilst acknowledging the difficulties of finding detailed information about the individual players, the evidence surrounding the activities of the Federation in West Yorkshire and Lancashire is indicative of the large number of working-class women who would engage in the sport if they were given the opportunity. The absence of working-class women in women's cricket, outside of work teams, throughout the rest of the country can be perhaps assigned to a lack of opportunity. Using local newspapers, it is evident that working-class women who had disposable income were engaging in hitherto unexplored sports in league form, such as hockey, bowls, tennis and cricket. Little academic research has taken place on the engagement by working-class women with individual and team games, and the support the local press, and wider community appears to have given. The evidence in this thesis surrounding the support of local newspapers such as the *Burnley Express*, *Lancashire Evening News*, *Portsmouth Evening News*, *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*, *Yorkshire Evening Post* and *Yorkshire Observer* contrasts with Hill's assertion in *Sport, Leisure & Culture in Twentieth Century Britain* that 'there was no sense in which the popular newspaper press felt that it had any obligation to inform and educate its younger female readers....about the possibilities open to them in sport. If readers wanted to know about women's cricket for example, they would usually need to consult a specialist publication like

*Women's Cricket*'.<sup>62</sup> The importance of the role of the press detailed throughout this text opens questions as to whether women's sport was actually covered in greater detail than previously thought.

By examining the relationship between the WCA and EWCF, this thesis has opened up a number of questions about the participation of working-class women in team games. Firstly, it raises questions about the wider concept of perceptions of femininity across classes and appropriate behaviour. The presence of thousands of spectators at Federation women's cricket matches, and the insistence by the Federation committee and its players that women could play the same fast paced game as men, meant that these working-class women were not subject to the same level of scrutiny about how the game impacted on their femininity. The fact that its cricket was played in limited overs, in league form, with trophies and cups to aim for, encouraged an atmosphere of competitiveness that was appealing and applauded by its male counterparts.

Secondly, it opens up questions as to what degree middle- and upper-class women were reluctant to offer opportunities for working-class women to participate within other sports. This thesis has provided evidence that this concept was not isolated to women's cricket. The AEWHA were similarly opposed to including working-class women, due to fears of cross-class socialisation until the popularity of the game amongst working-class women became a potential threat to the control of the game by the AEWHA.

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<sup>62</sup> J. Hill, *Sport, Leisure & Culture in Twentieth Century Britain*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2002, 45.

Thirdly, the exploitation of working-class women by their male counterparts within the Federation raises questions as to whether women's access to other sports was similarly motivated. Working-class women's hockey in Leeds was run by men to benefit the men's hockey league, and this may be the case across other women's sports, particularly within working-class communities. Women's football was also encouraged following the First World War as a method of raising money for charity. However, once it became clear that the popularity of the game was growing, the men's organisation prevented its continuation by banning the game. It is clear that when men and upper-class women encouraged access to cricket for working-class women it was on their terms and that this continued only whilst the organisers continued to reap the perceived benefits.

Fourthly, it raises questions as to the importance of geography in relation to access to sport. It is clear that there was a North/South divide across England for those women affiliated to the WCA. In 1932 the *Hartlepool Mail* stated 'the flaw in the Women's Cricket Association is that so many of its activities are confined to the south. This is only to be expected, as its originators and chief workers live and have their being in the kindlier climate than we who live on the North East Coast. But cricket for women in the North is taking hold'.<sup>63</sup> Appendix VII shows that the exception to this assertion was Lancashire, which attracted almost as many teams as counties within the South East of England. For those women who were affiliated to either the EWCF, or independent clubs, appendices XII and XIII show that there isn't a geographical divide. Instead there are certain locations which clearly encouraged women's cricket more than others. Appendices XII and XIII show that strongholds such as Portsmouth and Nottingham had comparatively more women's cricket

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<sup>63</sup> *Hartlepool Mail*, 29 February, 1932.

teams than other areas such as Berkshire or Oxfordshire. The large number of women's cricket teams in Lancashire and Yorkshire reflect the traditional importance of cricket in these working-class communities and indicates an acceptance by the community for women to engage in the same game. This thesis raises the question of how many women would have participated in women's cricket had they lived in a location that was as supportive as Yorkshire, Lancashire or Nottingham. It also questions which other sports may have been promoted for working-class women in specific locations. Langhamer has shown that in Liverpool and Bolton, rounders experienced a great deal of popularity from working-class women primarily because there was an organisation to attract them.<sup>64</sup> Further research using local papers could potentially provide evidence of greater numbers of working-class women participating in team games.

Finally, it is worth reiterating that this thesis has shown that the provision of cricket for women of the working-classes was mostly organised to benefit others. This exploitation was motivated by several sources. Firstly, some men looked to directly benefit men's clubs through gate money and increase membership. Secondly, women of the WCA sought financial remunerations for including working-class women via government grants. Thirdly, the government sought to ensure working-class women would be physically able to engage in both manual labour and child bearing, if necessary, in the heightened international tensions of the 1930s. Finally, workplaces wanted a healthy, productive, loyal workforce. This raises questions, not only as to whether there is any evidence of working-class women organising any sport solely for their own enjoyment, but also how important the motivation is. Given the restrictions on many working-class women's lives it is probable that they felt as

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<sup>64</sup> Langhamer, *Women's Leisure*, 82.

equally liberated at being able to participate in team games, as members of the WCA, regardless of the circumstances.

It is worth briefly noting the effect the Second World War had on the progression of women's cricket. The outbreak of war in September 1939 led to the cancellation of the Association's 1939/40 tour to Australia. In 1940 the Association committee attempted to gauge how many county associations and clubs were still playing cricket, and an address list was printed. This, however, soon became obsolete as many of these had to disband. By 1941, women's cricket teams were only playing in charity, fundraising, or morale boosting games. Over £300 was raised by Association teams for the Red Cross.<sup>65</sup> During 1940 and 1941 there were attempts to keep the Association running, however no official matches were played until 1945. The Association successfully reformed six months after the War when the WCA hosted its first 'cricket week' for over six years. Enthusiastically attended by the stalwarts of the Association, the organisation began to rebuild.

The invitation to tour Australia and New Zealand in 1947-48 stimulated interest in the organisation with the reforming of old clubs and the creation of new ones. The international relationships formed in the 1930s helped foster growth and interest in the game throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Tours between Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain were organised approximately every four years which served as a means of publicising the Association and generating income to aid grassroots development. An International Women's Cricket Council was formally established in 1958 consisting of five countries, Australia, England, Holland, New Zealand and South Africa. Following initial attempts to

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<sup>65</sup> Women's Cricket Association, *1939-45 Year Book*, 1945, 7.

engage in international competition by South Africa in 1933, as discussed in chapter three, this was finally achieved with the first organised tour in 1960.

The prominence of the international tours also supported the friendly relations between the MCC and WCA. In 1951, permission was given for the Australian tourists to use the practice nets at Lords and Yorkshire, Lancashire, Worcester and Surrey continued to lend their grounds for the events. When *Women's Cricket* ceased publication in 1967 *The Cricketer* guaranteed regular coverage of women's cricket to support the development of the women's game. However, although the game was played and watched by greater numbers of girls and women than before the Second World War, it never again had the same appeal for working-class women within Britain.

The Federation didn't fare as well as the Association. Already vastly weakened following the financial troubles of many of its affiliated clubs and the impact of the Australian tour of 1937, the *Burnley Express* reported in 1940, 'the outbreak of war last September brought Federation matches to a stop before fixtures could be completed, and it is not yet known whether the competition will be resumed this year'.<sup>66</sup> In 1946 the *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer* reported that, 'the Yorkshire Section of the Women's Cricket Federation state that at their recent meeting in Bradford, clubs from Bradford, Brighouse, Dewsbury and Sheffield were represented, and it was decided not to form a league in Yorkshire this season'.<sup>67</sup> No further information on the Federation has suggested any formal

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<sup>66</sup> *Burnley Express*, 30 March, 1940.

<sup>67</sup> *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 17 April, 1946.

activities after the Second World War, although some clubs, such as Burnley CC continued to have a ladies section and host friendly matches.<sup>68</sup>

As this thesis demonstrates, women's sport is both more widespread and more complex than current academic research allows. It is clear that greater numbers of women, from different class backgrounds, actively sought to participate in women's cricket. Further studies into opportunities for working-class women to engage in other team games could provide historians with a broader understanding of their leisure activities and experiences. This could aid the development of women's sports history to encompass more varied experiences across all classes, rather than the sporting activities of women from the upper- and middle- classes, which has attracted the most academic attention thus far.

## Appendices.

### APPENDIX I.

All known women's cricket clubs and women's cricket teams during the 1880s.<sup>69</sup>

Name	Location	Earliest Reference	Type
Stone LCC	Buckinghamshire	1883	Cricket Club

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<sup>68</sup> *Burnley Express*, 30 March, 1940.

<sup>69</sup> Using local newspapers and the British Newspaper Archive any team of women cricketers have only been categorised as a 'club' if it was specifically stated in the article that they were a club or contained the abbreviation WCC or LCC after their name. Other teams of women cricketers have only been categorised as a 'team' if there was more than one reference to them playing in a competitive cricket game, excluding novelty games (e.g. women's versus men's, or carnival). The purpose of this categorisation was to prevent the inflation of the total number of women's teams playing regularly, as opposed to one-off events, in order to provide an accurate picture of the popularity of women's cricket.

Cornwall Ladies	Devon	1883	Cricket Team
Brayton Ladies	Yorkshire	1884	Cricket Team
Greystoke Ladies	Yorkshire	1884	Cricket Team
Weymouth LCC	Dorset	1885	Cricket Club
Harthill CC	Gloucestershire	1885	Cricket Club
Haughton CC Ladies	Gloucestershire	1885	Cricket Club
Somerset Grasshoppers	Somerset	1885	Cricket Club
Pepperharrow LCC	Surrey	1885	Cricket Club
Eridge Castle	Sussex	1886	Cricket Club
Castleton Ladies	Derbyshire	1887	Cricket Team
Fairwater	Derbyshire	1887	Cricket Team
Budleigh Salterton	Exeter	1887	Cricket Team
Exmouth	Exeter	1887	Cricket Team
Bottesford LCC	Leicestershire	1887	Cricket Club
Shipton Court	Scotland	1887	Cricket Team
Woodstock Ladies	Scotland	1887	Cricket Team
Escrick	Yorkshire	1887	Cricket Team
Riccall	Yorkshire	1887	Cricket Team
White Heather CC	Yorkshire	1887	Cricket Club
Holbeach Ladies	Lincolnshire	1888	Cricket Team
Harrow Ladies	London	1888	Cricket Team
Pinner Ladies	London	1888	Cricket Team
Moulton Ladies	Northamptonshire	1888	Cricket Team
Chiddinstone	Sussex	1888	Cricket Team
Falconhurst	Sussex	1888	Cricket Team
Eglantine LCC	Buckinghamshire	1889	Cricket Club
Speedwell LCC	Buckinghamshire	1889	Cricket Club
Instow Ladies	Devon	1889	Cricket Team
Westward Ho! Ladies	Devon	1889	Cricket Team
North Notts LCC	Durham	1889	Cricket Club
Coston LCC	Lancashire	1889	Cricket Club



Birkdale Ladies	Merseyside	1889	Cricket Team
Priory House	Tyne and Wear	1889	Cricket Team
Langham Ladies	Unknown	1889	Cricket Team
Waterloo Ladies	Unknown	1889	Cricket Team

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Source: *Bucks Herald, Bury and Norwich Post, Cornishman, Devon Journal, Edinburgh Evening News, Exeter and Plymouth Gazette, Grantham Journal, The Graphic, Hartlepool Mail, Ipswich Journal, Liverpool Mercury, Nottingham Evening Post, Pall Mall Gazette, Sheffield Daily Telegraph, Sheffield Independent, Stamford Mercury, Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette, Surrey Mirror, Western Times.*

## APPENDIX II.

All known matches played by the Original English Lady Cricketers.

Date	Place	Ground	Attendance
07/04/1890	Liverpool	Police Recreation Ground	15,000
End of April	Ashford	Unknown	Unknown
30/04/1890	Slough	Dolphin Hotel	Unknown
02/05/1890	Southampton	Southampton Cricket Ground	Unknown
03/05/1890	Southampton	Southampton Cricket Ground	3,000 to 4,000
13/05/1890	London	Paddington Recreation Ground	Unknown
17/05/1890	London	Chiswick Park Club Ground	Unknown
23/05/1890	London	Honourable Artillery Ground	3,000
27/05/1890	London	Old Deer Park	Unknown

29/05/1890	Colchester	Cambridge Road Ground	Unknown
02/06/1890	Clifton	Zoological Gardens	Unknown
03/06/1890	Clifton	Zoological Gardens	Unknown
05/06/1890	Taunton	Unknown	Unknown
07/06/1890	Newport	Newport Ground	1,200
09/06/1890	Weston	Unknown	Unknown
11/06/1890	Cheltenham	Pittville Gardens	Unknown
14/06/1890	Wolverhampton	Molineux Gardens	Unknown
18/06/1890	Leamington	Pavilion Circus	Unknown
21/06/1890	Liverpool	Fairfield Ground	Unknown
23/06/1890	Leicester	Leicestershire County Ground	Unknown
24/06/1890	Leicester	Leicestershire County Ground	Unknown
End of June	Edinburgh	Unknown	Unknown
31/06/1890	London	Royal Military Exhibition	Unknown
07/07/1890	Manchester	Manchester Athletic Club	7,000
08/07/1890	Manchester	Manchester Athletic Club	6,000
14/07/1890	Birmingham	Aston Lower Grounds	3,000
15/07/1890	Birmingham	Aston Lower Grounds	Unknown
16/07/1890	Douglas	The Palace	Unknown
17/07/1890	Douglas	Pulrose Cricket Ground	Unknown
23/07/1890	Douglas	Pulrose Cricket Ground	3,000
31/07/1890	Edinburgh	International Exhibition	Unknown
01/08/1890	Edinburgh	International Exhibition	Unknown
02/08/1890	Edinburgh	International Exhibition	Unknown
05/08/1890	Barnsley	Shaw Lane Cricket Ground	Unknown
06/08/1890	Sheffield	Pitsmoor Ground	2,800
07/08/1890	Sheffield	Pitsmoor Ground	Unknown
18/08/1890	York	York Club Ground	Unknown
Late August	Scarborough	Unknown	Unknown
26/08/1890	Yarmouth	Unknown	Unknown
08/09/1890	London	Crystal Palace	7,000

11/09/1890	Chesham	Unknown	Unknown
13/09/1890	London	Royal Military Exhibition	Unknown
14/09/1890	Hastings	Unknown	Unknown
15/09/1890	Hastings	Unknown	Unknown
22/09/1890	Cornwall	Truro Club	Unknown
19/09/1890	Weymouth	Unknown	Unknown
18/10/1890	London	Royal Military Exhibition	Unknown

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Source: *Aberdeen Weekly Journal, Birmingham Daily Post, Bristol Mercury, Bury and Norwich Post, Dundee Courier, The Era, Glasgow Herald, Hampshire Advertiser, Isle of Man Times, Lancashire Gazette, Leicester Chronicle, Liverpool Mercury, Morning Post, North Eastern Daily Gazette, Pall Mall Gazette, Sheffield and Rotherham Independent, Southampton News, The Standard, Western Mail, Yorkshire Herald.*

### APPENDIX III.

All women's cricket clubs and cricket teams between 1890 and 1918.<sup>70</sup>

Name	Location	Earliest Reference	Type
Wendover	Buckinghamshire	1890	Cricket Team

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<sup>70</sup> Using local newspapers and the British Newspaper Archive any team of women cricketers have only been categorised as a 'club' if it was specifically stated in the article that they were a club or contained the abbreviation WCC or LCC after their name. Other teams of women cricketers have only been categorised as a 'team' if there was more than one reference to them playing in a competitive cricket game, excluding novelty games (e.g. women's versus men's, or carnival). The purpose of this categorisation was to prevent the inflation of the total number of women's teams playing regularly, as opposed to one-off events, in order to provide an accurate picture of the popularity of women's cricket.

Buxton LCC	Derbyshire	1890	Cricket Club
Thames Ladies	Oxfordshire	1891	Cricket Team
Long Melford	Suffolk	1891	Cricket Team
Sudbury	Suffolk	1891	Cricket Team
Barrons Court	Ireland	1892	Cricket Club
Corolanty	Ireland	1892	Cricket Club
Leap Castle	Ireland	1892	Cricket Club
Shinrone	Ireland	1892	Cricket Club
Crowle and Tibberton LCC	Lincolnshire	1892	Cricket Club
Hampton LCC	London	1892	Cricket Club
South London Polytechnic	London	1892	Cricket Club
City Cricket Club	Oxfordshire	1892	Cricket Club
University Extension	Oxfordshire	1892	Cricket Club
Ladies of Clifton	Somerset	1892	Cricket Team
Sherborne Ladies	Somerset	1892	Cricket Team
Wells Ladies	Somerset	1892	Cricket Team
South Down CC	East Sussex	1893	Cricket Club
Chesterfield LCC	Lancashire	1893	Cricket Club
Gisburn Ladies	Lancashire	1893	Cricket Club
Wirral LCC	Lancashire	1893	Cricket Club
Holbeach Ladies	Lincolnshire	1893	Cricket Team
Cranfield LCC	Bedfordshire	1894	Cricket Club
Newport Pagnell LCC	Buckinghamshire	1894	Cricket Club
Melton LCC	Leicestershire	1894	Cricket Club
Barbourne LCC	Lincolnshire	1894	Cricket Club
Hornsea LCC	Yorkshire	1894	Cricket Club
Calow LCC	Derbyshire	1895	Cricket Club
Parents Educational Union	Yorkshire	1895	Cricket Club
Dragon Fly Ladies	Derbyshire	1896	Cricket Club
Fairlight LCC	East Sussex	1896	Cricket Club
Old Town LCC	East Sussex	1896	Cricket Club

Coningsby LCC	Lincolnshire	1897	Cricket Club
Woodhall Spa LCC	Lincolnshire	1897	Cricket Club
Exmouth Ladies	Devon	1898	Cricket Team
Romford Ladies	Essex	1898	Cricket Team
Brentwood Ladies	Essex	1898	Cricket Team
Bude Ladies	Cornwall	1899	Cricket Team
Holsworthy Ladies	Devon	1899	Cricket Team
Aberford LCC	Yorkshire	1899	Cricket Team
Bedford LCC	Bedfordshire	1900	Cricket Club
Bridestowe LCC	Devon	1900	Cricket Club
Lyddington LCC	East Midlands	1900	Cricket Club
Forfarshire LCC	Scotland	1900	Cricket Club
Dundee and Invergowrie	Scotland	1900	Cricket Team
Girls' Standard CC	Unknown	1900	Cricket Club
Bournemouth LCC	Dorset	1901	Cricket Club
Dartford PTC	London	1901	Cricket Club
The Pilgrims	London	1901	Cricket Club
Hanley LCC	Staffordshire	1901	Cricket Club
St. Quintin's LCC	Yorkshire	1901	Cricket Club
Withernsea	Yorkshire	1901	Cricket Team
Berwick Ladies	Berwickshire	1902	Cricket Team
Derwent Ladies	County Durham	1902	Cricket Team
Bakewell Ladies	Derbyshire	1902	Cricket Team
Mary Tavy Ladies	Devon	1902	Cricket Team
Spalding Ladies	Lincolnshire	1902	Cricket Team
White Ladies Aston's	Worcestershire	1902	Cricket Team
Darley Dale Ladies	Derbyshire	1903	Cricket Team
Whittlesey LCC	Cambridgeshire	1904	Cricket Club
South Devon LCC	Devon	1904	Cricket Club
Clacton	Essex	1904	Cricket Team
Rodborough LCC	Gloucestershire	1904	Cricket Club

Horsmonden Ladies	Kent	1904	Cricket Team
Goudhurst Ladies	Kent	1904	Cricket Team
Preston Ladies	Lancashire	1904	Cricket Team
Rishton Ladies	Lancashire	1904	Cricket Team
Whalley Ladies	Lancashire	1904	Cricket Team
Lady Kathleen Pilkington's Ladies	London	1904	Cricket Team
Pitsmoor LCC	Yorkshire	1904	Cricket Club
Torquay Ladies	Devon	1905	Cricket Team
Dawlish Ladies	Devon	1905	Cricket Team
Hull Ladies Athletic CC	Yorkshire	1905	Cricket Club
Hull City Ladies	Yorkshire	1905	Cricket Team
Stroud LCC	Gloucestershire	1906	Cricket Club
Dunfermline LCC	Scotland	1906	Cricket Club
Bridlington LCC	Yorkshire	1906	Cricket Club
Civil Service LCC	Yorkshire	1906	Cricket Club
Cottingham Young LCC	Yorkshire	1906	Cricket Club
Dunmow LCC	Essex	1907	Cricket Club
Loughton LCC	Essex	1907	Cricket Club
Great Gonerby LCC	Lincolnshire	1907	Cricket Club
Horley Ladies	Oxfordshire	1907	Cricket Team
Lowfield Heath Ladies	Sussex	1907	Cricket Team
Althorpe Ladies	Yorkshire	1907	Cricket Team
Barmby Moor LCC	Yorkshire	1907	Cricket Club
Epworth Ladies	Yorkshire	1907	Cricket Team
Flitwick Ladies	Bedfordshire	1908	Cricket Team
Toddington Ladies	Bedfordshire	1908	Cricket Team
Monks Risborough LCC	Buckinghamshire	1908	Cricket Club
Prince Risborough LCC	Buckinghamshire	1908	Cricket Club
Bottesford LCC <sup>71</sup>	Leicestershire	1908	Cricket Club

<sup>71</sup> Bottesford LCC appears in both Appendix I and Appendix III because evidence suggests it was dissolved and the reformed and is therefore two separate instances of a club forming. This is in contrast to the White Heather Club which played continuously from its inception in 1887 and so is only listed in Appendix I.

Beacon LCC	Lincolnshire	1908	Cricket Club
Hessle Ladies	Yorkshire	1908	Cricket Team
Skidby Ladies	Yorkshire	1908	Cricket Team
Sedlescombe LCC	East Sussex	1909	Cricket Club
Westfield LCC	East Sussex	1909	Cricket Club
Chartridge Ladies	Buckinghamshire	1910	Cricket Team
Kimble LCC	Buckinghamshire	1910	Cricket Club
The Lee Ladies	Buckinghamshire	1910	Cricket Team
Netherfield Ladies	East Sussex	1910	Cricket Team
Morchard Bishop LCC	Exeter	1910	Cricket Club
Lapford Ladies	Exeter	1910	Cricket Team
Denmead Ladies	Hampshire	1910	Cricket Team
Waterlooville Ladies	Hampshire	1910	Cricket Team
Boston LCC	Lincolnshire	1910	Cricket Club
East Drayton LCC	Lincolnshire	1910	Cricket Club
Rampton Ladies	Lincolnshire	1910	Cricket Team
Hull LCC	Yorkshire	1910	Cricket Club
Duffield LCC	Derbyshire	1911	Cricket Club
East Kent LCC	Dover	1911	Cricket Club
The Green Grasshoppers	East Sussex	1911	Cricket Club
Cosham LCC	Hampshire	1911	Cricket Club
Aboyne Ladies Club	Scotland	1911	Cricket Club
Coxwold LCC	Yorkshire	1911	Cricket Club
Derby Ladies Municipal	Derbyshire	1912	Cricket Team
Stretton Ladies	Derbyshire	1912	Cricket Team
Hastings and St. Leonards LCC	East Sussex	1912	Cricket Club
Grombridge Ladies	Kent	1912	Cricket Team
Aldbolt LCC	Somerset	1912	Cricket Club
Worcester Park LCC	Surrey	1912	Cricket Club
Wendover Ladies	Buckinghamshire	1913	Cricket Team
Derby Ladies	Derbyshire	1913	Cricket Team

Halberton Ladies	Devon	1913	Cricket Team
Chedworth LCC	Essex	1913	Cricket Club
Bridestowe LCC	Exeter	1913	Cricket Club
Curdrige LCC	Hampshire	1913	Cricket Club
Farnworth Primitive Methodists	Lancashire	1913	Religious
Harpurhey Ladies	Lancashire	1913	Cricket Club
J. S. Blairs	Lancashire	1913	Cricket Team
Miss Andertons XI	Lancashire	1913	Cricket Team
Miss Bennetts	Lancashire	1913	Cricket Team
Miss Mellors XI	Lancashire	1913	Cricket Team
Morecambe	Lancashire	1913	Cricket Team
Sedgley Park	Lancashire	1913	Cricket Team
Metheringham LCC	Lincolnshire	1913	Cricket Club
Braunston Ladies	Northamptonshire	1913	Cricket Team
Thirsk LCC	Yorkshire	1913	Cricket Club
Newtown LCC	Hampshire	1914	Cricket Club
Blackburn LCC	Lancashire	1914	Cricket Club
Sedgely LCC	Lancashire	1914	Cricket Club
West End LCC	Lancashire	1914	Cricket Club
Waddington LCC	Lincolnshire	1914	Cricket Club
Liverpool Ladies	Merseyside	1914	Cricket Team
Middlesborough LCC	Yorkshire	1914	Cricket Club
Bishop Waltham LCC	Hampshire	1915	Cricket Club
Portchester Ladies	Hampshire	1915	Cricket Club
Bridge of Allan Ladies	Scotland	1915	Cricket Team
Highgate Road	West Midlands	1916	Cricket Team
Bournbrook	West Midlands	1916	Cricket Team
Witham Ladies	Essex	1917	Cricket Team
Woolsthorpe Ladies	Leicestershire	1918	Cricket Team



Source: *Aberdeen Journal, Berwickshire News and General Advertiser, Burnley Express, Bury and Norwich Post, Bucks Herald, Cambridge Independent Press, Chelmsford Chronicle, Cheltenham Chronicle, Chester Chronicle, Coventry Evening Telegraph, Derby Daily Telegraph, Derby Mercury, Derbyshire Times and Chesterfield Herald, Dover Express, Dundee Courier, Essex Newsman, Evening Telegraph, Exeter and Plymouth Gazette, Gloucester Citizen, Grantham Journal, The Graphic, Hastings and St. Leonards Observer, Hull Daily Mail, Kent and Sussex Advertiser, Kent & Sussex Courier, Leeds Mercury, Lincolnshire Echo, Liverpool Echo, Luton Times and Advertiser, Manchester Courier & Lancashire General Advertiser, Manchester Evening News, Nottingham Evening Post, Northampton Mercury, Oxford Journal, Pall Mall Gazette, Portsmouth Evening Post, Sheffield Daily Telegraph, Stamford Mercury, Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette, Surrey Mirror, Tamworth Herald, Western Daily Press, Western Gazette, Western Times, Whitstable Times and Herne Bay Herald, Worcester Chronicle, Worcester Chronicle, Yorkshire Evening Post, Yorkshire Gazette.*

#### **APPENDIX IV.**

##### **Women's Cricket Association Constitution.**

I. Name.

The name of the association is "The Women's Cricket Association".

II. Objectives.

The main purpose of the WCA is to provide an organisation for the furtherance of women's cricket. For the purpose of the

WCA shall have power-

- (a) To enrol individual members and to advise and assist them.
- (b) To form or assist in forming clubs and to advise and help them.
- (c) To form or assist in forming County or other Associations, and to advise and help them.

- (d) To formulate such general principles governing Individual Members, Clubs, County and other Associations as hereinafter defined, as may be thought desirable to effect unity of purpose.

### III. Constitution.

The WCA shall consist of individual members and affiliated Clubs, Schools, Colleges, County and other Associations.

### IV. Administration.

The administration of the work of the WCA shall be vested in

- (a) A General Meeting
- (b) An Executive Committee and Officers

#### (a) The General Meeting

1.- The General Meeting shall be constituted as follows

- (a) Individual members.
- (b) One delegate from each affiliated Club, School and College. Club members may be admitted as visitors, but shall have no vote.
- (c) One delegate from each County or other Association.
- (d) Members of the Executive Committee

2.- The Annual General Meeting.

The annual meeting shall be held in September or October, for the election of Officers and Executive Committee from the ensuing year; for consideration of the Rules of the Association and of the games; for the transaction of other business.

All nominations for the Officers and Executive Committee must be forwarded together with the names of proposers and seconders, to the Hon. Secretary, not later than September 1<sup>st</sup>. All elections shall be ballot. Except in the case of the Executive Committee, proposals for any alteration in the Rules of the Association and of the game shall be given in writing to the Hon. Secretary not later than the 1<sup>st</sup> of September in each year.

3- Extraordinary General Meeting.

The Executive Committee may, when they think fit, and the Secretary shall, on a requisition from 50 or more individual members, from secretaries of 10 affiliated bodies, convene an Extraordinary General Meeting. Notice of such meeting must state the special business for which it is called, and no other business shall be transacted at that Meeting.

(b) Executive Committee and Officers

- 1- There shall be five Officers elected annually; Chairman, Hon. Secretary, Assistant Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, Hon. Match Secretary. The Chairman shall have a casting vote only.
- 2- There shall be an Executive Committee, which shall be elected annually, and shall consist of 10 members exclusive to Officers. The Executive Committee shall have power to co-opt three members and to fill up vacancies during the year. The Executive Committee shall have power, to appoint Sub Committees, on which outside persons may be co-opted; to depute to each Sub-Committee whatever powers may be deemed advisable. Each Sub-Committee shall include at least one member of the Executive Committee. Reports from the Sub-Committees shall be presented at each Executive Committee Meeting.
- 3- The Executive Committee shall be responsible to the General Meeting for the management of the WCA, the administration of the funds, and the carrying out of the policy decided upon at the General Meeting.
- 4- The Executive Committee shall meet at least six times during the year. Six members shall form a quorum, of which at least four shall be elected members.
- 5- The Executive Committee shall have power to issue annually regulations as to the selection, management and dress of teams which may represent the Association.
- 6- The Executive Committee shall have power to deal with any matter concerning misconduct of any affiliated body or individual member. Such affiliated body or member shall have the right of appeal to a General Meeting.

V. Terms of Membership

Applicants for Individual Membership shall be amateurs of not less than 16 years of age (an amateur is one who does not play for money), and shall be proposed and seconded by Members of the Association. Men shall be eligible for Hon. Membership, non- playing and without voting power.

VI. Finance

- 1- The financial year shall be from January 1<sup>st</sup> to December 31<sup>st</sup>. The audited accounts shall be circulated with the Annual Report. A statement of accounts shall be presented at the Annual General Meeting.
- 2- Individual Members, who are also members of an affiliated Club, School or College, shall pay an annual subscription of 2/6. Individual Members who are not members of an affiliated Club, School or College shall pay an entrance fee

of 5/- and an annual subscription of 5/-. Associate Members (non-playing) shall pay an annual subscription of 10/- Individual Members, playing or associate, may become Life Members on payment of £5. Affiliated Clubs, Schools and Colleges shall pay an annual fee of 5/-. All subscriptions and fees are due on April 1<sup>st</sup>. Resignations must be sent in by April 1<sup>st</sup> or subscriptions and fees will be due for the current season.

VII. Laws of the Game

The Laws of the game shall be those issued by the MCC with the exception of the size of the cricket ball. The WCA. Rule is as follows: "The ball shall not weigh less than four and fifteen-sixteenths oz., and not more than five and one-sixteenth oz., and it shall not measure less than eight and ten-sixteenths ins. and not more than eight and three-quarters ins. in circumference". But for schools the youths' size ball, four and three-quarters ozs., is recommended.

VIII. Alteration of Rules

No alterations of these rules shall be made except with the consent of the General Meeting, and no alteration shall be valid unless passed by a two-thirds majority of the member present and voting.

Source: Women's Cricket Association, *1931 Year Book*, 1931, 1-3.

**Appendix V.**

**Cricket Teams Affiliated to the Women's Cricket Association.**

**Scotland**  
 Dumfries WCC  
 Dunfermline PTC  
 St. Leonards Girls School  
 St. Leonards LCC  
 Uplands School

**Northumberland**  
 Northampton WCC  
 Vickers Armstrong Whitworth  
 Wycombe High School OGCC

**Tyne and Wear**  
 Central YWCA  
 Co-operative Sports Club WCC  
 Ferryhill  
 Haydon Bridge  
 Humshaugh  
 Lloyds Bank  
 South Moor

**Durham**  
 Durham County School  
 Durham WCC  
 Polam Hall  
 Wolsingham CC Ladies Section

**North Yorkshire**  
 Hunmanby Hall  
 Queen Ethleburgas School  
 Queen Margaret's School  
 Rillington and Scampston LCC  
 Rowntree Girls CC  
 St. Hildas's School  
 Sutton-on-Forest

**West Yorkshire**  
 Bridlington High School  
 Harrogate College  
 Leeds University Union  
 Leeds University WCC  
 Minskip WCC  
 St. Joseph's College

**East Yorkshire**  
 Beverley High School

**Derbyshire**  
 Buxton LCC  
 Parkfield Cedars OGCC  
 Robinson's WCC

**Cheshire**  
 Birkenhead High School  
 Hoylake WCC  
 Macclesfield High School  
 Middlewich LCC  
 Port Sunlight CC  
 Queens School  
 Timperley LCC (originally Hale Ladies)  
 Winnington Park

**Shropshire**  
 Bridgenorth LCC  
 Moreton Hall

**Lancashire**  
 (Listed on map but no text provided)

**Merseyside**  
 (Listed on map but no text provided)

**Lancs**  
 (Listed on map but no text provided)

**G. Manca**  
 (Listed on map but no text provided)

**W. Yorks**  
 (Listed on map but no text provided)

**E. Yorks**  
 (Listed on map but no text provided)

**S. Yorks**  
 (Listed on map but no text provided)

**Lincolnshire**  
 (Listed on map but no text provided)

**Cheshire**  
 (Listed on map but no text provided)

**Darbys**  
 (Listed on map but no text provided)

### Norfolk

Argonauts WCC  
Aylsham LCC  
Blofield WCC  
Norwich Post Office  
Norwich Training College  
Post Office WCC  
Sennowe Park WCC

### Nottinghamshire

Boots Athletic Club  
Boots WCC (Welfare Dept)  
Forman's Athletic Club WCC  
Lewison WCC  
Meridan WCC  
Mundella School  
Nottingham University College WCC  
Nottingham WCC  
Player's Girls' CC  
Raleigh WCC  
Retford High School  
Wolsey LCC  
Worksop WCC  
YWCA CC

### Suffolk

St. Felix

### Cambridgeshire

Cambridge University WCC  
North Northants  
The Starlings  
Wisbech High School

### Worcestershire

Colwall CC

### Warwickshire

Anstey PTC  
Birmingham WCC  
Bournville Girls Athletic Club  
BTH Coventry Social and Athletic Club  
Edgbaston Church of England  
Kenilworth LCC  
Kenilworth St. John's LCC  
King's High School  
Leamington High School  
Nuneaton High School OGCC  
St. Paul's High School  
Sutton Coldfield LCC  
The High School  
The Laurels

### Leicestershire

Alderman Newton's OGCC  
Aylestone LCC  
Barkby LCC  
Leicester LCC  
Oakham LCC  
Toller & Lancaster LCC  
Worthington High School

### Oxfordshire

Headington School  
Milham Ford School  
Oxford University

### Buckinghamshire

Accounts Office of the LMS R/Works  
Bierton LCC  
Green Street OGCC  
Harlow Ladies  
Laundry Rooms of the LMS R/Works  
LMS Railway Offices  
Polishing Rooms of the LMS R/Works  
Sewing Rooms of the LMS R/Works  
Wyandottes  
Wycombe Abbey Staff  
Wycombe Abbey Staff

### Essex

Brentwood County High School  
Brentwood OGCC  
British Drug Houses  
Bryant and Mays WCC  
Chelmsford County High School  
Downham School  
Essex Muddlers  
Hunt Partners WCC  
Ilford Wanderers WCC  
Romford County High School  
Romford OGCC  
St. Bernard's Convent High School  
Woodford County High School

### Gloucestershire

Bristol University WCC  
Cheltenham Ladies College  
Clifton High School  
Clifton Girls' School  
Colston Girls' School  
Cotswold LCC  
Fry's Athletic Club  
Imperial WCC  
St. Cross LCC  
Westonbirt School

### Hertfordshire

Borderers CC  
Princess Helena College  
Queenswood School  
St. Alban's High School  
St. George's  
Stevenage WCC

### Bedfordshire

Bedford LCC  
Bedford PTC  
Luton Rangers

### Devon

Galampton & Torquay WCC  
South Devon WCC  
Torbay WCC  
Totnes County School

### Dorset

Bournemouth LCC  
Cerne Abbas Ladies  
Dorchester House  
Sherborne Girl's School

### Berkshire

Bracknell WCC  
Burberry LCC  
Downe House  
Farnham Girls' CC  
Hurst LCC  
Queen Anne's School  
Reading University  
Spartans CC  
Farnham CC

### Kent

Avery Hill Training College  
Aylesford Paper Mills  
Babington House School  
Beckenham County School  
Bedgebury Park  
Bethersden LCC  
Blackheath High School  
Bromley County School

### Sussex

Ancaster House  
Beehive School,  
Boston House  
Brighton WCC  
Burwash LCC  
Hastings LCC  
Littlehampton District LCC  
Roedean School  
St. Michael's Girls CC  
Three Bridges Ladies  
Worthing High School



**Wiltshire**  
 Godolphin School  
 St. Mary's School

**Cornwall**  
 Church High School

**Somerset**  
 Baltonsborough LCC  
 Bath Royal Naval School  
 Dundry LCC  
 Portishead LCC  
 Sidcott School  
 St. Katherine's School  
 St. Saviours and St. Olave's  
 Grammar School  
 Royal School

**Middlesex**  
 Abbey Road LCC  
 BBC LCC  
 BDV Raleigh Sports Club  
 Dame Alice Owen's School  
 J.C. & J. Fields LTC CC  
 Metropolitan Building Societies  
 Natappro Sports Club  
 Norland Place School  
 North Middlesex School  
 South Hampstead High School  
 ULAU CC  
 Unilever LCC  
 Wagtails WCC

**Hampshire**  
 Bedales  
 Hartley Wintney LCC  
 Haslemere WCC  
 Liss LCC  
 Sherfield-on-Loddon  
 Southampton Civil Service LCC  
 The Northern Secondary School  
 Winchesterr WCC

**Exeter**  
 Exeter Modern School  
 Exeter University College  
 The Maynard School  
 Torquay WCC

**Unknown**  
 Stanthorpe Athletic Girl Guides

**Surrey**  
 Charlwood CC  
 Cobham WCC (Cuckoo Club)  
 Horsham Girl's High School  
 Horsham LCC  
 Minley Manor LCC  
 Monotype LCC  
 Pagomacs LCC  
 Parkshot County School  
 Reigate County School  
 Royal Holloway College  
 Royal Victoria Patriotic School  
 Sir William Perkin's School  
 South Merstham LCC  
 Southern Railway WCC  
 Spring Park LCC  
 Surbiton High School  
 Sutton High School  
 The Redoubtables  
 Wallington LCC  
 Westminster Bank LCC  
 Windmill Press  
 Windmill Press LCC

**London**  
 Battersea Polytechnic CC  
 Brixton LCC  
 Chelsea C.P.E  
 Christ's Hospital OGCC  
 Civil Service WCC  
 Civil Service Headquarters  
 Croydon Girl's High school  
 Fray's College  
 Gunnersbury WCC  
 H.M. Office of Works  
 Harrow County School  
 Ibis LCC  
 James Allen's OG CC  
 Kew LCC  
 King's College H.S.S.CC  
 King's College WCC  
 Kingsley School  
 LCC Tramways  
 L.M & S. Rly LCC  
 Lever House L.C.V  
 London Civil Service  
 London Telephone Service  
 London Transport LCC  
 London University WCC  
 Lyons LCC  
 Ministry of Health WCC  
 Ministry of Labour LCC  
 Morley College LCC  
 Oxford Circus  
 Queen Alexandra House PTC  
 Rego LCC  
 Royal Naval School  
 Silverley's LCC  
 St. Clares  
 St. Paul's Girl's School  
 Streatham Hill High School

Source: Women's Cricket Association *Year Books* 1927-1939.

## APPENDIX VI.

### Women's Cricket Association guidance on forming county associations.

- 1- That a General Meeting of Affiliated Clubs, Schools and individual members for the WCA be called to discuss the advisability of running a County team and, if it is decided to do so, to elect a Selection Committee.
- 2- That Subscriptions to cover postage, hiring of grounds etc., be kept as low as possible. (Subscriptions might be paid by the Affiliated Clubs, etc., or by the Team and reserves chosen).
- 3- That the Selection Committee shall consist of at least three people, preferably from different clubs or districts, who may elect a Secretary to carry on the arrangements.
- 4- The Method of Selection, whether by trials or by the Selectors going round to watch matches, etc., should be decided at the meeting.
- 5- Colours must be registered with the WCA who must be notified of the team chosen.

- 6- In Counties where no County team exists players may play for an adjoining County by special permission of the Association.
  - 7- In future years WCA touring teams will be sent to play County teams.
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Source: Women's Cricket Association, *1928 Year Book*, 1928, 3.

## **APPENDIX VII.**

### **Women's Cricket Association County Association Official Rules.**

- 1- That County Associations shall be composed entirely of amateurs (an amateur is one who does not play for money). Men shall be eligible for non-executive offices as President and Vice-President and can be co-opted in an advisory capacity, but this does not confer bona fide membership of the Association.
- 2- That Counties in which there are at least three affiliated clubs shall be entitled to form a County Association team.
- 3- That the County Association Committee and Officers (President, Secretary and Treasurer) shall be elected at a General Meeting of the affiliated Clubs and Schools. Each Club and School of the County shall have the right to nominate one candidate for the County Committee.

- 4- That each Club shall pay a subscription to the County Association, the amount to be settled by the County Committee. Each County Association shall pay a nominal fee of 1/- to the Women's Cricket Association.
- 5- That each County Association shall elect annually a Selection Committee of not less than three members, names of candidates for the Selection Committee to be sent up by the Clubs and Schools of the County. The Selection Committee shall choose the County Association teams and reserves. The Selection Committee shall be eligible to play.
- 6- The method of selection, whether by Trials or by the Selectors going round to watch matches, etc., shall be decided by the County Committee.
- 7- For County Association matches the qualification shall be (1) Birth; (2) One year's continuous residence for preceding twelve months; (3) Family home, as long as it remains open for occasional residence (one year's qualification required, as in residence). The WCA Executive shall, if they see fit, extend the qualification to meet individual cases on an appeal from the Secretaries of the Counties concerned. If a player changes her residence from one County to another, she shall still be eligible for her old County until she has completed one year's residence in her new home. Only members of affiliated Clubs shall be eligible to play in County Association matches.
- 8- That no member of any affiliated County Association or Club shall institute or take part in any cricket challenge cup or prize competition; exceptions shall be made in favour of Schools and Colleges where such competitions are already instituted.

Source: Women's Cricket Association, *1930 Year Book*, 1930, ii.

## Appendix VIII.

Details of the English Tour of Australia in 1934/5.

Against	Winners	Date
Ceylonese	WCA	11/11/1934
West Australia	Drawn	24/11/1934 & 26/11/1934
Victoria	Drawn	07/12/1934 & 08/12/1934
Deniliquin	WCA	10/12/1934
New South Wales	WCA	14/12/1934 & 15/12/1934
Wollongong	Rain stopped play	18/12/1934
Newcastle	Drawn	19/12/1934
Queensland	WCA	22/12/1934 & 24/12/1934



Australia	WCA	28/12/1934 & 29/12/1934 & 31/12/1934
Australia	WCA	04/01/1935 & 06/01/1935 & 07/01/1935
Canberra	Rain stopped play	09/01/1935
Goulburn	WCA	11/01/1935
Leeton	WCA	12/01/1935
Junee	WCA	15/01/1935
Australia	Drawn	18/01/1935 & 19/11/1935 & 21/01/1935

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Source: Women's Cricket Association, *1934 Year Book*, 1934: Women's Cricket Association, *1935 Year Book*, 1936:

Women's Cricket Association, *1936 Year Book*, 1936: *Women's Cricket 1934-1936*, *Morning Post*, *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*,

*The Telegraph*, *The Times*, *Yorkshire Observer*.

## Appendix IX.

Details of the English Tour of New Zealand in 1934/5.

Against	Winners	Date
Auckland	WCA	29/01/1935
Wanganui	WCA	03/02/1935
Wellington	WCA	05/02/1935
Canterbury	WCA	07/02/1935
New Zealand	WCA	16/02/1935 & 18/02/1935

Source: A. Stanford and M. Collin, *99 Not Out, Scorecards and Statistics of Women's Test Matches 1934-1996*, Association of Cricket Statisticians and Historians, Derby, 1996, 10: *Burnley Express, Lancashire Evening Post, Nottingham Evening Post, Sunday Post, Western Morning News*.

## Appendix X.

Details of the AWCC tour of Great Britain, 1937.

Against	Ground	Crowd Size	Winners	Date	Receipts	Expenses	Balance
Kent	Gravesend	1,500	AWCC	02/06/1937	£39/16/7	£9/10/4	£30/6/3
East of England	Chelmsford	Unknown	AWCC	04/06/1937 & 05/06/1937	£51/7/11	£51/7/11/	£0
Midlands	Birmingham	Unknown	AWCC	07/06/1937	£28/2/6	£32/17/4	-£4/14/15
Warwickshire	Moseley	Unknown	AWCC	10/06/1937	£7/16/-	£1/10/7	£6/7/5

England	Northampton	5,000	AWCC	12/06/1937 & 14/06/1937 & 15/06/1937	£238/6/1	£118/12/1	£119/13/-
Yorkshire	Leeds	'Sparse'	Drawn	17/06/1937	£28/19/5	£16/10/6	£12/8/11
The North	Liverpool	Unknown	AWCC	19/06/1937	£100/19/3	£47/16/1	£53/8/1
Lancashire	Old Trafford	Unknown	AWCC	22/06/1937	£77/12/9	£12/4/8	£65/8/1
England	Blackpool	4,000	WCA	26/06/1937 & 28/06/1937 & 19/06/1937	£189/9/6	£111/19/9	£70/9/9
Gloucestershire	Cheltenham	Unknown	Drawn	01/07/1937	£38/4/4	£22/11/-	£16/12/6
The West	Basingstoke	2,170	AWCC	03/07/1937	£123/5/7	£69/13/7	£53/10/-
Hampshire	Winchester	1,800	AWCC	07/07/1937	£27/3/3	£10/11/3	£16/12/-
England	Oval	6,123	Drawn	09/07/1937 & 11/07/1937 & 12/07/1937	£567/9/6	£325/15/11	£240/13/7
The South	Hove	Unknown	AWCC	19/07/1937	£162/10/-	£90/17/2	£71/12/9
Herts, Essex & Norfolk	Chiswick	Unknown	AWCC	21/07/1937	£33/7/10	£21/7/10	£12/-/-
Middlesex	Chiswick House	Unknown	Drawn	23/07/1937	£28/12/9	£15/3/10	£13/8/11
English Touring Team 1934/5	Maidstone	Unknown	AWCC	24/07/1937 & 26/07/1937	£239/15/1	£96/4/6	£143/10/7

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Source: Women's Cricket Association, *1934 Year Book*, 1934: Women's Cricket Association, *1935 Year Book*, 1936:

Women's Cricket Association, *1936 Year Book*, 1936: *Women's Cricket 1936-1938*, *Morning Post*, *Bradford Telegraph and Argus*,

*The Telegraph*, *The Times*, *Yorkshire Observer*.

**Appendix XI.**

Cricket Teams Affiliated to the English Women’s Cricket Federation.



**West Yorkshire**

Baildon CC  
Baildon Combing Company  
Bankfoot  
BDA (Head Office)  
Bilton Club  
Bingley  
Blythwick  
Bowling Dyeworks  
Bowling Old Lane  
Bradford  
Bradford and District Newspaper  
Briggella Mills  
Brighouse  
Brookfoot Dyeworks  
Brookstreet Dyeworks  
Burley-in-Wharfedale  
Buttershaw St. Pauls  
Central Ladies  
City Shed  
Crompton & Parkinson's  
Cutler Heights  
C.W.S. Clothing Factory  
Denbirayne  
Dewsbury & Saville

**West Yorkshire cont**

Great Horton  
H. Cohen & Co  
Halifax  
Heaton's  
Hey's Brewery  
Holme Valley  
Horbury  
Huddersfield  
J. Cohen's & S. Rhodes  
J. & S. Rhodes  
J. Cawthras  
Keighley CC  
Laisterdyke  
Leeds Caledonians  
Leeds WCC  
Leigh Mills  
Lidget Green  
Lister Park Ladies  
Liversedge  
Low Moor Holy Trinity  
Maltby Street Methodists  
Manningham Mills  
Montague Burtons  
New Leeds

**West Yorkshire cont**

Oaklea  
Ogden Mills  
Park Chapel  
Provident Supply Co  
Queen St. Congregational  
Queensbury  
Salts (Saltaire Mill)  
Sowerby Bridge  
St. Lukes Hospital  
Tetley St. Baptists  
Thongsbridge  
Tingley Mills  
W. J. Whiteheads  
W. N. Sharpe Ltd  
Wesley Place Methodists  
West Park  
Wharfedale  
Whetley Mills  
Wibsey Wesleyans  
William Sykes  
Wilsden  
Wilson & Mathiesons  
Windhill

Source: *Keighley News, Lancashire Evening News, Telegraph and Argos, Todmorden Advertiser, Yorkshire Evening Post, Yorkshire Observer.*

**Appendix XII.**

Cricket teams with no affiliation.

**Scotland**

Aberdeen LCC  
Aberdeen University  
Freuchie Ladies  
Kirkmuir LCC  
Murthly LCC

**Northumberland**

Alnmouth LCC  
Embleton Women  
Lanehead Women

**West Yorkshire**

Albion Angels  
Bamforths  
Bardsey LCC  
Bottom Shamrocks  
Bramham  
Bridge Mills  
Bridlington WCC  
Brockholes Joy Girls  
Brockholes Reckless Set  
Brook's Team  
Cartwrights  
Castleford  
Cliffe Rovers

**West Yorkshire cont**

Comfortable Cooks  
Copley Marshall Ltd  
Crompton Lamps  
Dartford College  
DCL Company  
DeanHouse Sunbeams  
Digley Hopefuls  
Dobroyd Mills  
Dover Mills  
Duckinfield Ladies  
East Keswick  
East Leeds Women  
Eccleshill  
Ford Mill

**West Yorkshire cont**

Follies  
Futurists  
Gildersome  
Girl Guides of Thorne  
Glendale Mills  
Glusborn  
Grampo Girls  
Grenholme  
Guisley  
Halifax Junior Commercial School  
Halifax Technical College  
Halton Women  
Harehills Ladies

**West Yorkshire cont**

Harrogate Ladies  
Harrogate YMCA  
Hollywood Beauties  
Holmbridge Revellers  
Holme Mills, Keighley  
Holme Valley Mustard Club  
Holmfirth Free Church  
Holmfirth St. John's  
Holmfirth U.M.C  
Holmfirth Wesleyans  
Honley  
Horsforth  
Huddersfield Rovers  
Hunslet YWCA  
H. & S. Butterfield Ltd  
Ickringill's  
Joshua Wilson's Ltd  
Junior Sports  
Keighley Parish Church  
Kirkbridge Hotspurs  
Lee Mills  
Kirkbridge Mills  
Lascelles Hall  
Lawkholme Ladies  
Lee Mills  
Leeds Co-operative Society's  
Clothing Department  
Leeds GPO Telephone Exchange Staff  
Women

**Tyne and Wear**

Dock Street U.M.C  
Wanderers

**Cumbria**

Temple Sowerby CC

**East Yorkshire**

Charlestown BDA  
Goole Ladies  
Hull  
Muston LCC  
Snaith Ladies  
Sproatley LCC  
Yapham & Pocklington LCC



### North Yorkshire

Barkston Ash Laundry  
Brompton LCC  
Cambleforth LCC  
Redcar Ladies  
Redcar WCC  
Scorton Women  
Seaton Ross LCC  
Skipton Women  
Skipton Grammar School  
Whitby

### Lancashire

Blackburn & District LCC  
Briggate  
Broadbent's Ladies  
Broughton  
Church Ladies  
Colne Ladies  
Crompton  
Enfield LCC  
Fylde Ladies  
Longridge  
Lowerhouse Ladies  
Lytham Girl Guides  
Manchester C.W.S  
Morecambe LCC  
Queen Mary school  
Rishton Paper Mill  
Southport Ladies  
Withington LCC

### South Yorkshire

Barnburgh Ladies  
Brampton Ladies  
Carnforth  
Edlington Ladies  
Great Houghton Ladies  
Hickleton  
Picadilly Ladies  
Thorne Women  
Thurnscoe Ladies  
Warmsworth

### Leicestershire

Asfordby Ladies  
Barsby LCC  
Billesdon  
Bucklers  
Cottesmore CC  
Crossington LCC  
Creeton LCC  
C.W.S Wheatshaf  
Devas Routledge  
Exton Ladies  
Gaddesby LCC  
Great Dalby LCC  
Harby Ladies  
Holwell LCC  
Leicester Crusaders  
Leicester Vaughan College  
Leicester Wolsey Ladies  
Leicestershire Ladies  
Melton LCC  
Melton Mowbray Grammar School  
Oakham Horse Shoe LCC  
Old Dalby  
Quorn Ladies  
Ridlington Ladies  
Ryhall LCC  
Satchville & District LCC  
Stamford Ladies  
Stamford St. George's  
Thorpe Arnold LCC  
Thorpe Satchville & Twyford LCC  
Upper Broughton LCC  
Wolsey

### Derbyshire

Ambergate Ladies  
Bemrose & Sons LCC  
Chesterfield  
Derby Ladies  
Derby LMS Railway Ladies  
Duffield LCC  
Ernest Bailey's Secondary  
School  
Foston Ladies  
Matlock Bath LCC  
Mundella  
Ockbrook LCC  
Quarndon LCC  
Robinson & Sons Ltd LCC  
Spondon LCC  
St. Elphin's  
Trent Motor Traction Women  
West Underwood  
Wirksworth

### Staffordshire

Aldridge Girl Guides  
Amington Ladies  
Brewood LCC  
Burntwood Mental Hospital  
Four Oaks Spraying Machine Co Ladies  
Great Barr Colony Ladies  
Kettlebrook LCC  
Kingsbury Church Recreation Club  
Lichfield Girl Guides 2nd Company  
Lichfield Ladies  
Lynn Ladies  
Rugeley Ladies  
Shannon's Head Office  
Shannon's Ladies Athletic Club  
Shenstone Ladies  
Tamworth Staff  
Whittington Ladies

### Hertfordshire

Ashwell LCC  
Tring WI

### Bedfordshire

Cranfield LCC  
Flitwick Ladies  
Goldington LCC  
Taddington Ladies

### Lincolnshire

Donington School OG CC  
Eaton Ladies  
Great Goneyby CC  
Hose Ladies  
Leadenham LCC  
Mellon LCC  
Mr. T. Yates Ladies  
Rearsby LCC  
Ruston-Bucyrus Women  
Swaton LCC  
Waltham LCC  
Wilsford LCC

### Nottinghamshire

High Pavement  
Ilkeston SS  
Labour Exchange  
L.C.C Staff  
New CC  
No. 2 Cigarette Factory  
Players Athletic  
Players General Office  
Post Office Telephones  
Queen's Walk OGCC  
Raleigh Athletic CC  
Trent-Lane  
Underwood  
West Bridgford

### Buckinghamshire

Westcott  
Aylesbury Rangers  
Beaconsfield Women  
Bierton W.I.  
Bledlow Ladies  
Bucks Ladies  
Cheddington Ladies  
Dominions Dairy Ladies  
Dominion S & AC Ladies  
F. P. R. L. Ladies  
Haddenham Ladies  
Hastoe Ladies  
High Wycombe  
Lee LCC  
Long Creden  
Mentmore Ladies  
Rivet Works Office Staff Ladies  
Thame Steam Laundry Ladies  
Weston Turville Ladies  
Weston Turville W.I.  
Wolverton Ladies

### Middlesex

King's Hall, Wesleyan Mission

### West Yorkshire cont

Sudehill  
Sutton Ladies  
Taylors Drugs  
The Reckless Set  
The Training College  
Thurstonland  
Tong Park  
Undercliffe CC  
Vernon Heatons  
W. M. Sykes  
Wakefield CC  
Walsden  
Washpit Diehards  
Washpit Indian Swifts  
Washpit Members  
Washpit Mills  
Washpit Never Dies  
Watkinson's Redoubtables  
Wharfedale CC  
Wildspur Mills  
Wilson's  
Woodlands  
Yeadon  
Yew Tree Optimists

### Warwickshire

Ashby St. Ledgers LCC  
Bedworth LCC  
Bell Athletic  
Coleshill Hall Ladies  
Combe Park  
Coventry Ladies  
Kenilworth CC  
Kingsbury Ladies  
Long Marston Ladies  
Redworth  
Rugby BHT  
Southam and District LCC  
Studley College

### Northamptonshire

Banbury Ladies  
Blakesley Ladies  
Brackley Ladies  
Braunston LCC  
Crick WCC  
Culworth Ladies  
Greens Norton LCC  
Guilsborough LCC  
Higham Ferrers  
Irthingborough Town Women  
Morton Pinkney Ladies  
Overstone School  
Ringstead Ladies  
Tingewick Ladies  
Wappenham Ladies  
Yelvertoft W.I.

### Cambridgeshire

County Girl's School  
Fen Drayton LCC  
Fowlmere Ladies  
Friends School  
Willingham Ladies  
Winceby School

### Essex

Bocking LCC  
Danbury LCC  
Little Baddow Ladies  
Springfield LCC  
Ribble Motors  
Theydon Bois LCC  
Tillingham LCC

### London

Lloyds Bank Ladies  
London Hippodrome LCC  
London L.M.S  
Regent Athletic Club  
University Club

### Somerset



### Appendix XIII.

All women's cricket leagues.

**Key**  
**(WCA)** - Affiliated to WCA  
**(WCF)** - Affiliated to WCF  
**(NA)** - No affiliation

#### Northumberland & Durham

##### **Northumberland & Durham League (WCA)**

Vickers Armstrong  
Whitworth Wanderers

#### Lancashire

##### **Lancashire Inter-City & Town League (WCF)**

Burnley  
Castleton Moor  
Crompton  
Facit  
Heywood  
Littleborough  
Milnrow  
Oldham  
Rochdale  
Timperley  
Todmorden  
Whitworth

#### West Yorkshire

##### **Yorkshire Inter-City & Town League (WCF)**

Bingley  
Bradford  
Brighouse  
Dewsbury & Saville  
Leeds  
Liversedge  
Halifax  
Holme Valley  
Horbury  
Huddersfield  
Sowerby Bridge

#### West Yorkshire

##### **Leeds and District Women's Cricket League (WCF)**

Crompton & Parkinsons  
C.W.S Clothing Factory  
Heaton's  
J. Cohens & S. Rhodes  
Leeds Calendonians  
Lister Park Ladies  
Montague Burtons  
New Leeds  
Queen St. Congregational  
Oaklea  
Tingley Mills  
William Sykes  
Wilson & Mathiesons





**West Yorkshire**

**Bradford Women's Evening Cricket League (WCF)**

Baildon CC  
Bankfoot  
BDA (Head Office)  
Bingley  
Blythwick  
Bowling Dyeworks  
Bowling Old Lane  
Bradford & District Newspaper Co Ltd  
Biggella Mills  
Brookfoot Dyeworks  
Buttershaw St. Pauls  
Central Ladies  
City Shed  
Cutler Heights  
Denbirayne  
Great Horton  
Hey's Brewery  
J & S Rhodes  
J. Cawthras  
Laisterdyke  
Leigh Mills  
Low Moor Holy Trinity  
Maltby Street Methodists  
Manningham Mills  
Ogden Mills  
Park Chapel  
Provident Supply Co  
Queen St. Congregational  
Queensbury  
Salts (Saltaire Mill)  
St. Luke's Hospital  
Tetley St. Baptists  
W. J. Whiteheads  
W. N. Sharpe Ltd  
Wesley Place Methodists  
West Park  
Whetley Mills  
Wibsey Wesleyans  
William Sykes  
Wilsden  
Windhill

**West Yorkshire**

**Holmebridge Ladies League (NA)**

Dobroyd Mills  
Hepworth Wesleyans  
St. John's  
Glendale Mills  
Holmfirth SS  
Mustard Club

**South Yorkshire**

**Dearne Valley League (NA)**

Barnburgh Ladies  
Brampton Ladies  
Carnforth  
Edlington Ladies  
Great Houghton Ladies  
Hickleton  
Picadilly Ladies  
Thurnscoe Ladies  
Warmsworth

**Northamptonshire**

**South Northamptonshire League (WCA)**

Banbury Ladies  
Brackley Ladies  
Culworth Ladies  
Morton Pinkney Ladies  
Tingewick Ladies

**Manchester**

**Manchester League (NA)**

Farnworth Primitive Methodists  
Harpurhey Ladies  
J. S. Blair's  
Miss Anderton's XI  
Miss Bennett's  
Miss Mellors XI  
Morecambe  
Sedgley Park

**Merseyside**

**Liverpool League (WCA)**

Unknown

**Gloucestershire**

**Forest of Dean League (NA)**

Lydney  
Pillowell  
Whitecroft



## **Buckinghamshire**

### **Wolverton League (WCA)**

Accounts Office of the LMS R/Works  
Laundry Rooms of the LMS R/Works  
LMS Railway Offices of the LMS R/Works  
Polishing Rooms of the LMS R/Works  
Sewing Rooms of the LMS R/Works

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Source: *Aberdeen Evening Express, Aberdeen Journal, Aberdeen Weekly Journal, Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette, Belfast Morning News, Berkshire Chronicle, Birmingham Daily Post, Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, Bucks Herald, Burnley Express, Caledonian Mercury, Chelmsford Chronicle, Derby Daily Telegraph, Derby Mercury, Edinburgh Evening News, The Era, Exeter and Plymouth Gazette Daily Telegram, The Graphic, Hampshire Advertiser, Hampshire Chronicle, Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle, Hampshire Independent, Hastings and St Leonards Observer, Holmfirth Express, Huntingdon, Bedford & Peterborough Gazette, Ipswich Journal, Isle of Man Times and General Advertiser, Leeds Intelligencer, Leeds Mercury, Leeds Times, Liverpool Mercury, Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, London Daily News, London Standard, Keighley News, Kentish Gazette, Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser, Manchester Evening News, Manchester Guardian, Manchester Times, Mexborough and Swinton Times, Morning Post, Newcastle Courant, Norfolk Chronicle, Northampton Mercury, Notes & Queries, Nottinghamshire Guardian, Nottingham Evening Post, Observer, Oxford Journal, The Register, Salisbury and Winchester Journal, Sheffield Daily Telegraph, Sheffield Independent, Sheffield & Rotherham Independent Shields Daily Gazette, Stamford Mercury, The Standard, The Star, Surrey Mirror, Bradford Telegraph and Argus, The Times, Todmorden Advertiser, Weekly Standard and Express, Western Mail, Western Times, Wrexham Advertiser, Yorkshire Evening Post, Yorkshire Observer, Yorkshire Herald and The York Herald, Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer.*

## **APPENDIX XIV.**

### **The Yorkshire Women's Cricket League. Rules for 1938 season.**

- 1- The League shall be called "The Yorkshire Women's Cricket League".
- 2- The League shall consist of City or Town Teams and may be run in Group or Divisional form.
- 3- The League shall be governed by "The Yorkshire Section of the English Women's Cricket Federation Board of Management" who shall have power to appoint Members in this League's Management, according to clause 4 of these Federation Rules.
- 4- Each team shall pay an Entrance Fee of £1 (payable on or before June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1938).
- 5- All games to be played from Monday to Saturday in each week, according to the fixtures in the Handbook. Each club shall be responsible for a minimum number of 12 handbooks at 2d. each. The home team to be free to decide on what evening or Saturday they shall play their home fixtures.

- 5a- In the event of no re-arranged date being possible, the awarding of points to be left to be discretion of the Management Committee.
- 5b- Each club to have one telephone number with which the home team secretary can communicate one hour before the visiting team's departure. This to apply only in case of unfitness of ground.
- 6a- Period of play to be 22 Overs minimum, and 30 Overs maximum, unless disposed of in under the Overs stipulated, the Captains to decide prior to the toss of the coin, how many overs each team shall bat.
- 6b- Any team not prepared to play with 7 players at the time appointed shall forfeit the points.
- 6c- All League matches to commence not later than 7-15 p.m. In the event of the visiting team arriving after this time, the home team to have choice of innings.
- 6d- Each Team must provide an efficient Male Umpire for all their League Matches.
- 7- The result of each League Match, whether completed or not, must be forwarded by the Secretary of each team, to the League Secretary, to reach her within 48 hours of the date of play.
- 8- Inter- City or Town teams shall play home and away matches with each other, the first named in the fixture list to be known as the home team, and points shall be awarded as follows :- Two for a win, one for a draw- losses to be ignored. The team obtaining the largest number of runs in a completed match shall be declared the winners.
- 9a- All players must be registered with the League 24 hours prior to taking part in a League match.
- 9b- Clubs may register as many players as desired, on payment of a nominal fee of 10/-, giving player's full name and address. Fee to be paid on or before June 1<sup>st</sup>, 1938.
- 9c- That a player can only play for one team in the same season unless the consent of the Management Committee has been obtained.
- 10- League Batting and Bowling Prizes will be awarded, the qualification shall be as follows: A Batsman must have six innings, a Bowler must take 25 wickets, and each must play in three out of the last four matches, unless a reasonable excuse in writing be made to the League Secretary.
- 11- All matches shall be played under the "MCC Laws of Cricket", excepting where specified in these Rules. The wicket to be marked exactly in the same way as Men's Cricket, viz :- 22 Yards. Clubs must use the regulation 5 ½ oz. Leather Cricket Ball in all League Games.
- 12- The Leading Team in each Division shall play a deciding match for the Championship of the League. In the event of Teams being grouped together the runners-up shall be allowed to challenge the leaders, providing they have not previously met during the season, and are within two points of the leaders. The winners of that match shall be declared the League Championship.
- 13- If any team withdraw from the League during the season, the points will be deducted from the teams they have played.

- 14- If the season's expenditure exceeds the income, each team which is a Member of the League will be liable for an equal share of the deficiency.
  - 15- The League shall provide a "Trophy" for annual competition, same to be held for 12 months ending July of each season. The Trophy must be returned to the Secretary by 1<sup>st</sup> August. This Trophy shall remain the property of the League, who shall be responsible for insuring the same. 12 prizes or suitable awards to be left to the discretion of the Management Committee.
  - 16- Captains must only put on Bowlers who wear a white Pull-Over (sleeveless if preferred) or White Sweater, over the top part of the dress if not in all white.
  - 17- Any team desiring to lodge an objection, must do so in writing. Such objection must be accompanied by a deposit fee of Ten Shillings stating grounds of objection, and sent per registered post to the League Secretary, to arrive within forty-eight hours following the match (Sunday's not included). An exact copy of the objection must be sent per registered post to the Secretary of the team against which the objection is lodged. Such deposit fee to be forfeited if the objection is found frivolous.
  - 18- Should any question arise not provided for in these rules, they shall be dealt with by the Yorkshire Section of the English Women's Cricket Federation Board of Management (see Rule 3), and their decision shall be final and binding to all parties concerned.
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Source: English Women's Cricket Federation. Yorkshire Section. *Official Handbook*, Unknown, Huddersfield, 1938, 8-11.

## **APPENDIX XV.**

### **English Women's Cricket Federation. (Yorkshire Section). Rules for season 1938.**

#### **1- NAME**

- 1.- That this Section shall be called "The Yorkshire Section of the English Women's Cricket Federation.

#### **2- OFFICIALS**

The Officials of this Section of the Federation shall be President, Chairman, Vice- Chairman, Honorary Treasurer, and Honorary Secretary, with a Board of Management (composed of a representative from each of the Organisations) as elected.

#### **3- SUB- COMMITTEES**

The Board may, if it thinks fit, appoint Sub- Committees of the Management to transact business specially allocated to them, the President, Chairman, Vice- Chairman, Hon. Treasurer, and Hon. Secretary to the Ex- Officio members of all Sub- Committees.

#### 4- MEMBERSHIP

Any responsible and properly organised City, or Town in the County of Yorkshire, providing Cricket for Women, shall be eligible to apply for membership of this Section of the Federation, and may be entitled to representation on the Board of Management if elected.

#### 5- AFFILIATION

Individual clubs who are not members of the League shall pay an annual affiliation fee of 2/6. All Players must pay an Affiliation Fee of One Shilling per annum. Any person may become a County Member at a fee of One Shilling per annum.

#### 6- ANNUAL MEETING

An Annual Meeting, of which 14 days' notice shall be given, will be held the 1<sup>st</sup> week in October, when the Secretary's report and Audited Balance Sheet shall be presented. The President and other Official to be elected for the ensuing season must be present, unless a satisfactory apology for absence to be received. Nominations to be in the hands of the Secretary three days prior to the Annual Meeting.

#### 7- DRESS

In all County and Representative Matches players must wear white, dresses to be approximately knee length.

#### 8-QUESTIONS

Should any questions arise not provided for in these rules, same will be dealt with by the Board of Management, and their decisions shall be final and binding to all parties concerned.

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Source: English Women's Cricket Federation. Yorkshire Section. *Official Handbook*, Unknown, Huddersfield, 1938, 6-7.

## **APPENDIX XVI.**

### English Women's Cricket Federation Rules.

- 1- The Federation shall be called the "English Women's Cricket Federation".
- 2- The Federation shall consists of all County Associations of Federations playing Women's Cricket whose affiliation has been accepted by the English Women's Cricket Federation.
- 3- The Governing body of the Federation shall consist of the President, Vice- Presidents and Officials, together with six representatives of each affiliated county.
- 4- Each Inter- City or Town club in membership with the Federation must pay an annual affiliation fee of five shillings on or before June 1<sup>st</sup>.
- 5- An Emergency Committee consisting of President and Secretary of the Federation, and Chairman of each County Section, to deal with all cases of emergency, and their decision shall be final.

- 6- The Annual Meeting of which seven days' notice must be given, will be held in the last week of October, in each county in rotation. Agenda shall be: (1) Secretary's Report and Audited Statement of Accounts. (2) Election of Officers. (3) Alteration of Rules. (4) Such other business as may be sanctioned by the Chairman of the Meeting.
- 7- Any four affiliated clubs may demand a Special General Meeting by giving 14 days' notice, and stating in writing the nature of the business to the Secretary of the Federation (No other business to be transacted).
- 8- The Federation shall play under MCC rules except where otherwise stated in the County Sections.
- 9- Any matter not covered by these Rules to be dealt with by the Management Committee.
- 10- Copies of minutes of meetings to be sent to each committee.

Source: English Women's Cricket Federation. Yorkshire Section. *Official Handbook*, Unknown, Huddersfield, 1938, 4-6.

## Appendix XVII.

### All work cricket teams.

#### Key

(WCA) - Affiliated to WCA  
(WCF) - Affiliated to WCF  
(NA) - No Affiliation

#### West Yorkshire

Baldon Combing Company (WCF)  
BDA (Head Office) (WCF)  
Bowling Dyeworks (WCF)  
Bradford and District Newspaper (WCF)  
Bridge Mills (NA)  
Briggella Mills (WCF)  
Brookfoot Dyeworks (WCF)  
Brookstreet Dyeworks (WCF)  
Cartwrights (NA)  
Copley Marshall Ltd (NA)  
Crompton & Parkinsons (WCF)  
Crompton Lamps (NA)  
C.W.S. Clothing Factory (WCF)  
DCL Company (NA)  
Deanhouse Sunbeams (NA)  
Dobroyd Mills (NA)  
Dover Mills (NA)  
Duckinfield Ladies (NA)  
Glendale Mills (NA)  
H. & S. Butterfield Ltd (NA)  
Harrogate Ladies (NA)  
Heaton's (WCF)  
Hey's Brewery (WCF)

#### West Yorkshire cont

Holmbridge Revellers (NA)  
Holme Mills (NA)  
Ickringill's (NA)  
J. Cohen's & S. Rhodes (WCF)  
J. & S. Rhodes (WCF)  
J. Cawthras (WCF)  
Joshua Wilson's Ltd (NA)  
Junior Sports (NA)  
Kirkbridge Mills (NA)  
Lascelles Hall (NA)  
Lee Mills (NA)  
Leeds Co-operative Society's Clothing Department (NA)  
Leeds GPO Telephone Exchange Service (NA)  
Leeds Telephone District Office Staff (NA)  
Leigh Mills (WCF)  
Lister & Co. (NA)  
Lister Park ladies (NA)  
Lower Mill Irresponsibles (NA)  
Mallesons & Wilsons (NA)  
Manningham Mills (WCF)  
Messrs. Beaumont & Smith (NA)  
Messrs. Clough, Ramsden & Co (NA)  
Messrs. George Bray & Co (NA)

#### West Yorkshire cont

Montague Burton's (WCF)  
Mustard Club (NA)  
Nunroyd Mills (NA)  
Ogden Mills (WCF)  
Otley Printdom (NA)  
Parkinson's (NA)  
Prospect Mills (NA)  
Provident Supply Co (WCF)  
Raper & Hurlley (NA)  
Salts (Saltaire Mill) (WCF)  
Sinclair & Son (NA)  
Sitsden (NA)  
Springfield Mills (NA)  
St. Lukes Hospital (WCF)  
Stockbridge Finishing Co (NA)  
Taylors Drugs (NA)  
Tingley Mills (WCF)  
Vernon Heaton's (NA)  
W. J. Whiteheads (WCF)  
W. N. Sharpe Ltd (WCF)  
W. M. Sykes (NA)  
Washpit Mills (NA)  
Watkinsons Redoubtables (NA)  
Whetley Mills (WCF)  
Wildspur Mills (NA)  
William Sykes (WCF)  
Wilson & Mathieson's (WCF)  
Wilson's (NA)

**Tyne and Wear**  
 Dock Street U.M.C (NA)  
 Lloyds Bank (WCA)

**Lancashire**  
 British Tyre & Rubber Co (WCA)  
 Crompton (NA)  
 CWS Ladies (WCA)  
 Ensign Lamps Works (WCA)  
 Fulwood and Broughton (WCA)  
 Lewis's LCC (WCA)  
 Leyland Motors LCC (WCA)  
 Manchester CWS (NA)  
 Penwortham Mills (NA)  
 Preston Steam Laundry (A) (WCA)  
 Preston Steam Laundry (B) (WCA)  
 Preston Vernon's Ltd (WCA)  
 Rishton Paper Mill (NA)  
 Siemen's Lamp Works (WCA)  
 Whittingham County Mental Hospital (WCA)

**Staffordshire**  
 Burntwood Mental Hospital (NA)  
 English Electric Co (WCA)  
 Four Oaks Spraying Machine Co (NA)  
 Shannon's Head Office (NA)

**Warwickshire**  
 Bournville Girls Athletic Club (WCA)  
 BTH Coventry Social and Athletic Club (WCA)

**Gloucestershire**  
 Fry's Athletic Club (WCA)

**Somerset**  
 Messrs Jolly & Son (NA)

**Glou**  
 Fry's



**Derbyshire**  
 Bemrose & Sons LCC (NA)  
 Derby LMS Railway Ladies (NA)  
 Matlock Bath LCC (NA)  
 Robinson & Sons Ltd LCC (NA)  
 Robinson's WCC (WCA)  
 Trent Motor Traction Women (NA)

**Nottinghamshire**  
 Boots Athletic Club (WCA)  
 Boots WCC (Welfare Dept) (WCA)  
 Forman's Athletic Club WCC (WCA)  
 Labour Exchange (NA)  
 Lewison WCC (WCA)  
 Meridan WCC (WCA)  
 No. 2 Cigarette Factory (NA)  
 Players General Office (NA)  
 Player's Girls' CC (WCA)  
 Post Office Telephones (NA)  
 Raleigh Athletic CC (NA)  
 Raleigh WCC (WCA)  
 Wolsey LCC (WCA)

**Norfolk**  
 Norwich Post Office (WCA)  
 Norwich Training College (WCA)  
 Post Office WCC (WCA)  
 Sennowe Park WCC (WCA)

**Essex**  
 British Drug Houses (WCA)  
 Ribble Motors (NA)

**London**  
 Civil Service WCC (WCA)  
 Civil Service Headquarters (WCA)  
 H.M. Office of Works (WCA)  
 Ibis LCC (WCA)  
 LCC Tramways (WCA)  
 L M & S Rly LCC (WCA)  
 London LMS (NA)  
 London Telephone Service (WCA)  
 London Transport LCC (WCA)  
 Lyons LCC (WCA)  
 Ministry of Health WCC (WCA)  
 Ministry of Labour LCC (WCA)  
 Rego L.C.C (WCA)

**Kent**  
 Aylesford Paper Mills (WCA)  
 Peek Frean Clubs (WCA)  
 Woolwich Equitable Society WCC (WCA)  
 Woolworth's (WCA)



	<b><u>Oxfordshire</u></b>	<b><u>Sussex</u></b>	<b><u>Surrey</u></b>
	Headington School (WCA)	Maurice Tates Fol-de-Rols (NA)	Southern Railway WCC (WCA)
	Milham Ford School (WCA)	Ancaster House (WCA)	Westminster Bank LCC (WCA)
	Oxford University (WCA)	Beehive School (WCA)	Windmill Press LCC (WCA)
<b><u>Hampshire</u></b>		Boston House (WCA)	
Landport Drapery Bazaar Ladies (NA)		Brighton WCC (WCA)	
Liss LCC (NA)		Burwash LCC (WCA)	
Southampton Civil Service LCC (WCA)	<b><u>Berkshire</u></b>	Hastings LCC (WCA)	<b><u>Middlesex</u></b>
	Burberry LCC (WCA)	Littlehampton District LCC (WCA)	Abbey Road LCC (WCA)
<b><u>Devon</u></b>		Roedean School (WCA)	BBC LCC (WCA)
Galmpton & Torquay WCC (WCA)		St. Michael's Girls CC (WCA)	BDV Raleigh Sports Club (WCA)
Western National Women (NA)		Three Bridges Ladies	J.C. & J. Fields LTC CC (WCA)
		Worthing High School	Metropolitan Building Societies (WCA)

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Source: *Aberdeen Evening Express, Aberdeen Journal, Aberdeen Weekly Journal, Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette, Belfast*

*Morning News, Berkshire Chronicle, Birmingham Daily Post, Bristol Mercury and Daily Post, Bucks Herald, Burnley Express, Caledonian Mercury, Chelmsford Chronicle, Derby Daily Telegraph, Derby Mercury, Edinburgh Evening News, The Era, Exeter and Plymouth Gazette Daily Telegram, The Graphic, Hampshire Advertiser, Hampshire Chronicle, Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle, Hampshire Independent, Hastings and St Leonards Observer, Holmfirth Express, Huntingdon, Bedford & Peterborough Gazette, Ipswich Journal, Isle of Man Times and General Advertiser, Leeds Intelligencer, Leeds Mercury, Leeds Times, Liverpool Mercury, Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper, London Daily News, London Standard, Keighley News, Kentish Gazette, Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser, Manchester Evening News, Manchester Guardian, Manchester Times, Mexborough and Swinton Times, Morning Post, Newcastle Courant, Norfolk Chronicle, Northampton Mercury, Notes & Queries, Nottinghamshire Guardian, Nottingham Evening Post, Observer, Oxford Journal, The Register, Salisbury and Winchester Journal, Sheffield Daily Telegraph, Sheffield Independent, Sheffield & Rotherham Independent, Shields Daily Gazette, Stamford Mercury, The Standard, The Star, Surrey Mirror, Bradford Telegraph and Argus, The Times, Todmorden Advertiser, The Weekly Standard and Express, Western Mail, Western Times, Wrexham Advertiser, Yorkshire Evening Post, Yorkshire Observer, Yorkshire Herald and York Herald, Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelliaencer.*

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