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**A ‘strange...absurd...and somewhat injurious influence’?
Professional Coaching in the Public Schools and the “Gentleman Amateur”
Ethos**

This paper offers an insight into the changing social and economic relations in cricket between 1860 and 1914, by examining the role of professionals who were employed to coach the game in public schools. It highlights how professionals were widely respected before this period and pioneered the development of playing technique and its dissemination through coaching in a manner that ensured the game was played in a way which benefited their interests. The decline in their status which followed the rise of the ‘Gentleman Amateur’ to a position of control in cricket during the 1860s is then discussed and related to the growth of an influential body of rhetoric that underscored the new structure. Finally, the re-evaluation of coaching’s contribution to cricket in private education which formed part of this discourse is set against the continued employment of professionals in such institutions and their influence upon amateur players of the game’s ‘Golden Age’.

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Introduction

In 1890 Rev. Hon. Edward Lyttelton questioned the wisdom of placing the responsibility for teaching cricket to boys at English public schools in the hands of professional players. He warned,

Certain it is that a professional bowler engaged at a school, if he be a man of good manners, and willing to speak dogmatically, will have a strange influence over young cricketers which would be very absurd were it not somewhat injurious. Not only cricket, but matters, some of them tinged with the associations of low life, will the boys look at through the professional’s eyes and it seems undesirable that this functionary should be invested with an even larger influence than the possession of a peculiar gift, and of strong, though ill-balanced, opinions will inevitably secure for him.¹

Lyttelton, who played first class cricket for I Zingari, the Gentlemen, the MCC, Cambridge University and Middlesex and football for the Old Etonians and England, was headmaster at Eton from 1905 to 1916 and Canon of St Albans. His views reflected contemporary attitudes towards professional players amongst the social elite which had largely been cultivated over the previous 30 or so years to underscore the assumed pre-eminence of the 'Gentleman Amateur' in cricket. It was argued by some that the inherently corrupt and self-interested nature of professionalism exposed the moral vulnerability of working class players who were paid to play sport. Free from the lure of financial necessity, however, middle and upper class amateurs could play in a way that placed what were seen as the true values of sport, such as fair play, physical exercise, the team ethic and aesthetic style, before the pursuit of individual success.

Indeed at the time Lyttelton was writing, this view appeared to be fully justified by events in English cricket. During the three decades that preceded the First World War a host of talented amateurs were at the apex of the first class game during what became known as the 'Golden Age' of cricket. Men such as C.B. Fry, A.C. MacLaren, F.S. Jackson, and A.G. Steel enjoyed considerable success during this period without being seen to compromise the amateur principles of style and fair play.

Yet, despite Lyttelton's contention, professionals had pioneered the development of playing technique in cricket and largely directed the way in which the game was played over the previous 150 years. But perhaps more importantly in the light of Lyttelton's pronouncement, professionals also played an instrumental role in the transfer of knowledge and skills through coaching and continued to be engaged at Public Schools and universities throughout this period and beyond. Their role in tutoring members of the social elite, therefore, offers an important insight into the social distinctions that came to dominate first class cricket in England during the second half of the nineteenth century and continued to shape the structure of the game for the next 100 or so years.

This article will highlight the significance of playing innovation and coaching as a means of consolidating the position of professional players at the forefront of the game before the middle decades of the nineteenth century. It will then show how their

status declined significantly as a result of the new social distinctions which developed in cricket following the rise of the 'Gentleman Amateur' during the 1860s. Finally the way in which their contribution to the game's development in the public schools was re-evaluated will be examined as perceptions of previous and contemporary professionals were changed through the growing discourse which surrounded cricket in the four decades that preceded the First World War.

'A great decisive improvement': Professional Players, the Origins of Coaching and the Expansion of the Game.

Few, if any, modern sports have a stronger tradition of coaching than cricket. The relatively complex and diverse dynamics of the game demand that a considerable amount of time be spent on the development and practice of specific skills. Playing technique has consequently been recognised as an important aspect of the game since at least the eighteenth century. Indeed although its basic principles have altered little since cricket originated as a folk game over 400 years ago, the development of new batting and bowling techniques have revolutionised the way in which the game has been played.

The structure and culture of cricket before the 1860s meant that professional players led the technical development of the sport during this period. Advancements were made by players who were employed by aristocratic patrons to represent them in matches upon which considerable amounts of stake money were wagered. The most important and well-documented contribution was made by the famous Hambledon club, which during the second half of the eighteenth century employed a stable of leading professionals from the surrounding area. They were paid to both practice together and play in matches, a system which not only led to considerable success but also created a fertile environment in which knowledge and skills could be passed on. New techniques were consequently developed at Hambledon which pre-empted aspects of the sport's modern era and, as the Rev. John Mitford later explained, it was on,

the down of Broad Halfpenny ...somewhere between the years 1770 and 1780, that a great decisive improvement took place and that cricket first began to assume that truly skilful and scientific character which it now possesses.²

Mitford was one of a number of writers who later chronicled the success of the Hambledon club and these accounts provide some of the earliest direct references to coaching in cricket. In his famous reminiscences of the club John Nyren provided an insight into how David Harris benefited from the advice of Richard Nyren, the author's father, to perfect length bowling, which exploited the irregular bounce of uneven pitches. Writing about Harris, Nyren explained how,

When he first joined the Hambledon club, he was quite a raw countryman at cricket, and had very little to recommend him but his noble delivery. He was also very apt to give tosses. I have seen old Nyren scratch his head and say – “D—n that Harris! He would make the best bowler in England if he did not toss.” By continual practice, however, and following the advice of the old Hambledon players, he became steady as could be wished.³

The breakthrough in bowling technique is widely regarded as prompting the change in batting style which saw the straight bat approach become generally accepted and this too is credited to Hambledon players. In order to counter the new style of delivery, men like John Small and ‘Silver’ Billy Beldham, pioneered the technique, through which they used forward play and brought the bat down in a vertical position. Indeed, Small, a master bat maker, turned his playing innovation into a literal one by first changing the shape of the bat from its original curved form to one similar to that which is used today. According to Nyren, Beldham's development as a player was also helped by advice that was passed on to him by the senior players at Hambledon and,

... with the instruction and advice of the old heads superadded he rapidly attained to the extraordinary accomplishment of being the finest player that has appeared within the latitude of more than half a century.⁴

By the end of the eighteenth century, cricket was clearly looked upon as a game in which considerable improvements in play could be achieved through expert tuition. Consequently during the first decade of the nineteenth century the process had begun to be set on a more formal basis and, as leading exponents of the game, professionals assumed the role of passing on knowledge by providing instruction in either written or practical form. Five years before the inaugural Gentlemen versus Players match took place in 1806, leading professional Thomas Boxall published the first book to detail rules and instructions on how to play cricket.⁵ It was followed 15 years later by William Lambert's *Instructions and Rules For Playing the Noble Game Of Cricket*, which by 1865 had sold 300,000 copies.⁶ Books providing similar advice became relatively common over the next few decades. Other professionals, such as John Wisden and Charles Box published similar works, whilst William Boland's *Cricket Notes* included 'a letter containing practical hints from William Clarke', the Nottingham professional and cricket entrepreneur.⁷

In addition to these works, some of the most influential early writers on cricket also produced books which detailed how to play the game. John Nyren, published *The Young Cricketers Tutor* in 1833 and this was followed two years later by the Reverend James Pycroft's, *The principles of scientific batting*. Pycroft was one of the first writers to ascribe the moral values to cricket, which became particularly influential in the construction of the 'Gentleman Amateur' conception during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Yet, the works of both he and Nyren offer no real challenge to the authority of professional players in matters relating to both batting and bowling technique. Each leant heavily on the analysis of leading professionals in providing their instructions and in his later work *The Cricket Field*, which included a chapter on 'The Science and Art of batting', Pycroft suggested that,

Every player should practise occasionally with professional bowlers, for they look to the principle of play, and point out radical errors even in showy hits. Even Pilch will request a friend to stand by him in practice to detect any shifting of the foot or other bad habit, into which experience teaches that the best men

unconsciously fail. I would advise every good player to take one or two lessons at the beginning of the season.⁸

In *The Young Cricketer's Tutor*, Nyren described the straight bat technique of John Small. Under the heading 'How to play at a ball dropped rather short of a length on the off side of the wicket', he explained how,

Old Small, one of the finest batsman of his own day and perhaps of any other, always played such balls with an upright bat; he would pass his left foot across the wicket and this action gave him power and command over the ball.⁹

Indeed in *Felix on the Bat*, published the year before he was one of the two amateurs who joined William Clarke's All England Eleven in 1846, Nicholas Wanostrocht began with the following apology,

Properly speaking, it ought to have emanated from a professional cricketer; by whom, most likely, it would have been more scientifically "handled" than by the humble individual who thus abruptly presents himself.¹⁰

A handful of professionals were also amongst the first men to be formally engaged to coach the skills of cricket and they played a key role in the game's expansion. In a later work, *Oxford Memories*, Pycroft explained that in the 1820s there 'were few professionals, save at Lord's, to teach the art'.¹¹ But as cricket first began to spread in importance outside its traditional home in the south east of England, these men were evidently also free to pursue other opportunities elsewhere in the country. William Caldecourt, one of the Lord's professionals, was described by Pycroft as 'a first-rate teacher' and in 1826 he and William Lambert could be found in Sheffield.¹² They were engaged on a temporary basis to provide coaching for the teams that played in the inaugural fixture at the Hyde Park ground. The match took place between 'Eleven of the Doncaster Club' and 'Eleven of the Sheffield Norfolk Club' and was featured in an advertisement in the *Sheffield Independent*. It explained, that 'the Doncaster Gentleman have for some time had instruction from Mr. Caldecourt, a very celebrated London player' whilst 'the Norfolk Club are receiving Information from

Mr. Lambert, the Acknowledged best player in the world, (not only as a bowler, but in every point of the game).'¹³

This event represents a pivotal moment in the rise of cricket in Sheffield and demonstrates how far pre-modern values still predominated as the sport began its formative period of expansion in England. The game's growth was most apparent in the developing urban industrial centres of the North and Midlands, as first Nottingham and then Leicester and Sheffield became important centres for cricket. A strong sense of rivalry began to develop between these towns, which was stimulated by the growth of commercial interest in the game. Entrepreneurs established commercial venues, such as the one at Hyde Park, where they staged major matches featuring teams that represented the three towns and other sides consisting of leading players from London and the south east of England. The players who took part were nearly all professionals and they often played for substantial sums of stake money.

The entrepreneurs who promoted cricket in Sheffield recognised the need to cultivate local talent in order to establish star players who could draw in the crowds and enable teams from the town to compete with local rivals. Consequently, after an early defeat at the hands of Nottingham, George Steer, who was then the proprietor of the first commercial venue in Sheffield at Darnall, enlisted outside help. In 1824 'to afford the members of the club every chance of improving themselves, [he] engaged Sparkes, a well known cricketer from Marylebone, to instruct them.'¹⁴ Before building his reputation as a coach, Sparkes had begun his career during the Hambledon era, some 40 years earlier, as did William Fennex, who was also engaged by Steer. Fennex was one of the pioneers of forward play and William Barber, a young Sheffield player at this time, later explained how the advice the two coaches gave had a considerable impact,

The match and tuition of Fennex and Sparkes commenced a new era in Sheffield cricket. Some of the players began to be known at headquarters (Lord's) and some of them afterwards played in the best matches of the time. Woolhouse, Dearman, Vincent, and Marsden became well-known cricketers.¹⁵

But the commercialized context of the game in Sheffield during this period provided one of very few environments in which leading players were formally employed to coach fellow professionals during the nineteenth century. Although it is likely that, where circumstances allowed, skills were passed on to colleagues by experienced players in an informal way, as they had been at Hambledon, only middle and upper class institutions were in a position to employ professionals in this role. For example, in order to maximize the use of the Hyde Park ground, during its second season the proprietors established an 'Amateurs' Club' and a 'Players' Club'. The 'Amateurs' Club' was clearly aimed at the local social elite and its exclusivity was ensured by a yearly subscription of 8 shillings. For this, the members met every Wednesday when, it was explained, 'they will be assisted by several of the best Match Players and every attention will be given to promote their amusement'.¹⁶

Coaching members of clubs that were formed amongst the social elite subsequently became one of the key roles for professional players as the game continued to expand during the first half of the nineteenth century and employment opportunities grew. The MCC engaged its first professionals in 1825, when four players were employed to bowl at the members, and by the 1840s ten such positions had been created.¹⁷ As we have seen, according to James Pycroft these men were also looked upon to provide instruction and around this time a number of other clubs elsewhere in the south of England engaged professionals in similar roles. Harry Sampson, a Sheffield single wicket champion, was employed by the Reading Town Club 'as an instructor and ground man' whilst Sam Dakin joined the Kingscote Club in Gloucester, Edmund Hinkly the Watford Club, and Daniel Day the Southampton club.¹⁸

Further north, the rapidly changing social and economic landscape of Britain during this period was reflected in the formation of a wave of ambitious new clubs and they too sought professional help in order to establish themselves. Many became important institutions which strove to promote the civic status and communal identity of the towns in which they were formed by attracting fixtures with other leading clubs. In order to do this they sought to develop the proficiency of their members by employing professional players as coaches in the same way George Steer had done in Sheffield a decade earlier. So by 1833 Sheffield's leading player Tom Marsden was 'engaged by the Manchester Club, to bowl at

them and give them instructions in the art of cricket'.¹⁹ In 1836 he was coaching the Burnley club and later in that decade James Dearman developed a similar link with the Todmorden club, where 'Mr Fielden got Dearman, or Jimmy as he was familiarly known, a cricketer of high repute, one of the Sheffield cracks, to come over from Rochdale occasionally to instruct us'.²⁰ The Todmorden club employed its first permanent professional, Joseph Crossland, in 1850 and his role was evidently seen as an extension of the work that Dearman had done around a decade earlier. Crossland remained with the club for some years and the *Halifax Guardian* explained how he was reappointed 'as teacher' in 1854 as the committee was 'anxious to promote the progress of the members'.²¹

'The very best tutors we ever remember': Professionals, Coaching, and the Rise of Cricket in Public Schools and Universities

It was also around this time that professional players began to find employment with the elite education institutions. Although students played the game from at least the mid-eighteenth century onwards, regular recorded matches and the establishment of formalised clubs at Oxford and Cambridge did not take place until the first decades of the nineteenth century. The first Varsity match took place in 1827, and John Sparkes and William Caldecourt were employed as coaches at Cambridge in the same year.²² The fixture was not played on a regular basis until 1838, however, and the engagement of professional assistance at Oxford seemingly coincided with the game being taken more seriously at this time. In 1844 Bells' life explained how at Oxford,

Independent of the old clubs of Magdalen, Brasenose, Bullington, and St Johns, two others have been formed, viz., Exeter and Wadham. The members of the former have been at considerable expense in laying down a fresh ground on Cowley Marsh, which when furnished will be equal to any in the neighbourhood. The latter have also made a new ground on the northern side of Oxford, where practice has commenced under the able auspices of Brown, the celebrated Nottingham bowler, who has been engaged by the club for the season.²³

Success on the field was evidently a major source of motivation for the engagement of Brown as *Bell's Life* went on to announce, 'This club promises ere long to be able to compete with any of the university clubs.'²⁴

Although engaged as a bowler, Brown also took charge of practices and by the next decade a number of professionals were employed in similar fashion by various colleges at the two Universities. William Caffyn was engaged at Christchurch College 1853 and 1854 and Fuller Pilch, Jemmy Grundy, Willsher, Julius Caesar and Billy Buttress also worked at Oxford in these years. The engagements were only for a few weeks in the spring, and the pay was relatively poor, £1, 1 shilling and 6 pence a week. But this type of employment provided a useful and enjoyable source of supplementary income before work became readily available once the season was underway.²⁵

By the 1850s Caffyn was also one amongst a number of professionals who were finding steady employment as coaches at the public schools. Again such engagements first became available after regular fixtures with rival institutions had been established around 30 years earlier. Although the first Eton and Harrow match took place in 1805 the fixture did not become an annual event until 1822, the same year that William Caldecourt was employed at Harrow to coach the students. However, Eton did not appoint its first professional coach, Samuel Redgate the Nottingham fast bowler who also spent time on the Lord's ground staff, until 1840.²⁶

Although coaching positions at most public schools remained relatively rare before 1850, Harrow was an exception, and the early appointments that were made at the school provide an important illustration of the regard in which professional cricketers were held at this time. Caldecourt was succeeded by John Anderdon and then Henry Anderson and both men were former pupils at the school. Indeed Anderson had even given up a job in the City to pursue his career in cricket, which illustrates how the social stigma that later became associated with professional players was largely absent during the first half of the nineteenth century.²⁷ Consequently, as late as 1865, James Pycroft could provide the following testimony to the knowledge and character of William Caldecourt,

‘Honest Will Caldecourt’ – a worthy, civil man, who served as a practice bowler to the Marylebone club for the long period of forty season. He was one of the very best tutors we ever remember. We acknowledge deriving more information from Caldecourt than from any one man; his experience had been so great, and he could give reason for everything. Had Caldecourt been a scholar, his recollections would have been curious.²⁸

The reputation of those early professional cricketers who were employed in the elite educational institutions was, therefore, in contrast to that of the students they instructed. As Mangan has explained, one of the reasons games were first introduced at public schools was to address the problem of chronic ill-discipline amongst pupils and this was reflected in the experiences of some of the men who were engaged to coach cricket.²⁹ For example, in the years before the reforms instituted by C.J Vaughan at Harrow the ‘wildness, brutality and irresponsibility’ of the boys included keeping dogs and cats ‘the one to kill the others’. But stone throwing was ‘the prevailing vice’ and as well as fights with navvies working on the London and North-Western Railway, the boys ‘used to exchange fire with the school’s professional bowler and ground keeper who never moved about without a pocketful of stones’.³⁰ Similar problems of discipline were also common at the Universities in the 1820s and whilst engaged as a coach at Oxford John Sparkes was enlisted to help the ‘proctors’ who were given responsibility of policing the students. Amongst other things, his duties included ‘searching houses of ill fame’ and as James Pycroft explained,

...from all sorts of queer hiding places he would hear a whisper – “pray, Sparkes, don’t split on me.” I could have told the Proctor which side Sparkes would take, especially if the offender was one of the cricket eleven.³¹

The 1850s and 60s saw participation in cricket become an increasingly important part of the curriculum and as the game spread further throughout the public school system professionals were synonymous with its growth. Writing in 1877, Charles Box explained how this process began,

The time, albeit, was ripe for introducing cricket as a part and parcel of education in all public schools — so called. Professional players of character

and ability found profitable and permanent engagements. Not many years elapsed before Eton, Harrow, and Winchester were cognizant of the advances made by other "foundations" in different parts of England.³²

The players who took up these positions included William Caffyn who was engaged at Eton in 1855 and Winchester in 1858, James Lillywhite who became coach at Rugby School in 1850 and his father William, who coached at Winchester in 1851.³³

The central role professionals played in the growth of cricket amongst the public schools reflected their dominance of the game in general at this time. The professional elevens that toured the United Kingdom and overseas playing commercial odds fixtures reached their height in the 1860s. Indeed the strength of their position was demonstrated by the way in which some players were able to place their own interests in front of those of the fledgling amateur-led county clubs. Following a dispute with their counterparts in the south, who had set up what was seen as an exclusively southern based rival to the two main itinerant elevens, five players from Yorkshire refused to play in the county club's fixtures against Surrey in 1865. The bad feeling amongst northern players persisted into the next year and they withdrew from the annual Cricketers' Benefit Society match at Lord's. In disgust, *The Times* declared,

...the cause...is to be found in too prosperous conditions of the players. So long as they can earn more money by playing matches against Twenty –Two's than by appearing at Lord's – So long as they can be mistered in Public Houses and stared at in railway stations, they will care very little for being absent from the Metropolitan Ground. But they are wrong. They may be certain that the 'Gentlemen' will not give way in the struggle.³⁴

Yet when viewed from the perspective of the players involved, the withdrawal of labour represented an attempt to protect their economic interests by using one of the few means of collective bargaining that was available to members of the working classes. They also enjoyed a position of strength in a diverse and expanding market which offered opportunities that were independent from 'Gentleman Amateur' controlled county clubs and the MCC. Consequently, the action of the Yorkshire players was successful and after refusing to select any of the five players in dispute,

attendances for the county club's other matches fell so dramatically it was forced to suspend all activities in 1866. So, with no other realistic option available, the county club lifted the ban in 1867 and resumed its normal programme of fixtures.³⁵

The predominance of professionals in cricket was also apparent in the way the game was covered by the sporting press during the 1860s. During the spring of 1863, for example, the *Sporting Gazette* regularly updated its readers on the 'engagement of bowlers for the coming season'. In January the list included:

George Griffin (for April), at Oxford
Grundy (for April), at Cheltenham College
Martingell (permanently), at Bradfield College
Diver (permanently), at Rugby School
James Lillywhite (permanently), at Cheltenham College
Caleb Robinson (permanently), at King's School, Sherborne
Caffyn is open for an engagement for April and May³⁶

Further down the 'Cricket' column in the same edition of the publication it was explained that,

John Lillywhite, John Wisden, and Fred Lillywhite, keep registers of bowlers wanting engagements and supply clubs with bowlers of all degrees of pace, &c. We trust they and others will bear in mind an axiom of old Clarke, the slow bowler, who thus wrote: - "Why, - a person who recommends a wild and scrambling bowler to teach cricket, ought to be took up under the cruelty to Animals act."³⁷

The list was updated a week later and further details of some of the appointments were given. At Marlborough it was revealed that,

C. Brampton (of Lord's and Notts) continues as first professional bowler to the college, and during April he expects to be assisted by Thomas Sewell jun., of Surrey. The fine form of the Marlburians in 1862 is the best proof of the value of Brampton's services.'³⁸

Although not yet confirmed, it was believed that John Lillywhite would be ‘cricket professor to the Harrovians next season’ whilst,

Rugby, of course, retains the services of Diver. And who more capable to teach the young how to bowl, bat and field, than so well-behaved and thorough a cricketer? Who assists the “little man” during the spring we are not yet advised.³⁹

The list was updated again in April when, in addition to those already mentioned, eight further appointments had been made.⁴⁰

These men clearly built upon the tradition of successful professional coaching that was pioneered by well-respected players such as Caldecourt, and Sparkes during the 1820s and they were also held in high regard by their colleagues. William Caffyn gave equally generous praise to William Diver who, he said, ‘as a coach, was one of the very best that ever lived. He was an excellent judge of the game, and capable of captaining any eleven in any match, however important.’⁴¹ William Martingell was another professional who impressed Caffyn as a coach. He explained how the Kent and Surrey bowler, who was engaged at Bradfield College in 1863 and later at Eton, was ‘a fine judge of the game, and made an excellent coach.’⁴²

The Changing Context: Professional Coaching, Public School Cricket and the ‘Gentleman Amateur’ Conception

In addition to their practical purpose as a means of improving discipline amongst pupils, the centrality of games in the new public school curriculum was based on conceptual foundations which had an important influence upon attitudes towards cricket. The cult of athleticism that subsequently developed was built upon a body of rhetoric which promoted sport as a means of moral and physical development. Team games, such as cricket, were seen to provide an ideal means through which values, it was believed, should represent the character of the English gentleman could be diffused amongst the future leaders of the nation and its Empire. The most influential

early work in spreading this idea was *Tom Brown's School Days* in which Thomas Hughes blended memories of his own experiences at Thomas Arnold's Rugby with the philosophy of 'Muscular Christianity'. It included the eponymous character's now famous eulogy of the character forming values of cricket, in which he claimed the sport as,

... the birthright of British boys old and young, as habeas corpus and trial by jury are of British men...The discipline and reliance upon one another which it teaches is so invaluable, I think, ...it ought to be such an unselfish game. It merges the individual with the eleven: he does not play that he might win but that his side may.⁴³

The values Hughes promoted were equally influential in the interrelated development of the 'Gentleman Amateur' conception of sport and fittingly he was also an early critic of professional players. In a letter to the *Spectator*, published in full by the *Leeds Times* on 24th January 1863, he argued

... as surely as a sport is turned into a serious pursuit or profession it becomes mischievous and demoralising...Look at cricket again. This noble game is anything but benefited by the pursuit of it as a profession or trade by so many in late years. Gentlemen and players are alike injured by making it the object of their lives, and, moreover, the romance of the game is fast disappearing.⁴⁴

The change in attitude towards professionals, however, became more far-reaching after the assumption of amateur control in the first class game which took place during the last decades of the nineteenth century. As we have seen, Hughes was not alone in his criticism of the professional predominance in cricket during the 1860s. But in 1873, the increasing strength of amateur-led county cricket enabled a set of regulations to be placed upon professional players that imposed strict social distinctions which reflected attitudes in contemporary society.

In the eyes of the 'Gentleman Amateurs', the controls elevated the character of professionals to a new level of respectability and further underscored the need for social elite leadership in the game. But in order to reinforce this new conceptual

framework the general perception of professionals and their role in the development of the game also needed to be altered. Many commentators argued that without amateur guidance the demands of professionalism had inevitably led to the pursuit of self-interest and ill discipline amongst the players. For example, in 1903 W.J. Ford explained in the book *Cricket*, edited by H.H. Hutchinson, that

Among professionals a certain amount of professional jealousy is sure to arise, which sometimes grows into something stronger; while it has been proved by actual experience that in an eleven entirely composed of paid players, and of course captained by a professional, difficulties of discipline will occur, the management of the eleven being acridly criticised by those who think that in some form or other their abilities have not been duly recognised, which lack of recognition is attributable to the worst and meanest of motives.⁴⁵

The pressures of earning a living from cricket were also seen to compromise the professional's approach to playing the game and this was used to demonstrate further the superior values of amateur sport. It was argued that professional batsmen had little choice but to place a high emphasis on preserving their wicket at the expense of the kind of stylish play that characterised the approach of their amateur counterparts. This perceived contrast in style was somewhat acerbically reflected in the following verse about a famous professional batsman that appeared in an 1896 edition of *Punch*.

Block, Block, Block,
At the foot of the wicket Ah, do:
But one hour of Grace or Walter Read
Were worth a week of you⁴⁶

Similar conceptual representations of mid-nineteenth century professionals have subsequently become entrenched in the predominant view of cricket's past. So, for example, Sydney Rogerson later contrasted the character of Wilfred Rhodes, who was considered to be a model of the new breed of professional, with that of his mid-nineteenth century predecessors by explaining that

Professional cricketers in those days were much akin to professional boxers, particularly to the rough hewn, bare-knuckle fighters of the prize ring, and enjoyed much the same status in the community. They were ill paid, their life was hard and harsh and they were little regarded by the more responsible sections of society. Small wonder that as a class they had little pride in their calling, however much store they might set in their own performances. These they were most content to flaunt before the sycophantic eyes of their hangers on who, proud to be seen in their company, followed them from match to match only too ready to ply them with drink in return for a public acknowledgement of friendship.⁴⁷

Moreover, writing after the First World War, the celebrated cricket journalist Neville Cardus, who's work played an important role in reinforcing the literary construction of the "Golden Age" of cricket during the interwar period, explained,

There have been "stylish" professionals, of course ... But the average "pro" usually hints at the struggle for existence in mean grasping places. Hammond is majestic, no doubt; but not in the *inherited* way that MacLaren was majestic.⁴⁸

In the context of this discourse, however, the contribution professionals had made to the rise of cricket in elite education was clearly problematic. The reformed public schools and games like cricket in particular, played a key role in cultivating the moral ascendancy of the English social elite and justified their right to leadership at home and abroad. Consequently, the idea that boys at public schools could be taught how to play cricket by members of the working classes not only undermined the assumed ascendancy of the 'Gentleman Amateur', but could also be seen to raise questions about his assumed right to social and political leadership.

Consequently, the role professionals had played in coaching boys at the public schools was reinterpreted. Attention was turned to the question of batting style, which had begun to play an important role in the conceptual distinction between amateurs and professionals and one that also had a longstanding association with Public School

cricket. In *Oxford Memories*, his retrospective published in 1886, Pycroft claimed that by the 1820s,

... the only schools for cricket were truly schools – the public schools. For there, a good style of play became traditional, and few could learn it elsewhere.⁴⁹

As we have seen Pycroft was largely an advocate of professional coaching. But Thomas Hughes's was not. He was amongst the first to argue that professional coaching was beginning to stifle natural flair and wrote,

Anyone who knew the game twenty years ago could generally tell you where any given player came from after watching him for an over or two. Each School, again, had its own style; and hits, such as the Winchester batters and the Harrow drives, were handed on from one generation to another, and became part of the school inheritance. Now one eleven of boys trained by one professional is just like another in play⁵⁰

This view was taken a step further as the distinction between professionals and amateurs became a key component in the new structure of cricket. It was suggested that the real impetus in developing future public school cricketers could not have come from professional coaches. The inherent limitations that earning a living from the game imposed upon their approach to cricket meant professionals were incapable of teaching batsmen to play with the freedom and aesthetic purity that was seen to characterise the amateur style. Instead, explained the Hon. R. H. Lyttelton, Edward Lyttelton's brother, at Eton during the 1850s and 1860s,

Professionals used to bowl away at boys, but if the boy learnt anything it was because he bestowed care and intelligence, and had the power of learning by example; but whatever he learnt was quite independent of the professional bowler.⁵¹

To support this view Lyttelton, who played for Eton in the early 1870s and later became a prominent commentator on the game, also alluded to another important

component of the ‘Gentleman Amateur’ conception of sport, the primacy of natural talent. He remarked ‘Genius in everything is always the same, and its fortunate possessors are, and always will be, beyond criticism and in front of instruction.’ Indeed, as Holt and others have identified, in some sports those who ascribed to ‘Gentleman Amateur’ principles felt that hard training and the use of professional coaches were almost akin to cheating.⁵² The Amateur Rowing Association even banned the use of professional coaches in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁵³

Some amateur batsmen were also keen to emphasize the lack of help they had received whilst developing their game at the public schools. C.B. Fry, who was the embodiment of the talented all-round sportsman, another seminal representation of the ‘Gentleman Amateur’ in sport, claimed that he received very little batting tuition whilst at Repton.⁵⁴ Fry also gave a contemptuous description of the School’s professional bowler, who, he commented,

... used to bowl innocuous slow medium stuff [and] utter the cabalistic words “Come forward at ‘er, sir” ...I used to drive the ball straight back at him with a good thump, and he used to skip out of the way with uncongenial agility. That used to make him say “Come forward at ‘er, sir” all the more.⁵⁵

As in the broader context of the first class game, however, there was little desire to remove professionals from public school cricket altogether. Indeed R.H. Lyttelton outlined how the coaching system could be restructured to accommodate professionals in a way which reflected the social hierarchy of the contemporary game,

The professional bowler is wanted still, but the amateur coach is wanted more to stand behind the net, to take the bat in hand, and slowly show by example how the stroke should be played.⁵⁶

This view reflected the way in which responsibility for coaching cricket at some institutions had shifted away from professionals in the last third of the nineteenth century. Somewhat fittingly, in an interview, which appeared in an 1896 edition of *Cricket Magazine*, A.C. MacLaren explained how the Harrow schoolmaster Lord

Bessborough had played an important role in his development as a batsman. As Lyttelton outlined, professional help was generally retained but under the guidance of amateur supervision in a way that mirrored how amateurs captained county sides. At Eton in the 1890s, Prince Ranjitsinhji had observed that,

Four professional bowlers are at hand to bowl and coach, under the direct supervision of that finest of batsmen R.A.H. Mitchell.⁵⁷

In the eyes of many contemporary and subsequent writers on nineteenth century cricket, this change in coaching structure endorsed the new interpretation of the professional's role in the public schools. Consequently, in his history of the game, which was published in 1970, Roland Bowen could explain that,

Style was a product of amateur cricket at the top level, and that was in turn a product of careful coaching at the great public schools: the coach was often nominally a professional cricketer.....but more realistically there were one or more great amateur players on the staff of the public schools, and their influence, by example and exhortation, was probably far greater than that of the 'pro'. R.H. Mitchell, at Eton, was one of these coaches and one of the most famous.⁵⁸

'I don't suppose a better school coach ever existed': Challenging the 'Gentleman Amateur' Perspective.

However, there is clearly considerable evidence with which to question the 'Gentleman Amateur' perception of professional coaching. There is little doubt that, as well as assisting the growth of the game in general, the instruction given by professionals played a fundamental role in the rise of cricket in the public schools and universities during the course of the nineteenth century. Moreover, not only were professionals still employed to develop young cricketers in private education throughout the four decades that preceded the First World War, but they continued to be held in high regard by those they tutored. Not all schools adopted the system in which coaching was overseen by a cricket master and in 1899, for example, Mr Hugh

Rotherham, explained how he benefited from the tutelage of H.H. Stephenson whilst at Uppingham in the late 1870s. Rotherham, who later played for the Gentlemen, the MCC and Warwickshire, wrote ‘I don’t suppose a better school coach ever existed than H.H. Stephenson – at any rate I never met one.’⁵⁹

Indeed as well as their continued influence in elite education professionals were also enlisted to instruct amateur players in first class cricket during the last decades of the nineteenth century. Before the start of the 1899 season, for example, C.B. Fry received professional coaching from Alfred Shaw, the great Nottinghamshire batsman. Shaw spent around two months with Fry and, despite his student’s apparent ambivalence to coaching, later recalled ‘I never in all my life practised with a gentleman who put so much earnestness into his work, who was so bent on mastering the art of batting’.⁶⁰ Fry was equally generous in his praise for Shaw and ironically, the advice he received from the professional batsman helped develop his play in a way which questions further the conceptual representations of amateurs and professionals. The sessions he had with Shaw helped increase the range of strokes Fry played, by altering his ‘stance from the rigid public school position to the easier type’.⁶¹

Despite their perceived stylistic inferiority, professionals clearly continued to give valuable advice to amateur batsmen during the ‘Golden Age’ of cricket and Fry was not the only one to benefit. Both Mr C. McGahey and Mr H.G. Owen explained in the magazine *Cricket; a weekly Record of the Game* how, whilst playing with Essex, they had received much valued coaching from Maurice Read and Bobby Abel before the 1896 season. Indeed Owen, who had been at Cambridge and went on to captain his county, described how he found the old style of professional coaching they employed to be very effective. He explained how Read and Abel,

... made one play so hard and really understood what had to be done. They did not stand behind the nets to give advice, but bowled to you and explained what would have been the best way in which to treat the ball.⁶²

Perhaps more important, however, was the influence professionals had upon the generation of public schoolboys who in later life were seen to have shaped the

development of the amateur batsmen who became leading players during the ‘Golden Age’. Alfred Lubbock, who was a pupil at Eton during the 1850s and 1860s, had a very different view of the way cricket was organized at the school during this period to that which was offered by the Hon. R. H. Lyttelton. He explained that the role of cricket master was already in place, but the incumbent,

...hardly ever interfered in any way, and seldom expressed any opinion, unless he was asked to do so. He was often in Upper Club, and used to play in the games, and bowl at the practice nets, but never took such an active part in the management or coaching as is done now.⁶³

Lubbock, who was a contemporary of R.H. Mitchell at the school, claimed the appointment of Fred Bell as coach in 1860 improved Eton cricket considerably. Indeed Mitchell himself paid tribute to the work Bell did at Eton and in particular the influence the Cambridge professional had on his own outlook towards the game. In an interview with A.W. Pullin, Mitchell described Bell as ‘an excellent coach’ and spoke of how he,

...first instilled into us the principle of constantly meeting the ball. If he found a pupil with a tendency to meet a ball he would encourage him to adopt that style. I have always considered this a great principle in the encouragement of young players.⁶⁴

The development of cricket coaching in elite education can be used to both illustrate the changing perception of nineteenth century professionals and question further the way in which these men have subsequently been viewed. Edward Lyttelton’s concerns over the unhealthy influence professional coaches could have in public schools clearly represented a relatively extreme and largely unrepresentative view that had little foundation. Nevertheless, it was one of many similar representations of professional players that were seen to be worthy for publication during this period. As such it demonstrates the strength and lasting influence of the ‘Gentleman Amateur’ conception of sport in the four decades that led up to the First World War. Indeed, it could be argued that the discourse which surrounded amateurs and professionals

during this period has proved more important in shaping subsequent perceptions of nineteenth century cricketers than the events which actually took place.

In contrast to the belief that their coaching had little impact upon the stylish amateur players who are seen to characterise cricket during the 'Golden Age', when viewed from a different perspective it can be argued that professional's had a particularly significant influence upon the form the game took during this period. In particular, the position of nineteenth century professional cricketers as skilled workers bears comparison to that of their counterparts in the industrial economy and can be informed by some of the wider debates raised by labour historians. There is clearly little evidence of any attempt to control the number of skilled workers entering the labour market in the way that craft unions placed strict limitations on apprenticeship numbers in order to protect their economic position by maintaining skill scarcity. Indeed, professional cricketers were willing to accept formal employment to coach their counterparts, when it was available, and more importantly took on similar positions at the public schools where they helped develop future amateur players who perhaps provided a more potent threat to their position in the labour market.

However, through their innovations professional players were able to further their economic interests during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by directing the way in which the game was played. The introduction of first, length and then the round and over arm techniques placed great emphasis on a physically demanding form of fast or medium paced bowling that looked to exploit extremes of bounce from the pitch. Specific technical developments in batting technique were required to counter the new forms of bowling, such as the straight bat method and forward and back play. As we have seen, these were also pioneered by professionals, whilst the laborious physical demands of the new bowling styles were generally viewed to be unpalatable by middle class amateurs and subsequently became the metaphor for social divisions within the game.⁶⁵

It could be argued, therefore, that professional cricketers were able to dominate developments in playing technique and the transference of knowledge and skill in a way that paralleled the aspirations of workers collective action in the wider economy. As Zeitlin noted much of the industrial action undertaken by skilled workers during

the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries aimed to 'defend their position in the division of labour in the face of pressures toward technical and organizational change'.⁶⁶

Professionals not only continued to dominate the practice of bowling in the elite game both before and after 1914, but through their continued influence over coaching in the public schools and first class cricket they were also able to exert some control over the dissemination of batting techniques. Consequently, professional cricketers were able to survive the challenge which came through the influx of amateur players from the 1860s and 1870s onwards and the greater emphasis they placed on an aesthetically pleasing style of play.

It is also clear that despite their working class backgrounds and the pressures which were associated with earning a living from sport, there is little evidence to suggest that professional coaches had anything but a positive influence upon the students they tutored at the public schools. Indeed, a significant number were held in exceptionally high regard by the future and current first class amateur players they coached, both before and after the formation of attitudes towards professionals which played an important role in shaping the 'Gentleman Amateur' conception of sport.

Perhaps two of the most powerful examples of how the role of coaches at the public schools challenges the predominant view of nineteenth century professional cricketers is provided by Yorkshire players from humble working class backgrounds. George Atkinson, who passed over a career as a glass blower for one in cricket, was one of the five Yorkshire professionals who refused to play in the county club's matches against Surrey in 1865. By the 1870s, however, he was instructing the sons of the social elite at Marlborough and Rossall schools and his success in this role was such that A.W. Pullin wrote, 'many modern cricketers of repute acknowledge how much they owe to George Atkinson's coaching skill.'⁶⁷ Moreover, two years before the dispute, Tom Emmett entered into his first engagement as a professional player with the Keighley club on the condition that they found him casual work outside cricket. Over the next two decades he played 426 first class matches and was a leading member of the Yorkshire side which later became viewed as a corner stone of 'unrespectable' professionalism. As W.F. Mandle explained, in one of the first academic studies of nineteenth century professional cricketers, this side was popularly referred to as 'ten drunks and a parson', and Emmett was not regarded as the parson.⁶⁸

Yet after his career had ended in 1888 he became highly respected as a coach at Rugby School and one of the many boys to benefit from his tuition was Sir Pelham Warner, who became a leading amateur cricketer and was later president of the M.C.C. In contrast to the way the Yorkshire side he played in has come to be viewed, Warner remembered Emmott and the dignified way he conducted himself with great affection. He recalled how

... every Rugby boy knew him, loved him and I can see him....striding across the close, with his grey and well shaped head, crowned by a Yorkshire cap held high, and his body as straight as the most ramrod sergeant on display.⁶⁹

¹ Edward Lyttelton, 'Cricket' in E. Bell, ed., *Handbook of Athletic Sports* (London, 1890), p. 2.

² Derek Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket* (London, 1999), p. 34.

³ Ashley Mote, ed., *John Nyren's The Cricketers of my Time: The original version*, Robson Books (London, 1998), p. 95.

⁴ Mote, ed., *John Nyren's The Cricketers of my Time*, p. 91.

⁵ Thomas Boxall, *Rules and instructions for playing at the game of cricket, as practised by the most eminent players to which is subjoined the laws and regulations of cricketers, as revised by the cricket club at Mary-le-bone* (London 1802).

⁶ David Rayvern-Allen, *Early Books on Cricket* (London, 1987), p. 23.

⁷ William Bolland, *Cricket notes. With a letter containing practical hints*, by William Clark (London, 1851); John Wisden, *Cricket, and how to play it: with the rules of the Marylebone Club* (London, 1866); Charles Box, *The cricketer's manual: containing a brief review of the character, history and elements of cricket, with the Laws appertaining thereto, as revised by the Marylebone Club, up to the present time; rules for the formation of clubs; together with a fund of useful and requisite information* (London, 1851). Clarke opened the Trent Bridge ground in Nottingham as a commercial venture in 1841 before launching the All England Eleven professional touring team in 1846.

⁸ Rev James Pycroft, *The Cricket Field or The History and the Science of the Game of Cricket* (London, 1854), p. 144.

⁹ Mote, ed., *John Nyren's The Cricketers of my Time*, p. 133.

¹⁰ Nicholas Wanostrocht, *Felix on the bat: being a scientific inquiry into the use of the cricket bat: together with the history and use of the catapulta. Also, the laws of Cricket as revised by the Marylebone Club* (London, 1845), p. 1.

¹¹ Rev. James Pycroft, *Oxford Memories: a Retrospect after Ffifty Years Volume 2* (London, 1886), p. 88.

¹² Pycroft, *Oxford Memories*, p. 88.

¹³ *Sheffield Independent*, 22 July 1826.

¹⁴ John Thomas, *Walks in the Neighbourhood of Sheffield, Yorkshire, Volume 2* (Sheffield, 1844), pp. 47-8.

¹⁵ Peter Thomas, *Yorkshire Cricketers 1839 – 1939* (Manchester, 1973), p. 13; Pycroft, *The Cricket Field*, p. 45.

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- ¹⁶ *Sheffield Independent*, 09 June 1827.
- ¹⁷ They were Caldecourt, Tom Baker, John Bayley, Thomas Sewell, Bartholomew Good, Jemmy Dean, William Hillyer, Henry Royston, William Lillywhite and William Dennison.
- ¹⁸ *Sheffield Independent*, 01 April 1883.
- ¹⁹ *Sheffield Independent*, 26 May 1833.
- ²⁰ Freda, Malcolm and Brian Heywood, *Cloth Caps and Cricket Crazy: Todmorden and Cricket, 1835-1896* (Huddersfield, 2004), p. 11.
- ²¹ Heywood *et al*, *Cloth Caps and Cricket Crazy*, p. 23.
- ²² Pycroft, *Oxford Memories*, p. 88.
- ²³ *Bell's Life*, 28 April 1844.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ Caffyn explained, 'Our pay at Oxford was not very large, but we made a good deal of money by the gentlemen putting a shilling on the wicket for every time we got them out ... We have often made as much as 18s. per hour at this game.' See William Caffyn, *Seventy-one not out: the reminiscences of William Caffyn*, edited by "Mid-on" (London, 1899), pp. 99-100.
- ²⁶ Ashley Mallett, *The Black Lords of Summer: The Story of the 1868 Aboriginal Tour of England and Beyond* (Brisbane, 2002), p. 44.
- ²⁷ Christopher Tyerman, *A History of Harrow School, 1324-1991* (Oxford, 2000), p. 193 for Anderdon and p. 212 for Anderson.
- ²⁸ James Pycroft, *Cricketana* (London, 1865), p. 20.
- ²⁹ J.A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School: The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology* (London, 2000), p. 22.
- ³⁰ Mangan, *Athleticism*, pp. 31-2.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*
- ³² Charles Box, *The English Game of Cricket: Comprising a Digest of its Origin, Character, History, and Progress, together with an Exposition of its Laws and Language* (London, 1877), p. 58.
- ³³ H.S. Altham and E.W. Swanton, *A History of Cricket* (London, 1938), p. 120.
- ³⁴ Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, p101.
- ³⁵ For further details of the dispute see, Rob Light, "'In a Yorkshire like way": Cricket and the Construction of Regional Identity in Nineteenth Century Yorkshire', *Sport in History*, 29 (3) (2009), pp. 500-518.
- ³⁶ *Sporting Gazette* 24 January 1863
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁰ They were W. Caffyn, for April, at Cheltenham, R.C. Tinley, for April, at Repton, H. H. Stephenson, for April, at Rossall School, G. Whale, for April, at Oxford University, Jas Dean, for the season at Winchester College, Fred Bell, for the season, at Winchester College, J. Broomfield, for the season, at Charterhouse School and J. Buttery, for April, at Oxford. *Sporting Gazette* 28 March 1863.
- ⁴¹ Caffyn, *Seventy-one not out*, p. 116.
- ⁴² Caffyn, *Seventy-one not out*, p. 27.
- ⁴³ Thomas Hughes, *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (Oxford, 1989 edition), p. 335.
- ⁴⁴ *Leeds Times*, 24 January 1863.
- ⁴⁵ Horace G. Hutchinson, ed, *Cricket* (London, 1903), pp. 147-8.

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- ⁴⁶ W.W. Read, *Annals of Cricket: A Record of the Game Compiled from Authentic Sources and My Own Experiences during the last Twenty three years*, Simpson Low (London, 1896) p 184.
- ⁴⁷ Sydney Rogerson, *Wilfred Rhodes: Professional and Gentleman* (London, 1960), pp. 46-7.
- ⁴⁸ Neville Cardus, *English Cricket* (London, 1945, 1997 edition), p. 70. For an account of Cardus' importance to the literary construction of the 'Golden Age' see Anthony Bateman, 'The Politics of the Aesthetic: Cricket, Literature and Culture 1850-1965' (PhD thesis, University of Salford, 2005), p. 172.
- ⁴⁹ Pycroft, *Oxford Memories*, p. 88.
- ⁵⁰ *Leeds Times*, 24 January 1863.
- ⁵¹ Martin Polley, ed., *The History of Sport in Britain, 1880-1914: Sport Education and Improvement* (London, 2003), p 108.
- ⁵² Richard Holt 'The Amateur Body and the Middle-class Man: Work, Health and Style in Victorian Britain', *Sport in History*, 26 (3) (2006), pp. 365-6.
- ⁵³ Derek Birley, *Land of Sport and Glory: Sport and British Society 1887-1910* (Manchester, 1995), p. 218.
- ⁵⁴ Ian Wilton, *C.B. Fry: King of Sport* (London, 2002), p. 24.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁶ Polley, *The History of Sport in Britain*, p. 108.
- ⁵⁷ K.S. Ranjitsinhji, *The Jubilee Book of Cricket* (London, 1897), p. 289.
- ⁵⁸ Roland Bowen, *Cricket: A History of its Growth and Development throughout the World* (London, 1970), pp. 168-9.
- ⁵⁹ *Golf Illustrated*, 22 December 1899.
- ⁶⁰ Wilton, *C.B. Fry: King of Sport*, p. 120.
- ⁶¹ C.B. Fry, *Life worth living* (London, 1939), p. 103.
- ⁶² *Cricket: a Weekly Record of the Game*, 11 June 1896.
- ⁶³ Alfred Lubbock, *Memories of Eton and Etonians: Including my life at Eton, 1854-1863 and some reminiscences of subsequent cricket* (London, 1899), p. 53.
- ⁶⁴ A.W. Pullin, *Talks with Old English Cricketers* (Edinburgh, 1900), p. 172.
- ⁶⁵ Lincoln Allison, 'Batsman and Bowler: The Key Relation of Victorian England', *Journal of Sports History*, 7 (2) (1980), pp. 5-20.
- ⁶⁶ Jonathan Zeitlin, 'Craft control and the division of labour: engineers and composers in Britain 1890-1930', *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 3 (September) (1979), p. 263; Eric Hobsbawm, 'The Machine Breakers', in his *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour* (London, 1964), pp. 5-22; John Rule, 'The Formative Years of British Trade Unionism: An overview', in John Rule, ed., *British Trade Unionism 1750-1850* (London, 1988), pp. 1-28.
- ⁶⁷ A. W. Pullin, *Talks with Old Yorkshire Cricketers, Reprinted from the Yorkshire Evening Post* (Leeds, 1898), p. 15.
- ⁶⁸ W.F., Mandle, 'The professional cricketer in the nineteenth century', *Labour History*, 23 (1972), pp. 1-16.
- ⁶⁹ Thomas, *Yorkshire Cricketers 1839-1939*, p. 58.