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CHURCH CRICKET AND COMMUNITY IN HALIFAX AND THE CALDER VALLEY,  
1860-c.1920.

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A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the emergence of church cricket clubs in Halifax and the Calder Valley between 1860 and 1920. It encompasses the years of mature factory-based industrial society following Chartism as well as the upheavals of the Great War and its immediate aftermath. Though a period of relative tranquillity, from 1873 the staple textile trades began to stagnate, bringing economic uncertainty only partially offset by industrial diversification and a brief post-war revival. From the mid-1880s this brought industrial unrest and the emergence of labour politics. Churches, having experienced growth, were also betraying signs of decline towards the end of the century. Their role in welfare and education was being eroded and denominational influence on party political allegiance was being replaced by that of social class. And yet, religious organisations became the area's biggest single source of popular organised cricket during its crucial formative decades.

This study evaluates why, from such an unpromising situation around 1850, religious bodies became involved in cricket and what were the nature, extent and relevance of this. It addresses several key questions. What was the contribution of clergymen? Who were involved in the clubs and what did this mean for them? What was the significance of grounds and their development? How did the clubs finance themselves? What did their rules reveal? What part did they play in their local communities? Within these themes will be evaluated crucial factors such as social class, gender, religious denomination, identity, topography and demography as well as important concepts such as cultural diffusion, muscular Christianity, social control and secularisation.

This thesis shows that church sponsorship provided the platform for mainly working-class agency in developing cricket clubs. This agency manifested itself in a mutualism and self-reliance similar to that of the highly popular and consciously independent organisations such as Friendly Societies and Co-operatives, which operated in the same arduous economic context. Nonetheless, at a time when workers were becoming increasingly assertive in the world of industry and politics, church cricket exhibited class co-operation and harmony. Moreover, greater genuine popular adherence to ecclesiastical organisations was found to exist than has often been allowed. Those cricket clubs that became established initially reinforced their churches' identity, helping them to retain a profile in their localities, and so retard the advance of secularism. However, as those clubs' cricketing potential grew, they became ever more a part of their wider communities. This situation was aided by their crucial fundraising entertainments, which often secured a place in their districts' social calendar. Increasingly the clubs became an alternative attraction to the church in their communities and ultimately a small agent of secularism. It is, in summary, contended that church cricket in Halifax and the Calder Valley was more the product of industrial society, and the adaptation of ordinary men and women and their culture to that society, than it was of muscular Christianity or clerical influence.

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## GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATIONS

**AGM** – Annual General Meeting

**CA** - Calderdale branch of the West Yorkshire Archive Service

***C&K Website** - The Cricket History of Calderdale and Kirklees* (see Websites).

**CLH** - Calderdale Local History Department

**KA** - Kirklees branch of the West Yorkshire Archive Service

**ILP** - Independent Labour Party

**MIS** - Mutual Improvement Society

**MNC** - Methodist New Connexion

**PM** - Primitive Methodist

**RYL** - Methodist Archives and Research Centre, The John Ryland's Library, University of Manchester.

***THAS** - Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society*

**Township** - An ecclesiastical and administrative unit consisting of a town, village or collection of villages.

**UHA** - University of Huddersfield Archive Department

**UMC** - United Methodist Church

**UMFC** - United Methodist Free Church

**Upper Calder Valley** - Takes in the towns and industrial villages of Sowerby Bridge, Luddenden Foot, Mytholmroyd, Hebden Bridge, Todmorden and Walsden, then up to the Lancashire boundary.

**WA** - Wakefield branch of the West Yorkshire Archive Service

***Weaver to Web** - From Weaver to Web: Online Visual Archive of Calderdale History,*  
<http://www.calderdale.gov.uk/wtw>.

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Above all, I would like to thank my fiancée, Janet Smith, for her unwavering support in what must at times have seemed a long and strange venture.

## INTRODUCTION

When, in 1851, the Rev. James Pycroft wrote *The Cricket Field*, not only did he become one of cricket's first historians but he also signalled that a game intimately associated with gambling, drink and spectatorship was now reformed and had acquired a moral dimension.<sup>1</sup> Cricket was now a suitable, even advisable, activity for clergymen to be associated with. Since then a huge body of literature has appeared devoted to cricket. However, much of this writing has lacked academic rigour and been unduly influenced by a narrative, promoted by such as Pycroft, which presented cricket as the epitome of virtue and 'Englishness'.<sup>2</sup> Cricket, became the vanguard of muscular Christianity, which associated physical exercise with morality, Christian virtues and chivalry and was considered as 'encapsulating notions of spiritual, moral and physical purity'.<sup>3</sup> The game was appropriated by the 'gentleman amateur': an embodiment of the values of a new ruling elite being synthesised in the public schools from the landed gentry and industrial money. Based on a nostalgic rural idyll, clergymen have an integral place in this discourse.

Cricket offers a keen insight into the social changes brought about by economic transformation. It became a metaphor for sportsmanship but also epitomised a society riven by social class. The idea of sportsmanship and fair play was a noble one. It did not, though, preclude the amateur-professional apartheid of the 'first-class' game. From around 1860, however, a popular version of cricket began to flourish in geographical areas and social contexts quite different from this southern-pastoral projection of the game and where pre-industrial attitudes to leisure persisted.

Halifax and the Calder Valley typified the industrial society to which the new elite vision of cricket was in part a reaction. The area also had a history of radicalism. Despite this, churches were the area's single largest source of organised, popular cricket, producing around a third of all cricket clubs.<sup>4</sup> They were especially prominent during the game's crucial formative

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<sup>1</sup> James Pycroft, *The Cricket Field: Or the History and the Science of the Game of Cricket* (London, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1854), *Google Books*.

<sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the real, mythical and metaphorical links between cricket and Englishness and the game's social, cultural and political exploitation, see John Simons, 'The "Englishness" of English Cricket', *The Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Spring 1996), 41–50.

<sup>3</sup> Andrew Parker and Mike Collins, 'Sport and Christianity in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century', *Encounters Mission Journal*, Vol. 41 (July 2012), 1-7, 1.

<sup>4</sup> An analysis of a comprehensive survey of the known cricket clubs of Halifax and the Calder Valley which have either disbanded or changed their grounds (thereby omitting only the handful of existing teams which have only ever occupied one venue), by local sports historian Andrew Hardcastle revealed that of a total of 403 clubs, 151 originated from churches with 120 from works, and 45 from pubs and working men's clubs. Andrew



years up to the Great War.<sup>5</sup> In 1909 more than 60 per cent of clubs in the leagues of Halifax and the Calder Valley came from churches and Sunday schools, with this figure still over 45 per cent in 1914.<sup>6</sup> Almost half of all teams that had appeared in the area's leagues during the period of this study, to 1920, came from religious organisations.<sup>7</sup> Churches were communal focal points but were themselves struggling to adapt to the demographic and social upheavals wrought by economic change. Moreover, religious organisations were border territory for two often-conflicting cultures: one wealthy, bourgeois and 'rational', the other poor, lower class and pre-modern.

Church cricket emerged and developed during a time of continuing economic, social and political change. The process of industrialisation allied to evangelicalism had forged a new set of values and relations which was to permeate the social and cultural sphere and eventually gave birth to 'rational recreation' and, what was effectively its sporting arm, muscular Christianity. Many middle-class beneficiaries of the economic changes became the disciples of this new concept of leisure and sought to reform the pre-industrial values of popular sport which they saw as at odds with economic progress.

Reforming the recreational values of the working classes depended to a large degree on their capacity to persuade them. This necessitated cordial relations which in Halifax and the Calder Valley became more problematic when the economy began to falter, just as popular organised cricket was beginning to emerge in numbers with the Saturday half-holiday. From 1873 the area's dominant textile industry faced increasing foreign competition, bringing uncertainty of employment. Industrial unrest ensued in the late 1880s, leading to a growing disillusionment with middle-class political representation and the emergence, in the 1890s, of the Labour movement which began to challenge the Liberal Party. This was soon followed by the trauma of war.

From the late nineteenth century reformers saw clergymen as ideally placed to disseminate the new leisure and sporting ethos (considered a necessary complement to work discipline) to

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Hardcastle, *Lost: The Former Cricket Clubs and Cricket Grounds of Halifax and Calderdale* (Halifax, Andrew Hardcastle and Cricket Heritage Project Publications, 2006).

<sup>5</sup> Between 1860 and 1914 more than 180 cricket clubs emerged from religious organisations.

<sup>6</sup> Respectively 52 out of 83 and 40 of 88 clubs. There were eight leagues on both occasions, seven being common: the Halifax Amateur, Todmorden and District, Halifax & District, Hebden Bridge & District, Halifax Thursday Amateur, Halifax and District Church, Halifax and District Nonconformist, plus the Calder Valley (1909) and the Halifax Parish (1914).

<sup>7</sup> 208 of the 437 teams identified came from religious bodies. The high figures are because many clubs fielded more than one side and some clubs switched leagues. Dennis O'Keefe, 'The Lord's Opening Partnership: Church and Cricket in Calderdale, 1860 to c.1920', *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics - Special Issue: New Perspectives on the Social History of Cricket*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (2012), 246-64, 246.

the lower orders. At this time many clerics were anxious to engage working people, especially working men, while the churches and more especially the Nonconformist chapels were endeavouring to accommodate the transition from evangelical fervour to the sociability of respectable society.

Many clergymen, alongside some of their wealthy lay hierarchy, came to accept or even enthuse about rational recreation and the reformed sports. Moreover, to encourage younger people to remain within their churches, they felt obliged to host leisure facilities, including cricket clubs. This, however, presented a potential obstacle in the shape of a sporting culture which placed a higher premium on competitive success, reward, community identity and prestige than was expected by the new sporting norms. This culture had been sustained by challenge cricket (driven by stake money, spectatorship and gambling) and then by the arrival of formal competition in football, which in the area usually meant rugby, soon to be part of the Northern Union and eventually Rugby League. Church cricket was founded in a cauldron of potentially conflicting pre-modern and reformed recreational values.

### **The Historiography of Leisure**

Throughout the nineteenth century a remarkable amount of attention and disquiet was centred on the subject of leisure. Its importance had been grasped as early as 1801 by the antiquarian Joseph Strutt, regarded as one of the first historians of leisure, in a work whose reprinting in 1867 reflected the growing acceptance and importance of recreation:

In order to form a just estimation of the character of any particular people, it is absolutely necessary to investigate the Sports and Pastimes most generally prevalent amongst them. War, policy and other contingent circumstances, may effectually place men at different times, in different points of view, but when we follow them into their retirements, where no disguise is necessary, we are most likely to see them in their true state, and may judge of their natural dispositions.<sup>8</sup>

Recreation, which was what they chose to do, was a better guide to people's motivations than work, which was what they had to do. However, with leisure increasingly tied to social status, 'disguise' could not be entirely excluded.

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<sup>8</sup> Joseph Strutt, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (London, William Tegg, 1867 reprint of 1801 ed.), pp. XVII-XVIII, *Google Books*.

Leisure's place as an academic subject owed much to the new social history inspired particularly by Edward Thompson, whose seminal *The Making of the English Working Class* was itself centred on Halifax and the Calder Valley.<sup>9</sup> The nineteenth century was perceived as a crucial period in which pre-industrial recreation based on gambling, drinking, violence and the abuse of animals gave way to ordered, rational forms of leisure commensurate with an age of industrialisation and progress.

In 1964, a year after the publication of Thompson's book, a debate on 'Work and Leisure in Industrial Society' was held in which Asa Briggs advised historians to examine not only the changes in the rhythms of work but also those in the rhythms of play.<sup>10</sup> Briggs contended that social class and locality firmly underpinned leisure until the 1890s, when more commercial and national, and even international, forms such as the new mass circulation press and the cinema first appeared.

Brian Harrison, at the same conference, identified several key themes which have since occupied historians of leisure: the rise of new forms of pastimes in place of old ones, partly a response to humanitarian attitudes but also due to decreasing space through urbanisation; more restricted free time; middle-class insistence on 'rational' leisure as a means to the end of rejuvenation for work; and the contest between drink and temperance. Harrison noted the success of moral reformers in ending the sometimes drunken riotous feasts such as St Blaise in Bradford and their efforts to ban the violent, destructive 'Derby Football'. Some historians have argued that so successful were the combined effects of industrialisation, urbanisation and moral reformers that popular leisure entered a 'dark age'.<sup>11</sup>

Under this joint assault, Robert Malcolmson, who acknowledged the influence of Thompson, argued that there was a decline in popular recreations during the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries.<sup>12</sup> Malcolmson saw a near-demise of working-class leisure as 'traditional society', rooted in a rural agrarian economy and governed by mutual responsibilities and a strong sense of community, was replaced by an urban industrial one based on an impersonal cash nexus. He identified a vacuum in leisure with 'the dislocation ... keenly felt and only

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<sup>9</sup> E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1980, Reprinted 1982 Originally published London, Gollancz, 1963). Even Asa Briggs's acclaimed *The Age of Improvement*, published in 1959, did not discuss the matter.

<sup>10</sup> Asa Briggs, summary of discussion in Keith Thomas, 'Work and Leisure in Industrial Society' at the 'Past and Present Conference', 9 July 1964, *Past and Present*, Vol. 30 (April 1965), 96-103.

<sup>11</sup> Peter Bailey saw this as the view of the 1830s and 1840s by pioneering historians in recreation – the Hammonds, Asa Briggs and Eric Hobsbawm. Peter Bailey *Leisure and Class in Victorian England: Rational Recreation and the Contest for Control, 1830-1885* (London, Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1978), pp. 1-2.

<sup>12</sup> Robert W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1973).

marginally alleviated', arguing that until the emergence of new forms of popular recreation from 1850, the working man had little alternative to the public house for his diversion.<sup>13</sup>

Historians were soon challenging the extent of the suppression of popular leisure. In 1976 Douglas Reid examined the case of 'Saint Monday' in Birmingham with its small workshops and artisan-based economy.<sup>14</sup> He indicated how, of 22 railway excursions in 1846, 16 took place on Monday and even in 1864 there remained widespread absenteeism.<sup>15</sup> Reid found that the arrival of the Saturday half-holiday from 1867, rather than the threats of employers or the lecturing and cajoling of reformers brought the demise of 'Saint Monday'. Even then the custom persisted in particular workplaces into the twentieth century.

Two years later, the theme of resistance to the reform of leisure was taken further in a seminal work by Peter Bailey, who saw the development of recreation in the nineteenth century as both a problem for the authorities and a frontline in the struggle to redraw social-class boundaries.<sup>16</sup> Bailey argued that by the 1880s 'rational recreation' was generally established and had been clearly demarcated from work. It was perceived as a more subtle method of controlling working-class leisure as well as a means to class conciliation. The key to these objectives was middle-class sponsorship under middle-class direction. The principal agencies for this were to be the voluntary organisations, including the churches.<sup>17</sup>

Bailey contended, however, that the new leisure forms were often strongly resisted by or adapted to the demands and culture of the recipients. He cited, as an example, the Working Men's Club and Institute Union. Established in 1862, principally by the Rev. Henry Solly, this was intended to provide a sociable, educative and alcohol-free environment for working men and to foster good relations with their middle-class patrons. By the late 1860s, however, Solly was forced to accept the sale of a beer in order to divert men from the pubs. This brought financial independence and the clubs dispensed with their bourgeois sponsors.<sup>18</sup> Bailey held that even the best-intentioned patronage emphasised class divisions with lip-service being paid to any qualifying norms until working men were in a position to finance their own facilities: an 'exploitation in reverse'.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 170-71.

<sup>14</sup> Douglas A. Reid, 'The Decline of Saint Monday 1766-1876', *Past & Present*, Vol. 71 (May 1976), 76-101.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 81-2.

<sup>16</sup> Bailey, *Leisure and Class*.

<sup>17</sup> The Established Church was clearly not a purely voluntary body being attached to the State and funded by it (though decreasingly so). However, membership was (at least theoretically) voluntary.

<sup>18</sup> Bailey, *Leisure and Class*, pp. 106-23.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, pp. 172, 178.

In another groundbreaking study in this period, Hugh Cunningham also modified Malcolmson's concept of a leisure vacuum, stressing the continuity of recreational practice. He, too, identified social class as a vital factor in the development of leisure after 1850 and recognised three ultimately irreconcilable objectives of the middle classes: exclusivity, social control and conciliation with the working classes.<sup>20</sup> The desire for exclusivity and social control outweighed the aim of conciliation, with leisure based increasingly on class lines. Cunningham illustrated this with reference to the Volunteers, where efforts foundered through ranking members according to their social status: middle-class officers, lower-middle- or upper-working-class NCOs and working-class rank-and-file with the military structure discouraging cross-class familiarity.<sup>21</sup> Cunningham, additionally, argued that churches, like other voluntary bodies, had to offer recreation facilities to consolidate their membership.<sup>22</sup> Although he also contended that cultural diffusion was a two-way process, the commercialisation of leisure from the late nineteenth century was able to effect a significant degree of hegemony over the working classes.<sup>23</sup>

In a work originally published four years later, J. M. Golby and A. W. Purdue similarly emphasised the continuity of pre-industrial recreation.<sup>24</sup> They contended that the culture which emerged by 1850 was often due to popular adaptations of pre-modern forms and not simply a product of middle-class dissemination with diffusion also occurring 'upwards' as in the case of dancing.<sup>25</sup> They challenged Cunningham, however, over the question of hegemony exercised through commercialism, arguing that with increased income and a more relaxed way of life working people were shaping leisure through their own demand.<sup>26</sup> Although Golby and Purdue downplayed the importance of social class in determining leisure, they did consider it in relation to the Victorian and Edwardian cornerstone of 'respectability'.<sup>27</sup> They identified three varieties of working-class respectability. The first, as perceived by Bailey, was affected to mollify middle-class patrons. The second resembled

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<sup>20</sup> Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution, c.1780-c.1880* (London, Croom Helm, 1980). F.M.L. Thompson, while challenging the value of the concept, defined 'social control' as the manipulation of 'the propertyless masses into accepting and operating the forms and functions of behaviour necessary to sustain the social order of an industrial society', F.M.L. Thompson, 'Social Control in Victorian Britain', *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 34, No. 2 (May, 1981), 189-208, 189.

<sup>21</sup> Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 123-24, 126, 129.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p.178.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10, pp. 196-9.

<sup>24</sup> J. M. Golby and A. W. Purdue, *The Civilisation of the Crowd: Popular Culture in England 1750-1900* (Stroud, Sutton, 1999 edition).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12, 29.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 194-5. The online *Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'respectable' as 'Worthy or deserving of notice, observation, or attention'. Appearance was everything.

<sup>27</sup> Golby and Purdue, *The Civilisation of the Crowd*, pp. 185-6.

middle-class respectability and was assertive. The third variant, being a product of the culture of the pub or music hall, was unintelligible to reformers.

Respectability, and its associations with leisure, was nowhere more exhibited than in the friendly societies. These combined the serious business of arranging insurance against the financial misfortunes of working-class existence with a colourful and vibrant social life. Simon Cordery argued that respectability was assiduously cultivated in order to defend their independence against state and middle-class interference in both their financial and recreational arms.<sup>28</sup> Though there were some lower-middle-class members, the societies were predominantly composed of and run by working men. Extending well beyond ‘any putative labour aristocracy’, they had almost six million members in 1904: half of all men.<sup>29</sup> Characteristically, it was the convivial aspect which came under most attack. In the case of registered societies the registrar, John Tidd Pratt, sought to reinforce the insurance side at the expense of sociability. Growing threats to both areas also emerged from commercial alternatives, even before Lloyd George’s state intervention with pensions and national insurance.<sup>30</sup>

Mike Huggins saw respectability as an alternative concept to class but one employed in a hegemonic attempt to divert the working classes from what were considered unsuitable leisure pursuits.<sup>31</sup> However, challenging the assumptions of Cunningham and others that middle-class leisure was itself uniformly respectable, he questioned the convictions, and therefore the effectiveness, of the bourgeoisie in employing this to reform popular recreation. Huggins contended that, far from being imbued with respectability, many middle-class males actively sought to escape it. Anonymity was central to this. Young men living away from home and commercial travellers, for example, were well placed for evasion. Certain locations such as music halls, clubs and the seaside with imprecise lines of respectability (though not necessarily of class distinctions), provided similar escape routes.<sup>32</sup>

Other recent studies of leisure have also placed less emphasis on the role of social class, favouring a broader approach. While acknowledging the importance of class, Jeff Hill considered other factors such as gender, commercialism and nationalism in a study of twentieth-century sport, leisure and culture in which he sought to integrate recreation more

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<sup>28</sup> Simon Cordery, *British Friendly Societies, 1750-1914* (Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, 2003).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 176.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 88-91, 145, 163-173.

<sup>31</sup> Mike J. Huggins, ‘More Sinful Pleasures? Leisure, Respectability and the Male Middle Classes in Victorian England’, *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (Spring 2000), 585-600.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 592, 595.

closely into mainstream academic history.<sup>33</sup> With this in mind, Hill maintained that recreational forms are not simply products of external agencies swallowed whole but rather are processes which themselves shape people's lives and their view of society.<sup>34</sup> He contended that leisure and sport hold 'meanings' for both participants and 'consumers'. Hill further argued that the manner in which leisure takes place, as much as the way it is organised, holds a symbolic value in power relations. He cited, as an example, 'conspicuous leisure consumption'. Attempts to project the disinterestedness and élan commensurate with political and social leadership through the playing of sport ostentatiously within the amateur code might be another.

Peter Borsay, in his survey of leisure since 1500, warned against applying potentially misleading modern concepts to it. For example, he disputed the extent to which 'leisure' appeared as a consequence of the changing working practices of the industrial revolution.<sup>35</sup> He also argued that there was 'a gap between play and everyday life' except in the strict sense of time and place.<sup>36</sup> This is less convincing. Borsay himself acknowledged the importance of choirs, brass bands and sports clubs in the competitive forging of identities in the new industrial communities, creating 'otherness' in not only neighbours but also other regions, especially the rural South.<sup>37</sup>

Bailey, in a recent study, re-asserted the view of Cunningham that in the late nineteenth century commercial entertainment was constructed as a vehicle of both 'pleasure and cultural power' so that the leisure of the lower orders was no threat to work and the social order.<sup>38</sup> He also took a line, however, closer to Hill's 'processes' and 'meanings' held in sport and leisure than Borsay's isolated 'play'. Bailey held that with increased sub-division in labour and the consequent reduction in job satisfaction leisure had 'an enhanced saliency in the emotional economy'.<sup>39</sup> Cordery, considering the friendly societies, put it more positively, arguing that their conviviality supplied not only 'colour, drama, enjoyment' but also 'transcendence', an experience beyond the daily routine.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Jeffrey Hill, *Sport, Leisure & Culture in Twentieth Century Britain* (Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, 2002). Though mainly set beyond the period of this research, Hill has provided a valuable paradigm for understanding the motivation of church cricket club members at the time.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>35</sup> Peter Borsay, *A History of Leisure* (Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, 2006).

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 225.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 146-47.

<sup>38</sup> Peter Bailey, 'Entertainment! Modernising Pleasure in a Victorian Leisure Industry, or Did Foucault Ever Play the Hackney Empire?' in Simon Gunn and James Vernon (eds), *The Peculiarities of Liberal Modernity in Imperial Britain* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2011), pp. 119-33.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>40</sup> Cordery, *British Friendly Societies*, p. 181.

Leisure encompassed different meanings and different objectives for different social groups, which, as Bailey observed, brought the issue of class contestation. Voluntary organisations were the main agents in the efforts to disseminate the hoped-for solution of rational recreation. Religious organisations were the largest of these and the ones in which all social classes already came together. Church cricket was an area in which these competing concepts and objectives of leisure were played out.

### **The Historiography of Sport**

The history of sport has itself generated considerable academic debate. In 1980 Tony Mason, in a pioneering study, linked football to social history.<sup>41</sup> Like Bailey in the wider field of leisure, he examined the game's development through contestation between two perspectives, one largely London-centric and middle class and the other chiefly northern-midland and working class. Mason established important concepts for the examination of sport in general and team sports in particular. He recognised the role of muscular Christianity and the public schools in promoting football as a 'rational recreation'. He identified a struggle to retain amateur control of the game in the face of demands for a financially level playing field and of working people more concerned with winning and community identification than with style.

Mason held that these competing concerns generated a 'cultural manifestation' which provided a method for historians to distinguish groups in society.<sup>42</sup> Despite some hopes of the game for class conciliation, Mason assessed that, on balance, football contributed to class-consciousness, though this was not seen as benefiting Labour politics which considered the game to be a diversion producing deferential employees.<sup>43</sup>

Mason acknowledged the involvement of the churches. He found that many clergymen became persuaded of the moral as well as physical benefits of football and that 'sporting parsons' were fairly common. He held that churches, as established institutions, were attractive to those wishing to play. He saw, however, the same potential for ideological conflict between clergy and members as for leisure as a whole.<sup>44</sup>

Many of the issues raised by Mason were addressed from a more sociological and deductive perspective by John Hargreaves in the mid-1980s.<sup>45</sup> Hargreaves contended that sport was enlisted by the middle classes as part of a hegemonic attempt to establish social control over

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<sup>41</sup> Tony Mason, *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915* (Brighton, Harvester, 1980).

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 222.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 227, 235-37, 256.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 25.

<sup>45</sup> John Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture: A Social and Historical Analysis of Popular Sports in Britain* (Cambridge, Polity, 1986).



the lower orders towards the end of the nineteenth century. He argued that the growing political strength of the working classes between the mid-1880s and the Great War required a more subtle approach to their sports than the repression which had taken place up to the 1840s. At the same time sport was being commercialised and increasingly part of working-class cultural identity. Hargreaves took a very sceptical line on clerics' motives in providing sporting facilities, arguing that they sought to simultaneously conciliate and impose discipline on the working classes. He held that, as with all voluntary bodies, churches depended on sports and other recreation to engage working people.<sup>46</sup> Though overstating the capacity of the middle classes to achieve such objectives, Hargreaves provided an important analytical perspective.

In 1989, Richard Holt undertook a more empirical study which integrated the history of a range of sports closely into its socio-economic context and remains a benchmark for the academic study of sport.<sup>47</sup> Holt contended that industrialisation and urbanisation created both a location and a moral imperative for sport but that it was shaped by those who became involved in it. Highly relevant to this thesis, Holt examined the role of churches in the provision of sport. He maintained that rational recreation was necessary mainly because the churches were no longer in a position to impose a moral code on the working classes, having lost contact with them in the industrial centres. Though this latter point has been largely refuted,<sup>48</sup> Holt held that church clubs were established with the intention of middle-class control on 'rational' lines, though the impetus came from working-class congregation members. He, however, disputed the effectiveness of the diffusion of the ethical values which were attached to sport.<sup>49</sup>

The diffusionist concept was considered by Neil Tranter a decade later.<sup>50</sup> Tranter put the case for the downward effect of what he terms 'social diffusion', citing the impact of former public school and university men in codifying the rules of both forms of football and establishing national bodies such as the Football Association. He found that, in the 1870s, whether soccer or rugby was taken up in Lancashire or Yorkshire partly depended on the preferences of the local elite. However, he saw the model's advantages outweighed by its limitations. He noted how cricket attracted considerable working-class interest long before

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<sup>46</sup> Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, p. 59.

<sup>47</sup> Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989).

<sup>48</sup> See *The Historiography of Religion and Recreation, Sport and Cricket*, below.

<sup>49</sup> Holt, *Sport and the British*, pp. 137-38.

<sup>50</sup> Neil Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain, 1750-1914* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998).

the public school cult of games and that popular sports were not duplications of elite sports. Tranter raised other important factors such as the stimulation of cup and league competitions and geographical and cultural boundaries.<sup>51</sup>

Tranter denied that the impetus for the new sporting forms was social control. He argued, for example, that although class unity was emphasised in the rhetoric which grew around them, in practice sports reinforced social class boundaries. This was usually enforced through high subscriptions or rigid internal divisions, notably in first-class cricket.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, Tranter contended that the more sophisticated theory of hegemony - the inducing of the working classes to assimilate middle-class sporting norms - was unpersuasive. What evidence existed, he maintained, indicated that the higher classes were insufficiently united over the cult of games. The non-public school middle-class sponsors of sport in the North accepted professionalism and preferred winning to 'playing the game'. Moreover, team games were not introduced into elementary schools, as their assumed character-building qualities were for leaders not the led. The biggest flaw in the hegemony argument, however, was the capacity of workers to resist elite sporting ideologies or adopt only those which could be beneficially absorbed into their own.<sup>53</sup>

Resistance to the cult of games was dramatically played out in rugby football. Tony Collins contended that the eventual schism in the game not only reflected a growing cultural divergence between the middle and working classes, it also operated to construct distinct class identities in a way that was apparent to the participants at the time.<sup>54</sup> Collins argued that competition, spectatorship and civic pride fuelled an upsurge in working-class interest in the game in the northern regions, especially the West Riding, bringing fears that the amateur ethos would be overturned and control asserted from below.<sup>55</sup> It was this which made the demand by northern players for broken-time payments irreconcilable.

Collins examined the role of the churches in sport in a northern context. He maintained that churches formed clubs to disseminate muscular Christian principles and engage working men in church activities. As with Mason in the case of association football, Collins argued that working men generally made use of local institutions, principally churches (including Roman

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., pp. 26-31.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., pp. 37-42.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid., pp.

<sup>54</sup> Tony Collins, *Rugby's Great Split: Class, Culture and the Origins of Rugby League Football* (Abingdon, Routledge, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 2006).

<sup>55</sup> Though most employers deserted it, a few such as Harry Waller, its first president, were instrumental in establishing the Northern Union and some mainly lower-middle-class administrators remained. Ibid., pp. 125, 153, 197.

Catholic churches), workplaces and pubs rather than create their own clubs. He did, however, find that most church clubs were formed by congregation members. Collins showed that muscular Christian principles were increasingly ignored, alienating the clergy, and that following the establishment of the Northern Union the Anglicans dropped their support.<sup>56</sup> Nonetheless, the muscular Christianity explanation for the spread of sports persists, as seen in a recent article, from a religious standpoint, by Andrew Parker and Mike Collins.<sup>57</sup>

Jeff Hill's work on sport and leisure holds particular relevance for this research through his examination of clubs.<sup>58</sup> Hill highlighted the discrepancy between the hugely important role played by voluntary associations since the eighteenth century and the minimal interest taken in their activities by academic social historians. He argued that voluntary organisations played a crucial role in the life of their communities.

Despite this, Hill contended that sports clubs have been as significant in creating and reinforcing social distinctions - of gender, status and ethnicity as well as class - as in promoting excellence in their sport. The 'classic' club was male and middle-class and imbued with the ethos of amateurism, favouring sociability over competitiveness. This was increasingly so in rugby union clubs, with a uniting of the middle classes around Conservatism in the face of the growth of Socialism in the 1920s. This was even more pronounced in golf clubs. Hill stated that much more investigation is needed into 'the neglected field of voluntary association'.<sup>59</sup> The creation of sports clubs within existing voluntary organisations - churches in the case of this thesis - adds a further dimension

In the debate on sport, historians have identified important themes and concepts such as social class, cultural diffusion, social control, identity and gender. Churches feared both demise and effeminacy and the muscular Christian version of sport seemed a way to engage working men and to influence their behaviour. As hosts of sport, religious organisations held attractions for ordinary men but these had inherited an older sporting culture that left church cricket open to a struggle over forms and control.

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid., pp. 18-19, 25-26, 147.

<sup>57</sup> Parker and Collins, 'Sport and Christianity'.

<sup>58</sup> Hill, *Sport, Leisure & Culture*, pp. 130-45.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 144.

## **The Historiography of Cricket**

That one of the first histories of cricket was written by a clergyman comes as little surprise.<sup>60</sup> This is in itself testimony to the degree to which the game became associated with moral and even Christian values. The Rev. Pycroft equated cricket with English manliness, harking back to Classical times and forward to the muscular Christian era. He was at pains to show that cricket's long and intimate association with drinking and, especially, gambling was an aberration, 'A dark Chapter in the History of Cricket'.<sup>61</sup>

Pycroft's new narrative found an eager market in the reforming public schools seeking to amalgamate old and industrial money into a new ruling elite through the creation of a shared culture which became increasingly games orientated. Team sports, and especially cricket, were now infused with the supposed values of an age of chivalry. The reality of power rooted in money, whether landed or industrial, sought a façade of virtue and meritocracy which Pycroft was instrumental in constructing.

Pycroft's depiction of the game, in its pastoral context, came to dominate the game's literature.<sup>62</sup> Even academics have demonstrated a reluctance to look beyond the elite and 'first-class' game. Rowland Bowen, in the decade that followed the end of the amateur-professional distinction and the arrival of the overtly commercial one-day game, produced a work which, though believed to question the dominant version of the game, could not escape this very perspective.<sup>63</sup>

Bowen did refer to cup and league cricket in the industrial North and Midlands but in terms of a reaction to the perceived 'cant' surrounding the game in the South.<sup>64</sup> He failed to consider it as a product of the particular culture of those locations. In a revealing juxtaposition of league and country house cricket (the 'gentleman amateur' praetorian guard) Bowen devoted more space to the latter, considering it based on 'enjoyment', 'the quality of those taking part' and an 'outlet for those who did not like the professional and increasingly

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<sup>60</sup> Pycroft, *The Cricket Field*.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.

<sup>62</sup> Two classic examples in fiction are: the nostalgic look back at a supposed golden age before the Great War through a village cricket match, Hugh de Selincourt, *The Cricket Match* (Goring-by-Sea, 1924) and Thomas Waugh, *The Cricket Field of the Christian Life* (Stockport, Tyne & Co., c.1910), which depicts Christ's XI who always bat against the Devil's XI who always bowl and cheat and tempt the batsmen to get them out. This allocation of roles to 'good' and 'evil' also correspond to the gentleman amateur batsman versus professional, working-class, bowler division of labour in first-class cricket, perhaps not entirely coincidentally.

<sup>63</sup> Rowland Bowen, *Cricket: A History of its Growth and Development Throughout the World* (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1970).

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

competitive attitude in top-class cricket'. He neither considered alternative forms of enjoyment nor motives of social exclusion.<sup>65</sup>

Much later, Sir Derek Birley did allow more of a voice to the game's non-elites, demonstrating the contribution of the itinerant professionals who in the 1850s and 1860s seemed on the verge of controlling the game before being submerged by the forces of the 'authorised version'.<sup>66</sup> Birley, although relating the development of cricket more to specific political and economic events than to the communities in which this development occurred, did challenge the assumptions of the elites who ran the game. During the Great War, for example, first-class cricket, pressured by the public school establishment, ceased, as did the great majority of club cricket in the South. In the North, however, Birley found that the leagues continued and helped to boost morale.<sup>67</sup> Somewhat irreverently, he considered some of the muscular Christian views of the game as projected by Pycroft and his ilk as 'high-falutin' nonsense.'<sup>68</sup>

Jeff Hill had earlier undertaken a pioneering examination of the relationship between first-class and league cricket.<sup>69</sup> Hill emphasised the need for historians to examine the game, first within the context of its social and political relations and, secondly, with a conscious eye as to how the *meaning* of cricket was propagated.<sup>70</sup> He contended that, as in the wider case of leisure noted by such as Bailey, there was a contest in the third quarter of the nineteenth century between the popular and elite versions of the game. Following the demise of the working-class itinerant professionals, an alliance of the aristocracy and upper-middle classes sought to establish the hegemony of the three-day game. Consequently, a socially elite meaning of cricket was projected by the game's wide literature, which ignored alternative forms of the game, that is league cricket.<sup>71</sup>

Hill stressed that communities were of paramount importance to league cricket and that consequently the game evolved a form of play and social relations quite distinct from the first-class game. The clubs afforded a position of esteem not subordination to its

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., pp. 112, 116-17.

<sup>66</sup> Derek Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket* (London, Aurum, 2003).

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., pp. 206-10.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>69</sup> Jeffrey Hill, "'First-Class' Cricket and the Leagues: Some Notes on the Development of English Cricket, 1900-40", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1987), 68-81.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 68, italics original.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 68-70.

professionals.<sup>72</sup> League cricket provided a ‘meaning’ of the game at odds with that of the social elite being projected in the county and test forms.

Despite this, Hill saw league cricket maintaining a place within the overall structure of the game. This contrasted with rugby, where a rupture occurred in similar circumstances.<sup>73</sup> Supporting Gramsci’s concept of cultural hegemony, he contended that league cricket was a ‘negotiated version’ of the forms and relationships of the dominant code.<sup>74</sup> Hill also highlighted a need for research into small ‘bread and butter’ local cricket clubs. Church clubs are good examples of these and this thesis addresses this historiographical neglect.

More recently, Rob Light found that during the years 1820-1860 cricket shifted its fulcrum from the South-East of England to the industrialising North and Midlands as the game’s southern-centric morality was being invented.<sup>75</sup> Consequently, cricket’s expansion in the West Riding gave little support to the top-down diffusion model, being stimulated by a competitive working-class culture which pre-dated the Pycroftian version. This older culture was seen in the long and well-documented history of competitive stake matches sponsored by the gentry in the eighteenth century and from the late 1840s by the professional touring sides.

Furthermore, Light showed how such stake matches flourished in the West Riding in the intervening years, creating a framework of competition and a vehicle of community identity through the growing rivalry of the area’s expanding industrial towns and villages.<sup>76</sup> He did find a need for middle-class sponsorship in the development of cricket clubs of working-class players and identified attempts at imposing the tenets of rational recreation.<sup>77</sup> Like Bailey and Cunningham, he argued that attempts to diffuse the new ethical code were resisted or received lip-service rather than compliance, this being the case with voluntary organisations including churches.<sup>78</sup>

Two other academic historians have carried out important work relevant to the development of local cricket, including the contribution of clergy. In his examination of Victorian cricket, though mainly concerned with the first-class form, Keith Sandiford did consider these aspects

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 73-74, 79. An excellent illustration of the relationship between a league club and its community is that of the Heywoods of Todmorden Cricket Club, Freda, Malcolm and Brian Heywood, *Cloth Caps and Cricket Crazy: Todmorden and Cricket 1835-1896* (Upper Calder Valley Publications, 2004) and the sequel, *In a League of Their Own: Cricket & Leisure in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Todmorden* (Upper Calder Valley Publications, 2011).

<sup>73</sup> Collins, *Rugby’s Great Split*.

<sup>74</sup> Hill, “‘First-Class’ Cricket and the Leagues”, 79.

<sup>75</sup> Rob Light, ‘Cricket’s Forgotten Past: A Social and Cultural History of the Game in the West Riding of Yorkshire 1820 – 1870’ (PhD Thesis, De Monfort University, 2008).

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., pp. 52-8.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., pp. 135-40.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 150.

of the game.<sup>79</sup> He found in the second half of the nineteenth century ‘an incredible upsurge in club cricket’ with the emergence in the industrial North and Midlands of leagues. As Hill, he concentrated on the dominant Lancashire League, though engaging less local primary sources.<sup>80</sup> Taking a strong diffusionist position, Sandiford contended that this expansion came on a tide of muscular Christian fervour which universally inspired clergymen to support cricket, with even the Nonconformists anxious not to be left behind.<sup>81</sup>

Jack Williams, in his examination of club and league cricket, took a more empirical approach. Although based in the early twentieth century, towards the end of this research, Williams provided a comprehensive evaluation of the game and its significance to regional and religious as well as national social history.<sup>82</sup> He found a marked distinction at this level of cricket. League cricket was found mainly in the industrial North and Midlands, but ‘club’ cricket was synonymous with ‘friendly’ cricket and, irrespective of location, was usually more socially exclusive with wealthier members. The latter were hostile to league cricket, which put a premium on winning and the prestige of the locality.<sup>83</sup> Williams showed that church cricket was also largely confined to the industrial regions of the country, the Midlands and more especially the North.<sup>84</sup> The conditions which favoured league cricket also seemed to favour church cricket.

In a survey of church-based sport in the North, Williams identified several important themes. He discovered a class basis to church cricket with members being predominantly in working-class or lower-middle class occupations.<sup>85</sup> He found that the concept of ‘respectability’ was closely associated with church clubs. Williams held that the culture of churches in their provision of sport fostered a sense of identity among working men and women. This, he argued, illustrated the ‘varied and fragmented’ nature of such identities which worked against the formation of a social or political consciousness hostile to other classes.<sup>86</sup> Williams also contended that church cricket retarded the advance of secularism.<sup>87</sup> This thesis will utilise these concepts from the perspective of both cricket and church. It will add to Williams’ work

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<sup>79</sup> Keith A. P. Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians* (Aldershot, Scolar Press, 1994).

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53-55.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36-41.

<sup>82</sup> Jack Williams, *Cricket and England: A Cultural and Social History of the Inter-War Years* (London, Frank Cass, 1999).

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36-7, 52.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 147-9.

<sup>85</sup> Jack Williams, ‘Churches, Sport and Identities in the North, 1900-1939’ in Jeff Hill and Jack Williams (eds), *Sport and Identity in the North of England* (Keele, Keele University Press, 1996), pp. 113-36.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 118-19, 132-34.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 127-28.

through a detailed evaluation of the occupations of members (population censuses being available for nearly all of the period, up to 1911) and by considering clubs' identification with their wider communities.

Sandiford and Williams have recognised other crucial, but little-considered, themes pertinent to this thesis. Both noted the financial difficulties encountered by clubs at the level of competition associated with church cricket and the plethora of methods necessary to develop their facilities or even to survive.<sup>88</sup> They also assessed the role of gender: examining the largely neglected contribution of women to cricket. Sandiford showed how resistance in the shape of the new cult of 'manliness' delayed a re-appearance of the female game until the 1880s. This was again closely linked to social class, emerging at the genteel White Heather Club and the elite girls' schools. Sandiford found, at most, only a supportive role for lower-class women.<sup>89</sup> Williams, examining the later period, saw women predominantly in ancillary and fundraising positions but argued that they played a vital part and usually found the experience worthwhile. He discovered that women started to play in the area outside of the period of this study in the 1930s following the foundation of the Yorkshire Women's Cricket Federation.<sup>90</sup>

The 'authorised' version of cricket based on a narrow, pastoral perspective of 'Englishness' in which Anglicanism featured prominently has dominated the game's narrative. Church cricket in mainly industrial Halifax and the Calder Valley offers a far more representative voice. Multi-denominational as well as multi-class, it provides a fresh perspective in addressing crucial issues raised by cricket's historiography: cultural diffusion and meanings, social control and hegemony, the relationship between church, wider community and identity, the role of gender and ignored or neglected areas such as grounds, finance and rules.

### **The Historiography of Religion and Recreation, Sport and Cricket**

Few subjects were as contentious within the churches and chapels of the nineteenth century as their relationship with leisure and sport. Perceptions of recreation varied from the work of the Devil to the work of salvation.

Bailey cited the rise of evangelicalism from the mid-eighteenth century as a crucial factor in the shift of attitudes to the leisure of the lower orders, which was increasingly seen as

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<sup>88</sup> Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, pp. 56-7; Williams, *Cricket and England*, pp. 173-5.

<sup>89</sup> Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, pp. 56-7

<sup>90</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, pp. 106-11.



‘morally offensive, socially subversive and a general impediment to progress.’<sup>91</sup> He argued that by the 1830s evangelical attitudes were prevalent among clergy of all denominations, as well as among the middle classes in general, with anxiety over amusements and especially popular recreation. This brought repression of blood sports and vigorous attempts to enforce sabbatarianism and temperance.<sup>92</sup>

These clerical-aided endeavours to suppress pre-modern leisure took place against the volatile political, economic and social background engendered by the French Revolution and the ensuing wars, Luddism, Swing Riots, the agitations over political and Poor Law reform and, later, Chartism. Alan Gilbert notes that by 1834 at least 12 per cent of clergymen had attained positions as magistrates and often carried out their duties with great zeal.<sup>93</sup>

David Hempton, examining the role of religion in identity, saw the promotion of Anglican clergy to the bench as an indicator of their rising social status. In many rural areas a social distance emerged between clergymen and their congregations, a factor in the neglect of the parish of which pluralism and absenteeism were the main elements.<sup>94</sup> This neglect jeopardised the recreation of the lower orders and their relationship with the church itself as popular adherence to Anglicanism depended on a balance of ‘social utility, rural entertainment and moral consensus’.<sup>95</sup>

Hempton concurred with Bailey that the early success of evangelicalism delivered a further blow to popular amusements by creating a consensus of interest between the moralistic middle class and the skilled working class.<sup>96</sup> He identified, however, a tendency to social climbing which downgraded revivalism into respectability and served to alienate the industrial working class.<sup>97</sup> Moreover, Hempton contended that social class hindered Methodist missionary efforts to the urban poor, though chapels did begin to open themselves up to entertainment-orientated activities which helped locate them at the centre of village life.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Bailey, *Leisure and Class*, p. 3.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 17-19.

<sup>93</sup> Alan D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914* (London, Longman, 1976), pp. 80-1.

<sup>94</sup> David Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 8-9, 5.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 40-45.

It was the poor of the urban areas, rather than the countryside, who worried Horace Mann in 1851. Mann's interpretation of that year's Census of Religious Worship led to the centrality of social class in the 'pessimistic' paradigm of religious decline which emerged in the late 1950s. In this, urban-industrialisation engendered the loss to the churches of the labouring classes, especially men. In Victorian Sheffield, Bishop E. R. Wickham saw the poor estranged from the urban churches mainly due to social differentiation.<sup>99</sup>

This 'pessimistic' analysis was supported by Kenneth Inglis.<sup>100</sup> Inglis did recognise that efforts were made by the churches to attract the working people in the urban industrial areas in the 50 years prior to the Census and that these were strengthened and widened afterwards.<sup>101</sup> Indeed, he argued that the attempts of churches to entice working men led eventually to the provision of recreational activities. This approach caused considerable soul-searching for churches and especially the Nonconformists, with their Puritan roots. Inglis contended that the fear of a religion based on amusements would not survive the loss of those amusements was counterpoised by the growing concern of losing their young people if these were not provided. The upshot was 'purer' pleasures employed 'in the service of religion', though ultimately all such methods were to prove ineffective.<sup>102</sup>

The pessimistic interpretation of church loss has been challenged, most robustly by Callum Brown, who took a gender, rather than class, perspective on secularisation.<sup>103</sup> Brown saw the churches' decline not from the advent of urbanisation with the loss of the working classes but from the 1960s with the loss of the bedrock support of females. Brown, moreover, considered gender to be a crucial factor in the churches' provision of sport. He argued that from the start of the nineteenth century, due to increasingly segregated gender roles, the male had lost his traditional place at the centre of the home, with the female providing the religious and moral fulcrum of the family.<sup>104</sup> This diminished the man's masculinity, necessitating different outlets considered manly such as games. Simultaneously, anxieties about religion being considered a feminine activity led to the churches' acceptance of sport. In a striking contrast with Sandiford, Brown contended that churches' support of muscular Christianity was not an

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<sup>99</sup> E. R. Wickham, *Church and People in an Industrial City* (London, Lutterworth Press, 1957).

<sup>100</sup> K. S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963).

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 74-85.

<sup>103</sup> Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain* (London, Routledge, 2001).

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

endorsement of masculinity but an attempt to maintain it within manageable limits.<sup>105</sup> Despite Brown's view, 'muscular' increasingly outweighed 'Christian'.

Aside from class and gendered-based explanations, there is a third perspective for churches' provision of recreation and sport. In this, muscular Christianity acquired a far nobler narrative than allowed by Brown. Sports, often distasteful to church and chapel in the first half of the nineteenth century, had by its last quarter become not only respectable but had assumed Christian virtues and patriotic overtones. David Newsome identified a transformation, in which clergy played important roles, from the 'godliness and good learning' of Thomas Arnold to the 'godliness and manliness' of Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes.<sup>106</sup> With nature imitating art, Hughes' depiction of Arnold's Rugby in *Tom Brown's Schooldays* bestowed on sports, and particularly team games, a chivalric dimension. The idea of employing physical strength in noble, Christian and increasingly nationalistic causes, found an eager audience in the *nouveaux riches*, by now tiring of the constraints of contemporary respectability.<sup>107</sup>

Hugh McLeod, in his study of religion in Victorian London, recognised a similar shift.<sup>108</sup> He found that in the first half of the nineteenth century middle-class church attendance and abstinence from recreations was enforced through the agency of respectability. McLeod contends that the basis of respectability began to shift during the late nineteenth century 'crisis of faith' and consequently in the suburbs appeared a 'network of local clubs and associations, many of them linked with a place of worship'.<sup>109</sup>

McLeod identified class as a key determinant of formal worship. He found that London reflected the country as a whole in that working-class church attendance was *pro rata* much lower than for the higher social classes.<sup>110</sup> In Bethnal Green the Anglican High Settlement responded to this discrepancy by engaging the labouring classes through the provision of sports clubs. Clergymen, however, could rarely resist attaching a secular behavioural *quid pro quo*:

Among the [parishioners'] privileges should be education, rational amusement, and social intercourse; and these can best be supplied by Local Clubs with their various

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<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96-8.

<sup>106</sup> David Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning: Four Studies on a Victorian Ideal*, (London, John Murray, 1961).

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 199-202, 237.

<sup>108</sup> Hugh McLeod, *Class and Religion in the Late Victorian City* (London, Croom Helm, 1974), pp. 218-9.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 134-35.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 279. McLeod does, however, note considerable differences in *actual* attendances in different areas.

guilds, classes and societies. Among the duties, on the other hand, which require to be revived, thrift and prudence stand pre-eminent....<sup>111</sup>

In a later work, McLeod looked more directly at the promotion of sport by churches.<sup>112</sup> He saw sport in the Nonconformist chapels of Northampton evolving through five stages. First was the impromptu formation of clubs from Young Men's and Bible classes. Second was the provision of sport by Sunday schools wishing to retain scholars. The third stage was to attract outsiders and provide a diversion from less wholesome activities. The fourth stage was the promotion of sport by ministers and chapel leaders as a good thing in itself. The final stage was complete acceptance requiring no justification.<sup>113</sup> McLeod identified a generational dimension with opposition to sport ascendant during the 1870s and early 1880s. Then followed a balance of opinion in the 1890s leading to success for the sportsmen and women in the early twentieth century.<sup>114</sup> He also noted the precedents of Sunday school outings which frequently included informal games of cricket and other sports, with teachers often joining in enthusiastically.<sup>115</sup> Other than as a counter to gambling and drinking, McLeod barely acknowledged the behavioural and social control views often seen as a motivation for church sport. He viewed it in a positive light: part of a progressive time in religious history when support for trade unionism and pacifism emerged alongside more tolerance of Catholicism.<sup>116</sup>

McLeod considered church sport as predominantly a feature of the North and Midlands but noted Jeffrey Cox's finding in 1900 that 26 out of 43 cricket teams in the Lambeth League were connected with a chapel.<sup>117</sup> Cox, in his study of Lambeth, examined the effect of the churches' wider involvement in non-spiritual matters within the context of secularisation.<sup>118</sup> Opposing the pessimistic paradigm, Cox argued that the fall in religious observance came not with the growth of industrialisation but with its decline, starting in the 1880s and accelerating just after 1900.<sup>119</sup> He contended that the churches secularised themselves by endeavouring to retain and attract adherents through their social and philanthropic activities which were

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<sup>111</sup> Annual Report of Oxford House, 1886, *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>112</sup> Hugh McLeod, "'Thews and Sinews': Nonconformity and Sport' in David Bebbington and Timothy Larsen, *Modern Christianity and Cultural Aspirations* (London, Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), pp. 28-46.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31. McLeod gives no chronology for the stages.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 46.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>118</sup> Jeffrey Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society: Lambeth, 1870-1930* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1982).

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 272-73.

destined to be dismantled by better-equipped providers and by the 1920s the clergy saw themselves as ‘irrelevant’ to the “real” needs of society.’<sup>120</sup>

Cox largely reinforced an earlier study carried out in Reading by Stephen Yeo, who had argued that churches and all other voluntary organisations, having thrived during the second half of the nineteenth century, went into decline by the Great War in the face of the same external social and economic pressures. This occurred when industry became larger-scale and less associated with the local community and with the emergence of state welfarism.<sup>121</sup> He saw secular leisure as a bigger threat to the institutional church of the early twentieth century than either politics or welfarism.<sup>122</sup> The imperative to raise money, Yeo maintained, led to the degradation of the spiritual side of churches through the ‘putting on of sideshows in order to attract customers only to find the sideshows taking over the central activities’.<sup>123</sup>

Simon Green saw the same forces at work at the same time within the churches in and around Halifax.<sup>124</sup> He contended that industrialisation was not accompanied by secularisation which, concurring with Cox, came later, after 1900, with clergymen becoming demoralised during the 1920s.<sup>125</sup> Green saw secularisation as a result of the churches’ growth. This had necessitated fundraising through the employment of non-religious methods which, as Yeo argued, detracted from their spiritual purpose. Green also saw the churches’ highest mission to enlist working men leading to special efforts, among which were the founding of sports clubs, including cricket, by themselves and their Sunday schools.<sup>126</sup>

John Hargreaves, in his study of religion in the ancient parish of Halifax, did not endorse the self-inflicted argument of secularisation, identifying instead a multiplicity of reasons for the decline in church-going including population decline, suburbanisation, the growth of the Labour movement, increased state educational and welfare provision as well as the emergence of organised leisure.<sup>127</sup> Hargreaves did note, however, the attempts by clergy to

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 270, 273-74.

<sup>121</sup> Stephen Yeo, *Religion and Voluntary Organisations in Crisis* (London, Croom Helm, 1976).

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>124</sup> S.J.D. Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline: Organisation and Experience in Industrial Yorkshire, 1870-1920* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996). In this work Green also examines nearby Denholme and Keighley.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. 380.

<sup>126</sup> Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, pp. 181-255.

<sup>127</sup> John A. Hargreaves, ‘Religion and Society in the Parish of Halifax, c. 1740-1914 (Unpublished PhD thesis, C.N.A.A., Huddersfield Polytechnic, 1991). This is a different John Hargreaves to the sports sociologist looked at in the *Historiography of Sport*.

draw people into the church employing recreational attractions, citing the Halifax Parish Church Magazine which during the 1880s advertised its cricket club to this purpose.<sup>128</sup>

In a recent work, Dominic Erdozain has resurrected the ‘pessimistic’ timing of religious decline - seeing religiosity declining from 1870 - but with an explanation more subtle and more directly relevant to this thesis.<sup>129</sup> Erdozain argued that driven by evangelicalism, religious organisations engendered a ‘secularisation of Christian culture’ by switching their attention from the redemption from sin to the salvation from secular ‘vices’, such as drink and gambling, and so assisted their own spiritual demise.<sup>130</sup> Though pleasure was initially a problem for evangelicals, Erdozain contended that rational recreation and manly sports with their emphasis on self-control were perceived as a salvation from pleasures which remained centred on vice. As did Yeo, Erdozain maintained that recreation was a ‘vital and central’ feature in the fostering of secularisation by the churches as their attention shifted from the supernatural to the ‘genialities of humanism’.<sup>131</sup>

Recently, McLeod has identified the main threat that sport posed to religion came from the rivalry for emotional commitment.<sup>132</sup> In a wide-ranging survey, McLeod examines the changing relationship between the churches and recreation from the time of the French Revolution up to the Great War. The churches’ position moved from specific to blanket condemnation under the influence of Evangelicalism, to which sport was anathema as a ‘counter-culture’. Then, with the arrival of muscular Christianity, the churches moved to a general, though never universal, acceptance and promotion of recreation and sport. McLeod notes that in the creation of (what became famous) church sports clubs, clergy were sometimes active but sometimes passive. Despite this, he allows little say to the ordinary participant and largely ignores the northern industrial areas, especially the West Riding.

Church cricket in Halifax and the Calder Valley emerged as religious organisations were endeavouring to adjust to a changing economic and political world and to fears, real and perceived, of their own decline. Their cricket clubs were both a reflection and factor in this adaptation and concern. Church cricket is, therefore, of great value in examining important issues such as the relations between clergy, wealthy patrons, club members and the wider

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p. 289.

<sup>129</sup> Dominic Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure: Sport, Recreation and the Crisis of Victorian Religion* (Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2010).

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., pp. 7, 272-73.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. 277. The quotation is from P.T. Forsyth, a Congregationalist theologian, in *The Charter of the Church* (London, 1896).

<sup>132</sup> Hugh McLeod, ‘Sport and Religion in England, c.1790-1914’ in Nick J. Watson and Andrew Parker (eds), *Sports and Christianity: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (London, Routledge, 2012), pp. 112-30.

community; the significance of recreation in evangelicalism and secularism; and the role of the church within a rapidly transforming industrial society.

### **Aims**

The overall purpose of this research is to determine the significance of church cricket in Halifax and the Calder Valley between 1860 and c.1920. From the examination of the relevant historiography and the issues, gaps and concepts they identify, crucial questions emerge to this end. The driving one is ‘to what extent was church cricket in the area a result of clerical influence and muscular Christianity?’ Many other important questions arise. Why and when did church cricket appear in the area? How did industrial transformation and the area’s moorland terrain affect its development? What was the impact of popular sport? Did church cricket support the ‘leisure vacuum’ theory or that of continuity? Who composed and ran the clubs and what did it mean for them? What do the clubs tell us about religious adherence during the period? How did church cricket clubs relate to other contemporary voluntary organisations of similar social compositions? To what extent were church cricket clubs financed by the paternalism of their church and its wealthier congregation members? Did clergy and church hierarchies endeavour to control the behaviour of club members? What role was played by social class and, especially in the light of changing industrial and political relations, did this demonstrate division or conciliation? What was women’s involvement in church cricket clubs and how did this relate to the wider gender debate? What was the relationship and identification between cricket clubs, their religious organisations, and their wider communities? What was the effect of the Great War? Did church cricket retard or accelerate secularisation?

This study intends to inform the debate about the nineteenth-century reform of leisure and of the pivotal role of religious organisations during the critical period of cricket’s popular growth from 1860 to around 1920. In doing so it seeks to provide a new perspective on the churches themselves as they confronted the transformation of the socio-economic, political as well as religious basis of the country and then the trauma of world war. Based on empirical analysis, it looks to modify and extend Keith Sandiford’s study of Victorian club and league cricket and clerical influence, and to link to and complement the work of Jack Williams, whose focus has been principally on the inter-war period, and mainly in Lancashire.<sup>133</sup> This research also aims to add to the work of Rob Light of the University of Huddersfield’s former Cricket Research Centre, who examined the development of cricket in the West Riding up to

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<sup>133</sup> Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*; Williams, ‘Churches, Sport and Identities’; Williams, *Cricket and England*.

1860, the year in which the first church cricket club appeared in Halifax and the Calder Valley.<sup>134</sup> In addition it seeks to complement other regional studies which - though not addressing the subject specifically and consequently not in such depth and breadth as this thesis – do examine church cricket such as the works of Andrew Hignell in South Wales, Ian Clarke in Cornwall and as-yet unpublished research by Keir Hounsome in Norfolk.<sup>135</sup> Moreover, with this study's geographical location corresponding to the former ancient parish of Halifax, it intends to provide an additional insight into the area's religious development throughout the period as researched by John Hargreaves and Simon Green.<sup>136</sup>

## **Methodology**

The research period covers the birth and development of church cricket in Halifax and the Calder Valley from 1860, the date of the area's earliest known church club, to around 1920. This timescale permits an in-depth examination of church clubs during the crucial, formative years of popular organised cricket in the area, while also allowing an evaluation of how the clubs managed the trauma of the Great War and its aftermath. The immediate post-war situation was also highly relevant to religious organisations themselves, especially regarding secularisation, as well as to the profound effect upon the lives of women and how this was reflected in church cricket. The study also examines the decades before church cricket in order to best demonstrate the significance of this development in its wider religious, socio-economic and political as well as sporting context.

The thesis is presented in eight main chapters. The first chapter assesses the background to the emergence of church cricket in the area. It considers how popular interest in sport grew from around 1850 while the possibilities of participating were constrained by finance, time and spatial-topographical factors. It reveals the strained relations between clergy and working people which made the prospects of churches hosting sporting activities at mid-century anything but a foregone conclusion. It will then evaluate why these prospects improved so rapidly that only a decade later church cricket was on the point of taking off.

A second, short, chapter introduces the primary clubs which provide the core of the study and the significance of their selection. It aims to show how, in a more tranquil period of industrial and urban transformation, church cricket clubs emerged throughout Halifax and the Calder

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<sup>134</sup> Light, 'Cricket's Forgotten Past'.

<sup>135</sup> Andrew Hignell, *A 'Favourite' Game: Cricket in South Wales Before 1914* (Cardiff, University of Wales Press, 1992); Ian David Clarke, 'The Development and Social History of Cricket in Cornwall 1815 to 1881' (PhD Thesis, De Monfort University, 2004); As yet unpublished research by Keir Hounsome.

<sup>136</sup> Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society'; Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*.



Valley in a diverse range of communities as regards geography, industry, religious propensity and sporting precedents. Encompassing a reasonably representative range of formation dates and denomination, church or Sunday school, the clubs furnish an empirical framework to examine the themes of the thesis and to allow future comparisons with similar regional studies.

Chapter three examines the evolving attitudes, motives and roles of clergymen in the development of cricket in Halifax and the Calder Valley. It evaluates the received wisdom that Anglican clergy were more active than those of Nonconformity. It considers the relative contribution of clergy and congregations to the boom in church cricket clubs. The Sunday school clubs are assessed as to why their foundation was somewhat different from those emerging from churches.

Chapter four examines the membership and leadership of church cricket clubs. It relates this to the contention that clubs were under middle-class control and to the 'pessimistic' school of secularisation which saw the industrial labouring class as lost to the churches. The contribution of wealthier patrons and class relations within the clubs will be evaluated. The association of local politicians with church clubs will be considered in the context of the rapidly changing political situation. The chapter will also assess the relevance of Hill's 'meanings' to church club members. Furthermore, at a time of suffragette activism in the area, it will assess whether females' contribution to the clubs advanced the cause of women or reinforced gender stereotypes. To accommodate important developments and historiographical debates relating to women, the timeframe in this case is occasionally extended up to the early 1930s.

Chapter five notes how inspections implemented by the committee of the Halifax Parish Challenge Cup demonstrated the paramount importance of grounds to the health of the area's cricket clubs. The significance of churches and their networks is assessed in the acquirement and development of pitches. The efforts and costs in retaining and developing grounds, it will be suggested, tended to move them in a secular direction and revealed early signs of a shift from church to works' clubs. John Bale's interpretation of 'topophilia' is considered, examining whether the grounds held more than a purely functional significance for members.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> John Bale, 'Space, Place and Body Culture: Yi-Fu Tuan and A Geography of Sport', *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, Vol. 78, No. 3 (1996), 163-171.

Chapter six considers how chronic financial difficulties shaped the operation and progress of church clubs. It considers their plight in relation to larger cricket (and also football) clubs as well as to other predominantly working-class voluntary organisations confronting similar economic constraints. Moreover, it proposes that religious bodies' recent experience in raising money through social activities benefitted their clubs, but also helped secular organisations. Conversely, the fundraising experience of church cricket clubs will be employed to assess the argument that the commercial raising of money by churches engendered secularism.

Chapter seven appraises the often-voluminous rules of church cricket clubs and their purpose. The insistence of clergymen (and some church hierarchies) on seeing these rules will be considered in relation to their pronouncements on the inherent moral qualities of cricket. With the rules' close correspondence to factory regulations and evidence that some clerics wished to enforce what Bailey terms a 'play discipline' in their clubs, it will be assessed whether this formed part of a wider attempt at social control.<sup>138</sup> Considering the even more stringent regulations in older working-class mutual organisations, the degree to which rules were unilaterally imposed by clergymen will be evaluated. The extent to which the rules were effective in their stated aims and what this reveals about the nature of the game in the area will also be examined as will the significance of rule amendments.

The final chapter looks at the role church clubs came to play in their wider communities during a period of limited recreational opportunities. It considers not only cricket itself and its part in developing identity in both old and new localities but also the importance of the clubs' social events, initiated to raise vital finance, as noted in chapter six. It will examine whether in this wider role church cricket clubs hindered or facilitated secularisation. It also evaluates the role played by denomination in terms of identity and relations between different religious groups and again considers the growing involvement of women in the clubs and how this linked to the wider gender debate.

This thesis is based on comparative historical research. It entailed a thorough examination of the archival records of church cricket clubs in Halifax and the Calder Valley - such as minute books and cashbooks and, where available, personal records and scorebooks - and contemporary documents of the clubs' religious parents, including minute books and treasurers' books of both churches and Sunday schools as well as church members' lists and documents of church auxiliary bodies. These sources, which provide the primary clubs,

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<sup>138</sup> Bailey, *Leisure and Class*, p. 5.

furnish not only factual information about the membership and everyday running of cricket clubs, churches and their auxiliaries, they also reveal their objectives, ambitions, concerns and disagreements and insightful opinions and assumptions. They allow ordinary men and women who were not avidly reported in the press or immortalised in biographies to take their place in history. Certain clubs have been kind enough to lend me their manuscripts. Other sources have been consulted at the West Yorkshire Archive departments at Calderdale, Kirklees and Wakefield. Additionally, local and regional sources have been researched at the Yorkshire Branch of the Wesley Historical Society, based at the University of Huddersfield as have national Methodist magazines and other records from the John Ryland's Library at the University of Manchester.

Little in the way of primary sources remains for clubs during this period, a situation not a great deal better for their religious parents. This research will rely in large part, therefore, on a detailed examination of eight or nine clubs which have corresponding church sources. These clubs hold often extensive primary materials and serve to provide a spread of church and chapel denominations as well as Sunday school clubs, with geography, industrial profile and year of foundation also considered. These clubs' histories will be added to and complemented by reference to the records of many other church and secular clubs and will put living flesh onto the skeleton of the area's church cricket.

As regards the area's leagues, research has been limited by a disappointing lack of contemporary records. Minute books have not survived for those based on churches or Sunday schools for the period of this study (especially regrettable in the case of the Halifax Anglican and Nonconformist leagues which may have revealed motivations of denominational rivalry or, in the aftermath of the contentious 1902 Education Act, even ill will in their formation), the only existing minutes for any league are those of the Halifax Parish Cricket League. These commence only in 1913 with its inauguration but provide valuable evidence, especially about attitudes and the problems engendered by the Great War.

The minutes of the Halifax Parish Challenge Cup Committee are available for the years 1890 to 1909, though inevitably dominated by its major function of organising fixtures, these provide important evidence as to those involved, debates over professionalism and talent money, and disputes between clubs, including many involving church clubs. The minute books also contain printed fixture lists, rules, balance statements and newspaper reports. For this competition, a remarkable and perhaps unique, source has survived - the Halifax Parish Challenge Cup Committee Grounds Report, covering the years 1891 to 1897. A few printed

contemporary league sources exist such as the *Official Guide to Halifax & District Cricket League, Season 1902*.

The Methodist sources of the Yorkshire Wesleyan Historical Society and the Rylands Library furnish little direct evidence regarding cricket and other sport. However, they provide important snapshots of changing attitudes and approaches to leisure in a denomination which very closely mirrored the transformations in nineteenth- and early-twentieth century society.

Despite these limitations in the primary sources, the materials are sufficiently strong to enable a picture of what was going on in church cricket during this period, unmatched by other studies to date.

A rich source for the area's cricket history is the University of Huddersfield's pioneering Cricket Heritage Project for Calderdale and Kirklees, founded by Dr. Peter Davies, as well as the former Cricket Research Centre, in both of which I was fortunate enough to be involved and make a small contribution.

The archival sources were supplemented by additional primary sources, principally newspapers such as the *Halifax Guardian*, *Halifax Courier*, *Todmorden Advertiser*, *Hebden Bridge Times* and *Brighouse News and Brighouse Echo*. Use was made of the UK Population Censuses and the 1851 religious census, as well as contemporary trade directories, maps and church pamphlets and magazines and also national denominational publications such as the *British Weekly* and the *Bible Christian Magazine*.

Other than the secondary sources referred to in the historiography, important and well-written sources of local history will be consulted, notably *Halifax* by John Hargreaves, *A History of Todmorden* by Malcolm and Freda Heywood and Bernard Jennings, *Brighouse: Portrait of a Town* and *Brighouse: Birth and Death of a Borough* by Reg Mitchell and two social histories of cricket: *Cloth Caps and Cricket Crazy: Todmorden and Cricket* and the recent *In a League of their Own: Cricket and Leisure in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Todmorden*, by Freda, Malcolm and Brian Heywood.<sup>139</sup> Additionally, jubilee and celebratory brochures of both churches and cricket clubs and leagues, though not produced for an academic readership, often provided very

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<sup>139</sup> John A. Hargreaves, *Halifax* (Lancaster, Carnegie, 2003 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition); Malcolm and Freda Heywood and Bernard Jennings, *A History of Todmorden* (Otley, Smith Settle, 1996); Freda, Malcolm and Brian Heywood; R. Mitchell, *Brighouse: Portrait of a Town* (Brighouse, 1953); R. Mitchell, *Brighouse: Birth and Death of a Borough* (Driffield, 1976); *Cloth Caps and Cricket Crazy: Todmorden and Cricket 1835-1896* (Upper Calder Valley Publications, 2004); Freda, Malcolm and Brian Heywood, *In a League of their Own: Cricket and Leisure in 20<sup>th</sup> Century Todmorden* (Upper Calder Valley Publications, 2011).

useful data such as club officials, dates and insights into important events and the clubs' patrons, which also pointed to further fruitful avenues of investigation.

This thesis addresses several gaps and weaknesses in the current historiography of church cricket and, in many respects, local cricket *per se*. A major flaw of much cricket history has been the point from which it has been written: its projection downwards from an elitist standpoint, embedded in an elitist set of cultural assumptions and sometimes pursuing an elitist agenda. This study not only addresses the neglected area of what Jeff Hill terms 'bread and butter' - typical rather than atypical - cricket but considers the possibility that the ordinary men and women who formed these small cricket clubs might have had agency of their own, and one which was guided to a great degree by their own culture. Moreover, the setting for this story is not the pastoral construction of so much cricket writing but one where popular organised cricket was born in the shadow of a moor or a factory.

Elitist sporting assumptions - most unquestioned in the case of cricket - have, with a few notable exceptions, been compounded in the case of church involvement, to the point of becoming an article of faith themselves. Clergymen, in their supposed mass conversion to muscular Christianity, have been credited with miraculously turning gambling, bull-baiting ruffians into sporting cricketers with no interest in whether or not they won or lost as long as they played the game. This, once more, without taking the trouble to discover if the players themselves had any say in the matter. Such writing has often relied on superficial empirical enquiry, seeking only the views and contribution of clergymen and wealthy reformers. It judged the cake solely by its icing.

Empirical research into church cricket is notable by its scarcity. Even less has been undertaken during its formative decades or in the crucial industrial and sporting cauldron that was then the West Riding. This study ties the emergence of church cricket in Halifax and the Calder Valley firmly to its transforming socio-economic and political as well as religious and sporting context. An agnostic approach is taken which listens to the quiet voices as well as the loud voices. It finds out who the members of the clubs were, how they made their living, how they worshipped and how they played their sport.

The history of church sport has been almost exclusively undertaken from either a religious *or* a sporting standpoint. Although necessarily focused on their clubs, this research endeavours to take a dual empirical approach, church *as well as* cricket club. Other new subject areas are examined and new perspectives are employed. The significance of clubs' grounds and rules in their development are evaluated as are their role in their communities which frequently

went beyond cricket, providing social and cultural activities as well as forging a mutual identity. This research also takes a new approach by considering church cricket clubs, their membership, operation and social life to other similarly composed popular voluntary bodies in the region, notably the Friendly Societies and Co-operatives. Finally, this research provides evidence as to the religious adherence of ordinary men and women at the time and throws a new light on the vexed question of the relationship between churches, recreation and secularisation.

The main contention of this thesis is that church cricket was more the product of ordinary working men and women in an advanced, though uncertain, industrial society than it was of clerical influence or muscular Christianity. It argues, nonetheless, that religious organisations gave more opportunities for young men to play organised cricket for the first time than any other single source and not only provided a lasting legacy to the game but was also a testament to the churches' remaining influence in their communities at a time of considerable transformation in the wider society. The case is made that there existed more genuine adherence to the churches and clergy than has often been allowed but that those cricket clubs which established themselves became increasingly independent of their churches and ever more a part of their wider communities. And so, as yet another alternative attraction to the church, they ultimately played a small part in the advance of secularism.

## CHAPTER 1 MOORS, MILLS AND MINISTERS

### Introduction

In June 1878, Elland Cricket Club hosted a three-day fixture between the Australian touring XI and an 'Eighteen of Elland and District' which included two clergymen.<sup>1</sup> This remains the most prestigious game of cricket ever played in Halifax and the Calder Valley, see map 1.<sup>2</sup> What is not well known is that Elland Cricket Club began life as the Sunday school club of Providence Independent Chapel, founded by its teachers and scholars in 1860.<sup>3</sup>

**Map 1 Halifax and the Calder Valley**



This is Calderdale, the modern metropolitan district, which is the area of Halifax and the Calder Valley. The area also very closely equates to the ancient parish of Halifax.

<sup>1</sup> 'Elland CC: The Early Years', *C&K Website*, [http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/elland/docs/elland\\_theearlyyears.pdf](http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/elland/docs/elland_theearlyyears.pdf), Accessed 23 August 2011. The clergymen were the reverends W. J. Kendle (also Elland President) and E. A. Sandford who played for nearby Rastrick United.

<sup>2</sup> Map reproduced courtesy of Malcolm Bull, *Malcolm Bull's Calderdale Companion*, <http://freepages.history.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~calderdalecompanion/mmm494.html>.

<sup>3</sup> *Elland Cricket, Athletic & Bowling Club, 1860-1960, Centenary Brochure* (1960), p.13.

As the area's earliest known church cricket club, Providence Independent signalled a remarkable transformation. A decade or so earlier such an eventuality would have been almost unthinkable.<sup>4</sup> To appreciate the scale of the shift which made the emergence of church cricket in the area possible, two main questions will be asked. First, what made church cricket so highly improbable in 1850? Secondly, what factors brought about such a dramatic change?

This chapter argues that in the first half of the century, due mainly to the financial and industrial situation, there was little call for organised popular cricket, with neither the money nor the time to support it. The evangelical assault on amusements considered immoral or disruptive to work, was largely directed at the poor. Moreover, relations between working people and many clergymen in the area had become so strained by economic, political and social factors that churches were highly improbable providers of sport.

It is contended that from about mid-century, however, increasing general prosperity and shorter working hours allied to a growth in top-level sport and its mutually sustaining relation with the expanding press led to a burgeoning demand. The churches were becoming by this time not only more conscious of their social responsibilities but of a mutual interest in hosting activities for working men, who were the main absenters from worship. Despite the ambivalent relations between clergy and poorer people, it is argued that churches were still important social hubs and as such held possibilities as promoters of sport. The area's geography, which has always had a hand in shaping its history, will be also considered in the background of the discussion.

### **Church Cricket: Supply and Demand**

Alan Gilbert, in his study of religion and industrial society up to the Great War, argued that the social historian must consider churches as service providers which endeavour to appeal to adherents by supplying not only spiritual goods but also social, cultural and other benefits.<sup>5</sup> David Hempton similarly saw religious bodies as most effective in attracting the urban working population when they satisfied practical social needs or met them on their own terms.<sup>6</sup> Church cricket required such a match between working men's demand and church supply.

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<sup>4</sup> No church club has been identified in the area before 1860. Throughout the entire West Riding one exception alone is known: Pudsey Lawrence which started in 1845, apparently 10-15 years before any others. *Pudsey St Lawrence Cricket Club*, 'The Story of Pudsey St Lawrence', <http://www.pslcricket.co.uk/page8.html>, Accessed 30 September 2011.

<sup>5</sup> Gilbert, *Religion and Society*, p. 69.

<sup>6</sup> Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture*, pp. 117-42.



## Demand

Two factors shaped the demand for church cricket. One was general, the other specifically related to the churches.

### General Demand: The Potential through Economic Transformation

Industrial change, especially the factory system, transformed the way people lived. It affected the possibilities for popular organised sport in many ways but two important and related factors were economic and demographic. Despite the protracted debate over the ‘Condition of England’ question, before 1850 lack of income precluded formal cricket and club formation for the vast majority of working people in the area.<sup>7</sup> In Halifax, the number of recipients of outdoor relief rose from 3,704 in 1838 to 8,531 in 1842 at which time many working people could not even afford meat. That same year, those fortunate enough to be employed at Akroyd’s worsted mills were paid an average of 10/- a week.<sup>8</sup> During the ‘Hungry Forties’, the Halifax Chartist Benjamin Wilson rarely earned more than 9/- per week and had to undertake numerous jobs to obtain even that.<sup>9</sup> In neighbouring Bradford, pauperism was ‘fearfully on the increase’ in December 1847.<sup>10</sup>

Only after 1850 did ordinary people begin to benefit economically from industrialisation. Although the area’s cotton industry suffered severely in the early 1860s when the American civil war caused shortages of raw material, incomes rose between 1850 and the early 1870s. Nationally, real living standards increased substantially throughout the years 1850 to 1920.<sup>11</sup> Even the so-called ‘Great Depression’ of 1873 to 1896, saw falls in food prices which

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<sup>7</sup> The ‘Condition of England’ question is the dispute running since the 1840s over the living standards of the working classes consequent on industrialisation between ‘optimists’ T. B. Macauley, J.H. Clapham, R. M. Hartwell and T. S. Ashton, and N. F. R. Craft being pitted against the ‘pessimists’ R. Southey, the Hammonds, E. Hobsbawm and E. P. Thompson, and C. H. Feinstein respectively. Though emphasising the complexity of the debate, a recent interpretation reaffirmed the ‘pessimistic’ theory, arguing that any rise in prosperity had started from a very low base. Jane Humphries, ‘Standard of Living, Quality of Life’ in Chris Williams (ed.), *A Companion to 19th-Century Britain* (Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2007), pp. 287-304.

<sup>8</sup> *Bradford Observer and Halifax, Huddersfield and Keighley Reporter*, 4 August 1842. £1,000 paid to 2,000 workers.

<sup>9</sup> Benjamin Wilson, *The Struggles of an Old Chartist* (Halifax, 1887), p. 13.

<sup>10</sup> *Bradford Observer and Halifax, Huddersfield and Keighley Reporter*, 2 December 1847.

<sup>11</sup> Real incomes increased nationally by 18 per cent between 1850 and 1880, this was followed by a much bigger rise of 44 per cent between 1880 and 1906, and then by another of 38 per cent to 1924. Calculated from figures in Joanna Bourke, *Working-Class Cultures in Britain 1890-1960* (London, Routledge, 1994), Table 1.1 ‘Normal’ real incomes of the British working class, 1850-1939, p. 5. Real incomes for dates were 100, 118, 170 and 234 respectively.

ensured a continuation of improved living standards for most people.<sup>12</sup> The effects spread beyond the factories. During the campaign to repeal the Corn Laws, one man of the ‘Manchester school’ had observed that ‘the further people were removed from the manufacturing districts, the worse was their condition.’<sup>13</sup> This was largely so, with wages even for farm labourers being higher near to industrial centres.<sup>14</sup> The basic needs of life could be met while leaving over some disposable income which could be employed for recreational purposes.

The second relevant major consequence of industrialisation was demographic. When Elland hosted the fixture against the Australian tourists it had become a town of approximately 13,000, its population having almost quadrupled since 1801.<sup>15</sup> This rate of growth was reasonably characteristic of Halifax and the Calder Valley during the century.<sup>16</sup> Demographic growth, though, was uneven, with concentration into urban centres. The dominant town, Halifax’s population multiplied eightfold during the century. However, some of the old seats of the dual economy de-populated slightly from mid-century with migration into the mill towns and villages of the Hebble and Calder valleys. For example, while the new industrial town of Sowerby Bridge grew by 1,686 to 10,408 between 1881 and 1891, its hilltop ‘parent’ Sowerby declined by 502 to 5,675. By 1921 the populations were 11,452 and 3,180 respectively.<sup>17</sup> Six other old industrial villages saw falling populations, with the *Leeds Mercury* noting ‘the tendency to leave the hill-sides and go and reside in the valleys.’<sup>18</sup>

With its greater adaptability to mechanisation, cotton was first to be brought into mill production. Consequently, the area’s earliest factories appeared mainly in the cotton districts nearest to Lancashire. Around Todmorden the factory system was well established by 1850.<sup>19</sup> In the eastern areas, worsteds followed behind and it was only in 1850s and 1860s that new technology allowed more delicate woollens to be adapted to machinery and even then in smaller units. In Halifax, the big period of expansion was between 1855 and 1865 when the

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<sup>12</sup> Colin Matthew (ed.), *The Nineteenth Century: The British Isles 1815-1901* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 53.

<sup>13</sup> E. H. Hunt, *Regional Wage Variations in Britain 1850-1914* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1973), p. 37.

<sup>14</sup> At the end of the 1860s competition for labour brought by manufacturing led to average weekly wages for farm labourers in industrial Yorkshire and Lancashire being 17/-, well-above the national average. The counties became prime destinations for farm workers from the South, Hunt, *Regional Wage Variations*, p. 39.

<sup>15</sup> See Appendix 1 Town Populations of Halifax and the Calder Valley 1801-1931.

<sup>16</sup> Being 63,434 in 1801 and 173,313 in 1871, Hargreaves, ‘Religion and Society’, Table 1: Population of the Parish of Halifax, 1801-71, p. 30.

<sup>17</sup> *UK Population Censuses*, 1881, 1891 and 1921.

<sup>18</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 9 May 1891. The declining villages were Barkisland, Midgley, Northowram, Ovenden, Sowerby, Soyland and Warley.

<sup>19</sup> Heywoods and Jennings, *A History of Todmorden*, pp. 149, 176.

number of factories increased from 24 to 56.<sup>20</sup> Halifax, however, had the magnet of two exceptionally large employers. Even in the depressed year of 1842, Akroyd's worsted mill was employing 2,000 workers.<sup>21</sup> Seven years later, Crossley Carpets had 1,500 employees.<sup>22</sup>

The prosperity brought by the factory system reduced the economic inter-dependence of parents and offspring, permitting earlier marriages and leading to the population increase. Importantly for cricket, it resulted in a particularly youthful demographic, especially in the towns. In the Borough of Halifax almost a third of the population was under 15 years old in 1871.<sup>23</sup> With factory employment attracting migration (of mainly young people) from both the outlying districts and beyond,<sup>24</sup> Halifax's population grew from 33,582 to 65,510 during the period 1851 to 1871, although this was partly explained by the extension of the borough's boundaries in 1865.<sup>25</sup> Despite the dramatic growth of population, unlike some of the manufacturing cities which were nineteenth-century creations, Halifax and the Calder Valley was representative of the industrial areas and not greatly removed from the national picture.<sup>26</sup>

Moreover, the economic changes led to a social revolution. The Vicar of Halifax, Francis Pigou, noted that marriages 'are contracted very early in these manufacturing districts ... Young people are of necessity brought much into close and daily contact with each other'.<sup>27</sup> The mills and urbanisation created a melting pot of social relations. Young people coming together for work would also come together for recreation.

The factory system had two further effects which were vital for popular organised cricket. First, it led to regularity in leisure time. Specifically it brought the Saturday half-holiday, which gave thousands of people free time and - crucially for team sports - *simultaneous* free time. With sabbatarianism widely observed in the area, even by the non-religious, if only as a special day,<sup>28</sup> Saturday early closing, originally 2 pm, later 1 pm, was crucial. It created the

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<sup>20</sup> Green, *Religion and Decline*, p. 39.

<sup>21</sup> *Bradford Observer and Halifax, Huddersfield and Keighley Reporter*, 4 August 1842.

<sup>22</sup> Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', p. 41.

<sup>23</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 73, 127.

<sup>24</sup> Net immigration into the West Riding, Lancashire and Cheshire was +3.3 per cent during 1851-61; +4.4 per cent (1861-71); +4.9 per cent (1871-81); +0.1 (1881-91); +0.8 per cent (1891-1901) followed (as in Halifax itself as textile manufacturing stagnated), by net emigration, -1.3 per cent, from Table 7-1 Decennial Net Migration 1851-1911: Regions in Hunt, *Regional Wage Variations*, p. 247.

<sup>25</sup> It incorporated parts of neighbouring Skircoat Green and Ovenden, *UK Population Censuses*, 1851 and 1871.

<sup>26</sup> The population of the Ancient parish of Halifax rather more than quadrupled from 41,220 in 1801 to 170,408 in 1881. During the same period the population of Great Britain almost trebled (10.69 million to 29.79 million). The area was far more typical of urban growth than, for example, Manchester (75,000 to 502,000) or Bradford (13,000 to 183,000). *UK Population Census 1801, 1881*; Peter Mathias, 'Table 1 Population Growth in Great Britain and the United Kingdom, 1801-1931', 'Table 3: Growth of Towns', *The First Industrial Nation* (London, Routledge, 2nd Edition, 1983), pp. 415, 417.

<sup>27</sup> Francis Pigou, *Phases of My Life* (London, Arnold, 1898), p. 308.

<sup>28</sup> See Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 326.

opportunity for factory workers, alongside others not employed on Saturday afternoon, to play cricket on an increasingly organised basis with cup and league competitions appearing within two or three decades. A time framework was created which was both conducive to team sport and was instrumental in promoting its competitive nature. Factory reform was driven by the cotton industry. One of its champions had been John Fielden, the radical M.P. for Oldham, whose family's huge cotton manufacturing concern was located in Todmorden.<sup>29</sup> Of the first six known church clubs, five were from the Todmorden area.<sup>30</sup>

Saturday early closing was not, however, introduced everywhere simultaneously following factory legislation. It arrived piecemeal, depending on the industry, the location and, above all, on the strength of the workers themselves. In Halifax, it was not generally established until 1873.<sup>31</sup> Even then many workers, particularly in shops, were not to benefit until decades later. There resulted a phased, though still remarkable, growth of cricket in the area.

The second effect was more subtle and intangible but, this thesis contends, had a profound bearing on the development of cricket in the area. For formerly skilled craftsmen the factories brought a loss of ownership, control and social status. The engineering sector, developed to service the textile mills, had created a new generation of craftsman and by the start of the twentieth century was second in importance only to textiles in Halifax.<sup>32</sup> These engineers had thriven by protecting their skills through the age-old methods of exclusivity and apprenticeships. However, by the 1890s, even these skills were being eroded by a new division of labour.<sup>33</sup> Leisure provided opportunities for independence, self-expression and control in a way that was now rarely possible in the work situation.

### **General Demand: The Growth of Sport**

Keith Sandiford has argued that urbanisation boosted markets for commercialised sport in the last three decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>34</sup> Thus by 1878, the Elland fixture against the Australians was viable. Nonetheless, despite Robert Malcolmson's concept of a popular

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<sup>29</sup> 'Honest John' as he was known, introduced the 10 Hours Act of 1847, though this did not apply to adult males until further acts of 1850 and 1853 secured in practice a 10½ hour day for all adults and the Saturday half-day holiday.

<sup>30</sup> These, all formed before 1865, were: Bottoms Methodist Band of Hope, Eastwood Independents, Knowlwood Primitive Methodists, Millwood Baptists and the Unitarians at Todmorden.

<sup>31</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p.172. With the town's textile industry employing a high percentage of children and females, labour organisation was weak.

<sup>32</sup> For example, William Asquith, 1865; James Butler, 1868 and John Stirks of Ovenden in 1866. Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 131-3.

<sup>33</sup> See F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900* (London, Fontana Press, 1988), pp. 230-33.

<sup>34</sup> Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, p. 54.

leisure vacuum up to 1850, there had been significant continuity in demand for cricket.<sup>35</sup> Rob Light found in the West Riding between 1820 and 1870 that major commercial stake matches attracting large numbers of spectators and to which betting and drinking remained integral continued. So too did informal working-class cricket, which Andrew Hardcastle recognised in Halifax and the Calder Valley.<sup>36</sup>

From the later 1840s, William Clarke demonstrated the continuing appetite for sport with his touring professional cricketers. Clarke exploited an icon of the Industrial Revolution, the railways, to promote cricket throughout the country as did entrepreneurs in other recreational areas.<sup>37</sup> The railways not only transported players and spectators they also speeded up the delivery of newspapers, allowing a truly national press to emerge. Furthermore, telegraph lines spread alongside the railway network, permitting the almost instantaneous transmission of results and match reports.

The long-established relationship between newspapers and sport further challenged the recreational vacuum theory. Since the 1820s, the popular Sunday press, offering a diet of sport, sensationalist stories and radical politics had sold 110,000 copies a week.<sup>38</sup> The radicalism withered away but the press became increasingly vital to sport and vice-versa. From the 1840s and 1850s, Sunday papers notably *Lloyd's Weekly*, the *News of the World* and *Reynolds* took advantage of the popular appetite for sport.<sup>39</sup>

The stimulus of the press was boosted by its expansion in the 1880s, due to improved literacy rates following the 1870 and 1880 Education Acts. Popular daily papers commenced in the 1890s with the *Daily Mail*.<sup>40</sup> Richard Holt has argued that sport had always been a source of news, identifying *Bell's Life*, which both publicised and reported contests, mainly races and prize-fights; the predominantly racing paper *Sporting Life*; and *Athletic News* which started in 1875 and, though mainly devoted to football reporting, did provide good coverage of cricket and other sports.<sup>41</sup> Holt showed that from the 1880s sport took up an increasing number of column inches in the general popular press, leading quickly to its established position on the back pages.

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<sup>35</sup> Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations*.

<sup>36</sup> Light, 'Cricket's Forgotten Past'; Hardcastle, *Lost*, p. 6.

<sup>37</sup> Most spectacularly seen in 1851, when the Great Exhibition benefited to the tune of more than six million visitors.

<sup>38</sup> Edward Royle, *Modern Britain: A Social History 1750-1997*. (London, Arnold, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition 1997), p. 274.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 275. *Lloyds* alone was selling 750,000 copies per week by the 1880s.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* The Sunday papers *Tit-Bits*, *Answers to Correspondents* and *Pearson's Weekly* were each selling around 500,000 copies by the turn of the century. The *Daily Mail* commenced in 1896, followed by the *Daily Express* in 1900 and the *Daily Mirror* (targeted at the female market) which began in 1903.

<sup>41</sup> Holt, *Sport and the British*, p. 307.

There were also publications devoted entirely or mainly to cricket such as *Cricket, Cricketers' and Sporting News*, *Cricket and Football Times* and *Wisden Cricketers' Almanack*, though these were much less likely to have a working-class readership in Halifax, Brighouse or Todmorden than the high-volume general commercial newspapers. Though mainly concerned with football, the popular press featured cricket widely. By the 1920s sports journalism was a specialist role and the *People*, with its four pages devoted to the subject, was selling 600,000 copies a week.<sup>42</sup>

The upsurge in the local press further boosted interest in cricket and it increasingly carried reports of county and test matches. As Dave Russell has shown, Yorkshire had a particularly enthusiastic (and partisan) popular following.<sup>43</sup> Moreover, as symbols of the prestige of the town, local newspapers were keen to promote their own teams. This aided circulations by enticing cricketers and other local sportsmen to buy the paper to see their names and exploits in print. The Tory *Halifax Guardian* was established in 1832 and its Liberal rival the *Halifax Courier* in 1853. By 1892 the *Courier* alone had a circulation of around 13,000.<sup>44</sup> The *Todmorden Advertiser* also started in 1853 with the *Brighouse News* appearing from 1866 (until 1911) and the *Brighouse Echo* founded in 1887.<sup>45</sup> All of these papers reported local as well as first-class cricket, as did smaller publications such as the *Hebden Bridge Times* and the *Sowerby Magazine*. The coverage of cricket improved with clearer presentation and, from around 1870, separate sections and more informative reporting. Annual general meetings and dinners were regularly reported, giving insights into the clubs' personnel, achievements and financial affairs.

The local newspapers had been able to report several 'big matches' even before the Elland-Australia fixture. These demonstrated the continuing popularity in the area of cricket based on contest rather than muscular Christian lines just as church cricket was emerging. Professional itinerant sides played fixtures around Halifax and the Calder Valley on several occasions during the 1860s. One was in June 1863 when the All England XI played a Halifax and District XXII in a three-day match which attracted crowds in the region of 10,000.<sup>46</sup> The following year, 'XXII of Todmorden' took on 'The United England XI' in one of the earliest fixtures under the new rule permitting overarm bowling. A measure of its attraction was that

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., pp. 308-09.

<sup>43</sup> Dave Russell, 'Sport and Identity: The case of Yorkshire County Cricket Club, 1890-1939', *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1996), 206-230.

<sup>44</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 91, 174.

<sup>45</sup> Heywoods, *Cloth Caps*, p. 3; Mitchell, *Brighouse: Portrait*, pp. 84, 159, Reg Mitchell, *Brighouse: Birth and Death of a Borough*, p. 97.

<sup>46</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 8 June 1863.

despite losing a day to rain a profit of almost £50 was returned.<sup>47</sup> Todmorden played the 'All England XI' four years later and in 1874 hosted the United North against the United South which included W. G. Grace. The 'All England XI' match brought receipts of £95 and the W.G. Grace fixture saw daily crowds of 2,000 and takings of £314.<sup>48</sup>

The area's bigger clubs, like Todmorden, stimulated both spectating and playing.<sup>49</sup> Todmorden regularly attracted crowds of hundreds and in excess of 2,000 for particularly attractive fixtures or ones involving keen rivalry. In the south-east of the area, hundreds, sometimes thousands, watched Rastrick, Clifton Britannia and Brighouse Alexandra. An encounter between local rivals Rastrick and Brighouse in 1878, despite taking place at the same time as the Elland-Australia fixture, boasted 3,000 spectators.<sup>50</sup> Another 'derby' fixture, Brighouse versus Elland, in 1882 attracted almost 2,000.<sup>51</sup>

As the professional touring sides declined, county cricket generated popular interest in Yorkshire, especially when fixtures were staged at times which allowed working men and women the opportunity to watch. A match at Park Avenue, in Bradford, saw 25,000 spectators (including 19,000 paying at the gate) on one day alone to witness Yorkshire play Australia in June 1899.<sup>52</sup> The Roses fixture at Old Trafford a year later brought in almost 45,000 spectators in total.<sup>53</sup>

Cricket was only one element in a huge swell of interest in sport in the area which was fuelled by competition and local partisanship. Football - mainly rugby throughout Halifax and Calder Valley - was a big and growing attraction and most of the district's industrial towns and villages were represented, from Todmorden, Hebden Bridge and Mytholmroyd in the west to Elland, Brighouse Rangers and Halifax itself in the east.

### **Demand: The Attraction of Churches**

A major constraint on independent working-class cricket was the lack of capital resources for grounds, facilities and equipment. Although improving living standards since 1850 had produced sufficient disposable income to play cricket, it was not always sufficient to form

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<sup>47</sup> Heywoods, *Cloth Caps*, 33-43. In a pre-season fixture, a crowd in excess of 2,500 saw Todmorden against a Lancashire XI at Easter 1895, *Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 47-9, 63-72.

<sup>49</sup> Established by Sam Fielden in 1838. See Heywoods, *Cloth Caps*, pp. 3-5. The Heywoods explicitly make the point that 'junior' cricket including church cricket was inspired by the town's senior club. Jack Williams has noted that church clubs tended to spring up in areas that were represented by a strong league side.

<sup>50</sup> *Brighouse News*, 15 June 1878.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 June 1882.

<sup>52</sup> *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, 13 June 1899.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 27 July 1900.

cricket *clubs*. In 1890 an analysis of the country's textile areas revealed that, although wages were generally above the national average in the manufacturing areas of the West Riding, Halifax and its surrounding area were something of a poor relation.<sup>54</sup> In 1885, the average annual wage for the 1,237 woollen workers, of whom 37.6 per cent were men, in Halifax and environs was £38. This was slightly above average for the surrounding woollen districts, see table 1.1 below.<sup>55</sup> However, in the staple worsted industry, which in and around Halifax employed four times the numbers in the woollen sector, rates were well below neighbouring towns and even below the national average, see table 1.2.<sup>56</sup>

**Table 1.1 Wage Rates in the Woollen Trade: West Riding and Rochdale, 1885**

Location	No. of Workers	Anl Wage, £	% Men
Dewsbury, &c. (coatings)	4,603	39	32.4
Huddersfield, &c.	3,909	39	42.1
Halifax, &c.	1,237	38	37.6
Yeadon, &c.	740	38	42.8
Rochdale, &c.	4,122	37	33.3
Dewsbury, &c. (blankets)	787	36	32.8
Neighbourhood of Huddersfield	2,797	36	41.7
Cleckheaton, &c.	1,899	36	27.9
Leeds and neighbourhood	2,029	35	24.4

**Table 1.2 Wage Rates in the Worsted Trade: West Riding, etc., 1885**

Location	No. of Workers	Anl Wage, £	% Men
Misc areas of West Riding*	5,930	30	23.7
Bradford and neighbourhood	16,247	29	18.7
Keighley and neighbourhood	6,106	29	25.8
England outside Yorkshire	1,847	28	19.0
Halifax and neighbourhood	4,937	24	11.0

\* Not recorded in own right or in other districts.

The report observed that a similar picture had emerged for cotton in an earlier investigation, though wages were on average somewhat higher in that sector. Textile wages were in part dictated by the quality of the cloth produced but the investigation identified two other reasons. First was the percentage of adult males working in the industry, with the greater the percentage the higher the average wage. The second was that wages 'rule highest in the metropolitan district of each industry, and lowest in the outlying districts.'

<sup>54</sup> Extracts from the returns and report of the *Blue Book*, the Board of Trade inquiry into the wage rates of principal textile trades of the United Kingdom published under the heading 'Rates of Wages in the Textile Trades', *Leeds Mercury*, 17 February 1890.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*



In Halifax and the Calder Valley, even the towns were ‘outlying’ in comparison to most of their West Riding and Lancashire neighbours. This was a feature of the area’s geography whose impact on its history has been constantly noted. In 1836, John Crabtree observed that:

The Parish of Halifax ... comprises a mountainous bleak region of country forming a portion of what are sometimes termed the English Apennines. It extends seventeen miles East to West, and on an average eleven miles from North to South ... it is considered the largest Parish in England ....<sup>57</sup>

Until the end of the nineteenth century, the area’s backwardness in transport further protected employers from wage competition.

Limited and uncertain finances shaped the early years of popular cricket. By the mid-1870s, most male workers in the area had some disposable income and disposable time. However, the trade downturn brought insecurity of employment. This left many would-be cricketers in need of patronage. The terrain and inadequate roads also restricted where cricket could take place. All these factors made a community-centred, inexpensive way of playing cricket attractive. Churches and Sunday schools offered such a prospect.

The advantages of churches and their auxiliaries in terms of associational, geographical and financial terms were by no means the only reasons why religious bodies produced so many cricket clubs. For many members and regular adherents, churches and Sunday schools were more than simply meeting places. Although Stephen Yeo, in his study of Reading, contended that all voluntary bodies faced growing common problems from around 1900, they did not all begin from the same base.<sup>58</sup> For example, Volunteer Force recruits *entered into* the organisation as adults or young men specifically to satisfy their immediate objectives, these usually being recreational. Conversely, in the case of churches and chapels, relationships had already been forged *within* the body. Hugh McLeod holds that this is precisely how the first Sunday school cricket appeared, as was the case with Elland’s forerunner, Providence Independent Chapel.<sup>59</sup>

Churches were at this time widely regarded as being at the heart of the local community. Simon Green noted the pride evinced by the building of a new church. The second half of the

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<sup>57</sup> John Crabtree, *A Concise History of the Parish and Vicarage of Halifax, in the County of York* (London, 1836). *Google Books*,

<sup>58</sup> Yeo, *Religion and Voluntary Organisations*.

<sup>59</sup> Hugh McLeod, “‘Thews and Sinews’: Nonconformity and Sport”, David Bebbington and Timothy Larsen, *Modern Christianity and Cultural Aspirations* (London, Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), p. 31.

nineteenth century was the most prolific period of church building in history, with the Nonconformists, too, anxious to demonstrate their growing prestige.<sup>60</sup> The church provided a ready-made identity more compelling than ‘Merry Boys’ or ‘White Star’. Some cricketers, doubtless, also considered churches as conferring respectability on their venture.

## Supply

McLeod found that in Northampton, by the 1920s, the provision of sport by the Nonconformists was a completely accepted feature of church life.<sup>61</sup> A hundred years earlier nothing would have seemed less likely or less natural.

## The Bare Cupboard: Peterloo to People’s Charter

The Peterloo Massacre of 1819 had brought relations between the Established Church and ordinary people to a new low and cast a long shadow over those relations. The magistrate who read the Riot Act at St Peter’s Field was the worldly Rev. William Hay, Vicar of Todmorden. Hay received the vicarage of Rochdale in gratitude for his action.<sup>62</sup> Another Anglican magistrate, Rev. C. W. Ethelston, was also instrumental in the deployment of troops at Peterloo.<sup>63</sup> A report on the massacre saw the role of clergymen in the magistracy as damaging to the church as a whole:

the conduct now pursued by so many of the Clergymen, must have the greatest tendency to fill the people with an aversion to both religion and its Ministers ... in England we fear the people too generally look upon the Clergy as their worst enemies.<sup>64</sup>

Elsewhere in the ancient parish of Halifax, there was no doubt where the sympathies of the Vicar, Rev. Dr Henry Coulthurst lay. A zealous Justice of the Peace, he made ‘a significant contribution to the maintenance of law and order in the parish during the French Wars, when Paineite radicals and Luddite sympathisers aroused considerable anxiety among the propertied classes.’<sup>65</sup> The churches’ usual reaction to political radicalism was to side with the

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<sup>60</sup> Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, pp. 88-91.

<sup>61</sup> McLeod, ‘Thews and Sinews’, p. 30.

<sup>62</sup> Heywoods and Jennings, *A History of Todmorden*, pp. 144-45.

<sup>63</sup> Eileen Yeo, ‘Christianity in Chartist Struggle 1838-1842’, in *Past & Present*, No. 91 (May, 1981), 109-139, 110.

<sup>64</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 8 September 1819.

<sup>65</sup> Hargreaves, ‘Religion and Society’, p. 391.

rich and powerful. The bishops in the House of Lords were also decisive in sinking the Reform Bill of October 1831.

When the Great Reform Act was finally passed in 1832 it was based on property: a £10 householder franchise. In the newly created Parliamentary Borough of Halifax, only one man in fourteen received the vote.<sup>66</sup> As elsewhere, a new political demarcation reinforced existing distinctions of wealth and social class within the churches. A suffrage dependent on wealth also highlighted disparities between denominations. Methodists received the vote *pro rata* to the area's population. Wesleyans formed nine per cent of the electorate, the much smaller New Connexion four per cent (approximate parity), but the poorer Primitives had no voters at all.<sup>67</sup> Coming in the wake of the abolition of the Test and Corporations Acts in 1828 and followed by the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 (with voting determined by the wealth to pay rates) the better-off members of Nonconformity, especially the Wesleyans, were being increasingly assimilated into the establishment.<sup>68</sup>

These distinctions of wealth and social and political status between many clergy and their wealthy laity and poorer churchgoers produced tensions and animosities little conducive to the provision of sport. Such discord was particularly disturbing within Methodism where the struggle for internal democratic reform both paralleled and was linked to the wider reform campaigns. Moreover, Halifax and the Calder Valley played a role in the shaping of Methodism out of all proportion to its size.<sup>69</sup>

The 1830s and 1840s witnessed popular reform movements in which the Nonconformist hierarchy tended to support unpopular measures, further exacerbating the divisions and distrust with its poorer adherents. The widely reviled Poor Law Amendment of 1834 - attacked on biblical grounds for putting asunder man and wife - brought Anglican opposition in Halifax but was largely acquiesced in by the Methodists and the workhouse was opened in 1841.<sup>70</sup> The appointment of the worsted manufacturer Jonathan Akroyd, who had opposed the Ten Hours Bill in 1833, as an enforcer of the new system increased antipathy towards Nonconformity.<sup>71</sup> Geographical as well as denominational fissures were also revealed with

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<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

<sup>67</sup> Hargreaves, Table 20: Methodist Voters as a Percentage of the Halifax Borough Electorate, 1832-47, in 'Religion and Society', p. 222. Actual numbers of voters were 50, 20 and 0 respectively.

<sup>68</sup> The Wesleyans being the original Methodist Connexion, closest to their Anglican parent.

<sup>69</sup> See, for example, Rev. T.S.A. Macquiban 'The Halifax Circular of 1791', *THAS* (1990); Rev. J.M. Turner, 'After Thompson - Methodism & the English Working Class An Essay in Historiography', *THAS* (1989).

<sup>70</sup> There was a mass walkout at Ambler Thorn MNC chapel, on the Bradford road, in March 1839 before a sermon to be given by a Poor Law Guardian, George Beaumont. Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', p. 235.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162. Akroyd was a prominent member of the New Connexion.

the involvement in Todmorden of the radical Unitarian John Fielden, whose initial leadership of the campaign was followed by stubborn and sometimes violent opposition which kept the workhouse at bay until 1879 when it was the last in the country to open.<sup>72</sup>

Factory reform, essential for organised popular sport, also saw Dissent siding with manufacturers (the majority of whom were Nonconformist) against Anglican reformers. In Halifax, the Wesleyan ministers William Bunting (son of Jabez) and Amos Learoyd, among others, opposed factory legislation. When the radical Rev. Joseph Rayner Stephens, a renowned champion of Richard Oastler's factory reform campaign, was ousted from the Wesleyans in Ashton for advocating disestablishment, this precipitated secessions in Halifax in 1834.<sup>73</sup> And, like his father, the employer Edward Akroyd vehemently opposed factory legislation, in 1846.<sup>74</sup> Fielden was again the most notable exception, being the chief proponent of the Ten Hours Act passed in the following year, 1847.

Education greatly aggravated denominational divisions. This intensified the contest for adherents in which the enticement of sport would eventually play a role. An acrimonious campaign, which lasted into the Edwardian years, began with Nonconformity (including the Wesleyans) confronting Anglicanism to bring down Graham's 1843 Factory Bill. This had sought to introduce three hours of daily schooling for children under the auspices of the Established Church. Dissenters saw this as a veiled attempt to kidnap children for Anglicanism. The intimate link between religion and education and politics meant that the franchise extension of 1867 further sharpened the competition for working-class worshippers at a time when, as seen, the demand for cricket was taking off.

In no popular political movement, however, did religion play such a bitter and socially divisive part as in Chartism. Such was the disenchantment with the anti-democratic position adopted by many clergymen that Chartists established their own churches. One correspondent to the *Northern Star*, advocating this in 1840, considered that

our cause has suffered from the apostles of the world, and from preachers maintained by the middle classes ... shall we not unite to raise places of worship for ourselves,

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<sup>72</sup> 'Todmorden Union Workhouse', *Todmorden and Walsden*, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~todmordenandwalsden/workhouse.htm>, Accessed 26 September 2011.

<sup>73</sup> Eileen Groth Lyon, 'Joseph Rayner Stephens', *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22915> (Oxford University Press, 2004-2011), Accessed 28 September 2011; Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', p. 258.

<sup>74</sup> Akroyd was still a member of the Methodist New Connexion at this time, Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', pp. 164, 258.

that we may hear the pure Gospel from ministers of our own choosing, who bear their credentials from the God of heaven, and not from the gods of Cambridge and Oxford! ... We will offer the right hand of fellowship to 'all who love our Lord Jesus Christ,' and acknowledge the equal rights of men.<sup>75</sup>

Eileen Yeo has argued that

Chartists ... came to produce their own versions of ... religious activities .... Historians of labour movements and historians of nineteenth-century religion have taken too little account of Christianity, not as the possession of any one social group, but as contested territory.<sup>76</sup>

Precisely this point has been made in the case of leisure and sport.<sup>77</sup>

Chartism starkly exposed the economic, political and social divisions and mistrust between many clergy and working people. But it also revealed the widespread nature of religious belief. Both the authorities and the Chartists were vehement in claiming Christ for their own side. Church hierarchies typically argued that God had ordained the social order and that people should accept their lot in this world and worry more about the next. The Rev. Prescott in Stockport implored the Chartists 'not to struggle for temporal things, but for eternal salvation'.<sup>78</sup> At the Parish Church in Preston, where in 1839 the Chartists had threatened to reclaim their 'own church' by taking over the symbolically divisive rented pews, the vicar addressed himself to the 'respectable' section of his congregation and employed scripture to leave no doubt as to his position:

When He giveth quietness, who then can make trouble? ... The Lord maketh poor, and he maketh rich: he bringeth low, and lifteth up ... This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come: for men shall be lovers of their own selves: covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers ... unthankful, unholy ... false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those who are good, traitors, heady, high-minded ... having a form of godliness but denying the power thereof: from such turn away.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> 'Clericus' writing in Chartist *Northern Star and Leeds General Advertiser*, 12 September 1840.

<sup>76</sup> Eileen Yeo, 'Christianity in Chartist Struggle 1838-1842', *Past & Present*, No. 91 (May, 1981), 109-139, 109.

<sup>77</sup> See Bailey, *Leisure and Class*; Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*.

<sup>78</sup> Quoted in Yeo, 'Christianity in Chartist Struggle', 134.

<sup>79</sup> *Preston Chronicle*, 17 August 1839.

The Chartists, for their part, argued that Christ was the first Chartist, protecting the poor and oppressed and condemning the rich and oppressors.

Clergy were by no means universally antagonistic to the Chartists, particularly within the more working-class Primitive Methodists. The Anglican Parson Bull in Bradford was a prominent supporter, as was the Rev. J. R. Stephens, the ex-Wesleyan minister who explained his radicalism as a call to 'apply the rule of God's commandments to various institutions of the social system' and 'to bring the operations of the manufacturers, the commerce and legislation of this professedly Christian land to the standard of God's Holy Word'.<sup>80</sup>

In Halifax, many lay preachers were radicals. The Chartist Benjamin Rushton was a former Methodist New Connexion lay preacher who, adopting this role as a Chartist, castigated 'with fiery eloquence ... the men who refused political justice to their neighbours and who held them down till their life was made one long desperate struggle for existence'.<sup>81</sup> Another Halifax New Connexion preacher, William Thornton, opened the great Chartist demonstration on Peep Green with a prayer.<sup>82</sup>

With the divisions and the competing interpretations of Christianity, Chartism and the other popular reform movements did little to support the assertion of E. P. Thompson that Methodism induced obedience and subordination or that of Halévy that it prevented revolution.<sup>83</sup> These radical movements inherited much of their organisation, language and fervour from Methodism. Hargreaves found many instances of Methodist adherents supporting radicals in the ancient parish of Halifax.<sup>84</sup> In 1839, the New Connexion congregation at Ambler Thorn, having already boycotted the sermon of a minister who had become a Poor Law Guardian, were reproached by the Halifax Circuit for permitting Stephens to preach in the chapel. Far from being quiescent, the chapel defiantly asserted full responsibility for the action:

we desire to exculpate the Connexion and place the stigma on ourselves and though the Society be poor (and whether our poverty derives from the just and merciful decrees of the Supreme Governor of the universe, or from the free agency of wicked

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<sup>80</sup> Quoted in Lyon, 'Joseph Rayner Stephens'. Stephens, following imprisonment renounced the Charter but remained a radical reformer.

<sup>81</sup> Quoted in Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', p. 260.

<sup>82</sup> *Bradford Observer*, 23 May 1839.

<sup>83</sup> Thompson, *The Making*; For a discussion of Halévy's theory, see Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture*, pp. 31-8.

<sup>84</sup> Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', p. 292.

men, very few attempt to instruct us) yet we are jealous of the honour we have in this instance and we will not give it to any other.<sup>85</sup>

That same year, the radical Primitive Methodists at Round Hill, in Northowram, north of Halifax, broke away to continue to worship under the Chartist banner.<sup>86</sup>

Chartism did not conflate anticlericalism with being anti-Christian or even anti-church. The great Chartist meetings in Yorkshire and Lancashire borrowed from the Primitive Methodists' camp meetings and opened with hymns and prayers. There were Chartist churches, baptisms and burials and a Chartist Christmas and Easter. A Chartist chapel was established at Littleton near Cleckheaton in 1834 from those members of the Halifax Wesleyan circuit who had left following the resignation of Stephens, and where Rushton was a regular preacher.<sup>87</sup>

This identification of Christianity, churches and clergymen as separate entities was particularly problematic for Methodism, in which the role and social status of ministers were under constant scrutiny *vis-a-vis* the laity. The majority of the secessions and offshoots of Methodism were as a result of either or both the authority and standing of the ministry or of social and political conflicts.<sup>88</sup> This was very much the case in Halifax and the Calder Valley.<sup>89</sup> The secessions and expulsions from 1849 during the *Fly Sheets* controversy resulted in Wesleyan numbers falling until 1855, the end of what Robert Currie called 'the last and greatest war in Methodism'.<sup>90</sup> It was peace that recreational activities like cricket needed. Conversely, these offered one possible path to reconciliation.

### **The Bare Cupboard: Churches and Recreation to 1850**

The attitudes of churches to recreation in the first half of the nineteenth century were shaped by the economic and socio-political transformation which was taking place allied to evangelicalism. Evangelicals, particularly Methodists, held that religion itself provided sufficient diversion through its prayer, class and camp meetings. The central evangelical tenet

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<sup>85</sup> Yeo, 'Christianity in Chartist Struggle', 112 (fn. 9), 117.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>87</sup> John A. Hargreaves, 'Benjamin Rushton (1785-1853) Handloom Weaver, Radical Agitator and Nonconformist Preacher', *THAS* (2007), p. 68.

<sup>88</sup> These included the New Connexion (1797), the Primitive Methodists (1811), the Wesleyan Methodist Association (1835) and especially the Wesleyan Reformers (1849).

<sup>89</sup> See Appendix 2 Methodism Divided in Halifax and the Calder Valley.

<sup>90</sup> Currie, *Methodism Divided: A Study in the Sociology of Ecumenicalism* (London, Faber and Faber, 1968), p. 72.

of salvation from sin by personal faith, however, began to shift towards redemption through the avoidance of ‘vice’, of which amusements became the principal source. This in turn gave way to an increasingly intolerant, authoritarian and legalistic assault on public recreation, effectively an attempt at social control.<sup>91</sup>

Robert Malcolmson saw a tendency from the eighteenth century in evangelicalism, including within Anglicanism, to complement the new disciplines of work. Methodists, including working men, took up Wesley’s concerns over recreation, expressing this in condemnation of Sabbath-breaking, parish wakes and feasts, drinking and gambling, and cruel sports.<sup>92</sup> Richard Holt found that Methodists made attempts, often courageous, to stop cockfights and evangelicals were prominent in forming the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) which played a key role in enacting the Cruelty to Animals Act of 1835. The commendable opposition of evangelicals to barbaric sports was, as Holt noted, more vehement when the perpetrators were poor. The SPCA’s concern for animals did not extend to hunting and shooting.<sup>93</sup>

The attacks of clergy and evangelical reformers on popular recreations became increasingly removed from the Ten Commandments and even humanitarianism. In 1830s Pudsey, Lawson found that ‘the idea of a religious society having a cricket or football team would have been looked upon as from the devil; and the idea of “Wesleyan Harriers” would have been voted down without a dissentient, as being very awful and wicked indeed.’<sup>94</sup> Evangelicals revealed their particular distaste for the amusements of poorer people by striving to curtail third-class rail travel on the Sabbath.<sup>95</sup>

The sports sociologist John Hargreaves saw the churches enlisted in a concerted attempt to curtail recreation on what was the only free day of the week. Hargreaves cited cases of clerics rounding up children and youths and taking them to Sunday school and, in Huddersfield in 1848, perceived the police acting as what Robert Storch termed a ‘domestic missionary’ in attempting to prosecute three men for watching cricket on a Sunday and refusing to attend

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<sup>91</sup> Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure*, pp. 63-84. The role of the churches, and especially of evangelicalism, in the attempts to suppress popular leisure (including cricket), reduce public holidays and enforce Sabbatarianism during the first half of the nineteenth century is now well-rehearsed. See also, for example, Bailey, *Leisure and Class*, pp. 12, 17-20, 26, 27; Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 42-4, 46, 51; Golby and Purdue, *The Civilisation of the Crowd*, pp. 51-5.

<sup>92</sup> Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations*, pp. 100, 106-7.

<sup>93</sup> Holt, *Sport and the British*, pp 33-6.

<sup>94</sup> Joseph Lawson, *Letters to the Young on Progress in Pudsey During the Last Sixty Years* (Originally pub. J.W. Birdcall, 1887 Facsimile reprint Caliban Books, Firle, 1978), p. 91.

<sup>95</sup> Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure*, p. 79.



church when so directed.<sup>96</sup> Scholars at the Ripponden Wesleyan Sabbath School, in 1846, were told to ‘abstain from play of every kind on the Sabbath, from spending money, and from the sinful practice of wandering about in the lanes and fields’.<sup>97</sup>

Clerical reactions to popular leisure sometimes exposed their industrial and political dimension. Anthony Delves found that clergymen’s motives in banning Derby football in the mid-1840s were not mainly about violence or even public disorder but about disruption to industry, damage to property and, being during the Chartist period, a fear of a fusion with political agitation.<sup>98</sup>

However, the clerical-bourgeois consensus on recreation was by now starting to show signs of strain. Middle-class respectability was increasingly able to assimilate certain leisure activities. This was evident in a sequel to the ban on Derby football. Horseracing was introduced by ‘rational recreationalists’ to replace the outlawed football, enraging their erstwhile evangelical allies. This crack was widened as the clergy resorted to law to stop the races while they themselves suffered mockery over their attempts to close the local arboretum on Sundays.<sup>99</sup>

### **Post-Chartism: The Calm after the Storm.**

Church cricket can hardly have appeared more implausible than at the time of the Age of Revolutions in Europe. But 1848 marked a turning point. The failed petition of that year saw Chartism rapidly collapse as a cohesive political force.<sup>100</sup> Chartists did remain active for many years in Halifax and the Calder Valley but their energies were largely redirected into co-operation, self-improvement and the area’s dominant Liberalism. Improving real incomes ushered in a period of relative industrial and political tranquillity. The agitation for what became the 1867 Reform Act was largely free of class conflict. Although the qualification remained based on property, the Act enfranchised many working men in the boroughs.<sup>101</sup> In the Borough of Halifax, the number of electors soared from 1,900 to 9,238. This rose to

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<sup>96</sup> Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, pp. 22, 24. Robert Storch, ‘The Policeman as “Domestic Missionary”: Urban Discipline and Popular Culture in Northern England 1850-1880’, *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 9 (1976) 481-509.

<sup>97</sup> XI. Rules for the Children; Rule 5, *Principles & Rules of the Ripponden Wesleyan Methodist Sabbath School* (Sowerby Bridge, 1846), p. 13.

<sup>98</sup> Anthony Delves, ‘Popular Recreation and Social Conflict in Derby’ in Eileen and Stephen Yeo (eds), *Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590-1914: Explorations in the History of Labour and Leisure* (Brighton, Harvester Press, 1981), pp. 89-108.

<sup>99</sup> Delves, ‘Popular Recreation’, pp. 108

<sup>100</sup> Ernest Jones standing as a Chartist candidate in Halifax in 1852 received only 38 votes. Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 38.

<sup>101</sup> Male householders or occupants of property valued at £10.

11,998 in the area - almost 70 per cent of all male adults - when the 1884 Act extended the vote to the county boroughs.<sup>102</sup> With the intimate relationship between religion and politics this heightened the inter-denominational competition for working men.

The tranquillity of the period from 1848 up to and beyond the 1867 Reform Act allowed for middle-class patronage of working-class leisure and sport, including by the churches. However, this period of apparent serenity still had underlying class tensions and industrial conflict did occur. The 'new model' unions of mainly engineers and craftsmen appeared during the 1850s and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers held a very divisive strike during 1851-52. The strike in the Preston cotton industry in 1853 was against wages so low that conditions in the town prompted Dickens to write *Hard Times*.<sup>103</sup>

An attempt to form a union in the iron trade in Leeds in 1864 was squashed by a lockout and the use of Belgian blackleg labour.<sup>104</sup> The episode exposed the boundaries of the paternalism with which the Leeds company had been associated. These limits was also seen when the philanthropists Edward Akroyd in Halifax and Titus Salt, together with other major industrialists, founded the avowedly anti-trade union National Federation of Associated Employers of Labour, which sought to enforce Gladstone's 1871 Criminal Amendment Act.<sup>105</sup> This had made strikes virtually impossible by outlawing peaceful picketing. The message was unequivocal: benevolence but no industrial democracy.

This philanthropic-autocratic line was attempted in sport, including church cricket. Hargreaves argued that paternalism in sport at this time was purely an agent of social control.<sup>106</sup> Though exaggerating his case, he demonstrated that attempts to control working-class sport were a factor in philanthropy. The boundaries of paternalism, which in industry featured in growing dissatisfaction with the Liberals and moves to working-class political representation, were to be tested also in churches' relations with their cricket clubs.

The 1851 Census of Religious Worship took place in the shadow of Chartism which, as seen, delineated a poor man's Christianity often in opposition to the established churches. Divisions of wealth, class and power within churches had contributed to the schisms in Methodism. In this light, it seems remarkable that Horace Mann's report of 1854 showed that

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<sup>102</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 151.

<sup>103</sup> Royle, *Modern Britain*, p. 135.

<sup>104</sup> Trygve R. Tholfsen, *Working Class Radicalism in Mid-Victorian England* (London, Croom Helm, 1976), pp. 273-75. *Google Books*.

<sup>105</sup> Tholfsen, *Working Class Radicalism*, p. 276. The Act was in part a response to the so-called 'Sheffield Outrages' of 1867 in which unionised workers in the cutlery trade had sometimes used violent methods to intimidate non-union workers.

<sup>106</sup> Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, p. 24.

approximately half of the population attended a service. This was not how the churches saw it. They were alarmed by the absent fifty per cent. Mann was particularly worried by what he saw as the absence of the labouring classes, especially men, in the urban areas. Working men attended in only about half the numbers of their women in the Halifax area.<sup>107</sup>

Mann's interpretation has been heavily criticised. Callum Brown has made the case that the poorer classes were not missing to the degree suggested and in fact formed the majority of the congregation in practically all churches. Nor were men as outnumbered by women as Mann implied.<sup>108</sup> Nonetheless, working people, and especially working men, were *disproportionately* absent from worship.<sup>109</sup> Moreover, Mann astutely appreciated that the problem was not merely quantitative, it was also qualitative. As Chartism had made starkly clear, alienation also took place *within* churches:

One chief cause of the dislike which the labouring population entertain for religious services is thought to be the maintenance of those distinctions by which they are separated as a class from the class above them. Working men, it is contended, cannot enter our religious structures without having pressed upon their notice some memento of inferiority. The existence of pews and the position of the free seats, are it is said, alone sufficient to deter them from our churches; and religion has thus come to be regarded as a purely middle-class propriety or luxury.<sup>110</sup>

Irrespective of the numbers debate, Mann's insight set the agenda. Furthermore, he was supported by a survey of working men's views of religious institutions which, though taking place in the volatile year of 1848, had been commissioned by the *Nonconformist* magazine. The respondents complained of snobbery and disdain for the poor within churches. One letter referred to the 'almost total want of sympathy manifested by the ministers of religion of every denomination with the privations, wants, and wastes of the working classes'.<sup>111</sup> The churches needed to remedy these ills both to recruit working-class men and not estrange those already within the church.

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<sup>107</sup> S.J.D. Green, 'The Church of England and the Working Classes in late-Victorian and Edwardian Halifax' in *THAS* (1993), p. 113.

<sup>108</sup> Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*.

<sup>109</sup> And in some cases attendances would have been above average where clergy had advertised the date of the census in advance.

<sup>110</sup> *Census of Great Britain, 1851: Religious Worship in England and Wales (1854)*, p. 94.

Harvard University: Internet Archive.

<sup>111</sup> Survey by the *Nonconformist*, 1848, from Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, p. 19.

Untypically for the industrial North, the results of the Census of Religious Worship in the ancient parish of Halifax reflected reasonably closely the national picture. Fewer than 50 per cent of the population attended a service, of whom somewhat more than half were Nonconformist. Hargreaves has underlined the need for caution with the figures due to the far from systematic manner in which the data was obtained and the fact that in the Halifax area some returns were actually lost.<sup>112</sup> Nonetheless, there was a sufficiently near-balance of adherence to intensify the inter-denominational competition for souls in the ancient parish over the next few decades.<sup>113</sup> With working men seen as the big prize, Mann's report was to prove a pivotal event for church cricket.

### **Parishes and People**

The Census of Religious Worship served to confirm the uneasy and ambivalent relationship between the church and poorer people revealed most acutely in Chartism. This ambivalence was embodied in Archdeacon Charles Musgrave, Vicar of Halifax from 1827 until his death in 1875. With very many poor parishioners, and while the churches were engaged in suppressing the cruel sports of the lower orders, the avaricious Archdeacon Musgrave rode with the gentry of the Halifax Hunt. Yet he was prominent in revitalising Anglicanism in the parish building or re-building 38 churches.<sup>114</sup> When he died in 1875, his obituary, while implicitly revealing concerns about the lower orders and relations with Dissent, still conveyed a genuine affection for him:

To say that Dr. Musgrave was revered by all classes in Halifax and district would convey a weak impression of the deep feeling of respect entertained towards him not only by Churchmen but by members of other denominations in the community amongst whom he had so long dwelt.<sup>115</sup>

Musgrave also served as Chairman of Governors of the Halifax Infirmary and Dispensary. Richard Oastler, Musgrave's fiercest opponent during a heated dispute over tithe payments,

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<sup>112</sup> Returns were lost for the Independents, Unitarians, Quakers and Roman Catholics of the municipal borough of Halifax. For discussion of denominational balance see Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', pp. 88-91.

<sup>113</sup> Green, 'The Church of England', p. 107.

<sup>114</sup> Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', p.74.

<sup>115</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 19 April 1875.

nonetheless acknowledged the existence during his incumbency of many ‘conscientious, upright, truly pious ministers, who are beloved by their flocks, and deserve it too’.<sup>116</sup>

Despite their earlier difficulties, and opposing the ‘pessimistic’ school of religious decline, in the parish of Halifax the churches grew in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>117</sup> This was in *absolute* numbers beyond 1900, though for the Nonconformists it was in *relative* terms only until the mid-1880s.<sup>118</sup>

Edward Royle argued that Census of Religious Worship marked ‘the beginning of a high plateau in Victorian religion’.<sup>119</sup> In the Halifax district a renewed zeal was visible with a remarkable phase of church extension as places of worship were built to fill the gaps caused by urbanisation and demographic changes. Between 1854 and the outbreak of the Great War, Anglicans in the parish opened nine parish churches, eleven chapels-of-ease, 35 mission churches and halls, and rebuilt five other churches.<sup>120</sup> With the fluidity of circuits (for example the Todmorden WMA circuit became part of the Rochdale District in 1857 and the Halifax UMFC joined the Leeds and Bradford District<sup>121</sup>) it is more difficult to quantify Nonconformist chapel extension. In fact, Green makes the point that it is ‘virtually impossible to establish an exact figure for the number of places of worship ... at any one time’, even for a major town, and includes the Anglicans in this due to a building’s current status as a place of worship or simply a room or hall.<sup>122</sup> Nonetheless, examining the Borough of Halifax (whose boundaries also changed, growing larger), Green arrived at the conclusion that the places of worship of the main religious denominations grew at about the same rate. The number of churches in the borough quadrupled from 25 in 1851 to 99 in 1906 and 104 immediately after the Great War.<sup>123</sup> In 1906, a commercial directory listed 27 Anglican churches (though Green argues this was an underestimate since it failed to include a number of mission churches); 37 Methodist chapels (17 Wesleyan, nine Primitive Methodist, seven MNC and four UMFC); 10 Congregational chapels; and 7 Baptist chapels.<sup>124</sup> Even allowing for some inaccuracies in the figures, this largely strategically planned increase in churches -

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<sup>116</sup> Hargreaves, ‘Religion and Society’, pp. 65-6, 76.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 405-9.

<sup>118</sup> That is, unlike the Anglicans, the Nonconformists did not increase in line with overall population growth.

<sup>119</sup> Royle, *Modern Britain*, p. 334.

<sup>120</sup> Numbers derived from Table 32: Church Building, in the Parish of Halifax, 1852-1914, Hargreaves, ‘Religion and Society’, p. 365.

<sup>121</sup> Hargreaves, ‘Religion and Society’, p. 65

<sup>122</sup> Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, fn 9, p. 90.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 90.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 94-5. The directory was E. Robinson, *Commercial Directory of Halifax* (Halifax, 1906). Of the remaining 18, five were Roman Catholic, Hargreaves, ‘Religion and Society’, pp. 306-9.

exceeding the population growth - brought the potential for a very large number of church cricket clubs.

This expansion was particularly significant as churches and chapels were still largely felt to be at the centre of communities. Parishes remained administrative units until the twentieth century and their importance was taken as axiomatic by trade directories. For example, in 1884, a cricket club was formed at the church of St Mary's, Luddenden in the Calder Valley. In *Kelly's Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire*, published three years earlier, the entry for Luddenden covered approximately a third of a page. The second sentence referred to the church, whose entry took up 18 lines. This was immediately followed by a reference to the Wesleyan and New Connexion chapels, though these merited only one line. Following a discussion of the area's charities and the church's cemetery there was finally a reference to the village's industry of 'extensive cotton and worsted mills and a corn mill.'<sup>125</sup> *Kelly's* entry for Halifax itself and its townships was similarly dominated by ecclesiastical detail, with the Parish Church alone occupying well in excess of half a page.<sup>126</sup> The local sections of the area's newspapers, too, put church activities very much to the fore.

The churches and chapels were still looked to by most people to provide a minimum of the rites of passage, moral guidance, education and welfare as well as a social fulcrum. From interviews with people brought up at the start of the twentieth century, Hempton assessed working-class expectations of the churches:

the churchgoing minority of working people may be larger than conventional statistics indicate. In addition, even non-churchgoers sent their children to Sunday school, dressed up on Sundays, used religious affiliations to obtain jobs and welfare relief, sang hymns as a means of cementing community solidarity, respected 'practical Christian' virtues, relied heavily on Christian sexual ethics ... derived comfort from religion in times of suffering or disaster ... and used the churches' social facilities without feeling any need to attend more overtly 'religious' activities.

Hempton concluded that people based their religious beliefs not on a feeling of compulsion or doctrinal grounds nor on the utterances of clergymen but on their personal experience.<sup>127</sup> This raised a question as to how effective would be the clergy's advocacy of muscular Christianity in sport.

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<sup>125</sup> *Kelly's Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1881* (London, 1881), p. 849.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 367-68.

<sup>127</sup> Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture*, pp. 137-8.

## **Methodism and Community**

In Halifax and the Calder Valley, despite their more strait-laced reputation, Methodists were to form at least as many cricket clubs as the Anglicans with whom the game was far more closely associated.<sup>128</sup> An important reason for this lies in the Methodist notion of the church as community: perhaps best understood as ‘fellowship’. Methodists, with their flexible systems of itinerancy and lay engagement, were well equipped to absorb migrants in new urban areas as well as those neglected by the Established Church in the outlying areas, many of which were decaying alongside domestic industry. This is one reason why the conflicts over the role of ministers and the emergence of social distinctions were so disruptive and led to secessions.

Nonetheless, this sense of community is recognised as playing a vital role during the upheavals consequent on the introduction of the factory system through providing stability, fellowship and purpose rather than spiritual opium. The Methodist historian John Munsey Turner argued that ‘Methodism provided a group system where new outsiders could gain status, a sense of identity and importance.’<sup>129</sup> Even Thompson, albeit somewhat grudgingly, allowed that

Methodism, with its open chapel doors, did offer to the uprooted and abandoned people of the Industrial Revolution some kind of community to replace the old community-patterns which were being displaced. As an unestablished (although undemocratic) Church, there was a sense in which working people could make it their own ....<sup>130</sup>

Methodism also provided skills and opportunities.<sup>131</sup> As Hargreaves noted, in the ancient parish of Halifax,

industrial change forced many former handworkers to abandon their roots in the upland semirural out-townships of the parish and seek employment in the growing urban centres. Methodism ... offered the individual a role in the community in the

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<sup>128</sup> Of 214 known clubs from religious bodies, 82 were Methodist, 78 Anglican.

<sup>129</sup> Turner, ‘After Thompson’, p. 60.

<sup>130</sup> Thompson, *The Making*, pp. 416-17.

<sup>131</sup> Robert Currie has pointed out the high percentage of offices held by the laity in a Hull chapel around 1850 with 1 in 12 members a preacher, 1 in 10 a trustee and 1 in 4 a Sunday school teacher or officer, Currie, *Methodism Divided*, p. 46.

numerous opportunities it provided for service as society stewards, local preachers, class leaders, conductors of prayer meetings and Sunday School teachers.<sup>132</sup>

These skills were applicable not only in the world of work, but also for organising and running societies and clubs, including cricket clubs. Methodism formed communities which were to establish cricket clubs at far-flung places like Soyland, Ogden, Mount Tabor and Shelf, as well in the new valley towns and villages such as Elland, Brighouse and Luddenden Foot.

Once more an ambivalent, almost paradoxical, situation existed within churches. The economic transformation had forged Methodist communities whose earnestness seemed to abjure anything recreational. Yet the sense of belonging and identity, as well as the skills acquired in the chapel, its Sunday school and other associations, would eventually be directed into sport and ensure that, at least in Halifax and the Calder Valley, cricket was not remotely an Anglican preserve.

### **Churches and Education**

Sunday schools and their associated bodies were to make an important contribution to the emergence of popular cricket throughout Halifax and the Calder Valley. As with churches, this required a considerable transformation during the nineteenth century. Education was the most important of the churches' non-spiritual contribution to their communities during the century. Male literacy in the area had fallen dramatically from 64 per cent in 1800 to 38 per cent in the 1830s compared to the national average of two-thirds in 1840. Hargreaves saw this as largely the consequence of the population boom and migration into urban areas.<sup>133</sup> It also revealed the lack of state provision.

Churches provided the bulk of what day education existed. There were several National schools (Anglican) and British and Foreign schools (officially non-denominational but usually Nonconformist) in the Halifax area before the Factory Act of 1833 stipulated that child workers under 13 must receive two hours of daily education.<sup>134</sup> This resulted in additional ones such as St. Martin's National in Brighouse, and a British school at Rastrick in 1835.<sup>135</sup> The 1844 Factory Act increased daily education to three hours, bringing more

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<sup>132</sup> Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', pp. 141-42.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 193-94.

<sup>135</sup> Mitchell, *Brighouse*, pp. 61-2.



church schools. These included three National and one British in the Todmorden area, where in 1851 the enrolment was 2,024 of a total population of 19,055.<sup>136</sup>

The numbers for compulsory education in the Todmorden district, however, were practically doubled by those of the voluntary Sunday schools.<sup>137</sup> In Brighouse and Rastrick in 1841, with a combined population of about 9,000, there were 1,227 scholars in the Nonconformist Sunday schools alone.<sup>138</sup> In the entire parish of Halifax in 1843 there were 140 Sunday schools with a total of 28,346 scholars of whom 80 per cent were Nonconformist, including 46 per cent Methodist.<sup>139</sup>

Sunday schools would not seem to have been a likely nursery for cricket. The view that they, particularly those of the Nonconformists, were instruments of bourgeois indoctrination is especially associated with Thompson and John Foster.<sup>140</sup> Foster quoted Radical leader John Knight's perception of Sunday schools in 1830s Oldham. They were

supported by the rich ... And, in the end what was the substance of the instruction ...? Why, [the children] were taught to toil as hard as they could and to live upon as little as they could - the doctrine of passive obedience and submission to those who possessed wealth and power ... preparing children for slavery and degradation.<sup>141</sup>

Sunday schools were, however, by no means invariably the lackeys of employers. The 1846 rules of the Wesleyan Sunday school at Ripponden, just over the border from Foster's Oldham, revealed a far from oligarchic operation and one very much more democratic than the existing electoral system. For 5/- a year a chapel member could become a 'Subscriber' to the school able to vote at general meetings, as could any teacher over 18 years old.<sup>142</sup>

The school's management committee was formed by the circuit ministers, all the school's officers plus six Subscribers, three teachers and three members of the congregation who were

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<sup>136</sup> The schools were in Todmorden, Cross Stone, Walsden and Cornholme, respectively. Heywoods and Jennings, *A History of Todmorden*, pp. 172, 174.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175. There were over 4,000 scholars enlisted at the area's 26 Sunday schools.

<sup>138</sup> Mitchell, *Brighouse*, p. 51.

<sup>139</sup> From the Edward Baines survey, 1843, in Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', p. 185.

<sup>140</sup> Thompson, *The Making*; John Foster, *Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution: Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Towns* (London, Methuen, 1974).

<sup>141</sup> Foster, *Class Struggle*, p. 191.

<sup>142</sup> I. General Rules; V. *Rules of the Ripponden Wesleyan Sabbath School*, p. 5.

not chapel members.<sup>143</sup> Moreover, despite the grave tone of the rules, corporal punishment was emphatically forbidden and the generally confident tone suggests that enrolment was highly desirable. The school established a library which was also made available to chapel members for 2d. per month.<sup>144</sup>

In 1843, almost one in twenty of the population of the parish of Halifax was a Sunday school teacher.<sup>145</sup> This makes it highly improbable that even a majority came from the bourgeoisie. F.M.L. Thompson found that

The vicar's daughter was not perhaps altogether superseded by the teenage millgirl as the archetypal Sunday school teacher; but especially in the nonconformist Sunday schools there was a considerable working-class takeover of control. Generations of working-class children learnt the values of orderliness, punctuality, industry and cleanliness [from] teachers of their own kind ... values the same as those instilled in the respectable working-class home.<sup>146</sup>

F.M.L. Thompson employed 'homely and kindly' for the teaching, signally omitting terms like 'obedient' and 'submissive'. The respectability was based ultimately on independence. If Sunday school education was valued by employers, it was also esteemed by parents wishing their children to be well behaved and to obtain work, while less altruistically allowing them a few hours free to enjoy marital life. Sunday schools were an economical way for offspring to obtain a basic education without loss of family wages, irrespective of whether the religious aspect was desired or merely tolerated.

Unlike the churches and chapels in which the working classes were under-represented, the Sunday schools were immensely popular and an important influence in many people's lives. They often also balanced the more stringent aspects of religious and secular education with occasional treats and entertainments. Even during the economically and politically trying 1840s, Sunday Schools of all denominations were holding tea parties with games and some were starting to organise Whitsuntide trips and excursions. Amusements were a precedent for leisure and sport.

Gradually steps were taken in religious organisations, even if not consciously, towards the provision of sport. Churches themselves began to move beyond the basic education provided

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<sup>143</sup> I. General Rules; II. 1<sup>st</sup>., Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>144</sup> I. General Rules; XXV, Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>145</sup> 6,497 in total. Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', p. 185.

<sup>146</sup> Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, p. 141.

by the Sunday schools. In about 1860, a 'People's College' was opened by Vale Baptist Church in Todmorden.<sup>147</sup> It was, though, mainly the Sunday schools that extended their remit beyond basic literacy and religious study. Mutual Improvement Societies and their like started to appear for young adults. The earliest known society was at Square Congregational Chapel, Halifax, which commenced in 1845.<sup>148</sup> Another early instance of mutual improvement was at Sion Congregational in Halifax which formed a Young Men's Christian Society in 1850. Writing in 1911, one observer of religious trends in the parish, saw the heyday of the Mutuals as the 1860s. Green put this a decade later, though this too was somewhat early.<sup>149</sup>

The societies were firmly planted in education, thrift and temperance. These sentiments were to the fore in Todmorden in another pioneering venture backed by the town's largest employer, the Fieldens. In the 1860s, the Unitarian Church's Sunday school began a book club and a savings bank. However, it also added entertainment to its activities with a band and choir which together staged annual concerts from 1868.<sup>150</sup> Mutual Improvement Societies and their ilk paved the way for recreation and sporting activities, though at the time this was a step too far for some. The Mutual at Stones Wesleyans commenced in 1863. It was, however, another 21 years before the chapel cricket club began.<sup>151</sup> Considering that 'drill' passed for exercise at the new Board Schools, this was still progressive.

### **Churches, Public Health and the Possibilities of Popular Sport**

If the Census of Religious Worship of 1851 alarmed the area's spiritual guardians, the report in that year by the engineer William Ranger into the sanitary conditions of Halifax spotlighted the declining physical state of the district's inhabitants. It was eventually to influence attitudes towards outdoor exercise and sport. Just as the factories were beginning to bring economic benefits, the rapidly expanding urban areas in which they were concentrated revealed the damage to health caused by the deterioration in sanitation during the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

Nationally, in cities of over 100,000 there was a fall in life expectancy from 35 in the 1820s to 29 in the following decade. The contrast with rural areas was stark. In 1851, life

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<sup>147</sup> Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', p. 331.

<sup>148</sup> Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 233.

<sup>149</sup> John Naylor, *Some Factors in the Making of the Soul in Halifax Parish* (Halifax, 1911), p. 14, in Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 233.

<sup>150</sup> Heywoods and Jennings, *A History of Todmorden*, p. 197.

<sup>151</sup> 'Stones Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Society Minutes, 1866-77.', CA SB225. Inner cover gives the date of establishment as 1863.

expectancy at birth in inner-Liverpool was 26 whereas in Okehampton in Devon it was 57.<sup>152</sup> Differences were equally striking between social classes of the same location. In 1842, a gentleman or member of the professions in Manchester lived to be 38 whereas a mechanic or labourer lived to be 17; in Leeds the figures were 44 and 19 respectively and again contrasted vividly with rural areas, with the figures for Rutland being 52 and 38.<sup>153</sup> In 1840, a survey of deaths carried out by Dr. William Alexander at the Halifax Infirmary found an average age at death of 60 for gentry and professional people and 25½ for tradesmen, artisans and labourers.<sup>154</sup>

Six years prior to this, the concern and responsibility of the church for the health of the town had been symbolised by Archdeacon Musgrave's chairing of a sub-committee of the Health of Towns Association which had to address the problem.<sup>155</sup> Ranger, however, discovered the situation to be far worse than believed:

The richest of the community cannot avoid the injurious effects of foul air and filth ... I am of the opinion that all sanitary measures should be made compulsory, for many do not know what is for their own good, and rarely put in force the most obvious preventive measures for the preservation of health. This remark applies to the rich and the educated as well as to the poor and the ignorant.

With respect to the houses of the poor in Halifax, they are frequently closely built, badly ventilated and lighted and abounding in accumulations of offensive matter ....

Ventilation is neither understood nor regarded, and if it were not for the open door, fresh air would seldom find an entrance, for the windows are generally fixed in their sashes, or if they open at all, they are so small as to be almost useless for admitting light or air.<sup>156</sup>

Ranger's investigation also produced alarming life expectancy figures. Where, in 1841, the average age of those in the healthier areas of the West Riding was over 37, in Halifax it was

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<sup>152</sup> Martin Dauntton, 'Society and Economic Life', in Matthew (ed.), *The Nineteenth Century*, pp. 63-4.

<sup>153</sup> Royle, *Modern Britain*, p. 168.

<sup>154</sup> Table 1: Life expectancy in Halifax, 1840, in Eric Webster, 'William Ranger's Report on the Sanitary Conditions of Halifax 1850-1851', *THAS* (1998), p. 59.

<sup>155</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 96. In Brighouse, the Anglican Church was similarly occupied with public health, with the Rev. J. Birch, Vicar of the Parish Church, chairing the commission of ratepayers charged with implementing the 1846 Parliamentary Act to provide sewerage, drainage and lighting for the town. Mitchell, *Brighouse*, pp. 89-91.

<sup>156</sup> W. Ranger, *Report to the General Board of Health, on a Preliminary Enquiry as to the Sewerage, Drainage and Supply of Water, and the Sanitary Conditions of the Inhabitants of the Town of Halifax, in the County of York* (London, April 1851), p. 17. *Weaver to Web*.

under 27.<sup>157</sup> Figures from 1846 showed that things had become worse with the average age of death in the town being 23.7 years with marked class differences: gentry, merchants and manufacturers and their family members living to be 55, tradesmen and shopkeepers, 23 and artisans and manual workers, 22.<sup>158</sup>

One recommendation of the report led to a link being established between health and sport. This was for the provision of public baths by the new Local Board of Health for the poorer classes of Halifax, the first being opened in 1859.<sup>159</sup> The slipper baths were initially the main attraction but the swimming pool soon overtook them, especially in summer, and in 1864 the competitive Halifax Swimming Club was formed.<sup>160</sup>

If Musgrave and other clergymen signalled the church's awareness and concern with the physical as well as spiritual health of the parish, the town's magnates also displayed a close interest. One expression of this was in the provision of parks. The first and most celebrated of these was People's Park donated by Frank Crossley of the carpet-manufacturing dynasty and Liberal M.P. for the town. At the opening ceremony the church was prominently seen to be giving its blessing to the enterprise, with 33 clergymen formally invited to the event, in addition to Musgrave and the Rev. S. Martin who were signatories to the deeds of conveyance.<sup>161</sup> The use of the park was very much based on the principles of 'rational recreation' with VIP guests seizing the opportunity to make more references to the 'moral' improvement of the people than to their physical well-being. Cricket, along with other ball games, was explicitly forbidden.

The possibilities of popular sport, however, were given a boost that year with the publication of *Tom Brown's Schooldays* by Thomas Hughes. Selling 11,000 copies in its first year, it epitomised a shift in attitudes to games, with muscular Christianity capturing the imagination of many of the new middle classes. Sport, and cricket especially, attained that respectability which had become the *sine qua non* for most Victorian churches. The way was opening for church cricket.

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<sup>157</sup> *Ranger Report*, p. 83.

<sup>158</sup> 'The Deaths at Halifax, in the Year 1846, arranged according to the Rank in Life', *Ranger Report*, p. 106.

<sup>159</sup> *Ranger Report*, p. 86.

<sup>160</sup> Eric Webster, 'Leisure and Pleasure in 19th Century Halifax', *THAS* (1989), p. 40. In February 1859, 228 used the slipper baths and only 81 the swimming baths. In July, however, 1,655 tickets were sold for swimming compared to 1,300 for the slipper baths. At this point total attendances were estimated at 150,000.

<sup>161</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 15 August 1857.

## **Conclusion**

In the 1840s few things seemed less likely than the area's churches hosting popular cricket. The economic transformation of society had worsened the plight of ordinary people as regards finance, health and leisure time. The popular movements to alleviate their condition aggravated social divisions within churches. With many clergymen interpreting their office in the interests of the wealthy, the Chartists championed an alternative, poor man's Christ. Methodism in particular suffered, as the economic and social advance of ministers and some laity undermined its integrity. Evangelical antagonism to pastimes was by no means the only obstacle to church provision of cricket. There was often an uneasy and mistrustful relationship between clergymen and church hierarchies and their poorer congregations.

More generally prosperous times from 1850 saw the tide turning. Chartism ceased as an independent political force. Disposable income and increasing free time permitted access to and stimulated the growth of sport. This development was assisted by an expanding press and improved transportation. A youthful population, favourable to participant sport, was a further consequence of increased prosperity. Churches, worried by their absenteeism, became anxious to engage young working men. With the clergy's reawakened concern for the health of the poor, the possibilities for church outdoor sport grew. A period of reconciliation after 1855 saw the Methodist communities, with their guiding tenet of fellowship and their capacity for organisation, start to heal and move tentatively towards recreation with the appearance of cricket clubs by 1864.<sup>162</sup>

However, as church cricket emerged, the serenity was dissipating. Industrial unrest in the 1880s led to the emergence of Labour politics in the 1890s which also created another rival to the official churches. Fears over church and Sunday school attendances grew. In cricket itself, ambition and differences in sporting cultures were to test out that underlying element of ambivalence in the relationship with the clergy.

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<sup>162</sup> Bottoms Methodist Band of Hope and Knowlwood Primitive Methodists both at Todmorden.

## CHAPTER 2 PRIMARY CLUBS

### Introduction

The relationship between churches and cricket in Halifax and the Calder Valley grew rapidly from the mid-Victorian years. Churches, chapels and Sunday schools largely came to consider cricket as an appropriate sport to be played in their name. With its longer history of codification and its recent elevation to a vehicle of moral reformation, cricket was usually more readily acceptable than football with its newer regulation and its rougher, plebeian nature. Cricket clubs appeared in abundance throughout the area from all the main non-Catholic denominations.<sup>1</sup>

This remarkable occurrence sprang from a wide variety of geographical, denominational and industrial settings as well as dates of establishment. An understanding of the development is served by a detailed investigation of a number of clubs which reasonably represent this range of key factors. This approach also allows history to hear the voices of ordinary men and women. It seeks to fill a gap in the historiography of sport identified by Neil Tranter:

there is a danger that our understanding of the evolution and role of sport ... will remain distorted in favour of the atypical rather than the typical....

[B]y careful analysis of the club ... records which do exist combined with greater use of the profusion of information on sport contained in newspapers, periodicals and specialist sporting publications and in the extant records of sports' controlling bodies, it should eventually be possible to overcome at least some of the deficiencies in our current understanding of the Victorian and Edwardian sporting world.<sup>2</sup>

Martin Johnes reiterated these sentiments in 2004. He observed that:

If we are to assemble the wider collective biography that academic history seeks then we should not be afraid of telling the stories of individuals and specific clubs and

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<sup>1</sup> Only two Catholic clubs appeared by 1920. The Catholic Association in Todmorden, played in the Calder Valley League during 1892-5. 'Association' suggests insufficient numbers from any one church, the likely reason being the small number of English Catholics in the area and a lack of interest or opportunity on the part of Irish immigrant Catholics. The team that played against Mytholmroyd Wesleyans in 1895 contained no Irish surnames, *Todmorden Advertiser and Hebden Bridge Newsletter*, 7 June 1895. In 1905, St Bernard's in Halifax formed a club which competed initially in the Brighouse and District Junior League, Hardcastle, *Lost*, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain*, pp. 96-7.

places. Only by doing so, can we start to even remotely see our past in the terms of those who actually lived it.<sup>3</sup>

Efforts have recently been made to rectify this situation with Ian Clarke's research in Cornwall; the former Cricket Heritage Project in Calderdale and Kirklees pioneered by Peter Davies; and Rob Light's study in the West Riding to 1860.<sup>4</sup>

This thesis further contributes to this historiographical need. Through an examination of individual clubs it brings a rare, if not unique, depth to the study of church cricket up to the end of the end of the First World War. This is especially the case for the themes already identified: the role of clergymen, club people, grounds, finance, rules, and clubs' place in the community,<sup>5</sup> and in assessing important associated issues and concepts such as social class, gender, age, cultural diffusion, social control, hegemony and secularisation.

### **Selection of Clubs**

The choice of clubs for this research was subject to the availability of corresponding cricket and church primary sources. Overall, few contemporary manuscript records remain from the area's church cricket clubs for the period of this research. Their survival rate is, though, greater than average for local clubs as a whole.<sup>6</sup> More primary material remains for churches and Sunday schools though this, too is less than comprehensive. Printed contemporary, or near contemporary, materials are sometimes available to supplement the manuscript sources.

Religious denomination was, as noted, a key criterion on which clubs were selected. Usefully, for comparisons of the scale of church cricket by denomination, in 1851 there was a near-balance of church attendance between the Anglicans and Dissent. Nonconformity, however, with its more puritanical associations might be considered to have been more circumspect in creating cricket clubs than the Anglicans. With no extant contemporary records there are no clubs representing Independent (Congregational), Baptist or Primitive Methodists, who between them produced more than one in seven of clubs during the period.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Martin Johnes, 'Putting the History into Sport: On Sport History and Sport Studies in the UK', *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (2004), 145-60, 149.

<sup>4</sup> Clarke, 'Cricket in Cornwall'; *C&K Website*; Light, 'Cricket's Forgotten Past'.

<sup>5</sup> In this thesis, 'community' (a variable and disputed concept) other than for specific entities, notably churches and chapels, is taken as the residents and structures associated with an identifiable geographical area, usually a village or town.

<sup>6</sup> Chance plays a great role in their survival over a period of almost 150 years. It seems likely, though, that cricket clubs from church and chapels, as formal well-established organisations, were rather more likely to have kept records at the outset.

<sup>7</sup> There being 29 known clubs: Independents 9, Baptists 13 and Primitive Methodists 7.



Another criterion was whether the club emerged from the church itself or from its Sunday school.<sup>8</sup> A non-church club, Lumbutts, of very similar size and standing to the church clubs was chosen for purposes of comparison.

The clubs' dates of formation were significant due to the rapidly shifting economic, political, sporting and religious context. In order to aid the interpretation of their emergence against these external factors, church cricket clubs are sometimes notionally considered as appearing within three phases, see table 2.1. The first phase represents the beginning of church

**Table 2.1 Church Cricket Clubs Created by Phase**

Phase	Decade	Clubs Formed	
1.	1860-1870	18	59
	1871-1880	41	
2.	1881-1890	24	24
3.	1891-1900	59	108
	1901-1910	41	
	1911-1920	8	

cricket from 1860 (later boosted by the Saturday half-holiday) to around 1880. Phase 2 encompasses the clubs formed in the 1880s and early 1890s which had to adapt to a more uncertain economic situation and the advent of formal competition. Phase 3 represents the number of church clubs that were born as leagues began and soon became the norm for all local cricket. This explosion in the number of new clubs from religious organisations between 1891 and 1910 (far more than doubling those created up to that point) is testament to the huge stimulus of the leagues. The low figure from 1911 is a reflection of the number of clubs already established and the effects of the Great War.

Nine clubs were selected for in-depth analysis, see table 2.2. Eight of these are church or Sunday school clubs. The ninth is Lumbutts, the closely comparable secular control. The establishment dates of the clubs, 1870-1902, alone incorporate the greater part of the boom era of church cricket.<sup>9</sup> During this 32-year period almost two-thirds of all church cricket clubs formed throughout Halifax and the Calder Valley appeared.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> This was not invariably a clear distinction. It was common for church clubs to allow Sunday school members to play and vice-versa. What it does indicate is the motivation behind the club's formation.

<sup>9</sup> The Halifax and District Nonconformist League of 1908 provided the last element of the surge. Two further leagues were formed before 1920 but both were re-alignments of existing ones. See Appendix 3 Leagues Formed in Halifax and the Calder Valley, 1891-1916. The Halifax Parish League catered for clubs unhappy with the structure of the Halifax and District League whereas the Halifax and District Council League was for the area's Yorkshire Council clubs to limit travelling during the war. Hardcastle, Lost, pp. 64-65, 40.

<sup>10</sup> Of the 214 known clubs from religious organisations (included Muslim) 134, about 63%, were formed between 1870 and 1902.

**Table 2.2 Primary Clubs to be Investigated**

Club	Denomination	Type	Est.	Phase	Disbanded
St Thomas	Church of England	Sunday School	c.1870	1	1872?
“	“	Church	1873	1	1896
Illingworth St Mary's	Church of England	Church	1884	2	Exists
Luddenden St Mary's	“	Church	1884	2	1940
Stones Wesleyans	Wesleyan Methodist	Church	1884	2	Exists
Mytholmroyd Wesleyan	Wesleyan Methodist	Sunday School	1893	3	2005
Outlane	MNC /UMC †	Church	1897	3	Exists
Inchfield Bottom	UMFC/UMC *	Sunday School	1902	3	1910
Lumbutts	Non-Church	N/A	1890	2	1912

† Methodist New Connexion; United Methodist Church from 1907.

\* United Methodist Free Churches; United Methodist Church from 1907.

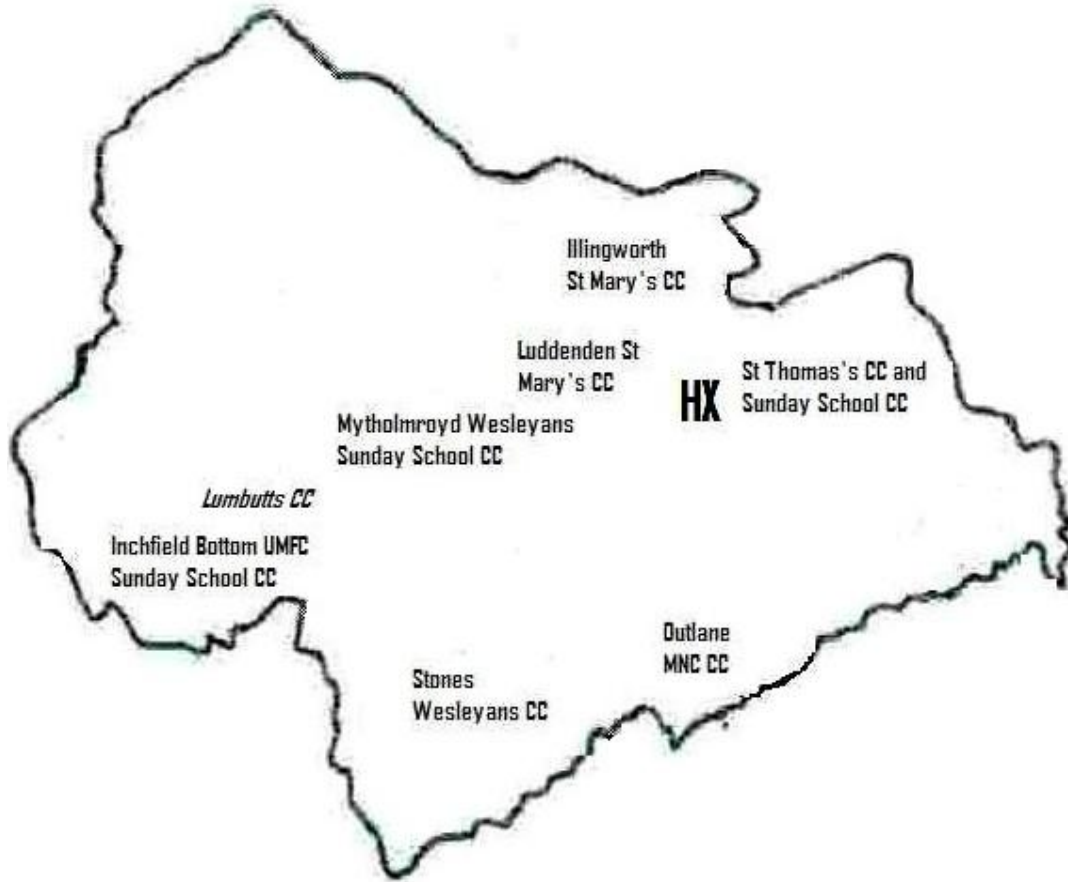
Alongside the extant records of their religious parents, five of the clubs - Illingworth St Mary's, Stones Wesleyans, Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Sunday School, Outlane MNC, and Inchfield Bottom UMFC Sunday School - have retained sufficient contemporary documentation to enable a thorough investigation of their histories. The clubs reveal a mixture of success and failure. As shown in table 2.2, five of the clubs survived beyond the period of this research. Illingworth, Stones and Outlane are still playing although the church links are only evident to any extent at Stones. Mytholmroyd remained in existence, albeit under different guises, into the twenty-first century.<sup>11</sup> The other clubs had ceased before the Great War. Inchfield Bottom provides a complete case study in itself, its records covering its short history to 1910. The St Thomas's clubs had wound up before 1900 as had the non-church Lumbutts club by 1912 when the Calder Valley League disbanded.

### Geographical Distribution of the Primary Clubs

The distinctive geographical profile of Halifax and the Calder Valley presented an important variable in the establishment and development of cricket clubs. A hill position provided different physical and logistical challenges to a valley situation. The primary clubs do reflect well the geographical and demographical spread of the district, see map 2. As did the 190 or so church cricket clubs formed between 1860 and 1920, they appeared in all types of location throughout Halifax and the Calder Valley, other than in the extremely hilly and sparsely populated North-West. Some emerged in the most unpromising of settings.

<sup>11</sup> It survived as Mytholmroyd Methodists until 2004 when the church decided to sell the land. It moved ground to Siddal, near Halifax, becoming 'Halifax Cricket Club'. See 'Halifax CC The Later Years' *C&K Website*, [http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/halifax/docs/halifax\\_thelateryears.pdf](http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/halifax/docs/halifax_thelateryears.pdf), Accessed 11 November 2011. This latter venture folded in 2005.

**Map 2 Locations of Primary Church Cricket Clubs in Halifax and the Calder Valley**



In their study of demographic change and retailing in the second half of the nineteenth century, M.T. Wild and G. Shaw observed that ‘in this particular part of industrial West Yorkshire, one is not simply dealing with the specific urban environment of a single large town but with several physically independent communities’.<sup>12</sup> They identified four location types created by the impact of industrialisation on the district’s geography. These were: Halifax and its suburbs; mill towns; mill villages; and upland villages and hamlets.<sup>13</sup> The five mill towns were in the valleys: Todmorden, Brighouse, Hebden Bridge, Sowerby Bridge and Elland. The mill villages were also relatively recent settlements in the narrower valley bottoms, Luddenden Foot and Greetland being examples. The fourth category, upland villages, identified the old rural-industrial hilltop areas. These included the depopulating townships such as Heptonstall, Warley and Soyland but also upland areas with textile factories (such as Illingworth and Outlane). Table 2.3 lists the location of the clubs and their

<sup>12</sup> M. T. Wild and G. Shaw, ‘Population Distribution and Retail Provision: The Case of the Halifax-Calder Valley Area of West Yorkshire During the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century’, *Journal of Historical Geography*, Vol. 1 No. 2 (1975), 193-210, 194.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 200-1, 204-7.

description utilising Wild and Shaw's categories. With the uneven implementation of transport improvements throughout Halifax and the Calder Valley, the table also includes an indication of the area's accessibility at the time of each club's formation.

**Table 2.3 Primary Clubs – Location Profile**

Club	Location	Type of Area	Accessibility
St Thomas's	Halifax	Halifax Suburb	Easy
Illingworth St Mary's	North Halifax	Upland Village	Moderate
Luddenden St Mary's	Calder Valley	Upland Village	Moderate
Stones Wesleyans	Soyland	Upland Village	Moderate
Mytholmroyd Wes	Calder Valley	Mill Village	Easy
Outlane	South-East Halifax	Upland Village	Difficult but improving
Inchfield Bottom	Walsden	Mill Village	Easy
Lumbutts	Calder Valley	Upland Village	Very Difficult

Other than geographical spread, the selected clubs were characterised by several other factors. One of which (typical of local cricket) was financial hardship. Another, related, trait was the struggle involved in establishing grounds and facilities, due to the inhospitable terrain, lack of money or other difficulties.<sup>14</sup>

A somewhat surprising common element, considering the extent of demographic diversity, was a large pool of potential players. In every case close to one in six of the population was a male of cricketing age.<sup>15</sup> This ratio fell only very slightly during the boom cricket period before dropping, inevitably, after the Great War to only 1 in 7.5 in 1921.<sup>16</sup> All the clubs also had a local cricketing precedent, albeit not always provided by another religious body.

Other than St Thomas's, a new parish, all the clubs had churches with to a greater or lesser degree a legacy of divisive religious and social and political episodes from the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup> Such divisions had left the churches with a big task in the calmer post-Chartist years in areas like Halifax and the Calder Valley to gain the sympathy of working men. In 1864, the renowned geologist Sir Charles Lyell, a man of strong religious beliefs, still spoke of 'a dangerous want of sympathy at present between the better informed working

<sup>14</sup> See chapter five, 'Grounds'.

<sup>15</sup> Using a 20-year age range from 15-34 and taking the nearest population census for the areas of the clubs, the range was between 1: 6.5 for Luddenden to 1: 5.6 for Outlane (Stainland) and Stones (Soyland). The average ratio was 1: 5.9. 5-year age data based on *UK Population Censuses, 1871-1901*, from *A Vision of Britain Through Time*, <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/index.jsp>, Accessed 10 November 2011.

<sup>16</sup> The average ratio was 1: 6.1 in 1911, 1: 7.4 in 1921, figures were not available for Luddenden and Illingworth (Ovenden). *UK Population Censuses, 1911-1921, A Vision of Britain*.

<sup>17</sup> See chapter one, 'Moors, Mills and Ministers'. The earlier rifts in religion, it will be argued, were also relevant to the secular club of Lumbutts.

class of the manufacturing districts and the clergy'.<sup>18</sup> One hope for cricket was to regain that missing sympathy.

A notable characteristic of the clubs was self-reliance. In the wake of capitalist manufacturing came an expansion of working-class co-operative organisation with its ethos of independence and self-help. One manifestation of this was the expansion of co-operative stores in Halifax and the Calder Valley, which increased from five in 1870 to 77 in 1900.<sup>19</sup> All of the locations for the clubs, including the eyrie of Lumbutts, boasted a co-operative or industrial society.<sup>20</sup>

### **Individual Clubs: Background and Diversity**

In addition to their general characteristics, the primary clubs will be considered individually within the three notional phases of formation, outlined above. Factors to be taken into account include the area's recent religious history, its accessibility, prosperity and employment as well as factors such as sporting precedents, patronage and co-operation.

### **Phase 1 Clubs**

The Sunday school cricket club of St. Thomas the Apostle Anglican Church at Claremount, a suburb of Halifax, was formed in about 1870, closely followed by its senior team in 1873.<sup>21</sup> Claremount emerged around 1850, a product of the rapid industrial expansion of the Hebble Valley a steep half mile away.<sup>22</sup> There, at Dean Clough Mills in 1850, power looms had been installed by the carpet manufacturers, John Crossley and Sons.<sup>23</sup> Having 350 hands in 1837, the firm employed 5,000 by 1873.<sup>24</sup> Claremount lacked leisure possibilities, with a recreation area being created only after 1886.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Evidence to the Public Schools Commission, quoted in Royle, *Modern Britain*, pp. 332-33.

<sup>19</sup> M. T. Wild and G. Shaw, 'Population Distribution', p. 204.

<sup>20</sup> Various Trade Directories, 1871-1908.

<sup>21</sup> It is possible that the Sunday school club evolved into the church club.

<sup>22</sup> The area was originally named 'Beaumont Town' after its instigator George Beaumont, a former Methodist New Connexion minister, who owned worsted mills in the locality at Horley Green and nearby Haley Hill. As a councillor, Beaumont pioneered sanitary housing for the working classes, 'Rev. George Beaumont', *Malcolm Bull's Calderdale Companion*,

<http://freepages.history.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~calderdalecompanion/b.html#b1558>, Accessed 31 October 2011; Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', p. 164. This was at a time of heightened concern over the insanitary conditions of working-class housing, starkly highlighted by the Ranger enquiry, see chapter one, 'Moors, Mills and Ministers'.

<sup>23</sup> James Parker, 'The Story of the Carpet Trade', in J. J. Mulroy, (ed.), *Story of the Town that Bred Us* (Halifax, William Asquith, 1948), p. 66.

<sup>24</sup> Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 39; Evidence of John Crossley (junior) to the parliamentary select committee examining a proposal to construct a railway line extension linking Keighley to Halifax. *Bradford Observer*, 7 May 1873.

<sup>25</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 31 July 1886.

St Thomas's was a typical example of church extension into new urban districts. It did not, though, materialise in as smooth a manner as this may imply. Its jubilee brochure recognised the exertions required of its first vicar who

had to encounter difficulty after difficulty, not the least being the resignation of half the building committee.

Mr. Bagott, however, does not seem to have been daunted by these troubles, and after 3 years of strenuous hard work, saw the reward of his efforts ... in the consecration of St. Thomas' Church in the year 1861.<sup>26</sup>

The Rev. Elijah Bagott was a dynamic character and in 1864, following the raising of £1,600, the church opened its Sunday school which approximately six years later formed its cricket club.<sup>27</sup> Cricket had both a precedent and the kind of patronage which could prove an important factor for fledgling cricket clubs. John Lister, the last owner of the Shibden Estate, within a mile of the church, was a cricket enthusiast who, in 1869, established a club on his estate of which Bagott was President.<sup>28</sup> Lister permitted the church's teams to play fixtures in his grounds. St Thomas's became one of the strongest clubs in the early decades of cricket in district, taking part in the first Halifax Parish Challenge Cup competition in 1888 and being inaugural winners of the Halifax Amateur Cricket League six years later.

## Phase 2 Clubs

If Clarendon and St Thomas's were products of industrial-urbanisation, Illingworth and its church of St. Mary's were ancient: carved out of the vast ancient parish of Halifax in pre-Reformation times.<sup>29</sup> St Mary's parish was itself sub-divided with the opening of four new churches between 1839 and 1897.<sup>30</sup> The parish of Illingworth had a population of 4,805 in 1871, though the village itself, surrounding the church, was small.<sup>31</sup> Described by Crabtree as 'high and bleak ... on the turnpike road to Keighley', it remained a scattered collection of

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<sup>26</sup> *S. Thomas' Church Jubilee, 1861-1911* (Halifax, 1911), no page number.

<sup>27</sup> Obituary of Rev. Elijah Bagott, *Leeds Mercury*, 9 June 1899.

<sup>28</sup> 'Shibden Vale Cricket Club, Rules and Bye-Laws'. (1869) CA SH17/JN/278/5.

<sup>29</sup> It was constructed in 1525, being rebuilt in 1777. R. Oakley, *The Story of Saint Mary's Illingworth* (Halifax, 1924), pp. 131-32.

<sup>30</sup> St John's Bradshaw, 1839; Mount Pellon, 1853, St George, Ovenden 1877 and St Andrew's Mission Church, Holmfield, 1897. Oakley, *St Mary's Illingworth*, p. 60.

<sup>31</sup> *Kelly's Directory of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1881* (London, 1881), p. 893.

houses and hamlets into the early twentieth century.<sup>32</sup> Three miles to the north of Halifax, the turnpike road made it reasonably accessible.

The village was described by *Kelly's* in 1881 as 'thriving'.<sup>33</sup> However, six years later, at the cricket club's annual dinner, a local textile manufacturer worried that 'unless we had some protection in England, it would be impossible to compete with foreign countries, particularly Germany.'<sup>34</sup> With many industrial villages dependent on the worsted and cotton trade, this augured badly for employment. There was a limited degree of diversity with engineering and brewing firms in the vicinity.<sup>35</sup>

St Mary's revealed that social tensions remained within churches, with a dispute over pew rents forming the backdrop to the early years of its cricket club.<sup>36</sup> Until 1894 there were no free pews and only 'subscribers of £10 and upwards had ... any choice of seats'.<sup>37</sup> The presence of money in the church, however, did offer the club the possibility of philanthropy.

The club was formally inaugurated in 1884, though games had been played under the church's name since 1877.<sup>38</sup> There was a history of cricket in the district. Neighbouring Ovenden played a fixture against Todmorden in 1850, Ovenden United was established in 1864, a team named Illingworth was playing in 1858, and another was formed by the Golden Fleece public house in the neighbouring village of Bradshaw in 1861.<sup>39</sup> The Yorkshire and England cricketer Tom Emmett recalled that his first club 'was called the "Illingworth," representing the village of that name.' The club was promoted by a publican together with a local manufacturer and based at the 'White Lion', only 200 yards from the church.<sup>40</sup> There was no known direct link with the church itself, though Emmett noted that as a boy he played

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<sup>32</sup> Crabtree, *A Concise History of Halifax*, pp. 375-76.

<sup>33</sup> *Kelly's*, 1881, p. 893.

<sup>34</sup> Paul Speak whose mill was in Ovenden, the township of which Illingworth formed a part, *Halifax Guardian*, 8 November 1887.

<sup>35</sup> Pickards' engineering and toolmaking firm was a mile or so away at Holmfield and in Mixenden, at a similar distance, the Ramsden family had its brewery. *Kelly's Directory, 1881*, pp. 894-95.

<sup>36</sup> The pew rental system was identified by Horace Mann in his report on the 1851 religious census as the principal perpetuator of social divisions within churches.

<sup>37</sup> Oakley, *St Mary's Illingworth*, p. 60. £10 would be two months' wages for many churchgoers.

<sup>38</sup> See Dennis O'Keefe, *Start of Play: The Foundation and Progress of Illingworth St. Mary's Cricket Club, c.1884-c.1920: A Social History* (Huddersfield, Cricket Heritage Publications, 2007).

<sup>39</sup> Hardcastle, *Lost*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>40</sup> 'Tom Emmett' in 'Old Ebor' (A.W.Pullin), *Talks with Old Yorkshire Cricketers* (Reprinted from the *Yorkshire Evening Post*, Leeds, 1898), p. 54. The manufacturer's name was not given.

outside the house of a wealthy businessman, Henry Ambler, who enjoyed cricket and was an influential congregation member.<sup>41</sup>

There was both spiritual and sporting competition for St Mary's. Its daughter church Bradshaw St John's had formed one of the first Anglican cricket clubs, around the mid-1860s.<sup>42</sup> Illingworth St Mary's was one of a cluster of church clubs that sprang up in the area when it started playing in 1877. Another enterprising offspring, St George's, formed a Football and Cricket Club, with its Vicar as President, in 1878.<sup>43</sup> The Methodists were similarly engaged in this contest. Illingworth Wesleyans, a few hundred yards from St Mary's, was fielding a team in 1877, and Mount Zion MNC at nearby Ogden did so the following year.

Two other primary clubs were founded in 1884. One was another Anglican St Mary's, at Luddenden in the Calder Valley, three miles west of Halifax. A newspaper feature in 1872 revealed that the church was even older than its namesake at Illingworth.<sup>44</sup> Luddenden, as Illingworth, was an ancient upland farming and manufacturing village. The article noted 'evidence of bustling life and manufacturing prosperity', but this was before the slowdown in textiles. It also revealed the characteristic industrial and demographic shift to a valley offspring, Luddenden Foot, whose own church was constructed next to its railway station.<sup>45</sup> In 1881, both Luddendens were described as 'a large and extensive ecclesiastical parish'. They each had four substantial employers in textiles.<sup>46</sup>

Cricket was played on a largely casual basis in Luddenden prior to 1884, with matches during the 1860s.<sup>47</sup> At the time the club was founded, the neighbouring areas were well provided with churches and their cricket teams. Luddenden Wesleyans were playing fixtures no later than 1879; Booth Congregational from about 1880; and St Mary's at Luddenden Foot also started during the 1880s.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 53; Ambler held the position of churchwarden over several years as well as running a school of up to 300 half-timers and teachers in his factory, all of whom attended the church, until Ambler's death in 1874, when the church refused to accommodate them. Oakley; *St Mary's Illingworth*, pp. 84, 88, 123.

<sup>42</sup> Hardcastle, *Lost*, p. 10. Bradshaw is about a mile from St Mary's.

<sup>43</sup> Anon, *Early Reminiscences of St George's Church, Ovenden, Halifax* (Halifax, 1923), p. 19. St George's was about a mile-and-a-half away.

<sup>44</sup> Built in 1496, though re-erected in 1816, 'Yorkshire Rambles', *Leeds Mercury*, 20 June 1872.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> *Kelly's, 1881*, pp. 849-50.

<sup>47</sup> 'Luddenden Foot CC: The Early Years', *C&K Website*,

<http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/docs/050408LUDDENDENFOOTLuddEARLYYEARS.pdf>, Accessed 2 November 2011; Hardcastle, *Lost*, pp. 8, 10.

<sup>48</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 24 May 1879; 'Luddenden Foot CC: The Early Years'; Booth *CC: Club Centenary Booklet, 1893-1993* (1993).



The third primary club founded in 1884 had a quite different profile. This was at Stones Wesleyan Chapel, located on the edge of Soyland,

a village and moorland township ... extending to the borders of Lancashire and including within its boundaries part of the mountainous region of Blackstone Edge .... Here is a Congregational chapel. The Wesleyans have a chapel at Stones and the Methodist New Connexion at Soyland Town.... There are several cotton mills, and the large silk mill of Messrs. Hadwen and Sons.<sup>49</sup>

The village displayed the demographic pattern of the uplands of Halifax and the Calder Valley. Its population had almost doubled from 1,888 in 1801 to 3,603 in 1841.<sup>50</sup> This marked its peak, however, declining to 3,264 in 1871, 3,135 in 1901 and by 1921 it was 2,769.<sup>51</sup> Soyland was a typical rural-industrial Nonconformist village with Methodism dominant though divided. Secession from Stones Wesleyans in 1818 spawned two rival Methodist New Connexion chapels in the area, probably sparing them from further schisms during the mid-century *Fly Sheets* controversy.<sup>52</sup>

Stones, despite its lofty position, was somewhat less isolated than most of Soyland owing to its proximity to the small commercial valley centre of Ripponden and had both ecclesiastical and cricketing rivalry. Church clubs sprang up in the vicinity around the same time, matching the pattern seen at Illingworth and Luddenden. Ripponden Church also started its cricket club in 1884 and Ripponden Wesleyans, Ripponden Zion and Ripponden Ebenezer Young Men all played Stones Wesleyans that season.<sup>53</sup>

Despite being an essentially self-limiting membership, the chapel's Mutual Improvement Society, founded in 1863, provided a valuable insight into the long-running debate over recreation and sport within grassroots Nonconformity.<sup>54</sup> Societies developed speaking, writing and organisational skills but they also provided sociability and were intended to foster

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<sup>49</sup> *Kelly's, 1881*, p. 1355.

<sup>50</sup> *UK Population Censuses*, 1801, 1841.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 1871, 1901 and 1921.

<sup>52</sup> The two New Connexion chapels were at Soyland and nearby Lightazles. That a socio-political element was involved in this rival venture was indicated when the Lightazles' chapel was castigated by the New Connexion circuit in 1829 for permitting the radical and future Chartist, Benjamin Rushton, to preach in the local school. Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', p. 256. See Appendix 2 Methodism Divided in Halifax and the Calder Valley.

<sup>53</sup> Fixtures reported in the *Halifax Guardian*, 1884. Several games were also played against non-church clubs in a full fixture list.

<sup>54</sup> 'Stones Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Society Minutes, 1866-77', CA SB225. The inside cover gives the established date as 1863.

the retention of young people in the church.<sup>55</sup> The Stones' Society, which was to have personal links with the cricket club, held often-impassioned debates over the place of amusements and sport. It revealed that many members were still strongly opposed to drink and gambling but that there was a shift, partly generational, in attitudes towards leisure. Only seven years before the chapel cricket club was formed, one member warned that 'leisure moments ... passed unimproved; be as the serpent, Poisonous and deadly too'.<sup>56</sup> Two years later, however, the acknowledgement of a threat saw a member reluctantly advocating church provision of recreation to retain their young people and divert them from 'Immorality' which was notably found in 'the Public House [with its] Music ... dancing, and games.'<sup>57</sup> By 1891, there was a call for the Society to form its own cricket side, to 'keep the members more together in summer time, and find them with one of the healthiest of all recreations.'<sup>58</sup>

### Phase 3 Clubs

The club of Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Sunday school emerged a decade after Stones. This was the first of the primary clubs to commence as leagues were bringing a second wind to cricket, stimulating the creation of new teams. Unlike the previous clubs, it was a developing manufacturing village situated in the bottom of the Calder Valley. Mytholmroyd had benefited from its location with a Turnpike Trust road (1760s), the Rochdale Canal (1802) bringing coal for steam power, and from the early 1840s, the Leeds-Manchester railway line.<sup>59</sup>

Mytholmroyd was easily accessible along the valley, being only 1½ miles from both Luddenden Foot to the east and Hebden Bridge in the west. Nonetheless, due to its narrowness and steeply sided hills, the village remained a distinct area.<sup>60</sup> The population grew but only slowly. In 1871 it was 3,086; in 1881 when it was described as a 'large village' it had risen to 3,229; by 1891 three years prior to the cricket club it was 3,318.<sup>61</sup> In 1894 the village was elevated to a civil parish, taking in a population of 4,388.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Mutual Improvement Societies were usually the offspring of Sunday schools and were predominantly, though not exclusively, male. The Stones Society records are especially useful as there are no minutes for the chapel for the research period, nor for the cricket club until 1914.

<sup>56</sup> W. F. Switcher, 'Leisure Moments', 'Stones Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Society Gazette, 1876-1898', CA SB232, 26 June 1877.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 'A Helper', 'Ought the Christian Church to supply counter Attractions and Pleasures to those of the World', 21 October 1879.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, piece by 'A Suggestion', 1891 (No exact date).

<sup>59</sup> Hanson, *The Story of Old Halifax*, pp. 227, 222, 259.

<sup>60</sup> 'Royd' signifies 'clearing' (as in clearing the once wooded valley bottom). *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>61</sup> *Kelly's, 1881*, p. 875; *White's Directory, 1887*, p. 403; *Kelly's, 1897*, p. 762.

<sup>62</sup> *Kelly's, 1897*, p. 762.

The club's prospects were aided by Mytholmroyd's much-diversified economy and being relatively prosperous and better equipped than many to survive trade recessions. There was significant livestock farming on the surrounding moors. Textile enterprises were medium-scale and varied with cotton spinning and manufacture, woollen and worsted manufacture as well as fustians and braid production. The number of craftsmen and retail outlets, and especially the many butchers and greengrocers, reveal a role as a market place.<sup>63</sup> There was a high degree of organisation in the area with co-operative societies in both Mytholmroyd itself and nearby Cragg Vale, and the employers' Mytholmroyd Manufacturers Society.

Denominational competition existed in Mytholmroyd with the Church of England St Michael's and a Primitive Methodist chapel as well as Anglicans and Wesleyans at nearby Cragg Vale. However, the village appears free of religio-political disputes since the 1830s and factory reform.<sup>64</sup> The new club had a precedent and rival in non-church Mytholmroyd CC, a founder member of the Calder Valley League. By this time cricket was enormously popular in the area.<sup>65</sup> The club joined the Hebden Bridge and District League in its second season, 1895, though its second team continued to play friendly fixtures. Mytholmroyd's sporting enthusiasm was also evidenced by its strong football (rugby) team operating from at least 1880 when it took part in the Yorkshire Challenge Cup.<sup>66</sup> The club, or its spectators, apparently had an over-competitive approach, being suspended for several games in 1888 following 'misbehaviour towards a referee.'<sup>67</sup> It highlighted one reason for the churches' preference for hosting cricket rather than football.

In 1897, the cricket club of the Methodist New Connexion at Outlane was formed. The village did not warrant its own entry in that year's *Kelly's Directory of West Yorkshire*, being divided between Halifax and Huddersfield:

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 762-64.

<sup>64</sup> In 1833 during the 10-Hour agitation Mr Farrer, 'an old Methodist minister', at Hebden Bridge regularly preached *against* factories and steam looms, denouncing them as 'little hells' and 'rattling devils'. This had led Mr Walker of Mytholmroyd, a partner in the worsted spinning mill of Messrs. Walker and Edmundson, to threaten 'that when it is his turn to preach in their chapel, he will lock the door and prevent him from going in'. Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', p. 169.

<sup>65</sup> The club's first fixture card showed matches against neighbouring teams such as Hebden Bridge United Star, Cragg Vale United, Salem (Hebden Bridge) and Luddenden Foot UMFC 'Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Sunday School Cricket Club Fixture Card, 1894', CA WYC1332/1.

<sup>66</sup> Yorkshire Football Challenge Cup, first round draw, *York Herald*, 27 September 1880.

<sup>67</sup> *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, 20 November 1888.

Outlane is a hamlet 2 miles west [of its township of Longwood near Huddersfield], partly in Longwood and remainder in Stainland. Here is St Mary's Mission Church room, and there are also Baptist, Methodist New Connexion and Wesleyan Chapels.<sup>68</sup>

'Hamlet' rather understated Outlane which in 1901 had around 1,000 inhabitants.<sup>69</sup> The term perhaps reflected the village's isolation on the periphery of two large industrial towns at an elevation of almost 850 feet.<sup>70</sup> Transport improvements were also slow to arrive. A reference in the new cricket club's cashbook to 'Tram' in 1897 was to the steam variety which had linked the village to Huddersfield (four miles distant) only since the end of the 1880s.<sup>71</sup> Electric trams were not extended to Outlane until February 1899.<sup>72</sup> The local economy was largely based on farming and textiles with Edward Sykes's woollen manufacturers and cotton spinners at Gosport Mills in the village a large employer, though there was also a brewery within a mile or so.<sup>73</sup>

The cricket club was founded just three years after the Methodist New Connexion opened a new chapel and Sunday school in 1894.<sup>74</sup> The centenary of the New Connexion also took place in 1897 and may have been a factor in starting the club. Outlane's religion centred firmly on Methodism: whereas the Anglican Mission Church was a relatively recent arrival, the New Connexion had begun in 1832, with the Wesleyans having established a chapel three years earlier.<sup>75</sup>

The village had a somewhat unattractive picture painted of it during the last decades of the nineteenth century. During an Independent Labour Party campaign in 1895, in which Keir Hardie was involved, the *Pall Mall Gazette* referred to a meeting at 'a mean little village

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<sup>68</sup> *Kelly's, 1897*, pp. 911, 576.

<sup>69</sup> Establishing Outlane's population proved extremely difficult. The location was fragmented as well as administratively split between Halifax and Huddersfield. A count of the 1901 UK Population Census, taking in the areas which were clearly part of Outlane, arrived at a population of 997. However, *Kelly's 1897 Directory* recorded the village school as having 170 children and 68 infants, *Kelly's, 1897*. This suggests a larger population, perhaps in the region of 1,200-1,300.

<sup>70</sup> 260 metres, 853 feet, is the height of the current cricket ground at Outlane. 'Outlane CC', *C&K Website*, <http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/outlane/clubhome.htm>, Accessed 28 August 2008. The frontier nature remains today with the village of Outlane in the new metropolitan district of Kirklees, while the cricket club, based 50 yards from the M62 motorway, is just within the Calderdale boundary and plays in the Halifax League.

<sup>71</sup> 'Outlane Methodist New Connexion Cricket Secretary's Book', 27 May 1897.

<sup>72</sup> *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 4 February 1899.

<sup>73</sup> *Kelly's, 1897*, pp. 502-3, 846-47, 912.

<sup>74</sup> *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 28 April 1894.

<sup>75</sup> The Mission Church did not appear in *Kelly's, 1881*, though it was referred to in a local paper in 1891, *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 24 January 1891; N. Hirst and G. Roberts, *Methodism in Outlane: Triple Jubilee 1822-1972: Souvenir Booklet* (1972).

named Outlane'.<sup>76</sup> The *Leeds Mercury*, recording the experience of one gentleman two decades earlier showed that Outlane provided a challenge for its churches:

The village is a long, straggling, uninteresting place with numerous public houses .... Passing the "Commercial Inn" beerhouse, he observed eighteen men playing at pitch and toss at two o'clock in the afternoon of the second day of the week. Surprised at this [he] made a memorandum in his note-book. Directly afterwards he was saluted with a shower of stones and ... found that the half-drunken men he had observed were stoning him. He expostulated with the men, but the answer was another volley of stones, accompanied with foul and threatening language ....<sup>77</sup>

A 'traditional' St Monday was still being celebrated in Outlane in the 1870s. It is likely that the chapel still perceived cricket as a more temperate alternative.

The club had a non-church precedent in Outlane Wellington (sometimes referred to simply as 'Outlane') which had played fixtures since the 1870s.<sup>78</sup> This was disbanded alongside the village football club in 1890 following a legal dispute with their landlord over the renting of the ground which they shared.<sup>79</sup> Outlane also had a history of athletics and pedestrianism driven by money. In 1814 a two-mile foot race took place for a prize of 20 guineas.<sup>80</sup> Annual athletic events, taking place at Outlane from at least 1871, saw crowds into the thousands, with prizes of up to £50 for the highlight, a two-mile steeplechase.<sup>81</sup>

Five years after the formation of the club at Outlane, in 1902, the Sunday school of Inchfield Bottom UMFC formed its cricket club. Situated in the Walsden valley, less than two miles from Todmorden, the area remained dominated by cotton with some fustian manufacturing.<sup>82</sup> It was similarly identified with Nonconformity and, particularly, Methodism. The Census of Religious Worship of 1851 had shown that 8,103 out of Todmorden's population of 19,055

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<sup>76</sup> *Pall Mall Gazette*, 22 July 1895.

<sup>77</sup> 'Yorkshire Rambles', *Leeds Mercury*, 8 August 1872.

<sup>78</sup> *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle* and *Huddersfield Examiner*, various dates from 1874. This older club also had personnel connections with the Outlane Rifle Volunteers (see chapter four, 'Club People') and may have grown out of it. The likelihood of this military link is increased with there being no 'Wellington' public house in the village.

<sup>79</sup> *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle* and *West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 15 March 1890.

<sup>80</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 5 November 1814.

<sup>81</sup> *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle* and *West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 31 August 1872. The 1872 event was considered 'annual'.

<sup>82</sup> *Kelly's, 1908* (London, 1908), p. 884. In 1881 26.5% of the working population of the Todmorden Poor Law Union/Registration District was employed in textiles, in 1921 27% of the Urban District/Metropolitan Borough was similarly employed, though with females now forming the majority. 'Todmorden RegD/PLU: 1881 Occupational Orders'; 'Todmorden UD/MB: 1921 Occupational Classification', *A Vision of Britain Through Time*, Accessed 12 November 2011.

had attended services, of whom approximately 47 per cent were Methodist, with overall Nonconformist worshippers outnumbering those of the Church of England by more than four-to-one.<sup>83</sup>

Local historians have argued that the vigour of Methodism was directed into industry, it being ‘no coincidence that many of the successful mill-owners in the upper Calder Valley were active nonconformists’.<sup>84</sup> However, they also identified a distortion of Wesley’s belief in personal responsibility deployed to justify unsavoury industrial practices during the early nineteenth century. Consequently the area was a focus for radical movements interwoven with religion, seen most fervently in its resistance to the workhouse.

As late as 1861, Inchfield Bottom UMFC exhibited not only denominational antipathy towards the Anglicans but still also *within* Methodism to the Old Connexion. A minister at the stone-laying ceremony in that year, saw its rebuilt chapel to be ‘a Dissenting one in opposition to an Established Church, a Methodist Free Church in distinction from a Wesleyan Methodist.’<sup>85</sup> This was embodied in the chapel’s austere exterior and its industrial setting, directly opposite Hollins Mill alongside the Rochdale Canal. It also reflected the proletarian nature of the area. Formed during more conciliatory times within Methodism, the cricket club emerged in the wake of the Balfour Education Act - which was bitterly opposed by some Nonconformists in the Todmorden area - and may have played some role in the club’s formation.<sup>86</sup> The club could also be viewed as part of a slow diversification from the Sunday school’s sole original objectives of moral and religious education, a movement commencing with its Mutual Improvement Society which ran between 1870 and 1875 and during 1881 to 1888.<sup>87</sup>

The area was a hotbed of cricket. The Calder Valley League had already run for 12 years when Inchfield Bottom joined in its first season, 1903. The neighbourhood’s senior side, Walsden, which played in the strong Lancashire Central League, had been established officially since 1870 and quite possibly existed from 1856.<sup>88</sup> Todmorden was the district’s

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<sup>83</sup> Heywoods and Jennings, *A History of Todmorden*, pp. 171-2.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>85</sup> Rev. John Guttridge, quoted in *The Centenary Handbook of Trinity Methodist Church, Inchfield Bottom* (Inchfield Bottom, Waddington, 1962), p. 6.

<sup>86</sup> The act provided for the funding of Anglican and Catholic schools out of the local rates, but not for Nonconformist schools. The support of Catholic schools was particularly loathsome to Dissenters. It led to Dissenting ministers’ passive resistance by refusing to pay the rates, some being imprisoned. See Hargreaves, ‘Religion and Society’, pp. 131-2.

<sup>87</sup> *Trinity Methodist Church*, p. 10.

<sup>88</sup> See ‘Walsden CC: The Early Years’, *C&K Website*, <http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/docs/032108WALSDEN842WALearly.pdf>, Accessed 12 November 2011.

senior club, being formed in 1835 and playing in the Lancashire League, the strongest in the country.<sup>89</sup> Both clubs attracted hundreds, and Todmorden even thousands, of spectators.

### **Lumbutts: A Secular Study**

Lumbutts was a non-church cricket club typical of small local sides at the time and akin to the church primary clubs. Despite being only two miles distant from Inchfield Bottom, and similarly dependent on cotton for employment, the village of Lumbutts was of a quite different character. Whereas Inchfield Bottom was part of an urban-industrial valley sprawl, Lumbutts, perched above Todmorden at approximately 1,200 feet, was a moorland site of the dual economy. The Fieldens had extended their cotton spinning enterprise to the village in the last years of the eighteenth century, acquiring two mills there in the 1840s.<sup>90</sup> However, having boasted several textile mills, by the 1860s only two, owned by the Fieldens, remained in Lumbutts and these were soon in decline, closing in the 1920s.<sup>91</sup> Pastoral farming remained important but was not a large employer.<sup>92</sup>

The area also had its religious tribulations. An acrimonious secession from the Wesleyan chapel at neighbouring Mankinholes occurred in the mid-1830s resulting in the foundation of a Wesleyan Methodist Association chapel at Lumbutts in 1837.<sup>93</sup> The Fieldens financially supported the breakaway chapel.

Lumbutts Cricket Club started in 1890. Although there are no known precedents for cricket in the village itself, as seen, there was a long tradition of the game in the Todmorden district. Lumbutts was a very late Phase 2 club. Its establishment preceded the Calder Valley League by only one year and the club became its inaugural winner in 1891.

### **Conclusion**

Church cricket clubs emerged in large numbers in almost every corner of Halifax and the Calder Valley from the later-nineteenth century. This growth occurred in a remarkably diverse range of geographic, socio-economic, denominational and sporting contexts.

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<sup>89</sup> Heywoods, *Cloth Caps*, p. 4.

<sup>90</sup> 'Lumbutts Upper Mill', *Todmorden and Walsden*, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~todmordenandwalsden/lumbuttsmill-.htm#anchor1>, Accessed 13 November 2011.

<sup>91</sup> These, too, closed in 1926. Dennis O'Neil, *History of the Lumbutts Site*, <http://www.freewebs.com/lumbutts-centre/History.htm>, Accessed 13 November 2011.

<sup>92</sup> *Kelly's*, 1897, pp. 721-22.

<sup>93</sup> See Appendix 2 Methodism Divided in Halifax and the Calder Valley.

Although demographic shifts and improved transport were slowly transforming the situation, the area was better understood in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a collection of distinct communities rather than a homogenous region. The primary clubs permit a representative examination of church cricket in this diverse industrial society in which the churches retained a central place. It is, however, also acknowledged that the enterprise of both individuals and groups played vital roles in what was an extraordinary sporting development.



## CHAPTER 3 CLERGY

### Introduction

Keith Sandiford has argued that during the Victorian period ‘clergy gave cricket their unqualified blessing’ and that ‘a spectacular cricket explosion ... was caused, in part, by the impact of muscular Christianity which extolled the virtues of cricket above all other sports.’<sup>1</sup> However, from a close examination of their role and motivation in promoting cricket in Halifax and the Calder Valley, this chapter contends that although clergymen, including Nonconformist ministers, did make a valuable contribution, this was very far from being unqualified or universal. It also holds that clerical attitudes and actions were shaped more by social than religious forces and influenced by the attitudes of their wealthier churchgoers. This could result in tensions within clubs and diminish their capacity to act as recruiting agents for the church. Finally, the case is made that it was congregations rather than clergy that usually initiated cricket clubs.

In October 1892, the Rev. W. Jackson of St Paul’s Wesleyan Chapel, Brighouse, delivered a discourse to a men-only congregation which demonstrated how far clerical attitudes to cricket had progressed since mid-century. The minister was reported as saying that

every aspect of the game was manly, it was true-born English, there was no ‘yanky panky’ about it. About once a week whilst in London he had attended the Oval and Lord’s, but never had he witnessed any gambling or anything approaching it. Let them have a game or two where a parson could attend, and where the most religious of them could send their sons and daughters without fear of moral injury. During the many times he had witnessed county and international cricket he had never seen a drunken man in the field. Cricket made men smart; it commanded fair play. Often they heard the cry ‘How’s that?’. Let them appeal to their consciences and say ‘How is that.’<sup>2</sup>

The speech could equally have been delivered by a Church of England clergyman. By 1892, Methodists were largely in favour of cricket. Jackson was even perhaps hinting that the congregation form a team. The minister, though, was not just promoting cricket. He was endeavouring to appeal to working men - the biggest absenters from church - through a series of all-male Sunday afternoon services, which were part of a wider missionary effort carried

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<sup>1</sup> Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, pp. 36, 53-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 8 October 1892.

out mainly by the Anglicans and Wesleyans. He was being quite successful in attracting such men to his services.<sup>3</sup>

Nonetheless, Jackson revealed a continuing anxiety and inadvertently shed light on why there was a need for such services in the first place and why their appeal proved ephemeral. It carried a representation of cricket alien to many in the congregation. Few, if any, would have attended matches at the Oval or Lord's. Jackson did not speak of enjoyment or excitement, of specific matches, famous players, results or competition, and did not refer to local cricket. He took it for granted that gambling and drinking brought 'moral injury'. Although this might have appealed to the 'converted', for many working men these were acceptable pastimes. The speech was a typical illustration of the inability of many otherwise well-meaning clergymen to discuss cricket without resort to moralising. Jackson unconsciously defined the limits of cricket and other recreations for engaging ordinary young men in the churches.

### **Changing Clerical Attitudes towards Cricket and Recreation**

The cricket played in Pudsey, near Leeds, in the 1830s would not have been endorsed by the Rev. Jackson, it being:

played mostly in the lanes or small openings in the village – with a tub leg for a bat, made smaller at one end for a handle ... no umpires, and often those who cheated the hardest won ... Money was mostly played for, and frequent uproar, confusion, and even fighting took place'.<sup>4</sup>

In the village of Illingworth, three miles to the north of Halifax, the Yorkshire and England legend Tom Emmett recalled that, as a youngster in about 1850:

There was a lot of rivalry among the boys who played on the 'Walk Top.' It got to the length of arranging a single wicket match, and we played for 2d. 'a man.' We never were such swells before. I turned out in beautiful white smock and clogs. It was such a terrible stake, 2d. each; we were men! I believe our side won. We had such a fright during the match. I sent the ball ... through the window of an adjoining combing-

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<sup>3</sup> The service of 9 October was 'well attended' and that of 27 October attracted 'a large congregation', *Brighouse and Rastrick Gazette*, 15 October and 5 November 1892.

<sup>4</sup> Lawson, *Progress in Pudsey*, pp. 81-82. Lawson did, of course, have a vested interest in providing a contrast to later 'progress'.

shed. It hit a man named Harrowby, who was quite a character in the village. He came out covered with blood, and swore he would have us before the magistrates.<sup>5</sup>

In the first half of the nineteenth century, with its spectre of industrial, political and social unrest, such cricket - particularly when accompanied by crowds of spectators, drinking and gambling - was not acceptable to clergy.<sup>6</sup> Even after mid-century, suspicion remained, especially within Methodism. In 1850 the *Bible Christian Magazine* cited 'the ballroom, the card-table ... the race-course, the bowling-green [and] the cricket-ground' as locations of sin.<sup>7</sup> Andrew Hignell found, in his study of the development of cricket in South Wales, that during the first half of the nineteenth century, church and chapel would not countenance the playing, let alone the sponsoring, of sport by the lower orders.<sup>8</sup>

The attitude of clergymen to leisure was changed largely by transformations in society. This occurred in two stages: first their acceptance of recreation *per se* as the bourgeoisie decided in its favour; secondly with the later desirability of leisure for the lower orders. The first stage, beginning before mid-century, was fostered by the security of wealth and the growing influence and prestige of the middle classes. The Reform Act of 1832 had demonstrated their political arrival and the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 had symbolised the economic ascendancy of the business classes over the aristocracy.<sup>9</sup>

The pressing objective for the *nouveaux riches* then became social acceptance by a still culturally dominant upper class conspicuous by its leisure.<sup>10</sup> The evangelical zeal which had inspired many successful men of trade began to dissipate, permitting a degree of relaxation. In an address to a Manchester Athenaeum Soiree in 1847, Richard Cobden observed that:

[the Manchester Athenaeum] had been found to be a necessity in the community, and that, from its commendable characteristics, it would always be entitled to, and always would receive the support of those inhabitants of Manchester who were engaged in active business, and who in their leisure hours could appreciate and were willing to avail themselves of intellectual advantages and beneficial relaxation.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> 'Tom Emmett', p. 54.

<sup>6</sup> For a discussion on the potential and fear of political, social and industrial disturbances see Edward Royle, *Revolutionary Britannia? : Reflections on the Threat of Revolution in Britain, 1789-1848* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000).

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Currie, *Methodism Divided*, p. 132.

<sup>8</sup> Hignell, *A 'Favourit' Game*, p. 86.

<sup>9</sup> See Matthew, *The Nineteenth Century*, pp. 4, 26.; Royle, *Modern Britain*, pp. 124, 126-7.

<sup>10</sup> As late as 1862, Henry Mayhew in his classification of society in four groups, saw the first of these as 'a leisured class from which the leaders of society were drawn'. Cited in Royle, *Modern Britain*, pp. 85-6.

<sup>11</sup> *The Times*, 20 November 1847.

Leisure for the middle classes became not only acceptable but a ‘necessity’. This was provided that it did not detract from hard-won social standing: a concern still acute in the late 1860s as recognised by an article in the *Cornhill Magazine*:

We are dreadfully afraid of making ourselves ridiculous before one another. Public opinion ... persistently merges the man in his profession, keeps him perpetually on the pedestal of his status, and will on no account allow him to descend from it.<sup>12</sup>

The dilemma was resolved by ‘rational recreation’, as provided by such as the Manchester Athenaeum.

The churches came under the influence of the middle classes’ conversion to rational leisure, with even the Methodists becoming less fervent and less opposed to amusements. As well as their rising social sway and often-congenial relations with the clergy, they were increasingly in a position to influence the activities of the church as a consequence of their patronage. In the Halifax district the number of churches and chapels increased fourfold in the second half of the nineteenth century, with the majority of Nonconformist churches in Halifax being built from 1870.<sup>13</sup> This expansion was often motivated as much by social prestige as religious necessity and chapels became increasingly ornate and considered as ‘churches’. Furthermore, a great deal of building and rebuilding of both Sunday and day schools took place. Middle-class money and financial expertise were often needed to fund this building and liquidate the huge debts which frequently resulted, especially for the unendowed Nonconformists. If such wealthy and influential people favoured respectability over evangelicalism and sociability over class meetings, they were in a strong position to obtain these.

Acceptance by the clergy of leisure for the well-to-do was one thing. Approval of recreation for the poor, and especially its provision by the church, required the second stage. If the middle classes retained some anxieties over their own amusements, this was as nothing compared to their preoccupation with those of the lower orders. The situation, though, was transforming as post-Chartist industrial society settled down.

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<sup>12</sup> Peter W. Clayden, *Cornhill Magazine*, quoted in *Bailey, Leisure and Class*, p. 66.

<sup>13</sup> Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, pp. 90, 298. There were 25 churches and chapels in the new Municipal Borough in 1851 and 99 in the County Borough at the turn of the century. Green described the style of dissenting churches between 1870 and 1900 as a ‘compromise between the grand architectural possibilities of the neo-Gothic ... and the mundane associational purposes of church extension and popular evangelism.’ See chapter one, ‘Moors, Mills and Ministers’.

1851 was a milestone for popular recreation. The Great Exhibition of that year attracted six million visitors of all social classes. Some members of the higher echelons of society, astonished at the exemplary behaviour of such a huge gathering of agricultural and industrial workers, now considered them worthy of recreation. *Bell's Life* noted with unmitigated approval a temperance procession to the Crystal Palace which, numbering many thousands,

consisted chiefly of the working classes, their wives and children, neat, clean, well-dressed, happy and healthy-looking, and indicating in every way those orderly habits, which, beyond question, distinguish the devotees of 'total abstinence'.<sup>14</sup>

Nonetheless, many clergymen remained ambivalent and even sceptical. As late as 1878, Frederick Gale - hardly a social or cricketing revolutionary - found it necessary to write:

Dearly beloved parsons, if it should be your lot to be at the head of a real cricketing parish, shut your ears to the nonsense which foolish people will try and din into them that cricket promotes drunkenness and rioting ... if you should see a drunken man or two about a cricket ground, you will probably find on enquiry that the offenders are those who are never sober from year's end to year's end.<sup>15</sup>

Despite this resounding assurance, many clergy continued to harbour precisely such concerns.

### **Clergymen and the Promotion of 'Respectable' Cricket**

Clergymen, however, were prominent in cricket's high-level rehabilitation. It was also in 1851 that the Rev. James Pycroft wrote his eulogy to the game. *The Cricket Field* incorporated a scientific approach to playing but more especially it elevated the game from its gambling and drinking associations into a higher sphere, embodying English virtues and benefiting from a classical lineage:

The game of cricket, philosophically considered, is a standing panegyric on the English character: none but an orderly and sensible people would so amuse themselves. It calls into requisition the cardinal virtues, some moralists would say. As

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<sup>14</sup> *Bell's Life*, 10 August 1851.

<sup>15</sup> Frederick Gale, 'The Clergy and Cricket', *John Lilywhite's Cricketers' Companion for 1878*, reproduced in *The All England Cricket and Football Journal*, August 1879.

with the Grecian games of old, the player must be sober and temperate. Patience, fortitude, and self denial, the various bumps of order, obedience and good humour, with an unruffled temper are essential.<sup>16</sup>

Linking the morality claimed for cricket with the ancient Olympic ideal appealed to those of a classical education, who included almost all Anglican clergymen. Pycroft himself was educated at King Edward VI Grammar School, Bath and Trinity College, Oxford.<sup>17</sup> More importantly, it captivated the aspirational middle classes, whose sons were entering the reforming public schools in increasing numbers, gilding a more alluring notion onto their staid values of order, discipline and temperance.

*The Cricket Field* became part of the litany of muscular Christianity, the term being associated a few years later with another clergyman, the Rev. Charles Kingsley. Though Kingsley preferred the term 'Christian manliness', its intention was to unite godliness with masculinity.<sup>18</sup> Kingsley was a Christian Socialist who, moved by the suffering of the 'Hungry Forties', had supported 'moral force' Chartism and concerned himself with sanitary reforms. Kingsley also advocated brisk physical exercise as a way of reinvigorating the Established Church and countering what he saw as the otherworldly and effeminate tendencies of his nemesis, the Anglo-Catholics.<sup>19</sup>

Kingsley was not a proponent of team games. Muscular Christianity, however, was usurped from him. Thomas Arnold, in his efforts to reform Rugby school and integrate the sons of the middle classes into a cultural and political alliance with those of the landed gentry, had more intellectual than physical objectives. Yet, it was Thomas Hughes's less cerebral interpretation of Arnold's Rugby that provided the model for the new public schoolboy in a non-aristocratic but courageous young Englishman. The games-playing *Tom Brown* entranced the newly rich now seeking a more noble cause than trade. The public schools, together with Oxbridge codified sports and rendered them respectable.

The potential effect on churchmen of this conversion as adherents and disseminators of sport was enormous. By the 1870s almost 70 per cent of Anglican clergymen were educated at

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<sup>16</sup> Pycroft, *The Cricket Field*, p. 16.

<sup>17</sup> Gerald M. D. Howat, 'James Pycroft', *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22915>, Accessed 2 August 2009.

<sup>18</sup> Norman Vance, 'Charles Kingsley', *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15617?docPos=2>, Accessed 2 August 2009.

<sup>19</sup> Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning*, p. 207.

public schools now pervaded with games.<sup>20</sup> Until the 1890s, all public school headmasters were clergymen. Frederick Temple, later Archbishop of Canterbury, as headmaster of Rugby from 1859 to 1869, encouraged vigorous exercise and games although these were subordinated to his wider educational reforms.<sup>21</sup> As early as 1858, however, the headmaster of Uppingham, the Rev. Edward Thring, proclaimed that ‘a boy whom we must put at a low level in school redeems his self-respect by the praise bestowed on him as a games-player.’<sup>22</sup> Thring, enormously influential within the realm of the public schools, even claimed that developing ‘manliness’ was vital ‘in forming national character [and making] the English such an adventurous race’. Already sport was being enticingly associated with national superiority. Eton was transformed along Thring’s lines by the Rev. Edmond Warre who inaugurated cricket competitions, promoted rowing and introduced a rifle corps.<sup>23</sup>

Through the influence of ex-public schoolboys, first as students then as staff, sports took root at Oxbridge. At Cambridge, another clergyman, Leslie Stephen, and other kindred spirits, transformed games and manliness into cults. The growing relationship between sport and patriotism was given a more martial aspect when, following the French invasion alarm of 1859, Stephen, as with thousands of others, joined the Volunteers. This was intensified by the military successes of Prussia, then Germany.<sup>24</sup>

Such was the ascendancy of sport at the ancient universities by the late 1860s that Mark Pattison, Rector of Lincoln College, Oxford noted:

the mastery which the athletic furor has established over all minds in this place. They have ceased to be amusements; they are organised into a system of serious occupation ... As soon as the summer weather sets in, the colleges are disorganised; study, even the pretence of it, is at an end. Play is thenceforth the only thought.<sup>25</sup>

A gauge of the extent of this influence on clergy was that a third of all Oxbridge cricket blues between 1860 and 1900 were ordained.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> In 1878, 16,297 of the 23,616 Anglican clergy in England and Wales had been to Oxbridge, Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, pp. 41, 143.

<sup>21</sup> Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning*, pp. 217-20.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 221.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 195-6, 224-5.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 215-6.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 201-2.

<sup>26</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, p. 143.

The Nonconformists with their puritanical heritage had more and bigger obstacles to cross in their acceptance of games. However, the sons of the well-to-do Dissenting ministry were being more and more educated in the public school manner. This was particularly so with the Wesleyans who were closest to the Established Church and usually the wealthiest. Kingswood School, founded by Wesley in 1748, provided the sons of Wesleyan ministers with career opportunities which were largely indistinguishable from those of the public school educated offspring of Anglican clergy.<sup>27</sup> This was true of the Wesleyan boarding school, Woodhouse Grove Academy, founded near Leeds, in 1812.<sup>28</sup> Nonconformists were, moreover, eligible to take degrees at Oxford from 1854 and Cambridge from 1856.

The ministry was increasingly college-educated.<sup>29</sup> At Headingley, also in the Leeds area, a third Wesleyan theological institution was opened in 1869. By this time over half of Wesleyan ministers had attended college. The humbler Methodist denominations started later but began to catch up with the Wesleyans and Old Dissent. The percentages of college-educated Nonconformist ministers between 1880 and 1909 are shown in table 3.1.<sup>30</sup>

**Table 3.1 College-Educated Ministers, 1880-1909**

Denomination	% College
Wesleyan Methodists	90+
Primitive Methodists	77
Bible Christians, MNC, UMFC*	58
Baptists	73
Congregationalists	75

\*MNC = Methodist New Connexion; UMFC = United Methodist Free Church  
The three came together to form the United Methodist Church in 1907.

This was a crucial 30-year period for cricket in Halifax and the Calder Valley and more than 70 clubs were formed by these denominations. Sport had become prominent at the colleges. The Wesleyans' Richmond Theological College instituted games during the 1860s.<sup>31</sup> Methodist theological colleges were playing football tournaments among themselves from the 1890s at the very latest.<sup>32</sup> In 1899, even the Primitive Methodists' College at Manchester's

<sup>27</sup> Kenneth D. Brown, *A Social History of the Nonconformist Ministry in England and Wales 1800-1930* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 92.

<sup>28</sup> *Woodhouse Grove School*, <http://www.woodhousegrove.co.uk/woodhouse/school.asp>, Accessed 10 September 2010.

<sup>29</sup> Brown, *Nonconformist Ministry*, p. 59. College education was, however, a cause of considerable acrimony within Methodism, with a belief that ministers were becoming too fashionable and beguiled by the wealthy to involve themselves in evangelical work. It had been the major cause of the secession of the Wesleyan Methodist Association from the main body in 1835. See Appendix 2 Methodism Divided in Halifax and the Calder Valley.

<sup>30</sup> Figures from Brown, *Nonconformist Ministry*, p. 82.

<sup>31</sup> Currie, *Methodism Divided*, p. 134.

<sup>32</sup> Brown, *Nonconformist Ministry* p 89.



*Alexandrian Magazine* was unashamedly extolling its own prowess in a 6-1 victory over a local tea company in 1899, though - as with the magazine's title - it simultaneously betrayed a diminishing ministerial common touch with its reference to spectators as a 'vulgar mob'.<sup>33</sup>

The Nonconformist ministry was ever more receiving an elite education with its growing emphasis on games. Those ministers, like Jackson, who came to advocate cricket did so based on its reformed image and its vaunted beneficial influence on the conduct of those who took part. More significantly, the many ministers who remained unenthusiastic rarely considered cricket as incompatible with the churches.

### **Virtue out of Necessity**

The third significant event of 1851 was the Census of Religious Worship. Its interpretation by Mann convinced clergymen that they had a more urgent task than modifying the behaviour of working men: bringing them into church in the first place. The census had come in the wake of Chartism, which in the parish of Halifax, as elsewhere in the North, had produced polarised visions of religion in one of which clergymen had been portrayed as inverting Christianity by siding with the rich against the poor.<sup>34</sup> Church extension might re-locate churches physically at the centre of working-class communities but this of itself would not restore trust nor re-establish them as social foci. Consequently, efforts were made at retention and recruitment which included the enticement of social activities, including cricket. An additional clerical aspiration for this was as a deflection from Sabbath-breaking.

As seen, changing middle-class attitudes to leisure furnished an opportunity for clergymen to engage working men through recreation. In Dissent there was a growing discomfort with the most fundamental and distinctive feature of Nonconformist identity, the class meeting.<sup>35</sup> As early as 1866, a class leader, John Bate, felt obliged to defend them in writing.<sup>36</sup> Many of the objections Bate had to counter were social rather than religious: 'I will not meet in class while there are so many inconsistent members; I am as good as most of them that do meet'; 'I have attended class-meeting for years, but could not enjoy it, or derive much good from it'; 'I

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<sup>33</sup> *The Alexandrian (The Magazine of the Primitive Methodist College, Manchester)*, 1899-90 Vol. 3, No. 6 (Nottingham, 1899), RYL MAW, P2c p. 10.

<sup>34</sup> See chapter one, 'Moors, Mills and Ministers'.

<sup>35</sup> Class meetings, Nonconformity's basic unit of organisation and control, entailed the mutual relating of sins and spiritual (and worldly) experiences by the members. It was through attendance at class meetings that the 'class ticket', the requisite of chapel membership, was issued.

<sup>36</sup> John Bate, *Objections to the Methodist Class-Meeting Answered* (London, 1866).

am not good enough to meet in class'; 'I cannot speak my religious experience in the class-meeting'; and 'class-meetings are too expensive'.<sup>37</sup>

Robert Currie saw the class meeting within Methodism gradually replaced as the focal point of fellowship by convivial gatherings and social activities from around 1870, with evangelism declining as respectability rose - a process identified throughout Nonconformity by Alan Gilbert.<sup>38</sup> This view is disputed by David Bebbington, who contended that evangelism was adaptable and remained vibrant, manifesting itself in the chapels' recreational activities and through their auxiliaries.<sup>39</sup> By 1907, the Nonconformists in Halifax were acting on this latter assumption. The Baptist minister, the Rev. J. Miller, stated in his address to the Halifax and District Christian Endeavour Union:

There was one great thing of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that struck everybody, and that was the craving for pleasure, and one thing the Christian Church had to do was to meet this craving. There was a time when people said Christians had nothing to do with pleasure, but they had something to do with it. Pleasure was as much part of their need as liberty. The first great need of the present time was Christian cheerfulness, and if they would do God's great work, they must put the gospel of Jesus Christ in that way, and much good would be done.<sup>40</sup>

Within three months, Miller's prescription was being implemented in cricket with the formation of the Halifax and District Church (Sunday School) League.<sup>41</sup> This was soon followed by the creation of the Halifax and District Nonconformist League. Both leagues commenced playing in 1908.

### **Clerical Involvement in Cricket**

To examine the contribution of clergymen to the area's cricket, the notion of three phases of club formation will again be employed, particularly to help evaluate denominational differences.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., no page numbers.

<sup>38</sup> Currie, *Methodism Divided*, pp. 126-7, Gilbert, *Religion and Society*, p. 182.

<sup>39</sup> Interview with David Bebbington, 24 June 2009, at Conference on Modern British History, University of Strathclyde.

<sup>40</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 4 May 1907.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 7 September 1907.

<sup>42</sup> See chapter two, 'Primary Clubs'. These notional phases are pioneering; the emergence of formal competition; and leagues the norm. There are no absolute chronological divisions, but respectively up to 1880, 1881-1890 and 1891 onwards.

## Phase 1

The Pycroftian version of cricket, with its chivalrous and pastoral imagery, became quickly associated with the Established Church. The evidence for this phase in Halifax and the Calder Valley sustains the commonly held view that Anglican clergymen were ahead of the Nonconformist ministry in supporting cricket. In 1869 the Rev. Elijah Bagott, Vicar of St Thomas's, Clarendon, was president of the Shibden Vale Cricket Club formed by John Lister, then a High Anglican.<sup>43</sup> Although there was no evidence of a muscular Christian invasion by cricketing parsons, three Anglican (only) clerics are known to have played during this period. Two took part in the famous Elland versus Australia fixture of 1878. The Rev. William James Kendle, who appeared for Hampshire five times before his move to Yorkshire, was a reasonable all-rounder with Elland having played for them since at least 1871.<sup>44</sup> He was also club president at the time he played against the Australian tourists.<sup>45</sup> The Rev. E. A. Sandford played mainly for Rastrick United, where he chaired the annual meeting in 1876.<sup>46</sup> With more enthusiasm than ability his selection against the Australians suggests preferential treatment.<sup>47</sup> He did, however, form an occasional team, the Rev. E. A. Sandford's XI.<sup>48</sup> There is no evidence that either he or Kendle promoted church cricket.

Other Anglican clergymen supported cricket, albeit less actively, during these years. They attended cricket club events, though reports indicated more concern with affluent guests and the upholding of social proprieties than with the game itself. The Ovenden Cricket Club's annual dinner held at the White Lion Hotel in November 1873 was typical.<sup>49</sup> Diners included, among other local notables, George Holdsworth Crossley of the carpet-manufacturing dynasty and the brewer John Taylor Ramsden. 'The usual loyal and patriotic toasts were given from the chair [Dr. Steele], and most enthusiastically received.' The Rev. J. G. Bailey 'proposed the Visitors, and expressed his pleasure to see so many gentlemen present.' The Rev. W. Gillmor, Vicar of St Mary's at Illingworth, did declare, however, that he 'liked to encourage any innocent and healthy amusement, and he considered it the duty of a clergyman

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<sup>43</sup> 'Shibden Vale Cricket Club, Rules and Bye-Laws', 1869. CA SH17/JN/278/5. Lister converted to Catholicism in 1871.

<sup>44</sup> Christopher J. Gray, *The Willow and the Cloth: A Compendium of Cricketing Clergymen from the 18th Century* (Eureka via Lismore, NSW, Winsor Editions, 1999), p. 149; *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, 23 September 1871.

<sup>45</sup> *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, 10 June 1878. Kendle was Elland President at least since 1876, *Elland Cricket, Athletic & Bowling Club, 1860-1960, Centenary Brochure* (1960), p. 15.

<sup>46</sup> *Brighouse News*, 7 October 1876.

<sup>47</sup> This also being the assessment of Gray, Gray, *The Willow and the Cloth*, p. 237.

<sup>48</sup> *Brighouse News*, 26 June 1878.

<sup>49</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 8 and 15 November 1873.

to help on all such movements.’<sup>50</sup> For a vicar to say publicly that clerics had a ‘duty’ to do this did demonstrate how far society had relaxed since the days of Chartism.

The following year in the Brighouse area a less formal event revealed Anglican clergy taking honorific roles in high-profile cricket clubs. The Rev. William Leeman as President of Clifton Britannia club, near Brighouse, oversaw a St Valentine’s Day tea and entertainment, also attended by the Rev. C. H. Fleetwood of Rastrick United as well as the Rev. W. J. Price from Mirfield.<sup>51</sup> Clergymen had a particularly strong association with Rastrick, with the Rev. R. G. Irving briefly being president after Fleetwood and before Sandford.<sup>52</sup>

The number of church clubs almost trebled in the eight years between the general arrival of the Saturday half-holiday in 1873 and the end of this phase in 1880.<sup>53</sup> The St Thomas’s club, formed in 1873, was the first known case of a churchman involved in supporting cricket at his church. This was the Rev. Bagott. About three years earlier, a club had formed from its Sunday school, which almost certainly evolved into the senior club.<sup>54</sup> Although Bagott was not an official of the Sunday school team, it is virtually certain that he preceded John Lister as club president.<sup>55</sup> He was connected with cricket over many years, and presided at the cricket club’s 1884 tea party, at which it founded a sister football club with no link to Lister.<sup>56</sup>

An active role in promoting cricket at his church was taken by the Rev. William Davies, the third Anglican clergyman known to have played during this phase. In April 1877, Davies became assistant priest at St Mary’s, Illingworth.<sup>57</sup> Within three months cricket was recorded there for the first time.<sup>58</sup> Davies appears to have been in the muscular Christian mould: he obtained a fourth at Oxford but on 6 July 1878 scored an impressive 35 not out for the church team.<sup>59</sup> Considering the timing, it seems probable that Davies helped give rise to the club. The vicar, the Rev. Gillmor, as seen, had earlier expressed sympathy with the sport and

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> *Brighouse News*, 21 February 1874.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., Rastrick United Concert, 19 December 1874.

<sup>53</sup> 21 church clubs are known to have formed between 1860 and 1872. 39 appeared between 1873 and 1880.

<sup>54</sup> The captain of the Sunday school club, J. H. Wadsworth, played for the senior side in 1873, *Halifax Guardian*, 21 June 1873. The format of the Sunday school club rules and officers virtually replicates that of Lister’s Shibden Vale club of 1869, suggesting that it was about 1870.

<sup>55</sup> Lister was president at least from 1894, as evidenced in the report of the club’s annual dinner, *Halifax Guardian*, 17 March 1894.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Davies attended a farewell service for his predecessor on 22 April 1877, *Halifax Guardian*, 28 April 1877.

<sup>58</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 28 July 1877.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 13 July 1878. His innings alone would have won most matches and probably merited a century on modern pitches.

permitted the use of adjoining church land for the pitch. Though Davies played only three or four matches and left St Mary's in 1879, at least 56 fixtures were played up to 1883 prior to its formal inauguration.<sup>60</sup>

More typically, clergymen's association with church cricket fell within a spectrum composed of three elements: allowing, honorific and overseeing. In 1878, the Vicar of St George's, Ovenden, Rev. Israel Parkinson, became president of the new church's cricket and football club.<sup>61</sup> The club of Brighouse Parish Church Institute had the vicar, Rev. W. Booker as its president and the Rev. George Oldacres, chaired its first AGM, in November 1878.<sup>62</sup> This had been established mainly 'through the kindness of Mr. W. J. Chambers', a captain in the Brighouse Volunteers, revealing a not unique example of how there was some military interest in even low-level cricket in the area during these years.<sup>63</sup>

## Phase 2

Following the boom stimulated by the Saturday half-holiday, there was a comparatively slow expansion in church clubs during this period, 1881 to around 1890. Only 24 new clubs appeared in the decade before the first league commenced in 1891. The clergy's public support of church cricket, however, grew during the 1880s and early 1890s. Anglicans were still very much to the fore with, for example, the Rev. J. Young presiding at the St John's Bradshaw Cricket Club's concert in October 1883, the Rev. Henry Robinson taking the chair for the concert of St Mary's, Luddenden in 1885 and the Rev. Parkinson doing likewise for an entertainment by St George's Cricket Club at Ovenden, two years later.<sup>64</sup> Nonconformist ministers begin to appear but much less frequently with the Rev. S. Pearson of Bramley Lane Independent Chapel presiding at the club's concert in 1883 and the Rev. Carnegie at the club of the Luddenden Foot UMFC Improvement Society in 1892 being examples.<sup>65</sup> These remained the exceptions. Clergymen did not attend the majority of such church cricket events but the number who did suggested that this absence was more due to indifference than to antagonism.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> *Halifax Guardian* and *Halifax Courier*, reports at various dates during this period.

<sup>61</sup> *Early Reminiscences of St George's Church, Ovenden, Halifax* (Halifax, 1923), p. 19. CLH P283 L9304.

<sup>62</sup> *Brighouse News*, 9 November 1878.

<sup>63</sup> *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, 4 February 1879. There were some historical and personal links between Outline Volunteers and the Outlane MNC club. The volunteers were frequently referred to in annual dinners, as at Oldacres' later club at Illingworth in November 1887.

<sup>64</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 20 October 1883; *Halifax Courier*, 21 February 1885; *Halifax Guardian*, 20 October 1887.

<sup>65</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 1 December 1883.

<sup>66</sup> Considering their social status and the centrality of churches, it is highly improbable that the presence of a clergyman would go unreported.

Clergy continued to be significant in club formation but more as enablers than instigators - sympathetic facilitators rather than driving forces. When the club at St Mary's, Luddenden started in April 1884, the vicar, Rev. Henry Robinson, became president and his curate, Rev. F. F. Taylor, who did play at least one match, was its vice president.<sup>67</sup> Both had arrived quite recently at the church and perhaps welcomed an opportunity to invigorate the church, with the club being 'open to members of the Church Institute Sunday School and Church only'.<sup>68</sup> Robinson's enthusiasm, however, seemed insufficient for him to have instigated the club. He appeared keen at the outset, even offering the club 10/- in addition to his annual subscription.<sup>69</sup> Though remaining president his interest seems to have faded rapidly. There were no further references to him, not even to his subscription for the following season.<sup>70</sup> No records exist from then until 1919, when no clergymen were involved even at annual general meetings. A clerical enabling role was nonetheless evident when the then vicar, Rev W. E. Bartlam, was approached to negotiate a five-year lease for the ground on the club's behalf before initiating work on the pitch.<sup>71</sup>

Clergymen were far more active at St Mary's, Illingworth, also officially established in 1884. There they helped put the club, which had started in 1877 following the arrival of the Rev. Davies, onto a firmer footing, creating a more formal link with the church. There seemed to have been difficulties in raising teams following a peak of 16 fixtures in 1879: the number of matches fell to ten in 1880, with none reported the following year and only two in 1882. This was partly explained by a generational change in the sides. A resurgence did take place in 1883, with 15 fixtures reported.<sup>72</sup> That autumn, the forging of a closer relationship with the church was under way.<sup>73</sup> In October the club held a fundraising concert which had very visible clerical support. The event, held in the church schoolroom, included two clergymen from outside the parish, the Rev. R. W. Easton and the Rev. T. M. Tozer, who featured in the

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<sup>67</sup> 'St Mary's Cricket Club, Luddenden, Account Book 1884-5', 28 April 1884, CA SPL:232. Unfortunately, the curate failed to score when opening the batting, *Halifax Guardian*, 26 July 1884.

<sup>68</sup> Rev. Robinson was inducted as vicar in March 1881 and Rev Taylor had arrived in September 1883. *Luddenden Parish Church History and Souvenir 1924*, p. 43, CLH P283/7188.

<sup>69</sup> Subscriptions were 1/-, plus 2d monthly subscriptions. 'Luddenden CC Account Book', 28 April 1884.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 1885.

<sup>71</sup> General Meeting held in August 1919 (no precise date given, but between 22 and 27) 'St Mary's Cricket Club, Luddenden, Minute Book, 1919-28', WA WDP:39/84. The club had joined the local Sowerby Division League by 1896.

<sup>72</sup> O'Keefe, *Start of Play*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12. Officers and committee had already been chosen, a comprehensive set of rules had been drawn up and the first year of club's accounts appeared in October 1884 showing that they had started in October 1883, not February 1884.

singing. The church choir was also present, singing glees, and the concert attracted ‘a large attendance’.<sup>74</sup>

It is uncertain whether clergy or congregation made the overtures in bringing cricket to St Mary’s. The Rev. George Oakley, in his history of the church, refers to the club but gives no indication who initiated it which would be a surprising omission had it been a clergyman.<sup>75</sup> The Rev. Davies played a part, but whether this was pro-active or as an agent of the cricketers is not known. Nonetheless, from 1877 demand was certainly in the ascendancy despite the dips in matches played in 1881 and 1882. When the Rev. Gillmor’s successor, the Rev. George Oldacres, arrived cricket was already well under way at the church and about to embark on its third season.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, Oldacres had a somewhat ambiguous attitude to his younger flock, being described as a ‘deeply religious ... intensely serious man - not always, perhaps, disposed to make full allowance for youthful exuberance’.<sup>77</sup>

Nevertheless, Oldacres did take a keen interest in the church’s cricket team. He had been vice-president of the Brighouse Church Institute Club against which two fixtures were arranged in the year of his arrival at Illingworth.<sup>78</sup> He became president of the new club, a position held by the Vicar of St Mary’s until 1960.<sup>79</sup> He was never directly involved in administering the club, attending meetings rarely and only the higher-profile ones.<sup>80</sup> However, he sought to influence the governance and tone of the club mainly through his curate.

Despite the continued academic focus on the roles of clerics in developing sport for the ordinary man,<sup>81</sup> clergymen in Halifax and the Calder Valley revealed as much apprehension as enthusiasm regarding their clubs. The church or Sunday school membership qualification, universal during the first two phases, could become a crucial area of contest. As early as 1879, at Honley a village to the south of Huddersfield, this had resulted in the club of St

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<sup>74</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 24 November 1883.

<sup>75</sup> Oakley, *Saint Mary’s Illingworth*, p. 99. Oakley tended to emphasise the roles of clergy, patrons and lay hierarchies.

<sup>76</sup> Oldacres was inducted on 1 February 1879, *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>78</sup> Home on 12 July 1879 and Away on 2 August 1879, *Halifax Courier* for those dates.

<sup>79</sup> The last vicar to be club president was Canon C.T.S. Lewis who resigned from the post on 25 May 1960, Kenneth Pearce, *Illingworth St. Mary’s C. C. 1884-1961*, p. 63.

<sup>80</sup> O’Keefe, *Start of Play*, p. 11.

<sup>81</sup> Two such recent works being Parker and Collins, ‘Sport and Christianity’ and McLeod, ‘Sport and Religion in England’.

Mary's breaking its church link.<sup>82</sup> The qualification at Illingworth was ended within four seasons of the club's formal establishment following a debate whose intensity revealed that bigger issues than the church's retention of young men were at stake.

The affair provided a unique case study into the thinking of clergy and the competing array of pressures which they felt themselves under in hosting a sporting activity. It revealed their worries about the control of the club and that the church restriction had acted as a method of social exclusion. This latter point also demonstrated the lack of will for a wider, social control, even had this been seen as desirable. At the same time, during a period in which both Anglicans and Nonconformists were engaged in home missionary work, it raised questions as to how seriously some clergymen took their Christian mission.

The church restriction at Illingworth was not completely abolished. A painstakingly worded amendment to the qualification rule permitted a quarter of members from outside the church, showing that a compromise had had to be made.<sup>83</sup> The church was, after all, the club's landlord. The change had also been accompanied by new restrictive measures. The curate, the Rev. Frederick Hughes, who had been the focus of resistance to the amendment, had then used his sway with the committee to overturn the previously democratic system of admitting new members by a vote of the entire membership, introducing a 'black ball' system administered by the committee alone, which had taken on a more middle-class balance since 1884.<sup>84</sup> Nor could non-churchgoers become officers or serve on the committee.

Cricketing ambition had provoked the qualification change. The acquisition of a new ground (still on the church's land) held the prospect of better quality fixtures and the decision to play in the inaugural Halifax Parish Challenge Cup highlighted a need to improve player strength. The prospect of formally competitive cricket itself caused no apparent disquiet to the clergy. At the club's annual dinner held on 8 November that year, the curate considered entry to the knockout competition as a mark of progress, 'proof that the committee saw the club of some standing now.'<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> 'Honley CC: The Early Years', *C&K Website*  
[http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/southkirklees/honley/docs/honley\\_theearlyyears.pdf](http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/southkirklees/honley/docs/honley_theearlyyears.pdf), Accessed 20 September 2010.

<sup>83</sup> O'Keefe, *Start of Play*, pp. 19-20. This is discussed in chapter seven, 'Rules'.

<sup>84</sup> The original committee of six had only one member in a non-manual occupation, that of 1887 had three and a rule change then also allowed the three officers, who were of a conservative inclination, to be considered as part of the committee for voting purposes.

<sup>85</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 12 November 1887. Hughes did, though, refer to the competition as the more noble-sounding 'Halifax Charity Cricket Cup'.



This occasion, held less than three weeks after the rule change, provided a remarkable sequel to the events, throwing light on the attitudes of the clergy. The Rev. Oldacres, the club president, occupied the top table with wealthy church members including the brewer John Taylor Ramsden and the mill owner Paul Speak. The proceedings were extremely formal and patriotic with toasts to the royal family, the bishops and clergy and the Volunteer movement, with *Rule Britannia* and the National Anthem being sung. Following the presentation of club prizes, Oldacres was reported as stating that:

he and his curate would do all in their power to assist the club all they could. He thought clubs like theirs, in connection with a church, helped to bridge the imagined gulf between the clergy and the young men, and also broke the reserve which sometimes existed between them. He gave some encouraging advice to the younger members, and hoped they would stick together. They intended to keep the club thoroughly respectable, and only admitted those who would behave themselves in a decorous manner.

The clergy would assist cricket but their support was very qualified indeed. Oldacres' speech implied a hope that the younger members would be retained in the church through the cricket club. He acknowledged that difficulties did exist between clerics and young men - the very group that the churches needed to retain and, if possible, recruit. Oldacres showed that his belief that church cricket clubs had a role in resolving these problems was a widely held one. At the same time he was determined to dictate what sort of young men they must be to join the club: they had to be those whom he considered 'decorous'.

Oldacres, like Jackson in Brighouse, revealed the boundaries of the clerical blessing for cricket. The vicar would not have prodigal sons in the cricket club. It requires no leap of imagination to adjudge that he did not want them in the church, either. The imperative of respectability outweighed not only that of cricketing ability but also that of Christian mission. The original qualification is rightly understood as a means of retention and recruitment for the church. But it also had precisely the opposite purpose: *exclusion*. If church membership were no longer to be a guardian of respectability in the cricket club, then another sentinel was required. This is why the Rev. Hughes was so intent on the black ball system. Like the new restriction itself, however, the veto proved irrelevant.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> No cases are recorded of anyone being black-balled or of referrals to the maximum 25% outsiders rule.

The wider context might not have justified such an apparently unchristian attitude but it assists in comprehending such clerical thinking. At a time of increasing political democracy rank-and-file club members would not have welcomed losing their right to elect new members. Nonetheless, although they may not have wished to exclude the merely 'indecorous' they were very unlikely to have wanted rougher elements entering the club. Based on interviews when researching inter-war Bolton, Jack Williams found that church cricketers were clearly seen as belonging to the 'respectable' sections of the working class with 'Few "boozers" or "roughs"'.<sup>87</sup> The vicar's comments were more probably to reassure the patrons and guests of the top table particularly Ramsden, the church's main patron, who was due to finance a new chancel and side chapel for the church the following year.<sup>88</sup>

The qualification debate took place alongside a longer-running dispute over who could attend the church itself. This was the socially divisive matter of pew rent abolition which dragged on until 1894, requiring two vestry meetings and assemblies of the entire congregation for its resolution.<sup>89</sup> Oakley recorded that there were still many 'to whom the idea of possessing their own seats appealed strongly'. He presented the Rev. Oldacres' views in such ambiguous terms that his conclusion of the vicar's being 'of course, strongly in favour of the reform' lacked conviction.<sup>90</sup> Any anxieties Oldacres had would perhaps have been alleviated by the reform being finally achieved chiefly by Ramsden and his fellow churchwarden.<sup>91</sup>

There was also a background to the qualification amendment of increasing industrial unrest and the stirrings of labour politics which, particularly considering their close relationship with local employers, may well have perturbed the clergymen and made them fear a loss of control of the cricket club. Another speech at the annual dinner expressed concerns about the economy with the mill owner, Speak, calling for protection against foreign competition, and hoping that the district 'would be able to hold its own in trade, and prosper'. Trade, however, was not prospering and this was causing difficulties for workers whose political outlook was beginning to transform. Three years earlier, in addition to further franchise extension, there had been the establishment of the Social Democratic Federation and William Morris's Socialist League, and locally the Halifax Fabian Society had been formed. Deteriorating labour relations in the Halifax district were to lead to the formation of the Trades Council in

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<sup>87</sup> Jack Williams, 'Cricket and Christianity in Lancashire, 1900-1939', *The Local Historian*, Vol. 25, No. 2 (May 1995), 102-6.

<sup>88</sup> Oakley, *Saint Mary's Illingworth*, p. 92.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94. Pew rents have been cited, especially by Horace Mann, as excluding the poor from worship. See also Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, p. 49 and chapter two, 'Primary Clubs'.

<sup>90</sup> Oakley, *The Story of Saint Mary's*, p. 94.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.* Ellis Hodgson was the other churchwarden.

1889 and moves to working-class political representation with the foundation of the Halifax Independent Labour Party in 1893.<sup>92</sup>

Moreover, anxieties over the social and political order were contemporaneously being roused by occurrences on the national stage. Prolonged economic and agricultural depression had led to serious disturbances taking place in London during the summer of 1886 and throughout all of 1887. The demonstrations were supported by the Marxist Social Democratic Federation and fears of insurrection were evoked by an intensification of unrest during autumn 1887. Michael Fellman saw these fears exploited by the London police commissioner when, within a month of the events at Illingworth, matters reached their climax in ‘Bloody Sunday’ in Trafalgar Square, where police attacked unemployed demonstrators and two men later died.<sup>93</sup> *The Times* described the meeting as composed of ‘the disaffected and turbulent ... Socialists ... and Radical roughs’.<sup>94</sup> Locally, the Tory *Halifax Guardian* spoke of ‘designing demagogues who now wantonly get up the demonstrations of the so-called unemployed ... who somewhat blindly follow them’, and of ‘the wild and unreasonable votaries of Jacobinism’.<sup>95</sup> It is likely that such febrile reporting in precisely those newspapers that Oldacres and Hughes were likely to read coloured their reaction to the abolition of the cricket club’s church qualification. The clergy must have sensed a revolution of sorts within the club. The relationship of church, cricket and politics has been considered by Williams during a period in which social class was also a crucial element.<sup>96</sup> Williams held that church sports clubs reinforced a respectable/non-respectable split within working men which inhibited class solidarity.<sup>97</sup> There was though, even in these unsettled years, no indication at Illingworth of any clerical strategy of divide and rule. They simply wished to exclude those whom they considered undesirable. Moreover, the politically conscious working classes were not generally considered as ‘roughs’.

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<sup>92</sup> See Patricia A. Dawson, ‘The Halifax Independent Labour Movement: Labour and Liberalism 1890-1914’, in Laybourn and James (eds), *The Rising Sun of Socialism*, pp. 45-74.

<sup>93</sup> Major General Sir Charles Warren deployed police and troops with live ammunition and, Fellman argued, sought to provoke a clash with demonstrators. Michael Fellman, ‘Bloody Sunday and News from Nowhere’, *Journal of the William Morris Society*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Spring 1990), 9-18.

<sup>94</sup> *The Times*, 14 November 1887.

<sup>95</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 17 November 1887.

<sup>96</sup> This is not to suggest that the working classes could be assumed to be either Labour or Socialist. Indeed, Martin Pugh has argued that such was the persistence of working-class Conservative voters up to the Second World War that Labour had to adopt on-going strategies and policies shaped to appeal to it electorally. Martin Pugh, ‘The Rise of Labour and the Political Culture of Conservatism, 1890–1945’, *The Historical Association*, Vol. 87, No. 288 (October 2002), 514-37. Nonetheless, working-class unity did occur in response to events such as Bloody Sunday’ and the 1926 General Strike when harsh inequities between capital and labour were revealed.

<sup>97</sup> Williams, ‘Churches, Sport and Identities in the North’, pp. 132-4.

If the clergy were endeavouring to influence cricketers' politics in a conservative direction they were not very effective. At Illingworth an individual but significant example illustrates this. Harry Hustwick who was 15 or 16 at the time of the qualification change was to become the dominant figure at the club for four decades from the 1890s and one of the most influential figures in local and regional cricket. He was a staunch member of the congregation and endeavoured to ensure that players maintained some link with the church.<sup>98</sup> On the death of the Rev. Oldacres in 1913, Hustwick noted 'how keenly the loss was felt and how greatly his presence and lively interest in the welfare of the club would be missed in the future'.<sup>99</sup> Nonetheless, Hustwick was anything but politically deferential. He canvassed for his socialist brother as Labour candidate for Illingworth at the 1906 municipal elections, with John Hustwick urging 'the advantage of a more direct representation of workers. The toilers ... ought to be more alive to their own interests, and refuse to be represented by men who were emphatically opposed.'<sup>100</sup> Moreover, Harry Hustwick was instrumental in a practical demonstration of fair play, which would not have endeared him to some muscular Christians, when the club subsidised striking miners at Thornhill Cricket Club for a Yorkshire Council fixture. Thornhill's historian wrote:

During the 1926 general strike, money was scarce for the majority of the team, being miners. The first team was down to play Illingworth at Illingworth. The visit was only made possible for them when they received a note from a Mr. Harry Hustwick, a real sport, and which read 'Tell your lads all is in order. Tea and fare will be all right.'<sup>101</sup>

It is not known if ministers had any involvement in the formation of Stones Wesleyans' club, also in 1884, but if they had hopes of employing cricket as a diversion from challenging the political or industrial *status quo* they would have been very disappointed.<sup>102</sup> The church's Mutual Improvement Society had around ten members in common with the cricket team. The more advanced views can be considered as reasonably representative of the club. Irrespective of their attitudes, which ranged from very conservative, through shades of liberalism to Socialist, the membership gave no indication of being subject to easy persuasion in any

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<sup>98</sup> According to a club brochure of 1961, 'the congregation for the Church Anniversary each year, always had a strong element of cricketers in its midst and that Mr. Hustwick insisted on this minimum qualification.' Pearce, Illingworth *St. Mary's*, p. 7.

<sup>99</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 2', 3 October 1913.

<sup>100</sup> Reports of the address and nomination of John William Hustwick, *Halifax Guardian* 20 and 27 October 1906. Hustwick's brother was defeated by the Liberal candidate, *Halifax Guardian* 3 November 1906.

<sup>101</sup> Herbert Wood, *A History of Thornhill Cricket and Bowling Club* (1987), p. 14.

<sup>102</sup> No club records are available until 1914 nor any reports of formal functions.

direction. A significant illustration was its debate on the bitter strike between December 1890 and April 1891 at Lister's Manningham Mills in Bradford, the failure of which led to the foundation of the Independent Labour Party in January 1893.<sup>103</sup> The Society was supportive of the workers. Lister & Co

employs ... about six thousand hands of whom one third are out on strike owing to a proposed reduction of wage with no reduction of work. The Directors state that the reason for their action is owing to the passing of the bill in the United States known as the McKinley Bill which means an increase of duty to be paid on goods entering the States ... So they make it appear that with paying the extra duty there will be little or no profit left.<sup>104</sup>

The Society also revealed an important way in which muscular Christianity facilitated the spread of popular sport. Two years after the cricket club commenced, an article (mainly seeking to justify the more contentious football) argued that

Every man and woman require exercise for the proper development of both body and mind ... to have healthy bodies and to get the latter we must have plenty of physical exercise. Our Universities and great public schools know this, and consequently encourage these games.<sup>105</sup>

Without resorting to the more extravagant moralistic claims often deployed by clerics and reformers, the cult of games provided ammunition to help break down residual grassroots Nonconformist opposition to sport. Though muscular Christianity had comparatively little effect as a stimulant of popular sport, it could operate as a lubricant.

The paper, however, also illustrated the need for caution when taking clerical attitudes as representative of congregations as well as a reason for the Society's articles remaining anonymous:

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<sup>103</sup> Keith Laybourn, "One of Little Breezes Blowing Across Bradford": The Bradford Independent Labour Party and Trade Unionism c. 1890-1914' in Keith Laybourn and David James (eds) , *The Rising Sun of Socialism: The Independent Labour Party in the Textile District of the West Riding of Yorkshire between 1890 and 1914* (The West Yorkshire Archive Service, 1991), pp. 9-10.

<sup>104</sup> 'Stones MIS Gazette', 'A member of the Class', 1891 (no exact date).

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 'A Non Player', 'Football and Gambling', 4 December 1886.

A few weeks ago one of our ministers denounced from the pulpit the game of football saying it was mean low detestable etc, I think sometimes that ministers have an unfair advantage over their congregations when preaching as they can put forward what ever they like in the pulpit without fear of contradiction.

Moreover, a slightly earlier paper had brought to light a very potent sporting force even within chapels at the time:

Football is so attractive that it draws several members of different denominations to spend all their hours thinking about football matters, even at the house of God they will be saying one to another how did Halifax go on yesterday, and a good many other things which ought not to be mentioned especially on the sabbath day.<sup>106</sup>

This attitude might have been regrettable, and in context unseemly, but it penetrated to the heart of much popular sport, where results and local success mattered. By 1892 the Sunday school had formed a football club.<sup>107</sup>

One powerful stimulant of popular cricket offered a further potential predicament for clergymen: the emergence of leagues. This highly competitive form, often involving professionals and expenses and attracting tribal spectators, was at odds with the ethos of the game pervading the higher echelons of society. Although Duncan Stone has found that cricket was competitive in the south, it was less so when played by, or dominated by, the social elite and consequently leagues were rare. In Surrey, an area largely unimpeded by social legislation and without the competition of industrialists' largesse, this was due to the domination of the Club Cricket Conference by members of the higher classes and working men lacking the influence of their counterparts in the Yorkshire manufacturing areas.<sup>108</sup>

### **Napier and League Cricket**

The clergymen of Halifax and the Calder Valley evidently found no difficulties with leagues despite their muscular Christian pronouncements. The Rev. John Napier demonstrated how clergy could reconcile 'establishment' cricket with a largely working-class version little

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 'A Spectator', November 1886 (no day given).

<sup>107</sup> 'Stones Wesleyan Sunday School Minutes, 1883-94', CA WYC:1436/1/2, 30 September 1892.

<sup>108</sup> Duncan Stone, 'Cricket's Regional Identities: The Development of Cricket and Identity in Yorkshire and Surrey', *Sport in Society*, Vol. 11, No. 5 (Sep. 2008), 501–516, especially 505-8.

concerned with reforming morals or social elevation. Napier showed that the diffusion of cricketing values took place in an upward as well as downward direction.

Napier would appear to have been the classical public school muscular Christian, expected to have championed friendly cricket - cricket for its own sake. He captained Marlborough school and only injury prevented him achieving a blue at Cambridge. In 1888 he took 3 for 54 and 4 for 48 against the Australian tourists playing for his native Lancashire.<sup>109</sup> In October 1890, he became Vicar of St Peter's Anglican Church at Walsden in the Calder Valley close to the Lancashire border.<sup>110</sup> The following April he chaired an inter-denominational meeting in support of Stevenson's Sunday closing bill for public houses stating that it 'would be a great help to a number of weak-kneed men – young men especially – by removing out of their way a strong temptation when they are least able to resist – that is when time was hanging out of their pockets.'<sup>111</sup>

Despite the dubious conflation of drink with sin, Napier was no hostage to respectability, being 'not ashamed to confess [to cynics] that they [drinkers] were the people he would like to get, and that they were the people his Master bade him to go out to seek and compel to come in. It was the sinners they wanted to get hold of'.<sup>112</sup> Napier, unlike the Vicar of Illingworth, wanted to redeem the 'sinners' by including them in his church.

Notwithstanding the classical Pycroftian background Napier played league cricket for non-church side Walsden, alongside its professional, and became captain. He was also a vice-president of the club and the founding president of the Central Lancashire League in 1893.<sup>113</sup> This same year, Napier's church of St Peter's formed a cricket club.

Presiding at a meeting of Nantwich Cricket Club in 1895 to decide whether it should remain in the Staffordshire League, leading amateur batsman and President of the Lancashire County Cricket and Football Clubs, A. N. Hornby stated that

the league system produced betting and ruined sport. It was the ruin of football, and if it continued would be the ruin of cricket. From his position he knew the temptations offered to professionals to take part in league cricket, and they were simply disgraceful. He was so opposed to the league system that he had been compelled to

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<sup>109</sup> Gray, *The Willow and the Cloth*, p.195.

<sup>110</sup> He was inducted on Saturday 4 October 1890. *Todmorden Advertiser and Hebden Bridge Newsletter*, 10 October 1890.

<sup>111</sup> *Todmorden Advertiser*, 16 April 1891.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup> Heywoods, *Cloth Caps*, p. 172.

decline to take part in league matches.... The system was also responsible for a deal of rowdyism when an umpire failed to please a crowd. – It was decided by a large majority to withdraw from the league.<sup>114</sup>

Napier demonstrated that he had no qualms about responding to this assault on league cricket, and in at least equally belligerent terms. He

did not think Mr. Hornby in his criticisms had given full credit to league cricket ... Every club was stronger by reason of it, and [the counties] would be able to glean many [cricketers] from such clubs. Then Mr Hornby said league cricket encouraged betting. He (Napier) could not tell whether this was so or not; he discouraged it all he could, but if it was so he could only say it was natural, for this reason - the games were full of excitement [but betting] was not essential to league cricket ... Mr. Hornby further stated that rowdyism had increased with league cricket, but that had not been his experience ... and he thought if Mr Hornby, while pointing out the dangers, had also marked some of its good points he would have done better.<sup>115</sup>

In 1891 the Calder Valley League was formed mainly for church and Sunday school clubs. By 1908 the West Vale Baptist League, the Anglican Halifax and District Church (Sunday School) League and the Halifax and District Nonconformist League had also been established. There is, though, no evidence of clerical involvement in promoting or administering these, or indeed of any other of the area's leagues.

### **Phase 3**

Similar clerical indifference had been shown ten years earlier at Outlane Methodist New Connexion whose cricket club was formed during the phase in which leagues became the norm in the area. Undoubtedly the congregation rather than the clergy provided the impetus. An Outlane team involving chapelgoers and future members of the new club was playing from at least 1874 until 1889.<sup>116</sup> The chapel's minister, Rev. Lea, raised no objections at the trustees' meeting which sanctioned the club's rules, demonstrating that by the end of the nineteenth century, chapel provision of cricket was no longer contentious.<sup>117</sup> There is no

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<sup>114</sup> *Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, 2 October 1895.

<sup>115</sup> *Todmorden Advertiser and Hebden Bridge Newsletter*, 11 October 1895.

<sup>116</sup> See chapter two, 'Primary Clubs'.

<sup>117</sup> 'Outlane Bethel Methodist New Connexion Chapel Trustees' Minute Book, 1894-1928', 8 April 1897, KA WYK 1089 1/1/2.



evidence of any further clerical involvement. The club was proposed by a trustee and church leader, Ben Hoyle, who had played for Outlane Wellington.

Stones Wesleyans, though playing since 1884, did not keep minutes until October 1914. These contain no references to a minister even in an honorific capacity.<sup>118</sup> There was no formal connection with the Sunday school.<sup>119</sup> An obituary of December 1938 testified that at least as late as 1910 the club was ‘was still officially linked to Stones Methodist Chapel’ but there is no indication of clerical involvement.<sup>120</sup> On the evidence of Outlane and Stones, from the turn of the century, Methodist ministers were largely indifferent to chapel cricket, not perceiving it as an evangelical tool.

Even at a time of crisis for Sunday schools there was little active clerical interest in their cricket clubs. When that of Mytholmroyd Wesleyans was formed during 1893, entering the Calder Valley League in 1894, its minister, the Rev. W. Hothersall appeared on neither general nor selection committees. Very significantly though, as boldly proclaimed on its fixture card, he became president, embodying the club’s link to the chapel.<sup>121</sup> He also presided at the club’s tea and concert held in the schoolroom in October 1895.<sup>122</sup>

At the Sunday school’s AGM in 1890, the then minister, the Rev. George Quiggin had voiced a serious contemporary concern in a paper entitled ‘our elder scholars, can they be retained?’<sup>123</sup> In 1893, at the AGM chaired by Quiggin’s successor, the Rev. John Fordham, another paper, ‘Sunday School work, its object & what it ought to be’, had led to a lively debate, which was immediately followed by ‘a long consultation ... as to organizing a Cricket Club in connection with the school ... *if we should have an application from the scholars ... (The rules thereof to have the sanction of the Sunday School committee).*’<sup>124</sup>

The chapel’s ministers were very conscious of the Sunday school’s problems, which put in jeopardy the next generation of church members. There were worries about falling numbers, absenteeism and bad behaviour among scholars and concerns over the reliability of

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<sup>118</sup> ‘Stones Wesleyan Cricket Club Minutes, 1914- 1941’.

<sup>119</sup> The only reference to the club in the Sunday school minutes is one seeking permission to use the cricket field for scholars to play in at Whitsuntide, 1884. ‘Stones Wesleyan Sunday School AGM Minutes, 1846-94’, CA WYC:1436/1/1; ‘Stones Wesleyan Sunday School Minutes, 1883-94’, CA WYC:1436/1/2, 4 May 1884.

<sup>120</sup> Obituary of Miss Selina Barrett, President of Stones Wesleyan CC, *Halifax Courier and Guardian*, 28 December 1938.

<sup>121</sup> Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Sunday School Cricket Club Fixture Cards, 1894-2001’, 1894, CA WYC/1332/1/1.

<sup>122</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 26 October 1895.

<sup>123</sup> ‘Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Sunday School Teachers’ Meetings Minute Book, 1883-1902’, 4 April 1890 CA MY/7.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid*, 31 March 1893. My italics.

teachers.<sup>125</sup> It was not, however, a clergyman who instigated this particular solution. The club was proposed, not by the Rev. Fordham, but by Ernest Smith (who joined the Team Choosing Committee) and seconded by S. C. Moore (who was to become a vice president).

On this occasion, the impetus for the club came from the Sunday school leadership rather than the cricketers - but not from the clergy. Until at least the 1930s, membership was dependent on regular attendance of Sunday school or chapel.<sup>126</sup> The minister was always club president until the 1970s, when an incumbent refused the role.<sup>127</sup> Mytholmroyd exemplified the type of chapel community that came to support innumerable social ventures with little dependence on individual ministers.

Sunday schools were immensely popular in 1900, with at least 5 million scholars.<sup>128</sup> However, Callum Brown found that by that date membership had peaked even in absolute terms.<sup>129</sup> The 1870 and 1880 Education Acts removed their attraction as providers of secular education leaving them more explicitly as nurseries for the church or chapel. As at Mytholmroyd, the real battle was for the older scholars: young men at the crossroads of entering church membership or leaving religious life altogether.

In 1902, statistics of the Yorkshire Association of Sunday School Unions 'showed that there was a terrible and increasing lapse of the older scholars'.<sup>130</sup> Later that year a cricket club was founded by Inchfield Bottom UMFC Sunday School in Walsden. The minister became a vice-president but once more took no active role. The club entered teams in the Calder Valley and Todmorden and District leagues. Unlike Mytholmroyd, membership was unrestricted, though officers and committee had to belong to the Sunday school or chapel. In a club that was to soon be struggling as equally as its parent Sunday school, it is perhaps surprising that the ministers took no real interest.

### **Clergy or Congregation?**

Church cricket in Halifax and the Calder Valley was driven more by congregations than clergymen. Elsewhere, this debate has produced a range of findings. Sandiford stressed the

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<sup>125</sup> Ibid, 31 March, 30 July, 29 October, 25 November and 31 December 1893.

<sup>126</sup> Rules 3 and 13, 'Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Sunday School Cricket Club. Rules', CA WYC: 1332/4/1/1.

<sup>127</sup> Written and oral evidence of Stuart Greenwood, former player and historian of Mytholmroyd Methodist Cricket Club (formerly Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Sunday School CC).

<sup>128</sup> Currie, Gilbert and Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers*, p. 86.

<sup>129</sup> Brown found this to be between 1895 and 1900; Callum G. Brown, *Religion and Society in Twentieth Century Britain* (Pearson Education, London, 2006), p. 46.

<sup>130</sup> Rev. Carey Bonner, General Secretary, speaking at The 46<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the Yorkshire Association of Sunday School Unions 31 March 1902, *Halifax Guardian*, 5 April 1902.

role of clerics. Richard Holt discovered in Birmingham that in the majority of sports clubs the impetus came from the congregation.<sup>131</sup> Williams, addressing the inter-war period, found that there was insufficient evidence to decide.<sup>132</sup>

The evidence from the contemporary records of clubs examined is indeed mixed. Hugh McLeod found early church cricket in Northampton started informally by the young men themselves from Sunday school classes.<sup>133</sup> This was probably the case in this corner of the West Riding, as with Providence Independent in Elland. For more formal church clubs, sufficient demand was a prerequisite. Leisure time was too precious to devote to a pastime for which there was no existing enthusiasm. An appetite for cricket was far more likely to have been triggered by the mushrooming popularity and coverage of sport, both locally and nationally, than by the exhortations of clergymen.

The evidence from the area supports the view that Anglican clergymen were more likely to have initiated a cricket team than Nonconformist ministers. The Rev. Davies at St Mary's, Illingworth, was the likeliest candidate for having taken the lead. The curate at St Mary's, Luddenden, the Rev. Fisher, took part in one game which demonstrated an active acceptance of cricket. And the Rev. Bagott at St Thomas's had links with the game prior to the church club.

Within Nonconformity, Roomfield Baptists, near Todmorden, provided unusually explicit evidence of where the initiative came from for cricket. A contemporary history of the chapel noted that, with regard to its Sunday school cricket and football clubs:

When the young men applied to the School Committee for permission to use the name of the school, their request was granted, with the understanding that the school was not to be considered in any way responsible for the working of the clubs.<sup>134</sup>

There is no evidence at the Methodist primary clubs of ministers being active in the creation of their cricket clubs. Outlane MNC Cricket Club was, in reality, attaching itself to the chapel. At Stones Wesleyans there is no contemporary material on which to make a firm judgement. The two Methodist Sunday school clubs while, as would be expected with

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<sup>131</sup> Holt, *Sport and the British*, p. 138.

<sup>132</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, pp. 149-50.

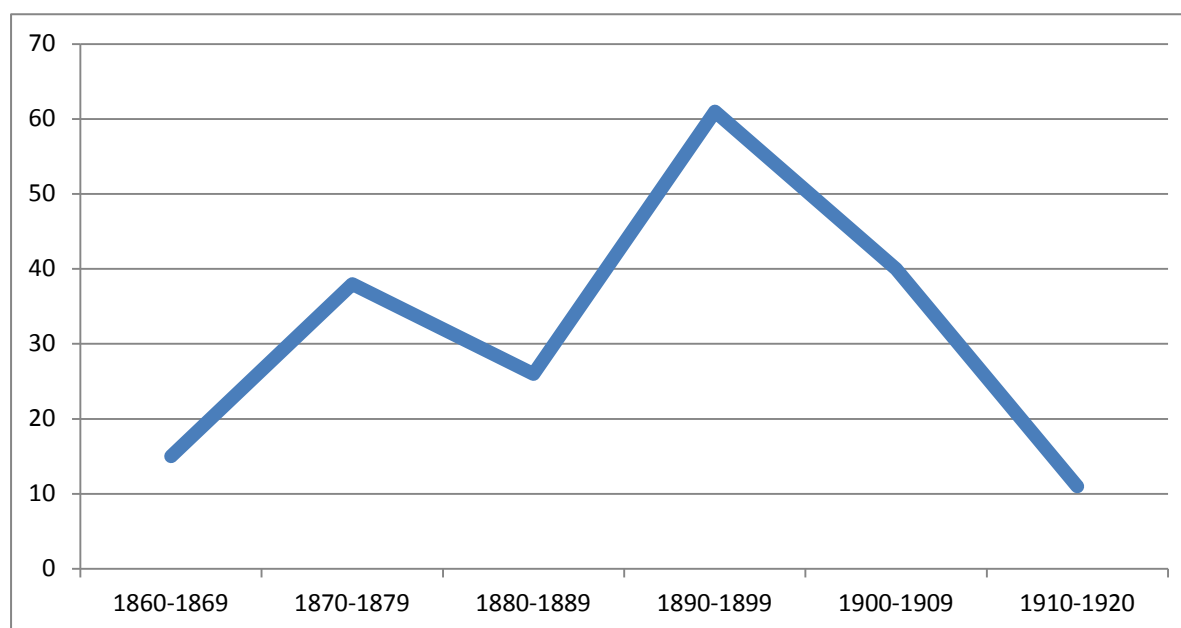
<sup>133</sup> Hugh McLeod, 'Thews and Sinews', p. 31.

<sup>134</sup> Henry Briggs, *History of the Roomfield Baptist Church, Todmorden* (Todmorden, 1908), p. 52. CLH 286 BRI.

younger members, having a stronger element of promotion through ‘supply’, were nevertheless not products of ministerial inspiration.

Two compelling pieces of indirect evidence further tip the balance in favour of congregational rather than clerical initiative - demand not supply. First, church cricket’s period of greatest club creation was during the 1890s and 1900s, see fig 3.1.

**Fig 3.1 Numbers of New Church Cricket Clubs Formed by Decade, 1860-1920**



This coincided with the arrival of the leagues, with fourteen appearing between 1891 and 1908.<sup>135</sup> Local sports historian, Andrew Hardcastle, argues that leagues were a consequence of a ‘thirst for more competitive cricket’ whetted by Halifax’s 1878 and 1886 Yorkshire Cup successes at rugby; the arrival of knockout cricket in the Heavy Woollen District (1883), Huddersfield (1886) and Halifax (1888); and the formation of leagues in neighbouring towns from 1890.<sup>136</sup> Rob Light found that these new formal competitions carried the sporting genes of older contests in industrial Yorkshire:

the compelling competitive dynamics that had marked the challenge matches were reflected in the new regulated structure of cricket which developed in the region. Clubs representing virtually every community in the West Riding flocked to join the new cup knockout and league competitions that were established during the last decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>137</sup>

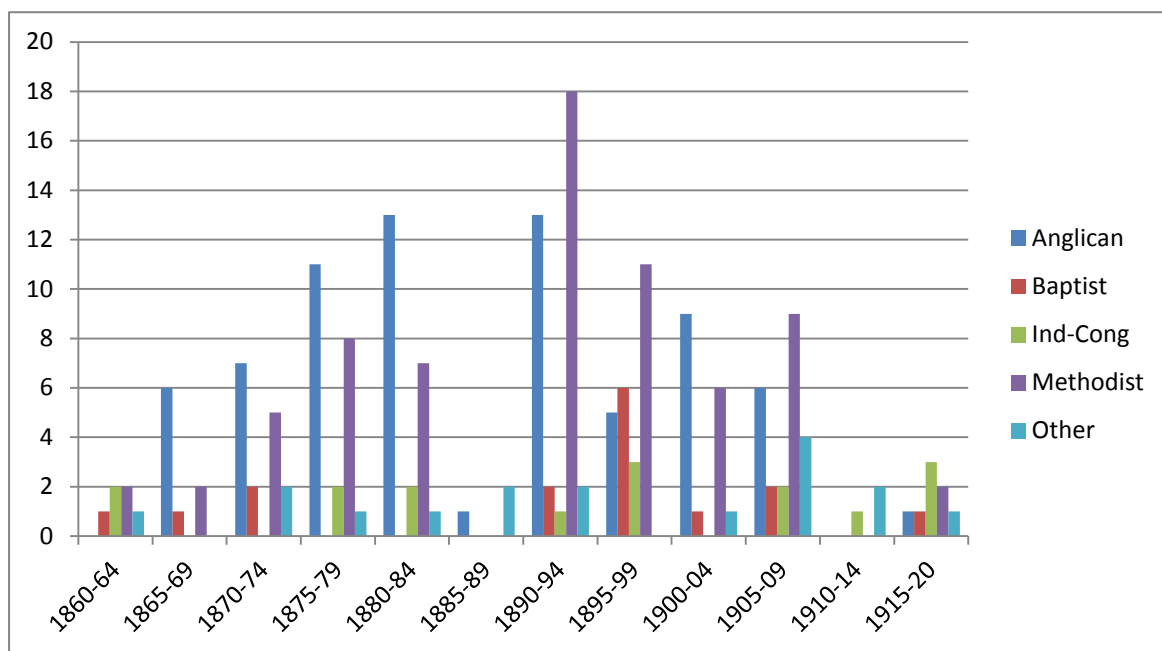
<sup>135</sup> See Appendix 3 Leagues Formed in Halifax and the Calder Valley, 1891-1916.

<sup>136</sup> Hardcastle, *Lost*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>137</sup> Light, ‘Cricket’s Forgotten Past’, p. 151.

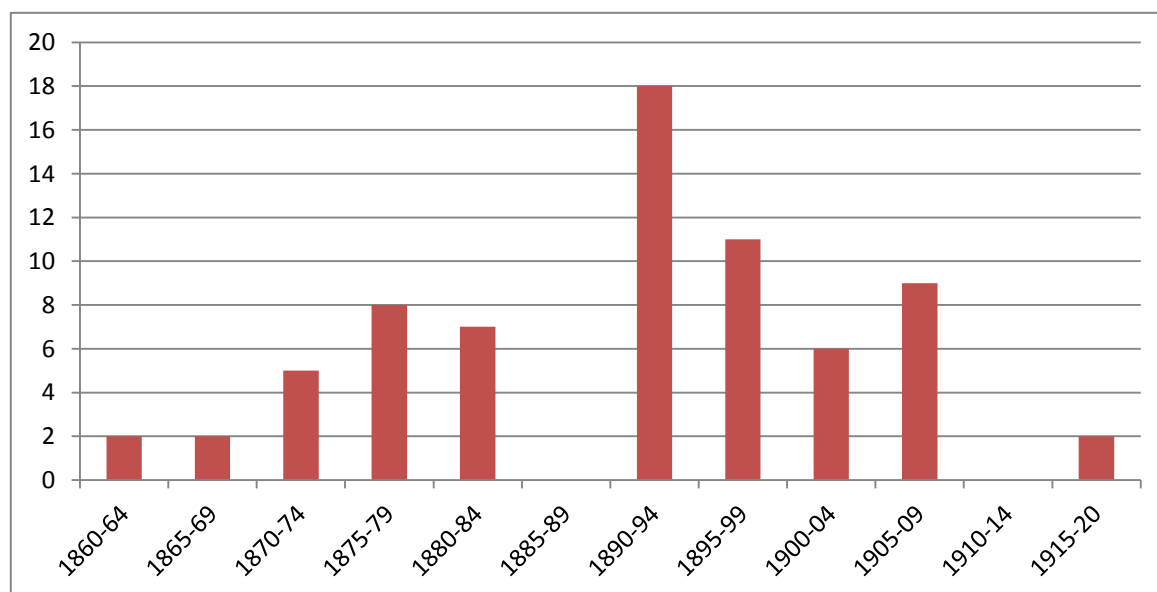
Factory Saturday early closing had stimulated an earlier spurt in club creation in the 1870s, with a dip during the 1880s followed by the league boom from the 1890s. The formation of clubs by denomination show that, although the very earliest were Nonconformist - all bar one around Todmorden, which benefited earliest from the Saturday half-holiday - the Anglicans were overall first off the mark, with a general boom during the birth of leagues, see fig 3.2.

**Fig 3.2 Five-Yearly Formation of Church Cricket Clubs by Denomination, 1860-1920**



This spurt was particularly marked for the Methodists, with their usually later acceptance of sport, see fig 3.3.

**Fig 3.3 Five-Yearly Formation of New Methodist Cricket Clubs, 1860-1920**



Hugh McLeod, in his study in Northampton, found that Nonconformists did not generally start to come out in favour of chapel sport until 1890, this being largely echoed in the debates of the Mutual Improvement Societies of Stones and Mytholmroyd Wesleyans.<sup>138</sup> This, though, did nothing to blunt their enthusiasm for the leagues.

The sharp growth between 1890 and 1899 shows the start of league formation and that of 1905-09 covers the period when the Nonconformist League was started - in 1908. In comparison to those of the Established Church, the generally later growth of Methodist Clubs is quite pronounced. In the 31 years before the area's first league, 38 Anglican cricket clubs appeared compared to 26 Methodist. In the next 18 years, the figures were 33 and 41 respectively, with the Methodists almost catching up. The inaugural season of the Nonconformist League - in 1908 - led to the formation of four new Methodist clubs, with another new one joining the following season.<sup>139</sup> Additionally, two other new Nonconformist clubs were formed to enter the league in 1908 and at least one club revived.<sup>140</sup>

Sandiford has stated that:

It is quite clear ... that muscular Christianity gave cricket a stimulus and a momentum which sustained it over a considerable timespan. It gave rise immediately to a huge cricket explosion which saw the multiplication of clubs at all levels ... and professional leagues sprang up in the north ....<sup>141</sup>

However, Sandiford bases this judgement almost exclusively on the cricket played and dominated by elites, that is the 'first-class', public school and university game.<sup>142</sup> Industrial Halifax and the Calder Valley showed that cricket, including church cricket, was given rise to, not through one simultaneous 'explosion' ignited by muscular Christianity, but largely through two temporally distinct factors. The first was opportunity, provided by the Saturday half-holiday. The second was motive: competitive rivalry, embodied in the leagues, which, far from being a consequence of the downward diffusion of muscular Christianity, were

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<sup>138</sup> McLeod, 'Thews and Sinews', p. 3; 'Stones MIS Gazette', 'Mytholmroyd MIS Minutes'.

<sup>139</sup> These were Boothtown UMC, Hipperholme Wesleyans, Mount Tabor Wesleyans, Ovenden Bethel UMC and Hanover UMC.

<sup>140</sup> Broad Street Brotherhood, Range Bank Congregationalists and Lee Mount Baptists.

<sup>141</sup> Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, p. 43.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 34-43.

abjured by very many of the ideology's most fervent and influential advocates within the elite game.<sup>143</sup>

Although the numbers in the leagues did ebb and flow, as sometimes initial enthusiasms wore off, they rapidly came to dominate the cricket of Halifax and the Calder Valley. Consequently, by furnishing a sample which is simultaneously very large and quantifiable, an accurate evaluation of the strength of churches and Sunday school cricket can be gauged from the 1890s, see table 3.2.

**Table 3.2 Percentage Strength of Church Cricket Clubs in Leagues, 5-Yearly Intervals.**

<b>Year</b>	<b>No. Clubs#</b>	<b>% Church</b>	<b>%Anglican</b>	<b>%Noncon*</b>	<b>%Methodist</b>
1894†	72	51.4	20.1	30.6	19.4
1899	72	43.1	19.4	23.6	16.7
1904	61	52.5	24.6	27.9	16.4
1909	83	62.7	25.3	37.3	21.7
1914	88	48.7	18.2	30.7	17.0
1920‡	72	45.8	12.5	33.3	18.1

# That is, all clubs in the leagues, church and secular.

\*'Noncon (formist)' here refers to all non-Anglican religious organisations, including Catholics.

†1894 is used as a start date for two reasons: first because leagues were now significant with three major and three smaller competitions in place, second to align with the last pre-war season of 1914.

‡ 1920 was taken instead of 1919 to both allow post-war league recovery and to coincide with the research's end date.

Church extension in Halifax and the Calder Valley, especially from the 1850s, as in other areas, created a very large potential for the creation of clubs from religious bodies.<sup>144</sup> Of the 20 parish churches and chapels-of-ease built by the Church of England between 1854 and 1914, at least 15 formed cricket clubs and from the 35 mission churches and halls opened in the same period - many of them very small - a minimum of seven more appeared.<sup>145</sup>

As can be seen, churches were to the fore of league cricket, providing, on average, half of all league clubs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The high percentage of Nonconformist clubs, and especially Methodist clubs, in 1894, owes much to the early leagues around the Todmorden area where Dissent was particularly strong. The peak of church cricket around 1909, with almost 63 per cent of all clubs, reflects the formation of the Church and Nonconformist leagues which commenced in 1908.

<sup>143</sup> A point made very forcefully by Duncan Stone in the case of Surrey cricket. Stone, 'Cricket's Regional Identities'.

<sup>144</sup> See chapter one, 'Moors, Mills and Ministers'.

<sup>145</sup> From comparison with Table 32: Church Building, in the Parish of Halifax, 1852-1914, Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', p. 365.

The number of cricket clubs appearing from each religious group (with the Catholics being the unsurprising exception) was sufficiently close to their respective numerical strength to believe that, other than for time differences, denomination was not a big factor discouraging their formation.<sup>146</sup> With a likely balance in favour of Dissent (certainly around the Todmorden area) between 1860 and 1920, 72 Anglican, 70 Methodist, 16 Baptist and 16 Congregational (Independent) clubs were created. The Congregationalists were underrepresented compared to the Baptists, who had only about half their numbers, but the effect of Square Chapel which had around one fifth of the area's members under one roof, goes some way to explain this.<sup>147</sup> The 70 Methodist clubs (Wesleyans 32, MNC 16, PM 11, UMFC 11) also divided roughly *pro rata* to their sectional strength with the exception of the UMFC which produced rather more than would be have been expected.<sup>148</sup> All denominations' cricket was boosted by the leagues, fig 3.2.

The leagues led to the creation or re-formation of scores of clubs of all types, not only church ones.<sup>149</sup> These included those of the other two main sources, works and pubs. For example, the Halifax Thursday Amateur League, established in 1902, catered for men whose occupation, usually in the commercial sector, required them to work on Saturday afternoons, with Thursday afternoon in lieu. Similarly, the formation of the Halifax Licensed Victuallers League (1905-6) and after the war, the Halifax Licensed Houses League (1922) saw the appearance of more than 30 new pub-based clubs, though most were short-lived.<sup>150</sup>

The leagues increased the appeal and the excitement of the game. They brought a powerful *external* stimulus to the demand for cricket. There was however, no Napier figure in the creation of leagues in Halifax and the Calder Valley. The formation of the Halifax Church League (Sunday School) also reinforced the assessment that clergymen, even those of the Established Church, were more likely to exhibit apathy than enthusiasm in promoting cricket clubs at their churches. Williams found that during the Edwardian and inter-war years, new

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<sup>146</sup> Aside from the lack of complete and accurate denominational figures, the numbers for a particular church or chapel matter. The Anglicans had fewer but generally larger churches than the Nonconformists. Methodist circuits were also very fluid. A small church could form a club with just one team whereas a larger church would generally have two sides within the club and very occasionally (like St Mary's, Halifax) three. By the same token, a church might have just fallen short of sufficient numbers to form a club.

<sup>147</sup> In 1905 the Baptists had 1,255 members with the Congregationalists 2,748 in 1907. In 1900 Square Chapel had 471 members and congregations around this time were estimated at between 1,000 and 1,200 the largest of any denomination in Halifax. Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', pp. 325, 333-4.

<sup>148</sup> In the Methodist Circuits (only) around Halifax, the Wesleyans had 2,562 members at their peak in 1889; the MNC had 1,980 at their peak of 1879; the PM's 1312 in 1912; and the UMFC 691 in 1884. Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', pp. 355, 359, 366-7.

<sup>149</sup> Andrew Hardcastle listed the clubs taking part in fourteen of the sixteen leagues formed before the Great War, Hardcastle, *Lost*, pp. 14-34, 41-59.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 59-63,



leagues, and especially those formed for religious organisations, often invited churches to form teams.<sup>151</sup> This was in evidence in this case, with three Anglican clubs being created.<sup>152</sup> However, this was not down to the efforts of clergymen. At the meeting to establish this new Halifax church league it was reported that:

Several members [of the clubs wishing to form the league] gave expression *once more* to the opinion that they were not backed up in their efforts to organise the young men by the clergy. There was plenty of material, and only a little organisation was necessary.<sup>153</sup>

Neither was there any clerical involvement in the only league for which minutes survive for the period, the Halifax Parish League, nor of those for the Halifax Parish Challenge Cup.<sup>154</sup> Clergymen did take on honorific positions in the leagues, such as the Rev. F. Drennan, President of the Halifax and District Nonconformist League, who presented the Mackintosh Cup in August 1919.<sup>155</sup>

Furthermore, despite ministers having less authority, shorter periods of office (due to the itinerancy system) and being generally less enthusiastic than their Church of Anglican counterparts, the Nonconformists created significantly more cricket clubs during the period of research than did the Anglicans.<sup>156</sup> This is partly explained by there being fewer Anglican churches than Nonconformist chapels,<sup>157</sup> and greater numbers of Sunday school scholars and teachers but nevertheless strengthens the case that congregational demand was the main motive force.

Nonetheless, a bond was retained between clergy and cricket, surviving the ravages of war. This was seen in the Cricketers' Sunday Services: the first being held at Park Congregational Church in Halifax in July 1921 which attracted an 'excellent attendance'. Under the heading

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<sup>151</sup> Williams, 'Churches, Sport and Identities', p. 120.

<sup>152</sup> St Barnabas's, St Hilda's and All Saints, Salterhebble.

<sup>153</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 7 September 1907. My italics. Three new clubs were set up: All Saints at Salterhebble, Halifax plus the mission churches of St Barnabas, Halifax and St Hilda's, King Cross.

<sup>154</sup> 'Halifax Parish Cricket League Minutes, 1913-1921', CA WYC:1344/1/1; 'Halifax Parish Cricket Challenge Cup Minutes, 1890-1908', CA WYC:1345/1-2.

<sup>155</sup> Bruce Deadman, 'A History of Northowram Hedge Top Cricket Club', no page number. *C&K Website*, <http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/docs/033108NORTHHEGETOP603BDEarlyHistofClub.pdf>, Accessed 20 January 2012.

<sup>156</sup> Of 193 known church clubs formed during the period, 72 were Anglican, 109 were Nonconformist (excluding Catholics), with the Methodists alone (70) creating almost as many as the Church of England.

<sup>157</sup> Chapels tended to be smaller than Anglican churches, so the Church of England would have on average *more teams per club*. St Mary's CC, Halifax, often fielded three teams during the period.

‘INSTINCT FOR GAMES: THE KILLJOY’S TARGET’, the Rev. J. F. Shepherd was reported in the local newspaper, asserting that:

Time was not long ago, when all games, as cricket, were regarded as something quite apart from religion ... and some who regarded games as likely to lead to temptations. Today we hold a wider concept of our great games ... the instinct for games is in us as God made us ... One wonders if in these games God is seeking to equip us for the GREAT GAME OF LIFE ....<sup>158</sup>

Despite the Pycroftian nostalgia, the services underlined the remarkable transformation that had taken place since the mid-nineteenth century. From being antagonistic to working-class sport, clergymen had seen their churches and Sunday schools form more than 190 cricket clubs throughout Halifax and the Calder Valley.

## **Conclusion**

Clergymen made an important contribution to the development of cricket. Anglican clerics like Kingsley, Pycroft and Stephen were prominent in linking physical exercise, then sports, to the emerging bourgeois appetite for rational recreation. The newly codified sports and their values increasingly captivated the middle classes, including the clergy, who were also under financial and social pressure to accommodate the changing aspirations of their wealthier congregation. This occurred, albeit somewhat later, even within Methodism with the shift from evangelicalism to respectability and sociability.

With acceptable versions of games and concerns regarding public health, unchurched working-class males and alternative providers of recreation, many clergymen became persuaded, though often with misgivings, to respond to the burgeoning popular demand for sport, including cricket. They enabled many thousands of poorer young men to play organised cricket for the first time. Considering the public school background of Anglican clergy and an increasingly college-educated Nonconformist ministry, commendable efforts were made to accommodate predominantly working-class congregation members largely steeped in a different sporting culture.

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<sup>158</sup> The weekly *Halifax Courier and Guardian*, 16 July 1921, ‘Religion & Cricket’, C&K Website, [http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/docs/051508HEADLINES7440RCIntro2B\\_000.pdf](http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/docs/051508HEADLINES7440RCIntro2B_000.pdf), 2008. The services continued into the 1930s.

The dissemination of cricketing values in church cricket was, consequently, a two-way process. The type of cricket described by Lawson in 1830s Pudsey did not re-appear. Cricketers valued open-air exercise, aimed to be sporting and largely played to the rules. Muscular Christianity also aided the acceptance of sport by still suspicious ordinary Nonconformists. Clergymen for their part accepted leagues, a premium on winning, talent money and even, on occasions, professionals. If church cricket clubs aided retention, however, their evangelical potential was limited by some clerics' fixation on a respectability defined, as Dominic Erdozain argues, by the avoidance of 'sins' of the social rather than the spiritual world which tended to demonise aspects of working-class behaviour.<sup>159</sup>

Despite clergymen's wishes to influence young men's behaviour and avert them from drink, there is little to indicate that church cricket clubs operated as part of a strategy of social control or an attempt to divide-and-rule the working classes politically. Congregation members rather than clergymen - demand rather than supply - was to the fore in establishing clubs. This was especially so within Methodism where the influence of ministers was also tempered by the itinerancy system and the lay leadership (indeed the Methodists most vividly illustrated the potency of the leagues in stimulating the appetite for cricket by their surge of new clubs). Moreover, many working men began to seek their own political representation while seeing no conflict whatsoever with their religion.

Clergymen were only occasionally imbued with a zest for cricket, muscular Christian or otherwise. They were more enablers than initiators and gave cricket a very qualified blessing. But even passive and honorific acceptance was vitally important and gave ordinary working men (and to a much lesser degree, women) the chance to play cricket and for the most part run their clubs.

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<sup>159</sup> Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure*, p. 186.

## CHAPTER 4 CLUB PEOPLE

### Introduction

Who was involved in church cricket clubs in Halifax and the Calder Valley and what were their contributions and objectives? In answering this, a detailed analysis of the occupations of the members of the primary clubs was undertaken. Such an examination of grassroots cricket is almost non-existent for the late nineteenth century. Jack Williams' empirical studies in Lancashire were mainly set in the inter-war period, years for which there is yet no access to the UK population census.<sup>1</sup> This study was able to employ census records to determine the social composition of the clubs and other important information such as familial ties.

This chapter seeks to illuminate the wider socio-economic, political and religious situation. It, therefore, addresses several key themes: social class, cultural diffusion, religious affiliation, gender, age and the family. By establishing the social composition of clubs founded by religious organisations, differences with earlier clubs can be considered as can those between church and Sunday school clubs. Moreover, comparisons can be made with the social make-up of the churches themselves and with a secular club of similar status.

Based on this analysis, this chapter argues that church cricket clubs were a vehicle of genuinely popular cricket both in terms of composition and management. Their members were not simply passive recipients of a ready-made bourgeois model of playing cricket and running clubs but engaged their own culture and were agents in their own enterprise. Despite this, members had strong links with the churches, with little evidence of religious 'shamateurism'.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, during a period in which working men were increasingly assertive in both the political and industrial fields, the clubs exhibited class co-operation. Furthermore, it is contended that women had a vital role in developing clubs in both the short and long terms and that this represented a small advance for them in social terms.

Jeff Hill has carried out an analysis of sports clubs, which provides important context for this chapter. He found that, although the English were enthusiastic joiners of clubs with a heritage dating from the eighteenth century, clubs and societies have been neglected by academia.<sup>3</sup> He emphasised the opportunity lost by this omission as 'sport and leisure ... have a determining influence over people's lives' and are not simply a creation of external forces but an

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<sup>1</sup> Williams, 'Recreational Cricket in the Bolton Area'; 'Cricket and Christianity in Lancashire'; 'Churches, Sport and Identities'.

<sup>2</sup> Meaning, in this case, feigning allegiance to the church in order to play.

<sup>3</sup> Jeffrey Hill, in *Sport, Leisure & Culture in Twentieth Century Britain* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2002), pp. 130, 144.

expression of cultural forms from which people take their own meaning.<sup>4</sup> No sport was more laden with ‘meanings’ than cricket, especially when churches were involved. Furthermore, developing a theme of Edward Thompson, Hill contended that, far from merely assisting in the interpretation of society, sport and leisure constitute a ‘process’ which itself can shape people’s history.<sup>5</sup>

Hill found clear divisions based on class, status and gender within clubs and societies. What he termed the ‘classic’ home of clubs was male and middle class which, in the case of sport, conveyed the ethos of playing for its own sake. This, Hill argued, gave clubs as much relevance in solidifying social identity as in promoting sport. Middle-class clubs stressed conviviality and social cachet over competition. This engendered social divisions and had political consequences. As the working classes, through the Labour Party and the trade unions, grew in strength, an anti-socialist Conservative network was formed, especially within rugby union circles. Ross McKibbin found that after the Great War middle-class sport was generally secondary to social and economic aspirations with ‘amateur cricket’ joining golf and rugby union in this.<sup>6</sup>

Rob Light found that in West Riding cricket during the 1820s and 1830s, clubs formed part of a network created to advance the social aspirations of the emergent industrial middle class.<sup>7</sup> Clubs such as Sheffield Wednesday, Keighley and Halifax Clarence imitated the older clubs patronised by the gentry such as Doncaster Cricket Club. They maintained exclusivity by playing fixtures within their membership and with games against other clubs being arranged very selectively.<sup>8</sup> Socialising, especially dining, was an integral feature of the clubs. Light found that early artisan clubs such as Lascelles Hall and Dalton never developed such a social dimension, being anchored in a culture of drink and gambling.<sup>9</sup>

Thirty or forty years later, when some disposable income and the Saturday half-holiday brought working men the opportunity to play, social exclusivity was usually maintained

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid; Thompson, *The Making*, pp. 8-12.

<sup>6</sup> Ross McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures: England 1918-1951* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 193. Here, ‘amateur cricket’ refers to well-off clubs dominated by the amateur ideology such as Liverpool, Wimbledon and Hampstead from the later nineteenth century, and many of those in the southern Club Cricket Conference from 1915 rather than the typically impecunious working-class game. See Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, p. 57; Stone, ‘Cricket’s Regional Identities’, 501–516.

<sup>7</sup> Light, ‘Cricket’s Forgotten Past’, pp. 141-2.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 143.

through high annual fees. Neil Tranter found that the Stirling County Club in the 1880s set a subscription rate of 21/-.<sup>10</sup> The local press saw through this:

no doubt the Stirling County Club is open to anyone. But what artisan can afford the heavy annual subscription ... not to mention the 2s-6d luncheon with which these matches generally open and the costs of the dress? Artisans may be equal on the field but they are not made to feel equal in the pavilion ....<sup>11</sup>

This provoked the club into introducing a rate for 'artisans' of 10/6d, but this still effectively excluded those it ostensibly wished to enrol, other local cricket clubs having an annual subscription of 2/6d.<sup>12</sup>

Essentially the same argument has been made regarding the churches' attitude to working-class worshippers, a factor fundamental to the social composition of their cricket clubs. Pew rents, like high subscriptions, have been considered as part of a strategy to exclude poorer people: in Hill's terms a club based on class and social status.<sup>13</sup> If this were the case, churches would have produced cricket clubs as Dennis Brailsford, argued, 'dominated by middle-class members ... and by middle-class morality.'<sup>14</sup> Although the extent of working-class absence from churches has been strongly challenged,<sup>15</sup> divisions of class and status could be reflected in roles within churches. Kenneth Inglis argued that working people were effectively excluded from influential lay positions in the Church of England and working-class clergy would not be countenanced.<sup>16</sup> This is pertinent to the extent to which churches provided opportunities which could help their cricket clubs, a rarely considered but important factor not to be neglected by this research. Chapels, certainly, provided working people with experience as lay preachers, Sunday school teachers and class leaders. Mutual Improvement Societies, mainly Nonconformist, also developed debating and organisational skills.

Alongside class and status, the other division identified in club membership by Hill, gender, is particularly relevant to church cricket. Whereas the membership of clubs was overwhelmingly male that of churches was predominantly female. Aside from religious

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<sup>10</sup> Neil Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society in Britain*, p. 42.

<sup>11</sup> *The Stirling Observer*, 1885 (no exact date given) in Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society*, p. 42.

<sup>12</sup> Tranter, *Sport, Economy and Society*, p. 42.

<sup>13</sup> See chapter one, 'Moors, Mills and Ministers'.

<sup>14</sup> Dennis Brailsford, *British Sport: A Social History* (Cambridge, Lutterworth, 1997), p. 90.

<sup>15</sup> See chapter one, 'Moors, Mills and Ministers'.

<sup>16</sup> Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, p. 117. An article in 1897 went so far as to bemoan the lack of 'gentlemen' taking up the cloth. Anthony C. Deane, 'Curates', *National Review* (1898), 826-32. Considering the origins of its founder, this illustrated the extent to which Christianity could be subordinated to social class in sections of the Established Church.

devotion itself, women were under two forms of pressure to attend church. First, as the assumed moral compass of the family (and by extension the country as a whole), women were disproportionately responsible for the maintenance of respectability which, at the time, required regular worship. Secondly, prevailing social convention placed pressure on them to occupy the private rather than the public sphere, greatly limiting their social outlets.<sup>17</sup> Churches provided some compensation for women's exclusion from clubs and other social communities, notably the public house, the working man's social club.

The confluence of religion, sport and gender brought difficulties in the Victorian and Edwardian period (and beyond) in industrial areas such as Halifax and the Calder Valley. The demise of cottage industry had diminished patriarchy. The necessity of his wife and children working in the factories (and entering the public sphere) reduced a man's position as the breadwinner and his authority in the family which was considered to demean his manliness.<sup>18</sup> Sport began to provide a new platform for the expression of masculinity. To maintain 'manliness' and the concept of 'separate spheres' (to be discussed below) sport had to be defended against female encroachment, and this just as churches were preoccupied with being considered feminine. Clergy frequently invoked 'manliness' when they referred to cricket.

Despite their predominance in congregations, women had little official influence within the churches themselves.<sup>19</sup> They were often taken for granted. A poem recording the huge efforts to rebuild Outlane MNC chapel in 1892 portrays them as anonymous.<sup>20</sup> The verse refers to the role of the men, several of whom later became members of the cricket club, naming

King Jimmy; Old Jonathan and Balmforth; J. Sutcliffe, J. Holroyd; Mark; Henry;  
Alfred; George; Morton and Ben; David and Alfred ....

But, as to

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<sup>17</sup> For an examination of the gender debate and the prevalence of 'separate spheres', see Janet Howarth, 'Gender, Domesticity, and Sexual Politics' in Matthew (ed.), *The Nineteenth Century*, pp. 163-94. Callum Brown saw gender, not social class, as the crucial determinant of religious adherence, with secularisation consequent on the loss of women in the 1960s as they shed the moral outlook that had been anchored in the churches. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*.

<sup>18</sup> See Howarth, 'Gender, Domesticity', pp. 170-2, 191-2.

<sup>19</sup> Though Simon Green was at pains to stress active female involvement in churches, he acknowledged that there were no women priests and that deaconesses came late on the scene. Women operated in important but supporting roles such as visitors, fundraisers and in a variety of mothers' organisations. Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 197.

<sup>20</sup> Tom Dyson, poem 'Bethel Chapel', 1929, KA KC08:2/20/4.

The many good women – I could not name them,  
They also outnumber when counting the men....

Though insufficiently important to warrant the effort of individual acknowledgement, women were significant as numbers. During the First World War, the chapel did at least mention the ‘ladies’ for a specific contribution - having ‘management of the at home’.<sup>21</sup> This was the sort of expertise that women were to bring to church cricket clubs.

### **Pre-Church Cricket in Halifax and the Calder Valley**

Little organised popular cricket existed prior to that hosted by churches. The area’s early clubs were predominantly middle class. The first known one, Halifax, entertained Huddersfield on Skircoat Moor in 1826.<sup>22</sup> The first club playing regular fixtures, from at least 1834, was Halifax Clarence.<sup>23</sup> Andrew Hardcastle has argued that by playing during the week Halifax Clarence must have consisted of well-off players with ample leisure time. Hardcastle acknowledged the existence of popular cricket but that this was impromptu like the matches, often single-wicket, in Lawson’s 1830s Pudsey or Tom Emmett’s Illingworth around 1850.<sup>24</sup>

Hardcastle’s assessment of Halifax Clarence is largely supported. Its opponents were generally from other towns, indicating free time and sufficient disposable income for travel, stake money and the ubiquitous lavish dinner usually paid for by the losers. Its fixture at Baildon in 1837 was a third, double-innings ‘conquering’ encounter, held on a Monday in September, which was decided ‘in favour of the Halifax gents’.<sup>25</sup> Three matches against the same club suggest a limited number of socially acceptable opponents. The report noted, however, that ‘the day being fine hundreds of spectators assembled’. Popular leisure time was still then available through either autonomy in work or ‘Saint Monday’. Factory employment, with its constraints on recreational time, was not widespread at this time. In Halifax in 1835, less than a tenth of the population worked in factories, many of whom were women and children.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> ‘Outlane Bethel Leaders & Church Meeting Minutes 1910-1924’, KA WK: 10891/2/1. 23 October 1917. ‘At Homes’ were important fundraising social evenings incorporating music, dancing, drama and supper.

<sup>22</sup> This discovery credited to Anthony Woodhouse, the Yorkshire cricket historian by Hardcastle in *Lost*, p. 6.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 8.

<sup>25</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 2 September 1837.

<sup>26</sup> In 1835 there were 1,552 factory workers in the township whose population was 15,382 in 1831 rising to 19,881 in 1841. Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 76; ‘Religion and Society’, p. 30.



It is also quite possible that working men played for Clarence as professionals when the club played commercial stake games.<sup>27</sup> The new cricketing culture co-existed with the old, even in middle-class circles. Despite its social exclusivity, and doubtless its business networks, the club retained a competitive, gambling and drinking dimension. One Clarence fixture ended in ‘a dispute commenced within the Wibsey party, when likely to come off second.’<sup>28</sup> Clarence played wager matches as late as 1842 including against Heckmondwike for a £10 stake.<sup>29</sup>

Another Clarence fixture in 1842, concluding when ‘the parties dined at Mr. Cadney’s, and spent a happy evening’, attracted a crowd of 2,000 on a Wednesday. In a separate article, the same newspaper inadvertently identified the probable reason for this throng of spectators and another instance where leisure time existed but with no possibility of forming clubs. This reported the raising of a subscription to ‘employ those who are out of work, in improving Skircoat Moor, for the advantage of the freeholders.’<sup>30</sup>

The ‘Hungry Forties’ could simultaneously deny both the disposable income and the time to play sport to ordinary people. Benjamin Wilson, the Halifax Chartist who lived at Skircoat Moor, reflected that:

Tom Brown's Schooldays would have had no charm for me, as I had never been to a day school in my life; when very young I had to begin working, and was pulled out of bed between 4 and 5 o'clock ... in summer time to go with a donkey 1½ miles away, and then take part in milking a number of cows; and in the evening had again to go with milk and it would be 8 o'clock before I had done. I went to a card shop afterwards and there had to set 1,500 card teeth for a ½d. From 1842 to 1848 I should not average 9/- per week wages; outdoor and labour was bad to get then and wages were very low.<sup>31</sup>

Hardcastle did find some evidence of organised working-class cricket before mid-century. These were independent craftsmen. For example, in 1834 the Tailors played the Shoemakers on Skircoat Moor on a Monday in September, the losing Shoemakers paying for supper.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Light, ‘Cricket’s Forgotten Past’, pp. 141-2.

<sup>28</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 14 September 1839.

<sup>29</sup> Light, ‘Cricket’s Forgotten Past’, p. 46.

<sup>30</sup> *Bradford Observer and Halifax, Huddersfield and Keighley Reporter*, 11 August 1842. In this year of heightened Chartist activity crowds of the unemployed would have made the local authorities very anxious indeed. Skircoat Moor was very radical area, being the scene of large political meetings, including one in 1819 in the wake of Peterloo’.

<sup>31</sup> Wilson, *The Struggles of an Old Chartist*, p. 13.

<sup>32</sup> Hardcastle, *Lost*, p. 6.

The game attracted ‘a great crowd of spectators’, suggesting ‘St Monday’. There was popular interest but not popular participation.

In the west of the area, the membership of Todmorden CC, established in 1835 by Samuel Fielden (son of ‘Honest John’, the town’s main employer and a factory reformer) offered the same possibilities for social and business contacts as Halifax Clarence. Todmorden’s membership in 1838 was predominantly employers and self-employed men with leisure time, who could afford the 2/6d joining fee and the 1/- monthly subscriptions, this being more than the weekly wage of some workers.<sup>33</sup>

Located in the factory-dominated heart of the area’s cotton industry, the Todmorden club presaged the importance to popular cricket of the Saturday half-holiday. Its implementation in the town’s mills in 1850, followed by a reduction in subscriptions to 5/-, increased the numbers of working-class members although the majority remained employers or self-employed.<sup>34</sup> Neighbouring Walsden in its first match in 1856 played Todmorden’s 2nd XI on a Monday, suggesting that its early members too, were not mere employees.<sup>35</sup>

Two years later a club formed at Sowerby Bridge sought to be a link in the new industrial town’s embryonic middle-class social network, being ‘well patronised by the gentry and mill owners of the neighbourhood’.<sup>36</sup> Women made an appearance, albeit regarded in an ornamental capacity: ‘many ladies graced the scene with their presence’. Afterwards, the players ‘dined together at the Royal Hotel’. Social cachet was clearly a crucial meaning.

In 1849, Halifax Clarence had played a match against a church club, that of St Lawrence Parish Church, Pudsey.<sup>37</sup> Perhaps as a reaction to the ‘irrational’ cricketing and non-cricketing activities perceived by Joseph Lawson, this exceptionally early church club was formed in 1845 to ‘improve’ and organise the recreation of the parish’s young men.<sup>38</sup> Despite these noble sentiments the old cricketing culture proved obdurate: in 1875 the club played a ‘purse’ match for £100 against local rivals Pudsey Britannia in front of 3,000 spectators.<sup>39</sup>

During the 1840s, other bourgeois clubs had appeared in Halifax and Calder Valley, such as Brighouse Clarence, Sowerby Bridge Victoria, Halifax Britannia and Halifax Young

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<sup>33</sup> Heywoods, *Cloth Caps*, p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>35</sup> ‘Walsden CC Early Days’, *C&K Website*,

<http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/walsden/clubhome.htm>, Accessed 4 June 2010.

<sup>36</sup> *Halifax Courier*, 21 May 1853.

<sup>37</sup> *Supplement to Leeds Mercury*, 18 August 1849.

<sup>38</sup> *Pudsey St Lawrence Cricket Club*, ‘The Story of Pudsey St Lawrence’,

<http://www.pslcricket.co.uk/page8.html>, Accessed 4 June 2010.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

England.<sup>40</sup> However, more modest village sides emerged in the 1850s from Queenshead, Ovenden, Illingworth and Coley.<sup>41</sup> Some of these teams played on Saturdays, indicating that half-day closing had started to find its way into the area. There was, though, no boom and the games were generally casual and the teams ephemeral.<sup>42</sup>

For popular organised cricket, Saturday early closing had to become more common. It was only in the 1860s that clubs started to appear in numbers in the area. During that decade at least 15 church clubs were formed from all over Halifax and the Calder Valley. In the fifty years from 1870, more than 175 were formed.<sup>43</sup>

### **The Social and Religious Composition of Church Cricket Clubs**

As noted, this chapter contends that cricket clubs hosted by religious bodies throughout Halifax and the Calder Valley were not only popular but that their members demonstrated genuine adherence to their churches. In 1871, in Halifax, 80 per cent of the working population was in manual occupations, a figure which barely changed over the next 50 years.<sup>44</sup> During this period the primary clubs revealed a social composition not greatly different, with almost three-quarters of their members being in working-class occupations, see table 4.1, below.

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<sup>40</sup> Hardcastle, *Lost*, p. 7.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8. 'Queenshead' later became 'Queensbury'.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup> Both figures from Hardcastle *Lost* plus those discovered through my own research.

<sup>44</sup> 80.1 per cent, in fact, with a lower-middle-class figure of 16.4 per cent. Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, pp. 56, 63.

**Table 4.1 Membership of Primary Church Cricket Clubs in Early Life.**

Club	Den	Ph	Id	WC	WC%	LMC	LMC%	MC	MC%
St Thomas's SS	CofE	1	2	2	100				
St Thomas	CofE	1	11	9	81.2	1*	9.4	1*	9.4
Luddenden St Mary's	CofE	2	21	16	76.2	4	19	1	4.8
Illingworth St. Mary's	CofE	2	40	25*	62.5	12*	30	3*	7.5
Stones Wesleyans	Wes	2	11	11*	100				
Mytholmroyd Wes SS	Wes	3	18	10*	55.6	4	22.2	4*	22.2
Outlane	MNC	3	23	16	69.6	5	21.7	2	8.7
Inchfield Bottom SS	UMFC	3	<u>20</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>
			<b><u>146</u></b>	<b><u>107</u></b>	<b><u>73.3</u></b>	<b><u>27</u></b>	<b><u>18.5</u></b>	<b><u>12</u></b>	<b><u>8.2</u></b>
<i>Lumbutts</i>	None	2	17	15	88.2	2	11.8		

**Key:**

WC: Working class, inc. overseers/foremen.

LMC: Lower-middle class, inc. teachers, clerks, self-employed craftsmen, shopkeepers/shop assistants and small farmers.

MC: Remainder of middle class inc. manufacturers, professionals, managers and large farmers.

Den: Denomination Ph: Phase Id: Identified in UK Population Census

\* Scholars taken as father's occupational status when known.

Includes patrons but excludes clergymen and duplicated names where occupational status different.

This contrasted markedly with early clubs such as Halifax Clarence and Todmorden. Of the primary clubs' remaining membership, 69 per cent was in lower-middle-class employment. Church cricket clubs were of only slightly higher social status than for the area as a whole.

Moreover, the argument that church clubs were controlled by middle-class members is refuted by the evidence. Despite a disproportionate number of middle-class (almost invariably lower-middle-class) officers, in no cases did this amount to more than 40 per cent either at the clubs' inauguration or before the war, see tables 4.2 and 4.3.

**Table 4.2 Officials of Primary Church Cricket Clubs at Formation.**

Club	Ph	Id	WC	WC%	LMC	LMC%	MC	MC%
St Thomas's SS	1	1	1	100				
St Thomas	1	1	1	100				
Luddenden St Mary's	2	5	3	60	2	40		
Illingworth St. Mary's	2	8	5	62.5	3	37.5		
Stones Wesleyans	2							
Mytholmroyd Wes SS	3	10	6	60	2	20	2	20
Outlane	3							
Inchfield Bottom SS	3	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>100</u>				
		<b><u>33</u></b>	<b><u>24</u></b>	<b><u>72.7</u></b>	<b><u>7</u></b>	<b><u>21.2</u></b>	<b><u>2</u></b>	<b><u>6.1</u></b>
<i>Lumbutts</i>	2	3	3	100				

**Table 4.3 Officials of Primary Church Cricket Clubs Pre-War.**

Club	Id	WC	WC%	LMC	LMC%	MC	MC%
St Thomas's SS	Defunct						
St Thomas's	Defunct						
Luddenden St Mary's	Not Known						
Illingworth St. Mary's*	7	5	71.4	1	14.3	1	14.3
Stones Wesleyans	4	3	75	1	25		
Mytholmroyd Wes SS	5	4	80	1	20		
Outlane	4	4	100				
Inchfield Bottom SS	Defunct						
	<u>20</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>
<i>Lumbutts</i> *	4	4	100				

\* Officials in 1912

The social composition of the clubs also opposes the 'pessimistic' school of working-class religious worship.<sup>45</sup> Almost certainly all the earlier (Phase 1 and 2) clubs had a church qualification for membership as did Mytholmroyd in Phase 3.<sup>46</sup> At their foundation, these clubs would have been overwhelmingly, perhaps entirely, composed of church and Sunday school members. The clubs indicate a large working-class church adherence. The role of cricket club members and, especially, working-class members in their religious organisations was more mixed, but with a higher engagement in the chapels.

The social composition of St Thomas's, Claremount, Halifax, mirrored a district 'inhabited by the working classes, and thickly populated'.<sup>47</sup> The only known club official was a carpet weaver, William Womersley, who had been treasurer of the earlier Sunday school team.<sup>48</sup> The seven fixtures in 1873 (which revealed the players' names) strengthened religious association, being played exclusively against other churches, these including Nonconformists, a significant factor at a time of sectarianism in education and politics.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Wickham, Inglis, et al who saw working people largely lost to churches in urban-industrial areas. See Introduction and chapter one, 'Mills, Moors and Ministers'.

<sup>46</sup> As St Thomas's Sunday School team had a qualification, its senior club would doubtless have followed suit. Of the Phase 2 clubs, Illingworth St Mary's and Luddenden St Mary had a qualification as probably did Stones Wesleyans. Of the Phase 3 clubs, Outlane and Inchfield Bottom did not.

<sup>47</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 31 July 1886. See Appendix 5 Members of St Thomas's CC and St Thomas's Sunday School CC.

<sup>48</sup> Letter from Womersley to John Lister thanking him for allowing the club to play on his land, 13 May 1873. CA SH:7/JN/924; 'St Thomas' Sunday School Cricket Club: Rules'.

<sup>49</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, various dates in 1873. The clubs were the North Parade Baptists, Sion Congregationalists and St Augustine from Halifax, and a Bradford team, St Andrew's.

Working men, more than three-quarters of the membership at the Anglican club of St Mary's at Luddenden, were somewhat under-represented in official capacities, though still providing the majority of officers and committeemen.<sup>50</sup> The club also revealed at least two working-class cricketers holding important church positions, challenging Inglis's findings. John Wormald was a churchwarden for 1891-93 and a member of the Board of Schools Trustees in 1903, as was George Titterington.<sup>51</sup>

St Mary's Cricket Club at Illingworth had at its outset a lower percentage of men in working-class occupations than at Luddenden but still in an almost 2 to 1 majority at the club's initiation.<sup>52</sup> Elections at the October AGM did bring middle-class representation up to half.<sup>53</sup> The two biggest influences at Illingworth were Nicholas Woodhead, a worsted overlooker, for the club's first 15 years or so and, especially, Harry Hustwick. Holding the positions of Secretary and Treasurer jointly from 1899 to 1935, Hustwick, who worked in a worsted mill as a warehouseman including as a foreman, dominated the direction of the club.<sup>54</sup> Prior to the Great War, men in working-class occupations accounted for five of the seven (out of eight) officials identified in the 1911 census.<sup>55</sup> Conversely, church positions, especially the important ones like churchwarden, were allocated mainly to middle-class men. It was not until 1921 that a more democratic approach was seen at the church when James Jenkinson, a carpet finisher, became a lay church councillor.<sup>56</sup>

The known early membership of Stones Wesleyans was solidly working class.<sup>57</sup> Without club records for these years, however, no officials or patrons are known. Several factors point to a very strong allegiance with the church. Of 13 cricketers identified at least six, and probably ten, at some point also belonged to the chapel's Mutual Improvement Society.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore,

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<sup>50</sup> See Appendix 6 Members of Luddenden St Mary's CC, 1884-85.

<sup>51</sup> *Luddenden Parish Church Schools Village Garden Bazaar 1929: History and Memento* (1929), p. 31.

<sup>52</sup> See Appendix 7 Members of Illingworth St Mary's CC, 1884.

<sup>53</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 1', 6 October 1884. The four working-class officials were Fred Horsfield, Arthur Howarth, Albert Pickles and Irvine Priestley; the four middle-class officials being Richard Hartley, Herbert Mason, Arthur Spencer and Ronald Sunderland.

<sup>54</sup> Hustwick was shown as foreman in 1891 and 1901 but as simply a warehouseman in 1911. *UK Population Censuses*, 1891, 1901, 1911.

<sup>55</sup> The five working men were: Hustwick, a warehouseman, Clem Pickles, a worsted overseer; James Jenkinson, a carpet finisher; Percy Feather, a chair frame maker and John Aspinall, a boilermaker/labourer. The middle-class officials were Erasmus Lassey, a hay and straw dealer, and Gilbert Dobson an assistant woollen manufacturer.

<sup>56</sup> Until 1921, aside from industrialists like Ramsden, Speak and Mossman, the civil engineer R. J. Hartley, a one-time club committeeman, was a lay church councillor in 1920, as was another middle-class committee member, J. W. Cooper from 1921 and a brewer's clerk, Seth Whitwam also a church councillor from 1921. The worsted overlooker, Nicholas Woodhead, was on the church's quadringentenary committee until his death in July 1924. Oakley, *The Story of Saint Mary's*, pp. 124-5, 127.

<sup>57</sup> See Appendix 8 Stones Wesleyan CC Players, 1884.

<sup>58</sup> 'Stones MIS Minutes, 1878-87'.

the club was considered integral to the chapel at least until 1910.<sup>59</sup> In social terms its membership can be considered reasonably representative of the chapel itself. Although not known until 1914, that year's AGM reinforced the characteristic pattern of leadership for church clubs: men in manual occupations with a lower-middle-class minority. Of the four committee members and officers whose occupations can be identified three were textile workers and one a clerk.<sup>60</sup>

The Outlane MNC club likewise exhibited a largely working-class membership.<sup>61</sup> With no minutes before 1907 the club's officials are not known at the outset. It is probable that Ben Hoyle, a warehouseman formerly with Outlane Wellington, who presented the club rules to the trustees' in 1897, was involved and David Harrison, a cloth finisher, was Secretary from at least 1900.<sup>62</sup> When minutes commenced, they strengthened the norm of working-class leadership.<sup>63</sup>

Outlane was unusual in that whereas the membership of the other primary clubs had come from within a church, this was more a case of a cricket club being attached to one. The Wellington club had disbanded eight years earlier.<sup>64</sup> Apart from Hoyle, other chapel members had played for this club and some became members of the church club.<sup>65</sup> The chapel was, in effect, a haven for a resurrected club. The overall connection between church and cricket club membership, despite the crucial links referred to, was minimal. With two teams formed and only 24 male chapel members, many too old to play, no church qualification was possible.<sup>66</sup> At most ten joined the club in its first year.<sup>67</sup> In 1899, however, of four new church members

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<sup>59</sup> Obituary of Selina Barrett, club president, who joined the cricket club in 1910, *Halifax Courier and Guardian*, 28 December 1938.

<sup>60</sup> These were: the Treasurer, Sam Howarth, a Cotton Spinner; Corresponding Secretary, Crossley Barrett, a Cotton Spinner Piecer; League Representative (and committee member) Leonard Smith, 25, Cotton Twiner Doubler, and Committee Member Fred Beverley (Clerk in paper mill, 28). *UK Population Census*, 1911.

<sup>61</sup> See Appendix 11 Members of Outlane MNC CC, 1897-98. Notwithstanding contemporary difficulties, the continued dependence on textiles in the village is apparent with at least 15 members employed in that industry.

<sup>62</sup> 'Outlane Trustees' Minute Book', 8 April 1897; 'Outlane CC Secretary's Book'. Hoyle was cited in a court case brought against the football and cricket club for debts owing to their ground's landlord, indicating that he was a club official, *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 15 March 1890.

<sup>63</sup> Of the ten members who can be identified on the 1901 census, two were clerks, one a brewer's traveller. Of the remaining seven, two were stone dressers, the other five being woollen and worsted workers. 'Outlane CC Minutes', 16 February 1908.

<sup>64</sup> See chapter two, 'Primary Clubs'.

<sup>65</sup> Others included Morton and Alfred Gledhill, Henry Roberts and William Whitham, *Huddersfield Examiner*, various dates; 'Outlane MNC Membership'. The Gledhills had also been cited in the action over the former club's ground.

<sup>66</sup> Men other than members would have attended the chapel but at this time Methodist congregations were composed of approximately equal numbers of members and non-members with half of the non-members being children. Currie, *Methodism Divided*, footnote 3, p. 198. It is possible that Sunday school members were involved, but the ages of the identified cricketers strongly suggest that this would have been minimal.

<sup>67</sup> Ben Hoyle, John Burkinshaw, Morton Gledhill, Thomas Hoyle, John Arthur Ingham, Walter Crossley, Alfred Gledhill, Walter Roberts plus two probables, F[red] Sykes and G[eorge] Holroyd.

three may have been examples of recruitment via a club: only one having recent family connections within the chapel.<sup>68</sup>

There was significant non-playing interest from the chapel with five members being club vice-presidents in 1908, including three who were both trustees and church leaders.<sup>69</sup> Several of the club members had relatives within the chapel in the club's first decade. As well as Hoyle, another club member, George Holroyd, was a trustee and John Hinchliffe was the chapel's choirmaster.<sup>70</sup> When minutes commenced, however, they showed that the cricket club was being controlled autonomously, with only one committeeman, Charles Wood, a church leader in 1910, being a chapel member.<sup>71</sup> The committee and officers continued to be mainly working men as seen in 1914.<sup>72</sup> Of the total of 12 officials, only one, John Burkinshaw, was a chapel member.

Burkinshaw again demonstrated a recurrent feature in church and, especially, chapel cricket: the taking up of roles in both club and religious organisation. Burkinshaw was first team captain in 1909, league representative in 1911 and committee member in 1912. He was also a church leader from at least 1910 and stood for trustee in 1927.<sup>73</sup> Church and Sunday school training benefited cricket clubs but the converse also applied.

The association of local notables with small church clubs was another surprisingly common feature.<sup>74</sup> At Outlane, the ex-Wellington team's president, Captain James Walker Sykes, joined the chapel club, though probably not as president.<sup>75</sup> Another distinguished member, or more probably donor, was Tory MP, Colonel Sir Edward Hildred Carlile.<sup>76</sup> His connection was probably through Sykes and Outlane Volunteers.

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<sup>68</sup> David H. Harrison, John Hinchliffe, Frederick Beaumont Holroyd and Tom Wood. Holroyd had the family connections.

<sup>69</sup> Ben Hoyle, John Arthur Ingham, George Holroyd were trustees; also Frederick Beaumont Holroyd and Tom Hoyle.

<sup>70</sup> 'Outlane Bethel Trustees' Minute Book'.

<sup>71</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', 16 February 1908, 'Outlane Bethel Leaders & Church Minutes', 27 September 1910.

<sup>72</sup> Norris Pearson, a stone dresser, John Burkinshaw a woollen healdler, Ernest Whitwam a weaver, Hebert Gee a wool spinner, Joe Whitwam a woollen piecer. The president, Edward Boothroyd, also worked in woollens (his occupation in 1911 was unclear but he was a weaver-designer in 1901).

<sup>73</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', 24 November 1908, 22 May 1911 and February 1912 (precise date unknown); 'Outlane Bethel Leaders & Church Minutes', 27 September 1910; 'Outlane Bethel Trustees' Minute Book', 20 September 1927.

<sup>74</sup> See 'Patrons: Donors, Diners and Doers', below.

<sup>75</sup> Sykes' only subscription was on 1 December 1899, before minutes were kept. The amount entered included another subscription and was for 15/-. As the ordinary members fee was 4/- this indicates that he was a vice-president. 'Outlane CC Secretary's Book', 1 December 1899. No reports of club dinners have been found which might confirm this. Walter Sykes, a worsted pattern maker (almost certainly not a relative, Sykes being a very common local surname) was the first known president, 'Outlane CC Minutes', 16 February 1908.

<sup>76</sup> Carlile was a baronet and partner in Jonas Brook & Brothers, Meltham Mills, and Huddersfield 'Outlane CC Secretary's Book', 3 June 1899. Being a Saturday this was probably a match day donation.



## **Sunday School Cricket**

The area's Sunday schools were highly popular, overwhelmingly working-class organisations. However, the age factor, youth and lack of experience, meant that their cricket clubs could demonstrate a more 'supply side' emphasis in formation and membership than church sides. This was also related to the wider concern about engaging adolescent scholars - and especially teenage males - as recognised within Methodism as early as 1841:

The difficulty of retaining the youth of our Sabbath Schools, after they arrive at the age of fourteen years, has been experienced by all to an interest in the moral and spiritual welfare of the rising generation; - at this age, they begin to have the thoughts and aspirations of riper years without the experience which age brings, they are therefore an easy prey to the gilded baits of sin, many a promising youth has been lost to the Church, in consequence of being led away from the School at this interesting age.<sup>77</sup>

The growth of state education significantly heightened the problem and the search for solutions. At the Conference of the Yorkshire Sunday School Union, in the wake of 1870 Education Act, its chairman explained how the Sunday schools had to change:

they should be considered almost as juvenile churches rather than anything else. He would say not the lesser but the junior portion of the Church; that it should be a fold for the lambs precisely in the same degree as the Church was for the matured and full-grown sheep; and that the lambs, under the care and love of their teacher, might be transferred in due course to that larger fold ... Let them pray that the Sunday school might be a nursery for the Church, and that they would be conducted in such a manner as to be made subservient to that object.<sup>78</sup>

As seen, St Thomas's at Clarendon created its Sunday school cricket club in the wake of this legislation. The 1880 Education Act increased the pressure on Sunday schools by making elementary school attendance compulsory until age ten. With their diminishing attraction as providers of secular education by the turn of the nineteenth century, Sunday schools were beginning to lose the 'lambs'.<sup>79</sup> Even by 1875, the Wesleyans were lamenting the adverse

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<sup>77</sup> W. Rinder, Leeds, a correspondent (16 February 1841) to *The Wesleyan Methodist Association Magazine*, 1841 (London, 1841), RYL MAW, P7I, pp. 164-5.

<sup>78</sup> Rev. J. P. Chown, Conference of the Yorkshire Sunday School Union, *Bradford Observer*, 8 April 1871.

<sup>79</sup> For national figures, see Appendix 4 Sunday School Membership 1851-1931.

effect on attendances, demanding rhetorically whether it was likely that children ‘swept into elementary schools by the action of School-Board compulsion ... will feel inclined to absent themselves when attendance was voluntary?’<sup>80</sup> The concern was especially acute over the elder scholars who were at the crossroads of joining the church or leaving altogether.

In Halifax and the Calder Valley, Anglican Sunday school membership had peaked by 1908.<sup>81</sup> John Hargreaves, however, found evidence of earlier decline, especially within Nonconformity. In Halifax, the new, extensively equipped Sunday school of Ebenezer Primitive Methodists had passed its zenith by 1890, as had the formerly dynamic Northgate End Unitarian School a year later. Circuit enrolments at Salem MNC fell from 5,032 in 1884 to 3,932 in 1907, and that of the United Methodist Free Churches’ from 720 to 633 between 1893 and 1899, which alarmingly portended a corresponding fall in chapel membership within a decade. The Wesleyan Sunday schools were also in decline by 1900. There were exceptions, notably King Cross Wesleyans - renowned for its cultural and recreational activities - which with 808 scholars in 1899 had to build a large new school in 1905.<sup>82</sup>

### **Mytholmroyd Wesleyans**

Mytholmroyd Wesleyans Sunday school cricket club was part of the broader attempt to retain its members through recreation. The Calder Valley League of 1891 was established mainly for Sunday school teams and in 1907 the Halifax and District Church (Sunday School) League was founded. Mytholmroyd joined the Calder Valley League in 1895, for its second season.

There had been a decline in numbers at the Sunday school much greater than that of the overall population.<sup>83</sup> In 1885 the chapel had 351 scholars on the books and this had risen to 365 the following year.<sup>84</sup> Three years later, however, the teachers’ meeting ‘expressed ... dissatisfaction at the attendance’ of both scholars and teachers.<sup>85</sup> In 1889, the Sunday school’s Mutual Improvement Society, itself considered a conduit to the chapel for the older,

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<sup>80</sup> T. Healing, ‘How to Promote Regular Attendance’, *Wesleyan Sunday School Magazine and Journal of Christian Education*, 1875 (London, 1875), p. 349. RYL MAW,P11e.

<sup>81</sup> In the Deanery of Halifax, there was an increase in enrolments from 17,498 in 1889 to 18,668 in 1908. Halifax peaked two years before the national average. Hargreaves, ‘Religion and Society’, p. 286.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 368-70; Lewis Burton. ‘Chapel Culture: Methodists at King Cross, 1803-2007’, *THAS* (2006).

<sup>83</sup> The population declined slightly during this period from 4,388 in 1891 to 4,159 in 1901. *UK Population Census*, 1901.

<sup>84</sup> ‘Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Sunday School Teachers’ Meetings Minute Book, 1883-1902’, CA MY/4/1, Annual Meetings, 3 April 1885, 23 April 1886.

<sup>85</sup> ‘Mytholmroyd Teachers’ Minutes’, 4 April 1888.

mainly male, scholars almost folded.<sup>86</sup> Six months later, the minister gave a paper at the teachers' annual general meeting asking: 'our elder scholars, can they be retained?'<sup>87</sup> In March 1893, an annual loss of 13 scholars from the school was reported, with membership down to 274. It was at this meeting that the cricket club was proposed.<sup>88</sup>

The club's social composition reflected that the initiative, on this occasion, had come from the Sunday school and chapel rather than the prospective cricketers, the scholars. At its formation, the club had the lowest proportion of members in working-class occupations, 55.6 per cent.<sup>89</sup> It also had the highest percentage middle-class membership of 22.2.<sup>90</sup> Despite this, the club's management was 60 per cent working class, see table 4.2.

The combination of a moderately affluent area and young cricketers from a Sunday school produced a situation of particular interest. Unusually, with a member's card existing from 1894, all officials and patrons (who tended to be of a somewhat higher social class than the cricketers) are known, whereas, not all players are.<sup>91</sup> Consequently, three of the five vice-presidents have been identified and all were middle- or lower-middle class.<sup>92</sup>

The mainly working-class leadership in the club is partly explained by a two-tier administration: the officers and 'Management Committee' and the 'Team Choosing Committee'. The former consisted of three men in working-class employment and three in middle-class occupations, with an average age of a little over 27, several years older than that of the players.<sup>93</sup> The 'Team Choosing Committee' was more representative of the team itself, both in terms of youth and occupation. This is not to say that the team consisted of boys, as is apparent from photograph 4.1.<sup>94</sup> This committee included Willie Sykes a fustian tailor cutter, aged 22 in 1894; Thomas Sagar, a 20-year old tailor's cutter-out; Ewart Priestley, aged 19, who also worked in tailoring as a fitter. The other member identified was Ernest Smith, 22, a clerk employed in the woollen industry.

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<sup>86</sup> 'Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Society Minutes, 1888-1895', 12 September 1889, CA MY104. MIS's were in general decline by 1900 and almost vanished after the Great War, Christopher Radcliffe, 'Mutual Improvement Societies and the Forging of Working-Class Political Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century England', *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (March 1997), 141-55.

<sup>87</sup> 'Mytholmroyd Teachers' Minutes', 4 April 1890.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, AGM, 31 March 1893.

<sup>89</sup> See Appendix 9 Members of Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Sunday School CC, 1894.

<sup>90</sup> That is, outside the lower-middle class.

<sup>91</sup> 'Mytholmroyd Fixture Cards', 1894.

<sup>92</sup> Walker Waddington, who owned a printing business; Samuel Clegg a self-employed clothier and Robert Foxcroft an ironmonger and employer.

<sup>93</sup> Irvine Sharp, John Morgan and George Stansfield; and Arthur James Smith, William Dewhirst a clerk and the treasurer, John E. Helliwell.

<sup>94</sup> Most Sunday school cricket teams consisted of older boys, young men and their teachers.

**Photograph 4.1 Mytholmroyd Wesleyans Sunday School 2nd XI 1910**



By the following year, 1895, the team choosing committee had disappeared, but Sagar, Smith and Sykes were all now on the Management Committee.<sup>95</sup> This also included Gilbert Smith, then 19, a bank clerk who was the 1st XI sub-captain, having been captain in 1894. One of the remaining two members can be identified, Frank Helliwell, a 25 year-old wheelwright or a 21 year-old woollen worker. These together with the fustian merchant John Helliwell, who remained as treasurer, and the captains and sub-captains now chose the two sides.

Even in a comparatively well-off location, the club's running gives minimal support to Brailsford's and Richard Holt's view that church cricket clubs were established with, or at least with the intention of, middle-class direction. The organisation of the club, with the exception of Helliwell, was now a typically working-class and lower-middle-class affair. The older men, experienced in running businesses, having helped to launch the club, quickly ceded it to the young club members. They sought to enable not dictate. The average age of the officials was now under 23. The club's leadership remained of a similar social composition up to 1914.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> 'Mytholmroyd Fixture Cards', 1895.

<sup>96</sup> Of the committee and officers identified, the Secretary, J T Greenwood was a fustian cutter; John Norcliffe a warp tier; Arthur Clayton a railway platelayer; William Sutcliffe, a tailor or compositor; George Ramford Smith an assistant articled clerk and Wilfred Smith a woollen spinner. *UK Population Census*, 1911.

The cricket club at Mytholmroyd was a force for class cohesion during a time of industrial unrest and intensifying political debate. The nature of employment in the area, with smaller-scale production and a diversity of trades, perhaps engendered less alienation between master and men. Members and officials of the cricket club were marked more by allegiance to the Sunday school and church than to social status. Membership of one or the other was a prerequisite for joining the cricket club and this remained so for decades.<sup>97</sup> The minister, the Rev. William Hothersall, took no active part in its affairs but by becoming president he embodied the club's integration into the chapel. Four of the five vice-presidents were current or future trustees.<sup>98</sup> The fifth vice-president was a chapel elder, Walker Waddington who took up the role at the age of 64 and was a Sunday school teacher for 54 years.<sup>99</sup>

Methodism offered the fellowship vital to all group activities, including cricket. It also provided leadership and other opportunities for young men (and women) and these proved valuable to cricket and other clubs. What is less recognised is how this operated in the other direction. In the cricket club's first year, two of its six Management Committee members were to become chapel trustees.<sup>100</sup> Apart from the role of teacher, all but two of the 22 committee members, officers, captains sub captains and vice-presidents at some point held additional positions within the Sunday school or chapel, or both.<sup>101</sup> The chapel took its young men and their cricket club very seriously indeed.

### **Inchfield Bottom UMFC**

Inchfield Bottom's chapel, crucially, proved less supportive of its Sunday school club even though the loss of scholars had worsened and the advocacy of recreation as a remedy had grown. The difference between what was desirable and what was possible was, though, revealed at the Annual Conference of the Halifax Sunday School Union in 1900. One speaker exhorted the Sunday schools to 'take an interest in the week-day life of the children by

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<sup>97</sup> It was still in place in the 1930s: Rules 3, 'Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Sunday School Cricket Club Rules', c.1932. CA WYC:1332/4/1/1.

<sup>98</sup> Robert Foxcroft, Samuel Clegg, Edward Helliwell and James Greenwood. 'Mytholmroyd Fixture Cards', 1894; *Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Methodist Church Centenary Year, 1806-1906: A Short Historical Account*. UHA Acq. 2983, pp. 30-34.

<sup>99</sup> *UK Population Census*, 1891; Stuart Greenwood, 'Mytholmroyd Methodist Cricket Club: A Brief History', *C&K website*, <http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/halifax/docs/History%20of%20MMCC%20by%20Stuart%20Greenwood.pdf>, Accessed 21 July 2010.

<sup>100</sup> Arthur James Smith and John Morgan, 'Mytholmroyd Fixture Cards', 1894; *Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Centenary Year*.

<sup>101</sup> The two were Ewart Priestley and Gordon Moore who were team selectors. It is also possible that they held other, undocumented roles.

providing for them country rambles, gymnastics, cricket clubs and other forms of innocent recreations.’<sup>102</sup> This, however, provoked a reply which uncovered an even greater concern. The Rev. B. Davies observed that if the Sunday schools ‘subscribed to every one of the suggestions the difficulty arose as to how they were to be carried out with their present staff of teachers.’

Remarkably, despite their critical importance to Sunday schools, the use of sport to retain *teachers* has been little, if at all, considered by historians.<sup>103</sup> If waning teacher commitment at Mytholmroyd was a malady, at Inchfield Bottom it was an epidemic. Teachers were resigning on a regular basis: 15 had done so between January 1900 and the decision to form the cricket club in September 1902.<sup>104</sup> Moreover, some of those who remained required bribing to attend their own classes.<sup>105</sup>

The club was established more to counter the problem of teacher retention than scholar loss. Of ten players identified, eight were teachers. Membership of the club was not restricted to the Sunday school or chapel. This did not overtly lend itself to the retention of its scholars and teachers, though that was its purpose. The arrangement was an attempt to bring outsiders within the chapel orbit and, more pragmatically, to ensure sufficient numbers to make up the teams. The club members were overwhelmingly in working-class occupations still heavily dependent on the uncertain cotton industry. Of the twelve-man committee, the eight identified were all working class.<sup>106</sup> Before the start of its first season the club ruled that officers and committee had to be members of the Sunday school itself.<sup>107</sup> This prevented the possibility of a secular governance of the club but it also, in a crucial contrast to Mytholmroyd, excluded men from the chapel itself.

This had two detrimental effects for the running of the club. First, it limited both the maturity and the work experience of its membership. In its first season, the average age of the committee was 24.<sup>108</sup> This was three years younger than Mytholmroyd’s club in its founding year. It also lacked men with administrative experience. Although in its second season the

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<sup>102</sup> From a paper, ‘Our Scholars’ Week Evenings’, presented by Mr F. Robinson to the Annual Conference of the Halifax Sunday School Union, *Leeds Mercury*, 2 April 1900.

<sup>103</sup> Even Hugh McLeod does not consider this in ‘Thews and Sinews’.

<sup>104</sup> From an average total of about 20, ‘Inchfield Bottom UMFC Sunday School Teachers’ Meetings’ Minutes, 1895-1906, CA WM:57.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 December 1901. The teachers were included in the ‘Star System’ devised to reward *scholars* for attendance and punctuality.

<sup>106</sup> See Appendix 10 Members of Inchfield Bottom UMFC Sunday School CC 1903. Even when too many possibilities existed to confidently identify an individual (the area had a very high recurrence of surnames) the alternatives served to reinforce the unequivocally working-class backgrounds of the players.

<sup>107</sup> Change to Rule 3, Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes, 3 March 1903.

<sup>108</sup> The representative to the Calder Valley League was also 24, John William Woodhead.

average age of Mytholmroyd's officials was under 23, it was already established and contained members with both clerical and business experience.

More telling was an imbalance within Inchfield Bottom's membership. Restricting the club's officers purely to members of the Sunday school not only meant that it had to be run by an increasingly demoralised body but it further weakened the link with the chapel - already loose due to the open membership. It had the widest potential for players but the narrowest potential for organisers. This was recognised at the end of the first season. The qualification for officials was extended to all chapel members but this came too late.<sup>109</sup> In contrast to the commitment at Mytholmroyd, and despite being a very democratic church, only one of the trustees or chapel leaders held a position as a club official, and only one other was known to have taken an active role, and that involvement did not last beyond the first two years.<sup>110</sup> Consequently, the cricket club by 1907 was seriously struggling for men willing to run it, though it limped on for another three years.<sup>111</sup>

### **Cricket Club Members' Experience and Meanings**

Moses Heap, a Rossendale cotton spinner and diarist, wrote in the wake of the 1850 Factory Act that,

For a while we did not know how to pass our time away. Before it had been all bed and work; now, in place of 70 hours a week we had 55½ hours. It became a practice, mostly on Saturdays, to play games, especially football and cricket, which had never been done before.<sup>112</sup>

The factory system made a crucial contribution to cricket and football by remoulding *ad hoc* pre-factory leisure time into a regular form conducive to organised team sports. Moreover, Heap and his workmates were playing their sport well before *Tom Brown* and any widespread muscular Christian dissemination. Hill has argued that sport furnishes different meanings for different people. For early beneficiaries of Saturday early closing, cricket held only the prosaic meaning of getting through a long afternoon.

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<sup>109</sup> 'Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes', Annual Meeting, 5 October 1903.

<sup>110</sup> William Jackson was committee chairman in 1904 and also acted as auditor and umpire, Hiram Ashworth (also a Poor Law Steward) served on the Match Committee in 1903.

<sup>111</sup> The question of lack of officers almost brought the club down, 'Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes', Annual Meeting, 7 October 1907.

<sup>112</sup> Quoted in Heywoods, *Cloth Caps*, p. 21.

## Evolving Meanings in Church Cricket

The importance of ventures like club cricket, especially in adapting to and shaping industrial society is illustrated by the range of people who became involved. Influenced by factors such as social class, gender and age, different meanings were taken from their involvement by different people. Hardcastle has noted the appearance of many cricket teams during the 1850s and early 1860s which ‘were probably quite informal, maybe just gathered together for occasional matches.’<sup>113</sup> It is doubtful if any popular cricket was limited to meanings of a simple pastime for long. However, being a member of a formal cricket club heightened meanings of camaraderie, identity and competition which in turn promoted ambition and improvement.

Identification with the local community held powerful meanings, with churches and chapels maintaining a central place in what the Italians call *campanilismo*.<sup>114</sup> Identity was reinforced in opposition to the ‘other’, especially in fixtures against teams from neighbouring locations, which were frequent in the isolating terrain of Halifax and the Calder Valley. Stones Wesleyans, for example, in their early seasons played mainly clubs in the Ryburn Valley such as St Mary’s Church, Ebenezer Young Men and ‘Recreation’ from Ripponden and Lightlazles at Soyland.<sup>115</sup> Even prior to leagues, competitive local pride spilled over into disputes, with Illingworth St Mary’s having two disagreements with close neighbours Ovenden Albion and Bradshaw Mills in 1887.<sup>116</sup> The minutes of the Halifax Challenge Cup committee demonstrated that church clubs were not disposed to ‘turn the other cheek’ and were disproportionately involved in disputes.<sup>117</sup>

In these less than stoical arenas, while there was a dissemination of the reformed sporting norms of playing fair and, somewhat less so, winning and losing gracefully, this was never going to be the complete story. The continuation of pre-modern competitive values in church and other local cricket consequently contrasted with middle-class sports clubs which nurtured meanings of sociability ahead of contest. Church clubs were in the vanguard of that totem of competition - league cricket. Other than the defunct team of St Thomas’s Sunday school, all of the primary clubs joined leagues.

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<sup>113</sup> Hardcastle, *Lost*, p. 8.

<sup>114</sup> A fervent attachment to one’s own town or village, with its focal point being the church bell tower, the *campanile*.

<sup>115</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, various dates.

<sup>116</sup> ‘Illingworth CC Minute Book 1’, 24 October and 5 December 1887.

<sup>117</sup> While forming about one in three of the competing clubs in the eight seasons, 1892-99, five objections were made by church clubs: - Holy Trinity, St Thomas’s, Luddenden Foot St Mary’s, Southowram St Anne’s and St Augustine’s, ‘Parish Cup Minutes’, 21 June 1892, 4 July 1893, 25 June 1895, 1 June 1897 and 4 July 1899 respectively.



The limits of the downward diffusion of cricket's new values were also evident at the individual level by the pursuit of tangible rewards, including cash. As did others, Stones Wesleyans paid talent money: 5/- (the price of annual membership) for 50 or a hat-trick, and 1/- for a stumping.<sup>118</sup> Competition was equally ardent for annual club awards, sometimes made in cash. At Outlane there were prizes for batting, bowling, catching and fielding. The contest for the latter was so fervent that in 1908 it was deemed necessary that 'umpires decisions with reference to the Fielding Prize be placed in envelopes and kept sealed until the end of the Season.'<sup>119</sup> Even during the Great War the competition for annual awards was so intense that Stones came to legislate that 'if a batsman is out after the match is won then his innings reckon not out.'<sup>120</sup> Immediately after the war the first entry in the new minute book of St Mary's at Luddenden concerned batting, bowling and fielding prizes.<sup>121</sup> In church cricket, both team and individual achievement were more relevant meanings than social elevation.

The time and thought given to practice illustrated the enthusiasm for improvement, especially considering the long working week. Outlane resolved 'That Monday, Wednesday & Friday practice be allowed time. That Tuesday & Thursday be allowed innings.'<sup>122</sup> This was an almost scientific approach with 'allowed time' encouraging strokemaking and 'allowed innings' promoting occupation of the crease. Of all the primary clubs, for which relevant records exist, the only one which did not refer to practice was the short-lived Inchfield Bottom.

Sociability clearly existed in church cricket clubs, alongside its competitive intensity. Fixtures were played in agreeable circumstances: in summer, over several hours, and including a tea interval. Like friendly societies, the serious business dovetailed with conviviality. In addition to post-match socialising, club events such as suppers, socials and annual dinners were the norm and developed team spirit.

Church cricket clubs, like friendly societies, co-operatives and working-men's clubs, provided ordinary men with an opportunity to determine their own affairs. Their decisions were similarly made through elected committees and officers. These, as seen, consisted of working men with a mainly lower-middle-class minority of about a quarter, usually clerks

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<sup>118</sup> 'Stones CC Minutes', Annual Meeting, 11 October 1920.

<sup>119</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', 6 April 1908.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 May 1915. The minute also shows that the batting team continued to bat even when it had surpassed the opponent's total.

<sup>121</sup> Meeting of 16 April 1919, 'Luddenden St Mary's CC Minute Book, 1919-28', WA WDP:39/84. The club was being revived after having had to finish in 1915, Hardcastle, *Lost*, p. 57.

<sup>122</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', 13 June 1913.

and schoolteachers. The records they left were generally clear and well-organised, giving an impression of care, even pride.

The grasping of such opportunities was epitomised by Harry Hustwick at Illingworth. His obituary was simply, and appropriately, entitled ‘Harry Hustwick, Halifax’s “Mr. Cricket,” is dead’.<sup>123</sup> It noted that ‘No man in Halifax and district cricket circles has been better known or held in higher esteem.’ With an unremarkable career in the worsted industry, he made his mark outside of work. Hustwick helped to create two local leagues - the Halifax and District and Halifax Parish - as well as being secretary for the Halifax Parish Challenge Cup competition. Primarily, though, his impact was at his own club. This was best illustrated following the war in his vision for taking Illingworth into a higher stratum of cricket: ‘the time is now opportune for reconstruction of Cricket & we as a club of the district make application to play in the Yorkshire Cricket Council.’<sup>124</sup> This was what a club could mean for men like Hustwick.

Another vision of the future involved age, with the formation at Outlane of a junior team. This addressed a dearth in organised sport for ordinary boys at a time when drill was considered sufficient physical exercise at elementary schools and even the popular Nonconformist Boys’ and Anglicans Lads’ Brigades concentrated on this more than sport.<sup>125</sup> The club was a pioneer of boys’ cricket when even Sunday school teams, as seen in photograph 4.1, tended to be composed of adolescents and young men. Outlane’s junior side was playing fixtures by June 1902 at the latest, its average age being 13.<sup>126</sup>

This move not only sowed the seeds for the next two decades of cricket but also constructed a family and generational core for the club. With only surnames known, of the 14 junior players found in 1902 only three can be definitely identified as the sons of members, but all but two have surnames of previous, older members.<sup>127</sup> By contrast only four of the surnames

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<sup>123</sup> *Halifax Courier and Guardian*, 7 January 1960.

<sup>124</sup> Statement of the outcome of the Annual General Meeting of Illingworth St Mary’s CC, 27 Oct 1919, ‘Notebook of Harry Hustwick’.

<sup>125</sup> St Mary’s, Illingworth felt compelled to deny that its Lads’ Brigade, formed in 1901 at the time of the Boer War, employed drilling for a military purpose. The Brigade did confirm the vicar’s concern with the behaviour of boys and young men. While offering games, including a football team, its purpose was stated as ‘teaching the boys discipline, and by means of discipline, self control and self restraint’. *St Mary’s, Illingworth Parish Magazine*, March 1902, WA WDP: 73/17/7.

<sup>126</sup> Away to Kirkheaton Parish Church Choir, *Huddersfield Examiner Supplement*, 14 June 1902. Ten players were identified with an average age of 11.9 years, *UK Population Census*, 1901.

<sup>127</sup> The fourteen players were William Henry Ainley, Randolph Bray, V. Broadley, Harold Crooks, George Dodson, Walter S. Fielding, J. Fielding, J. Hargreaves, John J. Harrison, Harry Hoyle, Fred Pilling, Horace Roberts, A. Wade and George R. Walker from *Huddersfield Examiner Supplement*, 14 and 21 June 1902. Pilling and Roberts were sons of ex-players and Crooks of a vice-president. The two definitely unconnected

corresponded to chapel members. In 1908, half of the fourteen junior players played for the senior teams, one of whom, Harry Hoyle, was also a committee member from 1909 and another, A. Wade, from 1910.<sup>128</sup>

The club membership and governance were sustaining themselves through family recruitment: the way in which churches themselves were increasingly dependent for their members.<sup>129</sup> Despite a short-lived general increase in church membership immediately after the war, chapel numbers at Outlane had fallen substantially by 1922, with a total of 66 members of whom only 17 were male.<sup>130</sup> Of these 17, all but six had been members before the turn of the century. Only three members had joined since 1914, with just one having no evident family connection.<sup>131</sup> As churches' members were aging, a family tradition was being built within their cricket clubs. There are numerous examples such as the Greenwoods and Helliwells at Mytholmroyd, the Whitwams at Outlane, the Whiteleys at Stones and the Bottomleys at Rastrick New Road.<sup>132</sup>

The chapel at Outlane may have missed an opportunity to retard secularisation. The junior team had emerged from within the cricket club rather than directly from the church itself. It became in its own way a competitor to the chapel for future membership: a small step in the direction of secularism. By 1909 the club had 108 members, three-and-a-half times the entire male chapel membership and one fifth of Outlane's male population.<sup>133</sup> Subsequently, just over a year later a Special General Meeting was held to discuss changing the name of the club. The decision was, though, deferred and the club remained a nominally church one until after the Great War.<sup>134</sup> The debate nevertheless signalled that the churches' position as the main focus of communities was beginning to erode.

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were Broadley and Bray, though there was a Joe A. Bray, a chapel member in 1900, 'Outlane MNC Membership', 1900.

<sup>128</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', 1908-14 .

<sup>129</sup> See Currie, Gilbert and Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers*, pp. 46, 80-2.

<sup>130</sup> 'Outlane MNC Membership', 1913-14, 1922. The pre-war figures were 101 and 25 respectively.

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, 1874-1923.

<sup>132</sup> See 'Mytholmroyd CC Fixture Cards'; Stuart Greenwood, 'Mytholmroyd Methodist Cricket Club: A Brief History', *C&K Website*,

<http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/halifax/docs/History%20of%20MMCC%20by%20Stuart%20Greenwood.pdf>, Accessed 25 August 2011; 'Outlane CC Minutes', 'Stones CC Minutes';

'Badger Hill CC' (formerly Rastrick New Road CC), *C&K Website*,

<http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/badgerhill/clubhome.htm>, Accessed 25 August 2011; See also 'The Family Tradition at Illingworth' in Woodhouse, *Illingworth St. Mary's Cricket Club, Centenary Brochure 1884-1984*, pp. 43-7.

<sup>133</sup> Annual Report for 1909, 'Outlane CC Minutes', 30 September 1901. 'Outlane MNC Membership', 1908. *UK Population Census 1901*.

<sup>134</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', 7 February 1911.

## Patrons: Donors, Diners and Doers

Hill found middle-class sports clubs operating as part of a social network, a feature identified by Light in early middle-class cricket clubs in the West Riding, including Halifax Clarence. Church cricket clubs in Halifax and the Calder Valley also held such a meaning, typically for some patrons or vice-presidents. As elsewhere, churches in the ancient parish of Halifax had a long history of patronage and this remained so in the nineteenth century.<sup>135</sup> Some church benefactors also sponsored church cricket clubs. These included the banking Rawson family, who patronised Sowerby St Peter's Cricket Club as well the church of St John the Divine at Triangle, and the brewing Ramsdens, who supported both church and cricket at St Mary's, Illingworth. John Mackintosh backed both Methodism and cricket in the Halifax area. He became president of the club at his chapel, Queens Road MNC, taking a keen interest in the game. His biographer stated that Mackintosh

was the friend of all the associations for the purpose of fostering healthy out-door games, especially football and cricket ... For local cricket he rendered inestimable service, patronising dozens of junior clubs, and presenting the 'Mackintosh Cup' for competition amongst local amateurs.<sup>136</sup>

Mackintosh became a Liberal councillor, though his politics were pragmatic rather than ideological.<sup>137</sup> Local politics, however, did impinge on the area's church cricket. Whereas the affiliation of politicians and businessmen with large popular sports clubs is well known,<sup>138</sup> that with small clubs is not. Franchise extensions and from the 1890s the ILP's entry into municipal politics, with its sometimes-acrimonious challenge to the Liberals, was reflected in populist local politicking for the votes of working men.<sup>139</sup> The importance of sport in the area was underlined by local politicians' desire to be seen associating with even minor clubs.

A remarkable number of councillors became vice-presidents of even the smallest church cricket clubs. St Thomas's, Outlane, Illingworth, Ovenden Wesleyans and Inchfield Bottom had councillors, aldermen and even mayors as their patrons.<sup>140</sup> Northowram Wesleyans,

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<sup>135</sup> Chapter six, 'Finance', examines patronage in relation to both churches and later their cricket clubs.

<sup>136</sup> Gerald M. D. Howat, *John Mackintosh: A Biography* (London, 1921), p. 173. 'Junior clubs' indicate not boys's clubs but small, local amateur clubs.

<sup>137</sup> Robert Fitzgerald, 'John Mackintosh', *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38422?docPos=2>, Accessed 14 October, 2012.

<sup>138</sup> See, for example, Walvin, *The People's Game*, pp. 87-8.

<sup>139</sup> Dawson, 'The Halifax Independent Labour Movement'. Labour gained its first councillor in 1897.

<sup>140</sup> St Thomas's had John Lister and Booth, at least; Illingworth had three councillors during the period: Albert Turner, George Ramsden and William Brear (also alderman and mayor), in Anglican tradition, all were

formed immediately after the Great War, boasted two councillors and an alderman.<sup>141</sup> Businessmen were similarly keen to be seen patronising church clubs. The annual dinner, on the top table, was their milieu and with the same people appearing at different clubs' events, these formed part of a social and business web. The manufacturer, Paul Speak, who attended Illingworth St Mary's dinners, also attended that of Mountain United CC in 1894.<sup>142</sup> John Taylor Ramsden, who also went to Illingworth dinners, attended one of an earlier local club, Ovenden.<sup>143</sup> By contrast, reports of down-to-earth pie suppers, such as held by St George's in 1891, and Pellon Lane Baptists and Stannary Congregational in 1895 contain no references to councillors, businessmen, nor, indeed, clergymen.<sup>144</sup>

Clubs were not enriched by patronage.<sup>145</sup> At the annual dinner of St Thomas's Cricket Club, of which John Lister was president, Alderman Booth reported that despite being 'one of the best cricket elevens in Halifax' two years earlier, 'financially they were in a worse position' with a debt of £36.<sup>146</sup> Lister did not bail them out. What he did do was perform a characteristic patron's function of opening a sale of work.<sup>147</sup> Several council members had attended the St Thomas's dinner but despite this assembly of the great and good, within three years the club had disbanded.<sup>148</sup>

The majority of church cricket patrons or vice-presidents, however, were working men. They often followed a route there through playing and administration. Ben Hoyle of Outlane played for its non-church predecessor and was instrumental in establishing the chapel club. Also at Outlane, Thomas Hoyle and Fred Sykes, players in 1897, and Fred Morton a committee member in 1908 were vice-presidents from 1915 and another inaugural player, Walter Crossley was one from 1916. At Mytholmroyd in 1920 at least four of the 19 vice-presidents had been players and officers; at least another one a player; and at least two more

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Conservatives, O'Keefe, *Start of Play*, fn. 89, p. 21; Outlane had William Eastwood, Ovenden had R. Stirr and Inchfield Bottom's president was the Liberal and later mayor of Todmorden, Robert Jackson.

<sup>141</sup> Cllrs D. Hanson and T. Watkinson and Ald. M. Briggs. 'Northowram Hedge Top: Cashbook for 1920 Season', *C&K Website*, <http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/docs/033108NORTHHEGETOP681920CB.pdf>, Accessed 27 December 2012.

<sup>142</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 17 November 1887 and 10 November 1894. Mountain is a very high village between Queensbury and Bradshaw.

<sup>143</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 8 November 1873.

<sup>144</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 5 December 1891, 16 March and 28 September 1895.

<sup>145</sup> See chapter six, 'Finance'.

<sup>146</sup> Report of St. Thomas CC's annual dinner, *Halifax Guardian*, 17 March 1894. The club had in recent years built a new pavilion. 'Plan of Pavilion for St Thomas's Cricket Club, Godley, Southowram, 1887', CA CMT19/MU:15/12; 'Halifax Parish Challenge Cup - Report on Grounds', CA WYC:1345/2/2, index page 18.

<sup>147</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 31 March 1894. This generated £23.

<sup>148</sup> By 1897 St Thomas's ground had been taken over by a team from the firm, J. & J. Baldwins of Clark Bridge Mills, 'Parish Cup Report on Grounds', index page no 34.

had acted as officers.<sup>149</sup> Stones Wesleyans boasted active and committed vice-presidents. As well as their contributions as players and organisers, they paid their 10/- subscriptions and supported both cricket and social fundraising events.

Hill's contention that clubs offered a wide range of meanings was further demonstrated in the case of patrons and vice-presidents of church cricket clubs. These ran from benevolence, to political, industrial and social opportunities, to a more prosaic but deeper attachment.

## Women and Church Cricket

Academic discussion of the significance of gender in cricket, especially the local game, remains largely neglected by historians. In his social history of English cricket of almost 400 pages, Sir Derek Birley allowed half a page to women, and used part of this to refer to 'tea-ladies [and] other worthy but patronised female auxiliaries.'<sup>150</sup> Yet, the church cricket clubs of Halifax and the Calder Valley were to play a small role in loosening the ties of 'separate spheres'. This ideology, most strongly associated with the period of industrialisation, emerged in historical debate during the 1970s and 1980s as gender became recognised as a crucial aspect of academic interest.

The notion of 'separate spheres' was heavily promoted by a number of Evangelicals, notably William Wilberforce and Hannah More. Sarah Richardson considers the notion as prescribing

boundaries between the public and private worlds of the English middle class. While public life was increasingly seen as an exclusively male domain characterized by the manly virtues of action, determination and resolution, the domestic setting was where women's moral virtues of gentleness, tenderness, piety and faith could and should most fully be developed.<sup>151</sup>

The conceptual importance of 'separate spheres' was given an added significance through an influential work by Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, first published in 1987.<sup>152</sup> Davidoff and Hall argued that the ideology of 'separate spheres' was vital to the formation of middle-class identity during the last decades of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth

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<sup>149</sup> William Dewhurst, John E. Helliwell, Frank Helliwell, and Irvine Sharp; A. J. Smith; and R. Greenwood and E. Stansfield respectively. From reported fixtures and club members cards 1894-1920, 'Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Sunday School Cricket Club Fixture Cards', CA WYC/1332/1.

<sup>150</sup> Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, p. 352.

<sup>151</sup> Sarah Richardson, 'Politics and Gender', in *A Companion to 19th-Century Britain*, p. 175.

<sup>152</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (London, Routledge, 2002 edition).

century. They contended that the middle class sought to employ their growing economic muscle to attain moral and cultural authority over other classes and that this endeavour 'was articulated within a gendered concept of class' in which middle-class men and women 'had their appointed place'.<sup>153</sup> Janet Howarth considered that this 'domestic ideal' also gained a strong foothold within the working classes.<sup>154</sup>

The extent to which women were in practice confined to the private sphere has not gone unchallenged. Linda Kerber, writing about the United States, and Amanda Vickery, writing about Britain, both considered the idea based far more in rhetoric than reality and having little to commend it even as an organising social theory.<sup>155</sup> Despite such qualifications, many historians still consider the belief that 'a woman's place is in the home' retained purchase well into the second half of the twentieth century. Penny Summerfield found at the end of the Second World War women being removed from their 'male' wartime jobs or being dissuaded from retaining them by the force of convention buttressed by another wave of 'pronatalism' which 'reinstated motherhood...as a highly socially approved role'.<sup>156</sup> Summerfield conceded that there were women willing to relinquish their wartime employment but argued that until the 1970s women were 'persistently represented as marginal to the workforce' - employed in low-paid, unskilled jobs in anticipation of marriage and motherhood and in sporadic work when domestic and family life later permitted or necessitated.<sup>157</sup> While Martin Pugh found that most women wished to return to the domestic sphere after 1945, he too noted the continuing pressure on them to accept their 'conventional' role through governments, churches and literary and commercial sources.<sup>158</sup> The notion of 'separate spheres' persisted but was affected by the 'New Feminism', which emerged after the First World War, bringing the first wave of 'pronatalism'. Its impact on women's cricket is discussed below.

In the field of sport, Keith Sandiford has shown that though women's cricket was expanding during the Georgian period it was arrested when Victoria came to the throne.<sup>159</sup> Sport became

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>154</sup> Howarth, 'Gender, Domesticity', p. 170.

<sup>155</sup> Linda Kerber, 'Separate Sphere, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History', *Journal Of American History*, Vol. 75, No. 1 (June 1988), 9-39; Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (June 1993), 383-414.

<sup>156</sup> Penny Summerfield, 'They Didn't Want Women Back in That Job!': The Second World War and the Construction of Gendered Work Histories', *Labour History Review*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (Summer 1998), 83-104.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., 86-8.

<sup>158</sup> Pugh, *State and Society*, pp. 302-3.

<sup>159</sup> Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, pp. 29, 43-48.

a way of reasserting masculinity with a resulting hostility to female sport.<sup>160</sup> This antipathy cut across barriers of both social class and gender. Holt has argued that, despite the disregard of working men for muscular Christianity, their sport was steeped in their own version of masculinity.<sup>161</sup> Female sport was feared as a threat, by many men (and women), to the wider gender-based social order. Jennifer Hargreaves found that up to 1890 women's outdoor sport was practically unknown in most locations.<sup>162</sup> Philippa Velija, who has in recent years begun to address the neglect of women's cricket, has shown that female participation in games like cricket and hockey also became linked in opponents' minds to the campaign for female suffrage. Suffragettes did consciously target sports' grounds and facilities for damage as symbols of male domination.<sup>163</sup>

The anxiety female sport caused was frequently expressed through derision. A rare ladies' cricket match took place in the area at Walsden in 1893. The local press was typically scornful: 'Whether those of the feminine gender are as fit to indulge in the good old English pastime as those of the opposite sex I do not care to argue, but evidently ... they seem to think they are'.<sup>164</sup> Women's involvement in the area's church cricket at this time has, therefore, to be set within the context of 'separate spheres'.

Perhaps ironically, considering its conscious stress on manliness, the cult of games became part of the process of undermining 'separate spheres'.<sup>165</sup> Commencing at schools for girls from wealthy families, especially Roedean, the opportunities for women in sport slowly improved. Progress was particularly slow and patchy for the great majority of women from unprivileged backgrounds who, aside from pressure to conform to a non-sports playing female stereotype, faced the same lack of resources as their men - and usually more acutely. Undertaking the bulk of domestic work further limited women's free time and their wages were far lower than those of working men. For example, in Halifax in 1870, prior to the textile trade downturn, male woolsorters earned up to 28/- per week whereas females in spinning and twisting only between 8/- and 14/- per week.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> See Holt, *Sport and the British*, pp. 346-7; Kathleen McCrone, 'Class, Gender, and English Women's Sport, c. 1890-1914', *Journal of Sport History*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Spring, 1991), 159-81; Williams, *Cricket and England*, pp. 92-4

<sup>161</sup> Holt, *Sport and the British*, p. 123.

<sup>162</sup> Jennifer Hargreaves, *Sporting Females: Critical Issues in the History and Sociology of Women's Sport* (London, Routledge, 1994), p. 107.

<sup>163</sup> Philippa Velija, 'A Sociological Analysis of the Experiences of Female Cricketers' (PhD Thesis, Brunel University, 2007), pp. 63-4.

<sup>164</sup> *Todmorden Advertiser*, 10 June 1893. Quoted in Heywood, *Cloth Caps*, p. 137.

<sup>165</sup> It was introduced at girls' public schools to accentuate femininity. Velija, 'Women, Cricket and Gender', p. 62.

<sup>166</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 148.



Birley's view of women's confinement to the provision of refreshments and other supportive roles is, then, largely borne out by church clubs in the Halifax and the Calder Valley into the 1920s. Women, initially, did make their contribution to church cricket in the supporting and ancillary way that they did to the churches themselves. Although there is little evidence of female spectators attending church cricket matches in their early years, this is most likely through lack of recording. Outlane certainly tried to encourage them through free admission, at least during the Great War.<sup>167</sup> In 1919, when proposing changes to the pavilion, Illingworth recognised the need to accommodate lady spectators when the weather broke.<sup>168</sup> Illingworth was the only church club to mention females in its records before 1900, this being in 1898 in a request to bring food for a tea.<sup>169</sup> The next reference was in 1903 when members' wives and daughters baked and set the tables for a tea and social event at which spouses of patrons and key committee men 'presided' exhibiting a cross-gender social hierarchy.<sup>170</sup>

Female involvement came about overwhelmingly through family members, especially those running the club. This was so in 1902 at Inchfield Bottom when the wives or possibly mothers of committee members prepared and served supper at Walsden Liberal Club.<sup>171</sup> Similarly, with the social and fundraising events inherited from the chapel, tea meetings, held in 1903 and 1904, when wives of vice-presidents were also involved.<sup>172</sup> The same family ties were seen at the Rastrick New Road Sunday School club with the six ladies catering for a pie supper in 1906.<sup>173</sup> Women provided a vital link between family and club. With these normally being the wives of the most active members, when the number of committed men

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<sup>167</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', 28 June 1915.

<sup>168</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 2', 27 September 1919.

<sup>169</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 1', 12 December 1898.

<sup>170</sup> O'Keefe, *Start of Play*, p. 52.

<sup>171</sup> Mrs Sutcliffe, Mrs Crowther and Mrs Ashworth, 'Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes', 22 December 1902.

<sup>172</sup> 'Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes', 31 August 1903 and 11 January 1905. In 1904, of the eight waitresses, at least four were wives of committee members Sam Harrison, John Ogden, William Jackson and Abraham Fielden and two others were wives of vice-presidents B. Schofield and a second Abraham Fielden, the other two ladies were Mrs R. Taylor and Mrs Jabez Sutcliffe who may well have been mothers of the club secretary T. A. Taylor and James Sutcliffe, respectively. One of the three female entertainers was Mrs J. T. Barker, wife of a future committee member and Miss J. H. Jackson was very possibly a daughter of a committee member, vice-president or even the president.

<sup>173</sup> Mrs A. Holdsworth, Mrs. J Holdsworth, Mrs Micklethwaite and Mrs Ramsden, Mrs B. Marsden, and Mrs. L. Woffenden. Almost certainly all were wives of members, at least the first four of whom held office at some point. 'Rastrick New Road, Committee Meeting, 5 October 1906', *C&K Website*, <http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/badgerhill/102908BH451906CM.pdf>, Accessed 23 October 2012.

diminished, as happened at Inchfield Bottom, the accompanying loss of women was a blow to the running of crucial fundraising events and to the continuity of the club.<sup>174</sup>

Although sparse, what evidence does exist does not support Birley's evaluation that females were patronised: despite their domestic-type duties, women appeared happy with their role. It corresponded with Williams' assessment that not only were women's contributions vital in staging fixtures and fundraising events but they also found them socially rewarding.<sup>175</sup> A meeting at Illingworth to arrange an 'At Home', noted that 'the ladies were a prominent factor as they took the matter up in a very whole hearted manner ... promising to look after the refreshments, etc'.<sup>176</sup> At Stones, Miss Mona Joplin, in recognition of her piano playing at all the concerts and social events held during the war, was presented with a gold ring by the club which she retained throughout her life.<sup>177</sup> Interviews carried out by the Calderdale and Kirklees Heritage Project with women engaged in the local game since the Second World War provided an overwhelmingly positive, and frequently affectionate, response. This attitude was epitomised by three women from Mytholmroyd Methodists (formerly Wesleyans) who, at the time of the interviews, had between them made teas for 183 years.<sup>178</sup>

Outlane did, however, provide some evidence for Birley's view that women were taken for granted, at least as regards official acknowledgement. Although minutes were kept from 1907, only in 1915 was it proposed that 'we thank the ladies for waiting on at supper.'<sup>179</sup> Considering the number of social events hosted by the club up to this date, it seems improbable that this was the first occasion in which women were involved.<sup>180</sup> Considering the scant attention allowed to the role of women in the realisation of the new chapel in Tom Dyson's poem, this may have indicated institutional neglect.

The war may well have prompted the overdue recognition at the Outlane club. Paul Ward has shown that the conflict raised the profile of women's domestic work.<sup>181</sup> He argued that the

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<sup>174</sup> For example Mrs Sutcliffe, Mrs Crowther and Mrs Ashworth who prepared and served the club's supper at Walsden Liberal Club in December 1902 were the wives of committeemen and vice-president respectively. 'Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes', 15 and 22 December 1902.

<sup>175</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, pp. 109-10.

<sup>176</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 2', 15/01/1907

<sup>177</sup> 'Stones CC Minutes', 13 January 1920; Stanley Palmer (player, groundsman and stalwart of Stones for many decades) 'Speech 1992 - Prize Presentation Stones Cricket Club'.

<sup>178</sup> The Mytholmroyd women being Mary Joyce, Margaret Boocock and Gwyneth Boulton, 'Tea Ladies', *C&K Website*, <http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/docs/2007women/calderdale/3%20Tea%20Ladies.pdf>.

<sup>179</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', 30 November 1915.

<sup>180</sup> Starting with a concert in November 1897. Entry in 'Outlane CC Secretary's Cashbook', November or December 1897, precise date not given.

<sup>181</sup> Paul Ward, "'Women of Britain Say Go': Women's Patriotism in the First World War', *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2001), 23-45.

much-derided 'outbreak' of sock knitting served as a vehicle to demonstrate empathy and support for men at the front and was often a communal and sociable activity.<sup>182</sup> Ward, however, saw the increased appreciation of women's efforts in the private sphere accompanied by a backlash against their encroachments into the public sphere.<sup>183</sup>

This dichotomy was echoed in the emergence of 'New Feminism' which led to a split in the women's movement. Up to 1914 feminists had campaigned for equal rights with men but the war brought a significant shift. Susan Kingsley Kent has seen the conflict as causing the demise of feminism as a mass movement.<sup>184</sup> She argued that, in 1918, Millicent Fawcett of National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) sold out women by acceding to an age qualification of 30 for female voters. The principle of equality with men, who were to receive the vote at 21, was thereby jettisoned. This was a particular setback to working women, the great majority of whom were under 30. Kent held that Fawcett was also reflecting a sea change in attitudes within the country, including among young women, which opposed feminism.<sup>185</sup> Kent considered Eleanor Rathbone, leader of the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship (NUSEC) - the NUWSS until 1919 - as providing the definitive statement of 'New Feminism' in 1925. Rathbone stated:

At last we have done with the boring business of measuring everything that women want or that is offered them by men's standards ... At last we can stop looking at all our problems through men's eyes.... We can demand what we want for women, not because it is what men have got, but because it is what women need to fulfil the potentialities of their own natures and to adjust themselves to the circumstances of their own lives.<sup>186</sup>

Kent argued that a hostile anti-feminist (even anti-female) reaction occurred with men returning from the front. Demands for women's equal rights with men were perceived as a threat to the much-desired return to a pre-war 'normalcy'. Attempts, frequently successful, were made to force women out of 'men's' jobs and there were high incidences of physical and sexual violence towards women and girls. This reaction was, Kent contended, one of two factors signalling the decline of popular feminism. The other was the split in the movement

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<sup>182</sup> Ibid., 30-1.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., 25, 42.

<sup>184</sup> Susan Kingsley Kent, 'The Politics of Sexual Difference: World War I and the Demise of British Feminism', *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (July 1988), 232-253.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid., pp. 235-6.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid., 240.

when the ‘old’, ‘equality’ feminists abandoned the NUSEC in 1927, leaving it to the ‘new’ or ‘difference’ feminists.<sup>187</sup> New Feminism rather than attacking patriarchy argued for the ‘complementarity’ of male-female differences and was, Kent contended, in effect a reaffirmation of ‘separate spheres’.<sup>188</sup>

Sue Innes, who has perceived a less clear-cut division between ‘Old’ and ‘New Feminism’, saw the latter as having being ‘fully articulated’ as early as the previous year, 1917.<sup>189</sup> The green shoots of the equality-difference division were visible even earlier in the campaign for female suffrage. By 1916 it was apparent that women would be receiving the vote, but it was uncertain which women.<sup>190</sup> The strongest case made in favour of female suffrage had been the contribution of female munitions workers to the war effort.<sup>191</sup> Pugh, however, has argued that these women were deliberately excluded from the franchise in 1918 to help douse their ambitions to retain their wartime work with its better pay and conditions in the face of demobilising men. During the 1920s, female workers were ‘invariably sacked’ on marriage.<sup>192</sup> In 1918 the vote was decided on New Feminist lines. It was given to women in recognition of their newly beatified private sphere roles as mothers and wives, for not obstructing the participation and possible sacrifice of their sons and husbands in the war.

The often-febrile debate over women’s roles and separate spheres applied to sport as well as work and was given added impetus and significance during and after the Great War. From 1916, the ‘Munitionettes’ competed in popular charity football games throughout the country and on Tyneside played for the ‘Munition Girls’ Cup’.<sup>193</sup> Munitionettes’ football ended as the women lost their jobs but the game continued after the war, with Dick, Kerr Ladies from Preston playing Tyneside in front of 30,000 spectators in April 1919 and 53,000 (with 10,000 locked out) at Everton on Boxing Day 1920.<sup>194</sup> Alethea Melling found that during the 1921 miners’ lockout, women were encouraged by miners and Labour politicians in Leigh and

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<sup>187</sup> Ibid., 241.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 245.

<sup>189</sup> Sue Innes, *Love and Work: Feminism, Family and Ideas of Equality and Citizenship, Britain 1900-1939* (PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1998), p. 130.

<sup>190</sup> Harold L. Smith, *The British Women’s Suffrage Campaign 1866-1928* (Harlow, Longman, 2007), pp. 79-80.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>192</sup> Martin Pugh, *State and Society: A Social and Political History of Britain since 1870* (London, Hodder Education, 2008), pp. 175, 177.

<sup>193</sup> ‘Football on Tyneside 1914-1919’, *Donmouth*,

[http://www.donmouth.co.uk/local\\_history/great\\_war\\_football/great\\_war\\_football.html](http://www.donmouth.co.uk/local_history/great_war_football/great_war_football.html), Accessed 22 October 2012.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.; Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, p. 142.

Wigan to play football to raise money.<sup>195</sup> As with work, this ‘evidence of the reordering of gender roles was attacked at every opportunity with the objective of pushing women out of male spheres back into the home’ and their football was short-lived.<sup>196</sup> This was also partly due to political fears over crowds of striking men and their women which Melling considered may have influenced the FA’s condemnation of the female game and the crucial decision it took to deny its members’ grounds to them. In justifying this ban, the FA revealed both gender prejudice and anxieties about a threat to the manliness of the game, being ‘compelled to express their strong opinion that the game of football is quite unsuitable for females and ought not to be encouraged’.<sup>197</sup> Despite this, Melling concludes that ‘the First World War may not have dramatically changed the lives of working-class women, but in terms of self-awareness, it was quite radical.’<sup>198</sup>

Jennifer Hargreaves, examining female sport, has revealed that ‘New Feminism’ was presaged by the early team games which appeared from middle-class girls’ colleges and clubs. Hargreaves saw women’s organised sport from the late nineteenth century as ‘separatist’, games being adjudged male- or female-appropriate based on the prevailing biological and psychological assumptions and that vigorous physical exercise ran counter to the domestic ideal.<sup>199</sup> She found that although female sport expanded rapidly during the suffrage campaigns, particularly after 1900, sportswomen were not normally enthusiastic feminists.<sup>200</sup> Moreover, young women from privileged backgrounds were self-consciously ‘different’, anxious not to be perceived as challenging male sport. Immediately off the field of play, they reverted to conventional bourgeois feminine type.<sup>201</sup>

Hargreaves, like Kent, believed feminism to be in decline after the Great War as women were bombarded by a media campaign which extolled the housewife as the ideal of womanhood. Despite this, she saw the wartime experience as paving the way for ‘a remarkable period in the development of women’s sports.’<sup>202</sup> In cricket, Williams saw the expansion of the female game in the 1920s and 1930s as a legacy of the conflict and the confidence which women

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<sup>195</sup> Alethea Melling, “‘Plucky Lasses’, “Pea Soup” and Politics: The Role of Ladies’ Football During the 1921 Miners’ Lock-Out in Wigan and Leigh’, *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1999), 38-64.

<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>199</sup> Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, pp. 30-1, 40, 51.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 42.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 112-3.

gained from it.<sup>203</sup> This growth was greatly promoted, especially in the South, by the establishment of the Women's Cricket Association (WCA). Designed to coordinate the women's game, the WCA was founded in the year following Rathbone's defining statement of 'New Feminism', and was established very much on these lines. The WCA was formed by lacrosse and hockey players based at the elite Malvern College.<sup>204</sup> It brought a liberation but of limited extent, being a very narrowly based organisation: upper and middle class, centred on the Home Counties, antipathetic to leagues, and adhering to the view that, as with work, cricket should be given up on marriage. The WCA's conservative philosophy reproduced the subordination of gender to the social *status quo* evident in August 1916 when the Consultative Committee of Women's Suffrage Societies to the Prime Minister effectively pulled up the ladder leaving young, working women without the vote.<sup>205</sup>

Velija argues that the WCA developed by not challenging the male game, being careful to proclaim its own inferiority as well as separateness. It also showed no inclination to develop the cricket of poorer women and this class-based attitude was attested to by placing the funding of the sport on its own members' shoulders.<sup>206</sup> The WCA was consequently of little direct relevance to ordinary women in northern industrial areas, for whom cricket lagged behind their political enfranchisement which finally came in 1928.

Female cricket was, then, a very rare occurrence in Halifax and the Calder Valley during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and it took a further decade to change this situation. It was 1931 that saw the creation of the Yorkshire Women's Cricket Federation (YWCF) and the successful launch of female cricket in Brighouse.<sup>207</sup> The following year, 1932, women's teams from Brighouse, Halifax and Sowerby Bridge appeared in the YWCF's Inter-City League.<sup>208</sup> The YWCF was quite different in origin and outlook to the WCA. The WCA was based on 'separateness' and the philosophy of playing for its own sake. However, in an area in which leagues were the powerhouse of cricket and most other sports, the YWCF was set up and run by men from existing leagues. This arrangement with the men's clubs was mutually beneficial, with the encouragement of women's cricket providing increased support

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<sup>203</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, pp. 94-111.

<sup>204</sup> Hargreaves, *Sporting Females*, p.127.

<sup>205</sup> Smith, *Women's Suffrage*, p. 131.

<sup>206</sup> Velija, 'Women, Cricket and Gender', pp. 65-6.

<sup>207</sup> Peter Davies, 'Bowling Maidens Over: 1931 and the Beginnings of Women's Cricket in a Yorkshire Town', *Sport in History*, Vol. 28, No.2 (2008) 280-298.

<sup>208</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, p. 97.

for the men's game through their renting of league grounds and a general increase in female spectators.<sup>209</sup>

There was no female church cricket in the area which, with the predominance of women in churches and chapels, may at first sight appear strange. It would have been rare, however, for any one church to have had sufficient females of a suitable age and inclination. The bonds of propriety probably also remained tighter on female churchgoers than on non-adherents making it more difficult to engage in an activity considered masculine.

As already noted, the role of females in the church cricket clubs was of a typically supportive and domestic nature. But there was nothing to suggest that it was considered servile or demeaning. Rather, women's contribution to the clubs supported more optimistic assessments of women's place in wider society at the time. Joanna Bourke found a far more positive aspect to New Feminism than Kent.<sup>210</sup> Bourke argued that, during the 1920s, 'difference' or 'complementary' feminism allowed agency to ordinary women. She contended that it was the conscious ideal of most women to become housewives and that this presented an opportunity to not only escape usually mundane paid employment but to consolidate their power over husband and children and enhance their social standing which was perceived as dependent on the domestic not the employment sphere.

Bourke, indeed, argued that housewives saw it in their interest 'to *widen* the separation of "his" and "her" kinds of labour.'<sup>211</sup> She emphasised the premium placed on housewifery and the demand for domestic education, with girls sometimes extending their school years for this and women who missed the opportunity at school were anxious to join evening classes. Honing skills in cookery and other domestic areas were seen as raising the prestige of housewives. These skills brought benefits to cricket clubs which in turn gave women opportunities to display these 'private' skills in a 'public' sphere.

Bourke noted that domestic bliss was not the lot of every housewife but flair in managing a home and family generally brought them prestige. Moreover, the continuing acceptance of domestic servitude was refuted by Kent herself, in a later work, when she contended that after the war women's self-esteem had risen to a point at which many refused to enter domestic service even in the face of the high unemployment from 1921.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> Ibid., pp. 99-100.

<sup>210</sup> Bourke, *Working-Class Cultures*, pp. 63-71. Italics are original.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid., pp. 67-8.

<sup>212</sup> Susan Kingsley Kent, *Gender and Power in Britain, 1640-1990* (London, Routledge, 1994), p. 298.

Moreover, the non-playing participation of women in church cricket clubs did evolve in the aftermath of the war. This was first apparent in their involvement in the actual organisation of social functions and then in their acceptance as members. At Illingworth women were admitted in October 1920, partly in acknowledgement of their efforts in raising the £200 to fund the improvements required to join a higher league.<sup>213</sup> At other church clubs, Miss Selina Barrett became vice-president at Stones in 1920 and Mrs J. W. Helm was a member at Rastrick New Road no later than 1924.<sup>214</sup> Ordinary women were rarely able to join sports clubs before the war. The change had a profound meaning for them: they were now formally included in what was once an exclusively male sphere.

A subtle but significant change had also taken place at Illingworth. Middle-class women with few work and domestic commitments had opportunities to involve themselves in acceptable voluntary organisations such as School Boards, Women's Institutes and Townswomen's Guilds. Cricket clubs gradually provided occasions for women from working-class backgrounds to be involved in organising activities. Illingworth's concert in November 1919 and whist drive in September 1920 were run by women. These were, as was generally the case, wives or relatives of the men running the club, in this instance wives of a committee member and the next captain of the club's 1st XI.<sup>215</sup>

Women supported men in ancillary, rather than playing, roles in church cricket clubs at this time. Williams argues that this served to reinforce 'distinctive gender identities'.<sup>216</sup> This was clearly so. However, this distinction was now occurring *within* the organisation and their functions were becoming more autonomous and less mundane. The minutes at Illingworth confirm that they saw their inclusion as an opportunity, a form of emancipation. They were engaged in a democratically elected body, a profitable Refreshment Committee, placing their own stamp on the club and extending their remit to organising social excursions. They were active not passive, and independent in their own area.<sup>217</sup> They still did not enter the 'male'

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<sup>213</sup> O'Keefe, *Start of Play*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>214</sup> 'Stones CC Minutes', 11 October 1920; 'Rastrick New Road CC, 1924 Members' List and Subs', *C&K Website*, <http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/docs/041408BADGERHILL2381924ML1928Subs.pdf>, Accessed 23 October, 2012. Mrs Helm had paid a 'private' subscription since at least 1912. 'Rastrick New Road CC, 1912 Members' List and Balance Sheet', *C&K Website*, <http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/docs/041408BADGERHILL1281912ML1913BS.pdf>, Accessed 23 October 2012.

<sup>215</sup> O'Keefe, *Start of Play*, p. 53. The ladies were Mrs T. Amiss and Mrs T. Farrar.

<sup>216</sup> Williams, 'Churches, Sport and Identities', pp. 128-9.

<sup>217</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 3', 12 December 1898.



demesne of cricket itself. Nor is there any indication that women attended the three general meetings which followed their admittance to the club.<sup>218</sup>

Female members of cricket clubs brought even greater benefits than the tangible ones of fundraising. Peter Borsay holds that the family was potentially the biggest influence on leisure pursuits, just as it was for religious practice.<sup>219</sup> As already contended, women greatly enhanced the clubs' family character and, through this, their continuity. Their integration at clubs like Illingworth and Stones helped to strengthen their core membership, the lack of which brought down the Inchfield Bottom club, and doubtless many others beside.

The area's church cricket provided one remarkable female champion in Selina Barrett, of Stones Wesleyans. Barrett was an example of a groundbreaking life which confronted gender barriers without the support of a wealthy family and a privileged background and whose achievements were consequently overlooked outside the region.<sup>220</sup> She became 'attached to the club' (it is not known if this was as a member) in 1910. As seen, she became a vice-president in 1920, and was president from 1931 until her death in December 1938. The headline on her obituary, 'Woman President of Cricket Club', shows how extraordinary this was considered even on the brink of the Second World War.<sup>221</sup>

Barrett was a member of the local Liberal Party being especially active in the Women's Liberal Association which supported women's suffrage.<sup>222</sup> She was also, very unusually, a vice-president of the church's Mutual Improvement Society from 1914.<sup>223</sup> Her obituary carried the sub-title 'Club Official Who Was No Mere Figurehead', which demonstrated that opinion in 1938 found the idea of an active female cricket club president stranger still. Her involvement was vouched for by representatives at her funeral from three cricket clubs, a local football team and a social club as well as the Women's Liberal Association.<sup>224</sup>

There is no written evidence of Barrett being officially involved in purely cricketing committees and the club minutes indicate a mainly honorific involvement. She presented medals and prizes in 1921 and chaired an annual tea committee 1928.<sup>225</sup> Her obituary,

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<sup>218</sup> O'Keefe, *Start of Play*, p. 53-4.

<sup>219</sup> Borsay, *A History of Leisure*, p. 132; Currie, Gilbert and Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers*, p 46.

<sup>220</sup> Her father was a cotton mule spinner in 1881, though by 1891 he had become a grocer. There was no servant in the household. *UK Population Censuses*, 1881, 1891.

<sup>221</sup> Obituary of Selina Barrett, *Halifax Weekly Courier and Guardian*, 31 December 1938.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>223</sup> 'Stones MIS Minutes, 1903-14', 22 June 1914.

<sup>224</sup> Apart from Stones Wesleyan CC, Sowerby St Peter's and Triangle CC had mourners at her funeral; together with Rishworth Football Club and Beaumont Bros. Social Club. Obituary of Selina Barrett.

<sup>225</sup> 'Stones CC Minutes', 26 November 1921, 26 September 1932; 31 October 1927.

though, noted that ‘she took a lively interest in the administrative side of the club, rarely missed an important game and was held in high esteem by the players and members.’<sup>226</sup> Barrett was clearly influential and demonstrated that important positions in local cricket clubs were not entirely a male preserve and could hold meanings for women beyond that of a supporting role and an opportunity to socialise. She was as important to the area’s cricket as almost all of its clergymen.

After the Great War, church cricket clubs made a small contribution to the emancipation of ordinary women by attaching tennis sections. From the late nineteenth century tennis had been regarded as an acceptable sport for females but had in practice been restricted to middle-class women, McKibbin considering this to be so even during the inter-war period.<sup>227</sup> Many working-class women had, for the first time, an opportunity to compete with and against men. Women were involved in running the sporting activities at Illingworth following the amalgamation of the cricket and tennis clubs.<sup>228</sup> Stones had a tennis club from at least 1923, in which year the clubs’ finances were united.<sup>229</sup> Where churches themselves established tennis clubs, there was often a close association with the cricket club. For example, Northowram Wesleyan Cricket Club, formed in 1919, came together with the chapel’s tennis club founded around the same time and held a joint fundraising concert in the Sunday school in November that year.<sup>230</sup>

This particular aspect of church cricket was short-lived. The tennis club at Illingworth was disbanded before the Second World War.<sup>231</sup> The one at Stones had an even earlier demise; the court had been turned into a practice wicket by 1934.<sup>232</sup> With the meaning for many in tennis clubs being courting rather than sporting, this was perhaps a consequence of increasing social outlets throughout the area, particularly the boom in dancing from the 1920s.<sup>233</sup>

Women were vital to church cricket in Halifax and the Calder Valley. This was seen initially and mainly in a supporting and domestic-type capacity, and through establishing family bonds with the clubs. However, Vickery has challenged the perception that ‘the maintenance

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<sup>226</sup> Obituary of Selina Barrett.

<sup>227</sup> McKibbin, *Classes and Cultures*, pp. 361, 369.

<sup>228</sup> ‘Illingworth CC Minute Book 3’. The amalgamation was ratified at the Special General Meeting. 21 November 1921. Joint membership was 10/6d for both men and women.

<sup>229</sup> ‘Stones CC Minutes’, 1 October 1923.

<sup>230</sup> John O’Shea, ‘The Birth of a Club: 1919-1939’, ‘Northowram Hedge Top’ (ex Northowram Wesleyans), C&K Website, <http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/northowramhedge/docs/TheBirthofaClub.pdf>.

<sup>231</sup> Tony Woodhouse, *Illingworth St. Mary’s Cricket Club, Centenary Brochure 1884- 1984*, p.24.

<sup>232</sup> ‘Stones CC Minutes’, 8 October 1934.

<sup>233</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 215-6; Heywoods, *In a League of their Own*, pp. 209-10; Mitchell, *Brighouse: Birth and Death*, p. 157.

of a sexual division of labour within institutions [is] *the same thing as* the separation of public and private spheres'.<sup>234</sup> Women in church cricket in the area, despite the same sphere of activity had nonetheless made some progress by moving into in a new public sphere. Moreover, as Bourke holds, domestic-oriented duties could themselves be empowering and bring prestige. As regards the effect of the war, Pugh argued that it 'clearly failed to alter traditional ideas about the roles of the two sexes'.<sup>235</sup> This was not clearly so: women had had their case for electoral equality accepted by 1928. And in post-1918 church cricket in the Halifax area, changing attitudes were evidenced by women becoming members of clubs and taking on roles beyond that of the purely domestic. By 1931 women were playing cricket and one woman, at least, held the position of Club President.

### **Members and the Great War**

The war and its aftermath had the effect of galvanising the membership of the primary church clubs which had survived to 1914. These emerged strengthened. Stones Wesleyans won the first post-war Halifax Amateur League Cup Final. Illingworth won the Halifax Parish League and, as did Outlane, was soon moving into a better standard league.<sup>236</sup> As noted, the end of hostilities actually brought a revival, albeit a short one, in the area's church cricket.

Two Illingworth members were victims of the war but the conflict's devastation was nowhere more graphically seen than at the Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Sunday school club, which lost eleven members - an entire team.<sup>237</sup> By 1919, however, it was again fielding two teams and its officers had increased from 10 to 12 and its number of vice-presidents from 10 to 19.<sup>238</sup> In 1919 Stones demonstrated as much continuity as would be expected over any five-year interval with the same president and the same number of vice-presidents and officers. Four officials were the same and had been joined by the former first team captain.<sup>239</sup> By 1921 the number of officials had increased to 18 and its vice-presidents from two to ten.

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<sup>234</sup> Vickery, 'Golden Age', 400, italics original.

<sup>235</sup> Pugh, *State and Society*, p. 175.

<sup>236</sup> The effects of the war and its immediate aftermath are also discussed in chapters five 'Grounds', six 'Finance' and eight 'Community Service'. Stones defeated Rishworth in 1919. Illingworth moved into the Yorkshire Cricket Council and Outlane (by now independent) into the Huddersfield and District Cricket Association.

<sup>237</sup> Harry Newsholme and John Turner of Illingworth were killed in 1916. O'Keefe, *Start of Play*, p. 34. At Mytholmroyd Hermon Beverley, Harry Watson, William S. Todd, John T. Greenwood, Herbert Sutcliffe, Thomas Carter, Earnest C. Hopkinson, Willie Thorpe, Archibald Simpson, Frank Crabtree and John Helliwell were lost. Information from a framed memorial compilation of photographs kept at the chapel.

<sup>238</sup> 'Mytholmroyd Fixture Cards', 1914 and 1919.

<sup>239</sup> C. Barrett, G. Whiteley, F. Beverley, S. Pearson and B. Riley. 'Stones CC Minutes', AGMs of 29 October 1914 and 30 September 1919.

The situation was similarly healthy at Illingworth and Outlane, although the latter club had, perhaps unsurprisingly, lost seven vice-presidents between 1914 before finally securing its ground and future in 1921. Whereas in 1914 there were five chapel members as officials or vice-presidents now there were none. The break with the chapel in 1919 may possibly have been responsible for two, but by 1922 the other three were dead and there were only 15 male members of the chapel itself.<sup>240</sup> Another measure of the potential for membership as a consequence of the break with the chapel was the call in 1922 to enlist ‘all the publicans of the village’ as vice-presidents.<sup>241</sup>

### **A Non-Church Comparison: Lumbutts CC.**

Lumbutts, despite its selection as a secular equivalent to church clubs for comparative analysis, conspired to reveal that the contribution of religious organisations to popular cricket exceeded a simple count of their clubs. The inaugural winner of the Calder Valley League in 1891, Lumbutts was formed in its almost mountainous industrial village above Todmorden. It was the type of community in which social life classically revolved around the chapel.<sup>242</sup> The Methodists there did form a Sunday school club in the early 1920s during the brief post-war renaissance of church cricket.<sup>243</sup>

The club corresponded in social composition to the church clubs investigated, such as Stones and Outlane, see table 4.1. It was almost indistinguishable from that of Inchfield Bottom ten years later, with at least eleven members directly employed in cotton.<sup>244</sup> The honorific office of president in 1891 was a clerk. The three officers identified were all working men, see table 4.2. The club disbanded in 1912, two years after Inchfield Bottom, accompanying the collapse of the Calder Valley League itself. Although the club had started to run down its operations, it still had a committee of ten plus two officers. The four identified were in

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<sup>240</sup> Illingworth had the same number of officials with continuity through Harry Hustwick, James A. Jenkinson and Clement Pickles, AGMs of 1914 and 1919, ‘Illingworth CC Minute Book 2’, 9 October 1914 and 17 October 1919. Outlane had 12 vice-presidents in 1921 with continuity through five: H. Ainley, W. H. Ainley, J. Crooks and J. H. Noble. The president remained and the officials increased from 12 to 13 with H. Gee, F. Irelsdale and J. Whitwam appearing in both committees. The deceased chapel members Joe Pearson, Fred Sykes and George Holroyd had all been vice-presidents. It is not known, though doubtful, whether the other two, Ben Hoyle and John Birkinshaw, as long-time club members had left because of the split. ‘Outlane MNC Membership’, 1914, 1922.

<sup>241</sup> ‘Outlane CC Minutes’, 4 March 1922.

<sup>242</sup> See Gilbert, *Religion and Society*, pp. 112-4.

<sup>243</sup> Ralph Wilkinson, *Unto the Hills: The Story of Methodism in Lumbutts, 1837-1981*, p. 26. A Boys’ Brigade cricket league was also formed in the Halifax area in 1921, running until 1931 (information courtesy of Andrew Hardcastle).

<sup>244</sup> See Appendix 12 Members of Lumbutts Cricket Club, 1891. One member, Thomas Greenwood, was either a butcher or a cotton weaver. Another, Edwin Howarth, was indirectly employed in cotton being engaged in the manufacture of pickers - the leather attachments used to drive the shuttle across a weaving loom.

working-class occupations.<sup>245</sup> By then it had a solicitor in the honorific position of president and, as the church clubs, councillors as vice presidents.<sup>246</sup>

The club's connections with the village's United Methodist Free Church (later, United Methodist Church) chapel are striking. A *conversazione* held in the chapel's Sunday school in April 1891 had two, and probably four, cricket club members out of a total of eleven males running stalls or entertaining.<sup>247</sup> On a conservative assessment there were four other cricket club members from 1891 who were trustees or pew holders (or their widows were by that time) in 1912.<sup>248</sup> Additionally, from 1910, there were four officials who were trustees, another who was a pew holder and one vice-president who was a pew holder.<sup>249</sup> Since 1894, the chapel at Lumbutts had shared its minister with that of Inchfield Bottom in a quasi-parochial rather than itinerant system in the Todmorden circuit, probably due to a clerical shortage.<sup>250</sup> Apart from personal links, the cricket club had use of the chapel's schoolroom. It was here that the club celebrated winning the Calder Valley League in 1891 with a 'public tea and entertainment', in which '250 partook ... the schoolroom being quite crowded.'<sup>251</sup>

One reason that Lumbutts was not a church club may have been residual opposition within the chapel's hierarchy. Although the chapel had hired the club its schoolroom on a fairly regular basis, a request to do so for 'an entertainment' in 1899, saw the trustees referring formally to 'the Lumbutts Cricket Club' and insisting that 'that no unseemly pieces be

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<sup>245</sup> The president was Albert Midgley. The councillors were J. Andley and J. Wilkinson, 'Lumbutts CC Minutes', 9 March 1911.

<sup>246</sup> 'Lumbutts CC Minutes', 23 January 1912. The president was John A. Ingham. The identified officers were the treasurer, William H. Bentley, a cotton millhand; William Pickles, a cotton weaver; James Needham, a cotton warp dresser; and Thomas Webster, either a cardroom worker or a groom/gardener.

<sup>247</sup> *Todmorden Advertiser*, 3 April 1891. Frank Halstead and Frank Taylor are reasonably certain, the 'probables' being J[ames] Wilkinson and T[homas] Greenwood. Surnames such as Greenwood, Sutcliffe and Fielden were so common in the Todmorden-Hebden Bridge areas that there is always a little more doubt than usual.

<sup>248</sup> Fred Halstead, (Mrs) William Sunderland, Charles Jackson and Crossley Wilkinson. Strong possibilities include Crossley Sutcliffe, (Mrs) G Holden and (Mrs) A Bentley.

<sup>249</sup> These were respectively: William Henry Bentley, Thomas Webster and Thomas Law, James Wilkinson (later vice-president); James Lord; and John Greenwood. 'Lumbutts CC Minutes', 24 October 1910, 9 March 1911, January 23 1912; 'Lumbutts Pew Rentals', 1912; Wilkinson, *Unto the Hills*, p. 41.

<sup>250</sup> Until 1894 Lumbutts UMFC and Inchfield Bottom UMFC were in the same circuit in which 'the Ministers operated on a rota basis', after this 'the Walsden Minister had pastoral oversight of the two churches', Wilkinson, *Unto the Hills*, p. 42. In 1907 the chapels (and circuit) both became part of the new United Methodist Church formed when the UMFC, Methodist New Connexion and the Bible Christians denominations united.

<sup>251</sup> With a 'public tea and entertainment', *Todmorden Advertiser*, 16 October 1891. Concerts and other entertainments continued, but only on one other occasion is the venue recorded, that again being at Oldroyd, the receipts and expenditure being noted in February 1910.

allowed to be said or sung thereat'.<sup>252</sup> The event was held that year at nearby Oldroyd's School instead.<sup>253</sup>

The main explanation for Lumbutts being a village rather than chapel club, however, was the church's low level of membership. The village itself, let alone the chapel, would have struggled to produce sufficient members to support the two sides which played in the Calder Valley and Todmorden and District Leagues. The chapel's centenary brochure states that its membership almost doubled between 1897 and 1902, suggesting that it was sparsely patronised at the time the cricket club was formed.<sup>254</sup> Had it not been for the Wesleyan secession of the 1830s there may well have been a chapel club at next-door Mankinholes accommodating the Lumbutts players.<sup>255</sup> This was one occasion in which their divisions resulted in fewer not more Methodist cricket clubs.

## **Conclusion**

Church cricket was in the vanguard of popular organised cricket. Working men dominated both the membership and the running of church cricket clubs. Moreover, more than one-fifth of members were unskilled workers or labourers.<sup>256</sup> There was a disproportionately high number of middle-class, usually lower-middle-class, officers. Despite the potential - and sometimes, actual - social division from the later 1880s, church clubs exhibited class co-operation.

The clubs' membership supported the 'optimistic' view of working-class religious adherence, particularly at their outset when most had church or Sunday school qualifications. The holding of important offices in both club and church was far earlier and more prominent within Methodism than Anglicanism. Chapels, in return, also benefited more than churches from the experience gained by their members in running cricket clubs.

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<sup>252</sup> Wilkinson, *Unto the Hills*, p. 17.

<sup>253</sup> 'Lumbutts CC Treasurer's Book', 21 October 1899. This was Oldroyd Independent Methodists, another breakaway from Mankinholes whose chapel opened in 1882. 'Old Royd Independent Methodist Chapel', *Todmorden and Walsden*, <http://todmordenandwalsden.co.uk/>, 28 February 2012.

<sup>254</sup> Wilkinson, *Unto the Hills*, p. 19. Wilkinson gave no adequate explanation. He stated that Todmorden was growing in population and prosperity but the implied suburbanisation would not convincingly account for this sudden boom.

<sup>255</sup> The congregation at Mankinholes Wesleyans split over the college-education and authority of ministers as well as social factors. The rebels formed their Wesleyan Methodist Association chapel at Lumbutts about half-a-mile away. See Appendix 2 Methodism Divided in Halifax and the Calder Valley.

<sup>256</sup> Depending on multiple possibilities found in the population censuses, this was 31-33 out of a total known membership of 146 (excluding clergy). That is, between 21.2 and 22.6 per cent.

The few positions of authority held by ordinary men in the Established Church did provide some ammunition for the 'pessimistic' school of working-class religious alienation. This could have appeared the case also with church cricket if newspapers alone were consulted. High profile, reportable, club occasions were dominated by the loudest not the majority voices: the speeches of clergy, and wealthy patrons and guests. This helps to explain why sports historians like Brailsford and, to a lesser degree, Holt, concluded that clubs were dominated by middle-class members. But the speechmakers were not running the clubs. Hill provided a valuable paradigm for understanding the importance of the clubs through providing different meanings for different groups. For local politicians and businessmen they were a platform and part of a social network. For some they provided a chance to compete in formal sport and for others an opportunity to shape an organisation and unconsciously create a little of their own history.

The age and social profile of membership could differ somewhat between Sunday school and church clubs. The former needed support from older church members. This was abundant at Mytholmroyd which prospered but not at Inchfield Bottom which failed. The strength of the chapel community at Mytholmroyd proved more significant than its social composition. Although the desired gain to the Sunday school itself was short-lived, the chapel benefited from the co-operative effort, which probably helped the club to survive the loss of what amounted to an entire team during the Great War. The memberships of the clubs still operating in 1914 generally held up strongly during the war, all surviving with most soon moving into a higher standard of cricket.

Church cricket played a small role in the liberation of women from the constraints of 'separate spheres'. Although their contribution was largely in a predictably domestic and ancillary capacity, unlike many voluntary organisations, the clubs enabled mainly working-class women to socialise beyond the home and church and to play a vital role in developing and cementing the future of those clubs. The evidence, albeit limited, suggests that they were content to demonstrate their domestic, social and organisational skills and found these to be valued. One woman, Selina Barrett, gave an example of what could be done in pushing back the wider boundaries for females when she became president at Stones Wesleyans. However, only after 1930 did any significant female cricket emerge in the area.

Finally, the non-church club, Lumbutts, was indistinguishable from the primary clubs in terms of social composition and control. What unexpectedly emerged was the strength of the club's links to the local chapel in terms of personnel, including having its ministers and

trustees as vice-presidents, and in its use of the church school. Only lack of numbers seems to have prevented it, too, from being a church side. It contrasted with Outlane which, as a formerly independent club, was resurrected at the chapel through personal links. Both cases served to emphasise the continuing centrality of the churches and consequently their place as a natural home for popular cricket up to the Great War.



## CHAPTER 5 GROUNDS: THE CATHEDRALS OF CHURCH CRICKET

### Introduction

Grounds were of crucial importance to church cricket and the endeavour of establishing, maintaining and improving them could make or break a club. Grounds were also as much about social history as cricket history. They appeared in a terrain that, like the economy and society, continued to be transformed on an unprecedented scale during a period which included the traumas of industrialisation and world war. Cricket pitches were embodiments of what men, who rarely made headlines in newspapers, could fashion beyond the confines of the workplace. Moreover, the development of grounds was something that both linked and transcended generations. This exhibited that degree of collaboration between classes which Jack Williams identified during the inter-war period as part of the glue holding the nation together during difficult times.<sup>1</sup> The case is also made, however, that the developing of their grounds tended to move church clubs in a secular direction.

Simon Green notes that a visitor to Halifax, observing the local landscape, could not ‘but be struck by the number and grandeur’ of its churches. He makes special mention of St Thomas’s, Claremount ‘perched seemingly precariously near the moorland on the hills’.<sup>2</sup> He could almost have been referring to the area’s cricket grounds such as the Outlane club sited at 850 feet on the edge of a quarry.

The visitor might similarly have been struck by contemporaneous developments at St Mary’s, Illingworth church towards the end of the 1880s.

In 1888 ... the magnificent new chancel and chaste and beautiful side chapel – the mosaic floors of both of which were given by Mr. J. T. Ramsden - were begun and were dedicated, on May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1889, by the Bishop of Wakefield (Dr. Walsham How). The classical style of this addition has improved, astonishingly, the Georgian character of the general building .... It is a vision of devotional beauty which bursts upon the visitor ....<sup>3</sup>

And at its cricket club...

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<sup>1</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, especially Chapter 6, ‘Cricket, Hierarchy and Class’.

<sup>2</sup> Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Oakley, *The Story of Saint Mary’s*, pp. 92-3.

On Saturday afternoon the new cricket ground in connection with St Mary's Cricket Club was formally opened by Mr. J. T. Ramsden of Jumps House. The ground, which is situate behind the Vicarage, was finished in May, 1887, having been cut by Mr. Lister Kershaw, of Brighouse. It was decided, however, not to play on it for twelve months, so that now the ground is in splendid condition.<sup>4</sup>

As were churches, local cricket grounds were symbols of the age. They, too, changed the landscape.

Yet, despite the enormous amount of attention devoted to cricket and cricket history, woefully little attention has been given to the central importance of grounds in local cricket. Even the few academic writers who have examined club and league cricket more than superficially have not fully considered their importance. Neither Keith Sandiford in *Cricket and the Victorians*, Jack Williams in *Cricket and England* nor Andrew Hignell in *A 'Favourit' Game* devote an entry to grounds in their indexes.<sup>5</sup> This omission is particularly surprising as grounds provide a thread that runs through the history of clubs. Williams and Hignell do note the difficulties in obtaining a ground, their often-poor standard once secured, and the sometimes-crucial dependence of working-class cricketers on middle-class patronage.<sup>6</sup> They do not, though, consider grounds as a continuing - and sometimes overarching - feature of cricket clubs, and as a barometer of their progress.

As did churches, grounds required not only construction but constant upkeep. There were few areas where this was more problematic than in the Pennine areas of the West Riding. John Hargreaves notes that in Halifax the 'impervious nature of the bedrock, the poor quality of the topsoil, the rough inhospitable terrain, and the cold wet climate probably deterred invaders and settlers in the period up to 1500'.<sup>7</sup>

The same conditions made it difficult for cricketers, too. The sheer altitude of many grounds added to the difficulties with increased exposure to the elements and additional problems of transport for materials as well as cricketers themselves. Mountain United CC, near Queensbury, played at around 1250 feet (381 metres).<sup>8</sup> The lowest lying club was Brighouse Alexandra in the valley at 177 feet (54 metres) with the highest church club, Bradshaw St

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<sup>4</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 19 May 1888.

<sup>5</sup> Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*; Williams, *Cricket and England*; Hignell, *A 'Favourit' Game*.

<sup>6</sup> Jack Williams, 'Recreational Cricket in the Bolton Area Between the Wars', pp. 103-4, 108-9 in Richard Holt (ed.) *Sport and the Working Class in Modern Britain* (University Press, Manchester, 1990); Hignell, *A Favourit' Game*, pp.120-5.

<sup>7</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Bradford Sub Aqua Club, slightly lower than the defunct Mountain ground stands at 1224 feet, 'Bradford Sub Aqua Club, Mountain', *geograph*, <http://www.geograph.org.uk/photo/39966>, Accessed 16 May 2012.

John's, at 919 feet (280 metres).<sup>9</sup> The average altitude of clubs is approximately 600 feet (182.8 metres).<sup>10</sup>

An earlier historian of the area put the task into perspective:

The unfavourable situation of Halifax may serve to prove how completely the wealth, and industry of man can trample over the stubborn indispositions of nature ... it is here the tiller who has made the soil, and not the soil which has enriched the tiller.<sup>11</sup>

With the creation and improvement of their grounds, church cricket clubs were to depend far more on industry than wealth.

### **Urbanisation: Stimulation and Strangulation**

Spatial competition, already a factor in Halifax and the Calder Valley as a consequence of geography and enclosure, was greatly sharpened by the rapid and largely uncontrolled industrial-urbanisation of the nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Sandiford, however, recognised how this could stimulate the growth of sport:

Like other sports in the late-Victorian era, cricket profited immeasurably from the ongoing process of urbanization. Between 1871 and 1901 the percentage of the English population living in urban centres increased from 61 to 77, thereby producing superior markets for commercialised sport.<sup>13</sup>

Urbanisation promoted a mutually reinforcing process of spectatorship and interest in playing cricket and other sport. Halifax Football Club, formed in 1873, attracted crowds of many thousands. In 1886, 14,000 spectators watched them defeat Bradford in the Yorkshire Cup Final at Leeds, with 3,000 locked out.<sup>14</sup> In cricket, the Todmorden club, which was very strongly identified with the town, attracted hundreds and sometimes thousands of

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<sup>9</sup> 'Brighouse CC', *C&K Website*, <http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/brighouse/clubhome.htm>, Accessed 2 November 2011; 'Bradshaw CC', *C&K Website*, <http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/bradshaw/clubhome.htm>, Accessed 15 May 2012.

<sup>10</sup> From 'Altitude League Table Showing Heights of All Cricket Cubs in Calderdale', *C&K Website*, <http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/docs/AltitudeLeagueTableCalderdale.pdf>, Accessed 2 November 2011.

<sup>11</sup> Rev. Dr T. D. Whitaker in Crabtree, *A Concise History of Halifax*, p. 5.

<sup>12</sup> See chapter one, 'Moors, Mills and Ministers'.

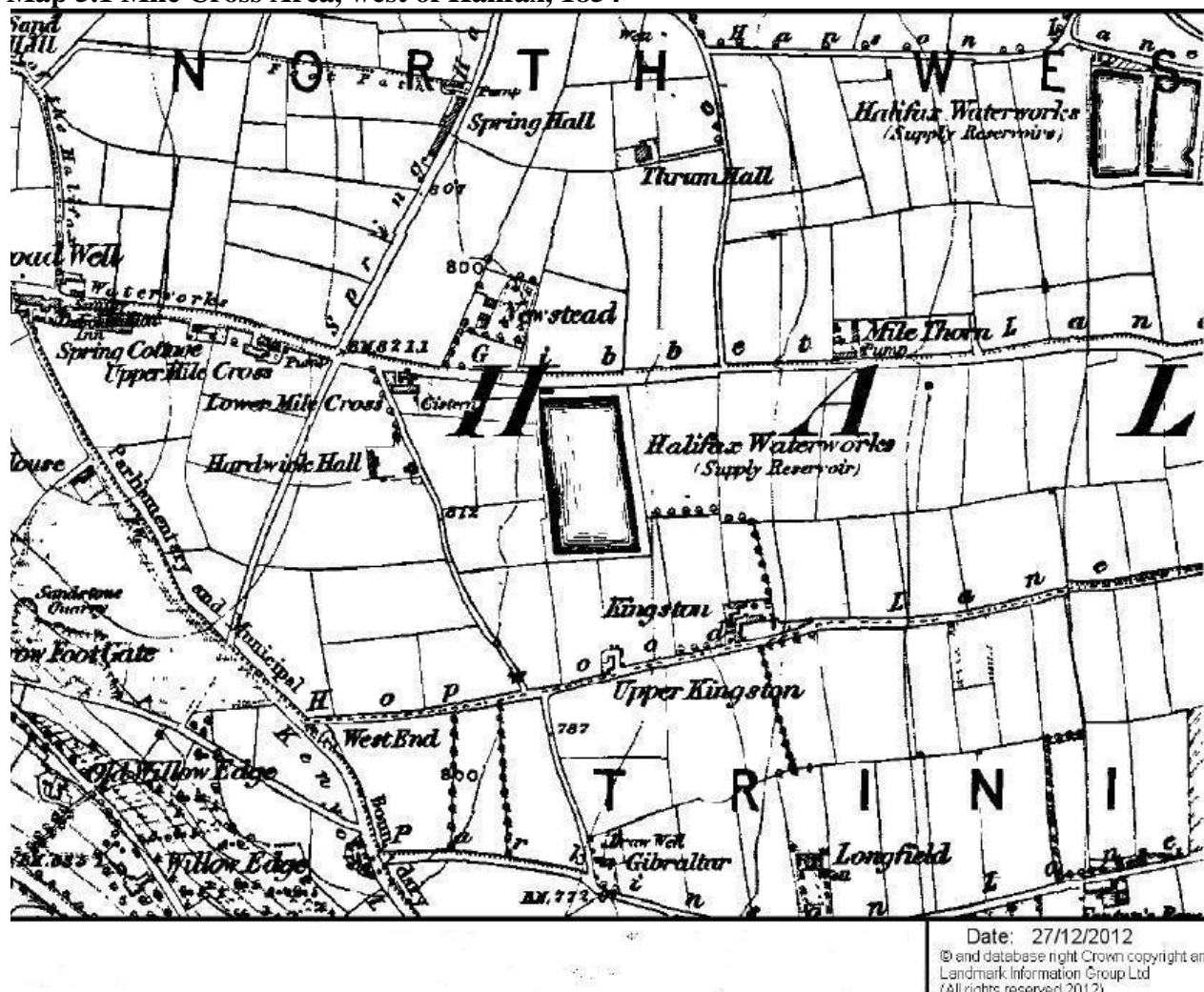
<sup>13</sup> Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, p. 54.

<sup>14</sup> Collins, *Rugby's Great Split*, p. 33.

spectators.<sup>15</sup> The very high concentration of young men in the urban areas in the 1870s had further stimulated demand for both playing and watching cricket.

Urbanisation, however, as it encouraged participation in cricket simultaneously reduced this very possibility. Untrammelled *laissez-faire* capitalism absorbed the closest and flattest land - including existing cricket pitches.<sup>16</sup> In Halifax the number of mills more than doubled from 24 in 1851 to 56 only 14 years later.<sup>17</sup> Andrew Hardcastle saw this, and the accompanying growth in housing, taking over the 'empty field sites [forcing] cricket teams further up the hill [and] pushing teams onto land above Queens Road by the 1880s', see maps 5.1 and 5.2.<sup>18</sup>

**Map 5.1 Mile Cross Area, west of Halifax, 1854<sup>19</sup>**



<sup>15</sup> Heywoods, *Cloth Caps*.

<sup>16</sup> With the exception of the area to the south of Halifax around Skircoat Moor, protected, as Green observed, for the residences of the 'seigneurial and landowning classes', then the millocracy. Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, pp. 72-3.

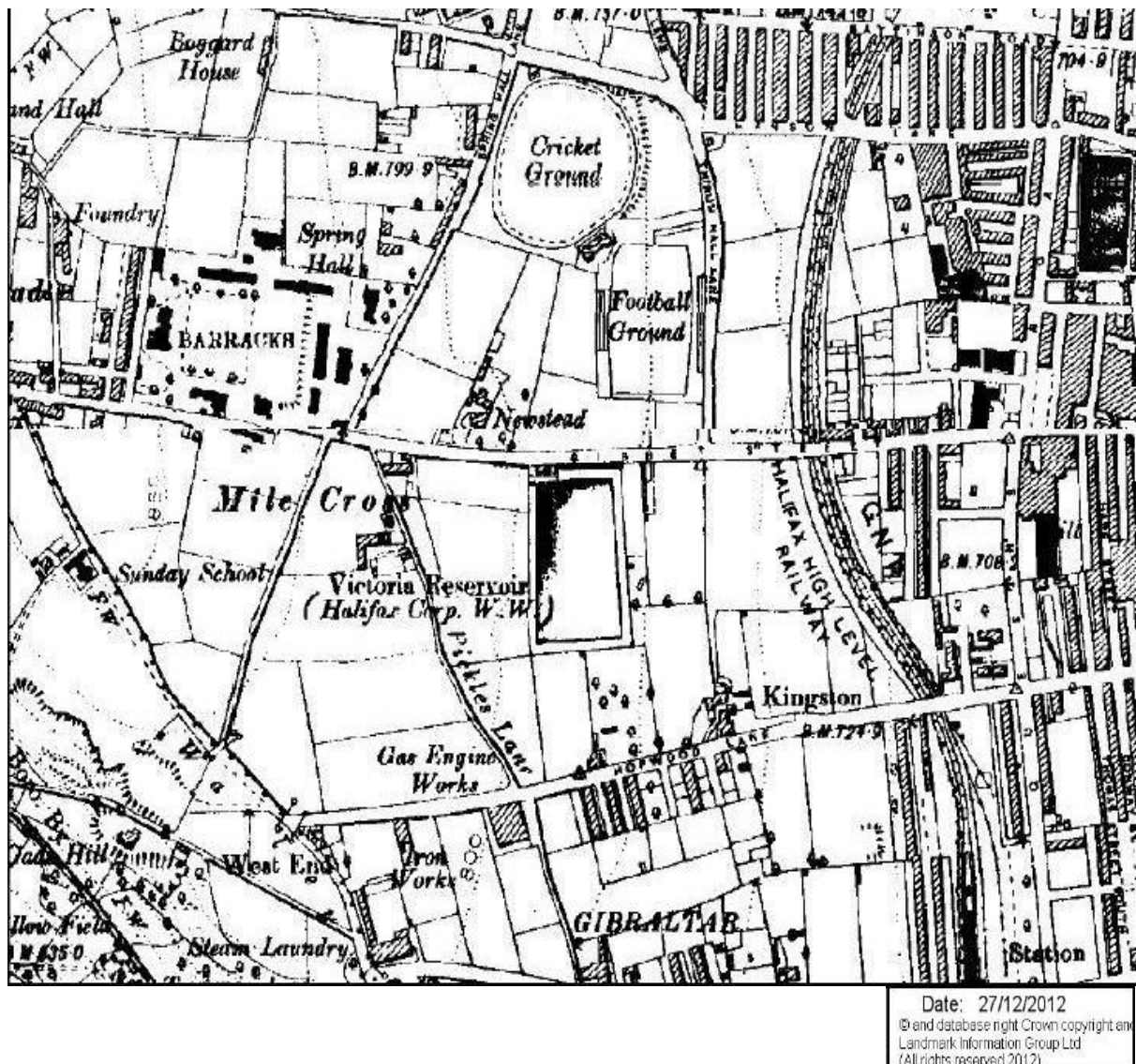
<sup>17</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 129.

<sup>18</sup> Hardcastle, *Lost*, p. 90.

<sup>19</sup> Maps 5.1-5.6, inclusive, are reproduced courtesy of Landmark Information Group and Calderdale Council.

### Map 5.2 Mile Cross Area, 1894

(Queens Road, constructed in 1861, is just east of the High Level Railway, running north-south.)



Control of urban development began to be considered only during the two decades before the Great War with the first Town and Country Planning Act not appearing until 1909, by which point the boom in the area's cricket provoked by the leagues had already passed.<sup>20</sup>

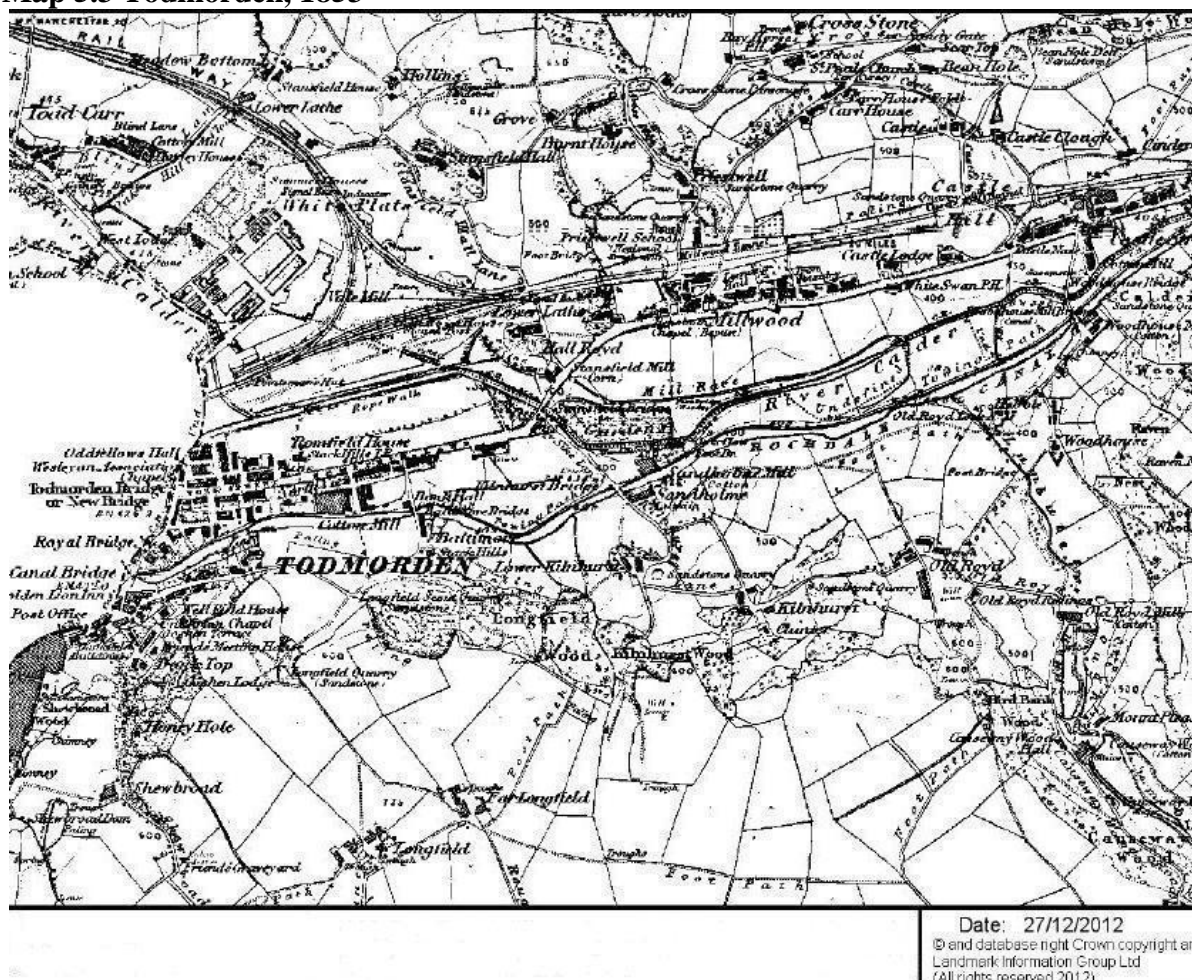
Queens Road, a mile or so west of the town centre, with its lower middle-class terracing and back-to-back working-class housing, was the only major new road built in the town during the nineteenth century. Its very uniqueness highlighted the general problem of rapid urbanisation unaccompanied by improvements in transport. There were no trams in Halifax until 1898. Although working people were accustomed to walking, this brought constraints of time for those in factories, especially with limited daylight at either end of the cricket season.

<sup>20</sup> J. A. Yelling, 'Land Property and Planning', in Martin Daunton (ed.) *The Cambridge Urban History of Great Britain: Volume III 1840-1950* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 478.

The space available for cricket pitches was further squeezed as the competition for land was heightened by the decline of textiles and the subsequent diversification of industry. Though some use was made of redundant mill space, more buildings appeared to cater for the new industries. The confectioner John Mackintosh opened a large new factory on Queens Road in 1898; in 1914, Frederick Town erected a factory for his drill manufacturing business even further west at Mile Cross, formerly the home of various cricket teams;<sup>21</sup> and premises built in 1871 by the Asquith's engineering firm even further out of the town at Highroad Well expanded rapidly before the Great War.<sup>22</sup>

Urbanisation brought the same pressure on land to the Todmorden area in the west. With industrialisation the population more than trebled between 1801 and 1901.<sup>23</sup> Factories ate up precious space in the narrow valley, see maps 5.3 and 5.4. By the early 1830s the Fieldens

**Map 5.3 Todmorden, 1853**

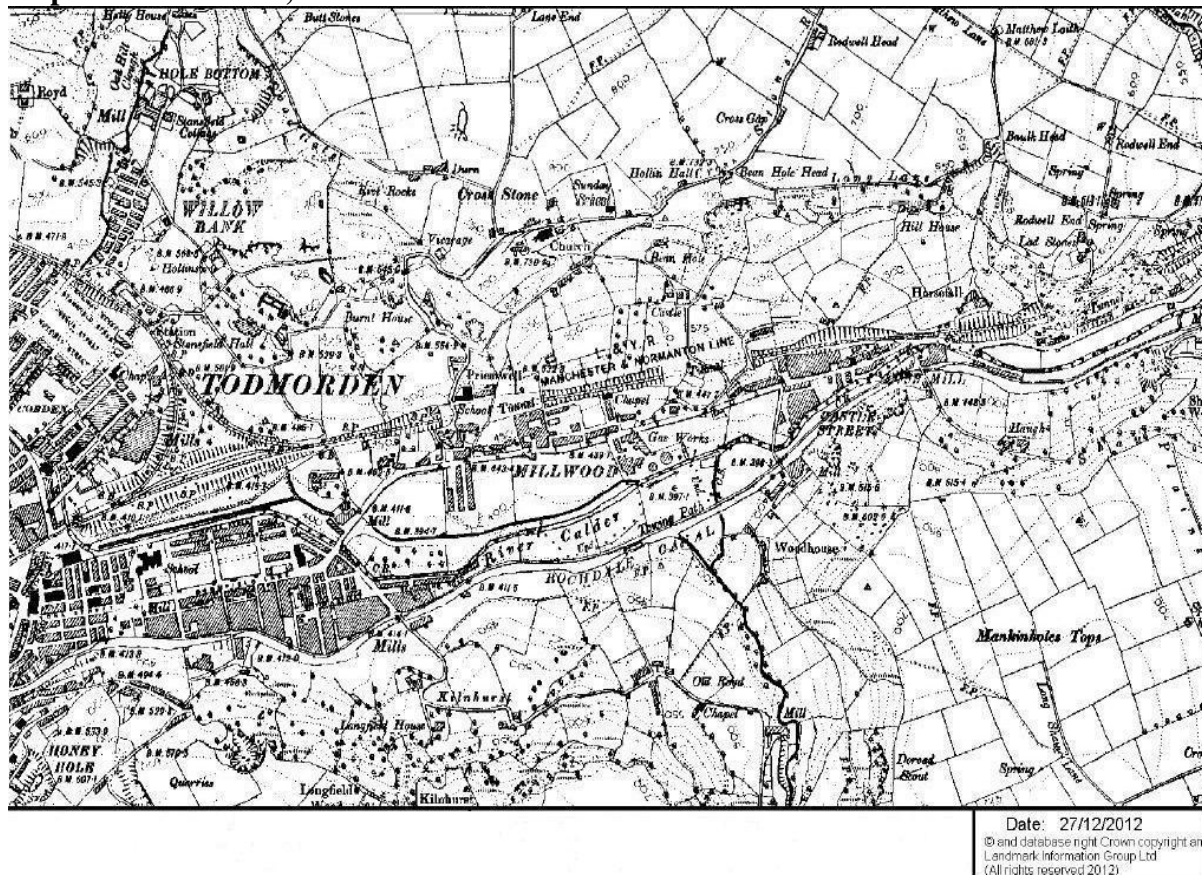


<sup>21</sup> Including church teams such as Pellon Lane Baptists, St John's Wesleyans, Stannery Congregationalists and St Mary's. Hardcastle, *Lost*, pp. 15, 22, 25.

<sup>22</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 132-34.

<sup>23</sup> See Appendix 1 Town Populations of Halifax and the Calder Valley 1801-1931.

Map 5.4 Todmorden, 1894



alone owned seven mills.<sup>24</sup> The prosperous years between the ‘Hungry Forties’ and the depression of the early 1860s brought by the cotton shortage consequent on the American Civil War, saw further factory expansion including Crow Carr Ings Mill at Todmorden in 1857 and Alma Mills at Hollins, down the valley at Walsden, opened in 1858. A new spinning mill and weaving shed appeared at Knowlwood Bottom along with cottages for their workers as textiles expanded into ‘the town centre and every valley.’<sup>25</sup>

By 1911, the majority of working-class housing in Todmorden was squashed into the valleys stretching out as far as Portsmouth, Eastwood and Walsden Bottoms.<sup>26</sup> The town had become even more deprived of land for the playing of sport. Centre Vale sold to the town by John Ashton Fielden was opened to the public only in 1912, but this provided no additional ground as Todmorden Cricket Club already played there.<sup>27</sup> Newer industrial towns and villages in the Calder Valley that were to produce significant cricket clubs followed the same pattern of

<sup>24</sup> Heywoods and Jennings, *A History of Todmorden*, p. 154.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 176-7, 179.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

increased potential with increased difficulty in obtaining pitches. By 1901 Brighouse had grown to 21,735, Sowerby Bridge to 11,477 and Elland to 10,412.<sup>28</sup>

Hardcastle found a history of difficulties in obtaining pitches, noting that ‘Calderdale has never been noted for its provision of sporting facilities and in recent times potential teams have been stifled at birth by an inability to find a suitable ground.’<sup>29</sup> In 1895, for example, the Unitarian Church club was forced to withdraw from the Todmorden and District League as it could not find a field and another church club, Elland Upper Edge Baptists in the Halifax Parish League, disbanded following the loss of its ground in 1916.<sup>30</sup> Even respected, long-established clubs could be at the mercy of their grounds. In 1913, Ovenden, the keen local rival of Illingworth St Mary’s, had to withdraw its application to the Parish League, then in the process of formation, when difficulties with their landlord left them unable to guarantee the tenancy of their ground for the inaugural season and the club subsequently became defunct.<sup>31</sup> The general problem was compounded with municipal grounds not appearing in the area until after the Second World War.

Philanthropy did boost the space available for cricket during the late-Victorian period. However, the most significant donation, the 56-acre Skircoat Moor, 1½ miles to the south of Halifax, secured rather than increased available land. Having survived numerous attempts at enclosure, the area was effectively given to the town in 1866 by Captain Henry Savile, with the Halifax Corporation pledged to ‘maintain [it] as an open public recreation or play ground for ever.’<sup>32</sup> Savile also, in 1881, leased a 24-acre woodland to the north of Halifax to the corporation for 999 years at £1 per annum, this becoming Shroggs Park.<sup>33</sup> This provided space for one pitch with, among others, the local church club Lee Mount Baptists playing there.<sup>34</sup> Edward Akroyd’s model village of Copley incorporated a recreation ground where Copley United Cricket Club played from at least 1864.<sup>35</sup>

Other private donations, however welcome they were to the town, did not further the cause of cricket. People’s Park, designed by Joseph Paxton and presented to the town by Sir Francis

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<sup>28</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 127.

<sup>29</sup> Hardcastle, *Lost*, p. 89.

<sup>30</sup> Todmorden and District League AGM, 18 October 1895, *Todmorden Advertiser*, 25 October 1895; ‘Halifax Parish League Minutes’, 3 March 1916.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Halifax Parish League Minutes’, 30 September and 11 October 1913.

<sup>32</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 10 May 1866. Savile received the nominal sum of £100 for the land, which was re-named Savile Park, Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 143. The area still answers to both names, but is most commonly referred to locally as simply ‘The Moor’.

<sup>33</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 143.

<sup>34</sup> Hardcastle, *Lost*, p. 16.

<sup>35</sup> ‘The Copley United Cricket Club’, 1864, in ‘Copley CC The Early Years’, *C&K Website*, [http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/copley/docs/copley\\_theearlyyears.pdf](http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/copley/docs/copley_theearlyyears.pdf), Accessed 6 June 2012.



Crossley in 1857, forbade ‘games ... of any kind’, its intention being to foster ‘quiet repose’ although, in the new spirit of rational recreation, bands were permitted ‘under fixed regulations’.<sup>36</sup> There was no place either for team sport when Akroyd bequeathed his eight-acre Bankfield estate to the town as Akroyd Park just prior to his death in 1887, or at Highroad Well to the north-west of the town where land, originally owned by Lord Savile, was turned into West View Park in 1897 by two local manufacturers, Henry McCrea and Enoch Robinson.<sup>37</sup>

With all these pre- and post-industrial constraints on spatial resources, private landowners were crucial. Even Skircoat Moor, which could host several matches at any one time, could only satisfy a fraction of the burgeoning demand. Other public grassed areas did survive for playing sport but not all were sufficiently large or suitable for cricket. There remained, moreover, a dearth of land conducive to the establishing of cricket grounds at affordable rents.

### **Building Grounds: Making a Home**

Finding a location to play cricket was only the start of what for some clubs was to become a protracted, laborious and expensive venture. Initially there would have been many young men happy simply at having the opportunity to play and not overly concerned at the state of their pitches. Despite the absence of municipal provision, there were teams playing on communal pitches which they did not maintain, principally Skircoat Moor. There were also many clubs and teams that soon lost the first flush of enthusiasm and disbanded.

Although rudimentary equipment and technique played a part, the low scores in the early decades of popular organised cricket reflected the state of the pitches. Scores of fewer than 50 were commonplace and ones of less than 20, and even less than 10, were not unknown. In a Whit Monday fixture in 1860, Perseverance of Elland lost to Lindley by 26 to 31.<sup>38</sup> In 1877, Illingworth played five fixtures at an average of 39.4 per innings. The opposition did little better, averaging 47.8.<sup>39</sup> In 1884 Stones Wesleyans averaged 63.2 to their oppositions’ 35.8.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Rule 2, *A Handbook to the People’s Park, Halifax* (Halifax, James Lord, 1857), pp. 8, 6.

<sup>37</sup> ‘Bankfield Museum, Akroyd Park, Halifax’, *Weaver to Web*, <http://www.calderdale.gov.uk/wtw/search/controlervlet?PageId=Detail&DocId=100144>, Accessed 5 March 2012; ‘West View Park, Halifax’, *From Weaver to Web*, <http://www.calderdale.gov.uk/wtw/search/controlervlet?PageId=Detail&DocId=100076>, Accessed 5 March 2012.

<sup>38</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 2 June 1860. The game was decided on first innings due to bad weather.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 28 July to 1 September 1877. At this time teams batting second continued after they had passed their opponent’s score.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 May to 27 September 1884.

In order to raise the standard of their cricket, ambitious clubs needed a pitch that they could develop and maintain - their own ground. The disadvantages of communal areas were keenly understood by Copley United as early as 1864:

The Club labours under a great disadvantage in not having a suitable ground. That which they now use is much too small, besides which it is used as a 'Recreation Ground' by the whole village, so that it is impossible to keep it in proper order.<sup>41</sup>

For forward-looking clubs, playing on common grassland was a transitional period. King Cross Wesleyans were a prime case, another church example being Siddal St Mark's, who also played on Skircoat Moor for a few years before acquiring a ground in the village.<sup>42</sup>

At this time, residentially-based grounds held important practical and social advantages. With factories working until 2pm, later 1pm, on Saturdays and transport still under-developed in many parts of the Halifax and the Calder Valley, travelling difficulties and expense were restricted to away fixtures.<sup>43</sup> Church and chapel cricket clubs were normally located close to their church: St Thomas's, Illingworth Wesleyans, Stones, Outlane, and Sowerby St Peter's being but a few. This also fostered identity, as churches were usually at the physical as well as spiritual heart of the community. This was one reason why churches were more popular early sources of cricket teams than firms and why workplaces became more prominent with improved transport.

Churches often provided advantages for cricket clubs over secular sources in obtaining grounds. Illingworth played on ecclesiastical land from the outset, its original ground being two hundred yards from the church and its new one behind the vicarage.<sup>44</sup> Their neighbours Illingworth Wesleyans rented a field adjoining the chapel's graveyard, this land being purchased by the chapel in October 1918.<sup>45</sup> Although these are the only known instances of clubs playing on church land, grounds were often found through the church network. Stones secured a ground opposite the chapel on the Rochdale Road. This was rented, at least since 1914, from James Richard Whitley a chapelgoer who had been a member of its Mutual

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<sup>41</sup> 'The Copley United Cricket Club', 1864.

<sup>42</sup> Hardcastle, *Lost*, p. 17.

<sup>43</sup> The 1874 Factory Act reduced the working week to 56½ hours.

<sup>44</sup> O'Keefe, *Start of Play*, pp. 9-10. The original pitch was at Pharaoh Lane.

<sup>45</sup> 'Illingworth Wesleyans Trustees Minutes 1871-1944', CA MISC:992/1, 19 Oct 1918. The club later ceded part of the ground to the chapel to extend the graveyard, 'Illingworth Wesleyans Minutes', 5 February 1938. Churches purchased land for the express purpose of creating and extending cemeteries, oral evidence of John Hargreaves, 25 November 2009.

Improvement Society.<sup>46</sup> It had almost certainly been earlier rented from his father, James, a farmer. Similarly, Outlane was able to rent a field directly opposite the chapel from a church member and farmer, Thomas Hoyle.<sup>47</sup> Sowerby St Peter's rented their ground from the congregation's manufacturing and banking Rawson family.<sup>48</sup> Table 5.1 gives instances of the location of clubs compared to their churches.

**Table 5.1 Church Club – Indicative Ground Locations**

Club	Location(s)	Distance(s) from Church
St Thomas SS	Shibden Park	¾ mile
Illingworth Wesleyans	Illingworth Road	Behind Chapel
Illingworth St. Mary's	Pharaoh Lane; Jammy Green	200 yds; ½ mile
Luddenden St Mary's	Turn Lea	¼ mile
Ludd. Foot St Mary's	Ellen Holme	¾ mile
Stones Wesleyans	Rochdale Road	Opposite Chapel
Rastrick New Road SS	Dewsbury Road	Opposite Sunday School
Mytholmroyd Wes SS	Various; then Scout Road	Within 1 mile; Opposite Chapel
Outlane	New Hey Road	Opposite Chapel
Inchfield Bottom SS	Heights House, Inchfield Road*	½ mile.
Siddal St Marks's	Skircoat Moor; Backhold Farm	1½ mile; ½ mile
Sowerby St Peter's	St Peter's Avenue, Sowerby	¼ mile
Southowram St Anne's	Cross Platts; Pinnar Lane	¼ mile; ½ mile

\* This was a very steep climb to the ground from Inchfield Bottom at Walsden.

Not all the clubs could immediately acquire land for playing near their church, as was the case at St Marks at Siddal and at Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Sunday School. Teams sometimes endured an almost nomadic existence in their early years. Land was particularly scarce in narrow, urbanising, steep-sided valleys like Mytholmroyd. Furthermore, there were difficulties with changing landlords and land re-use. As with the struggles required to make playable and develop some grounds, this constant re-locating could either strengthen or weaken clubs. The former effect was seen at Mytholmroyd which started about a mile from the chapel at Bent, then played at three or four other grounds before settling in 1906 at Scout Road almost opposite the chapel.<sup>49</sup> In its rapidly industrialising valley town, Sowerby Bridge

<sup>46</sup> Oral evidence of David Normanton, Treasurer of Stones CC; 'Stones CC, The Early Years', *C&K Website*, [http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/stones/docs/stones\\_theearlyyears.pdf](http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/stones/docs/stones_theearlyyears.pdf), Accessed 6 December 2011; Stones MIS Gazette', list of members, 1885.

<sup>47</sup> Ordnance Survey Map, 1907. 'Outlane CC Secretary's Book'', 18 May 1900.

<sup>48</sup> 'Sowerby St Peter's', *C&K Website*, <http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/sowerbystpeters/clubhome.htm>, Accessed 6 December 2011.

<sup>49</sup> Oral evidence of Stuart Greenwood, ex-player and club historian of Mytholmroyd Methodist CC, ex Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Sunday School CC.

Church Institute's club had an even more difficult time, originally having to make the ascent to Norland Moor and then enduring at least six moves before becoming established at The Astley's, itself a very steep mile from the church.<sup>50</sup>

There were less tangible but equally important benefits for clubs playing on their own residentially based pitch. Sports geographer John Bale has employed the geographer Yi-Fu Tuan's concept of 'topophilia' to describe the pride and fondness sportspeople and supporters hold for their grounds.<sup>51</sup> Bale saw this affection akin to that felt for a garden which similarly combines nature with human effort. This could be as relevant to local cricket grounds as it was to other areas of predominantly working-class culture, most notably the tending of allotments, which were involved in the same competition for space. Additionally, it fostered identification with the club and its community.

The value to a club of having its own ground was well illustrated at King Cross, 1¼ miles from the centre of Halifax, originally a Wesleyan Sunday school team playing on Skircoat Moor from 1878.<sup>52</sup> A souvenir booklet, which accompanied a jubilee bazaar to celebrate the club's 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary, included a brief history of the club based on information provided by one of its founders, Mr. J. T. Wood. It noted that:

The enthusiasm of members of the Young Men's Class at King Cross Wesleyan School for the game of cricket resulted in the formation of the club in 1878.

For a few years matches were played on Savile Park but in 1882 it was decided to open out and the ground at West View was rented. Thus began the real progress of the Club ....<sup>53</sup>

The 'real progress' of the club began with having a pitch exclusively its own, even though another new ground was soon being acquired and developed. This latter move necessitated a large programme of capitalisation.<sup>54</sup> In this '[m]uch work was involved including the tipping of thousands of tons of soil in a massive levelling operation', a situation not unknown

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<sup>50</sup> 'Sowerby Bridge CI The Early Years', *C&K Website*, [http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/sowerbyci/docs/sbci\\_theearlyyears.pdf](http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/sowerbyci/docs/sbci_theearlyyears.pdf), Accessed 6 December 2011.

<sup>51</sup> Bale, 'Space, Place and Body Culture', 167.

<sup>52</sup> *King Cross Cricket, Bowling and Athletics Club Centenary Year 1882-1982* (1982). No page number.

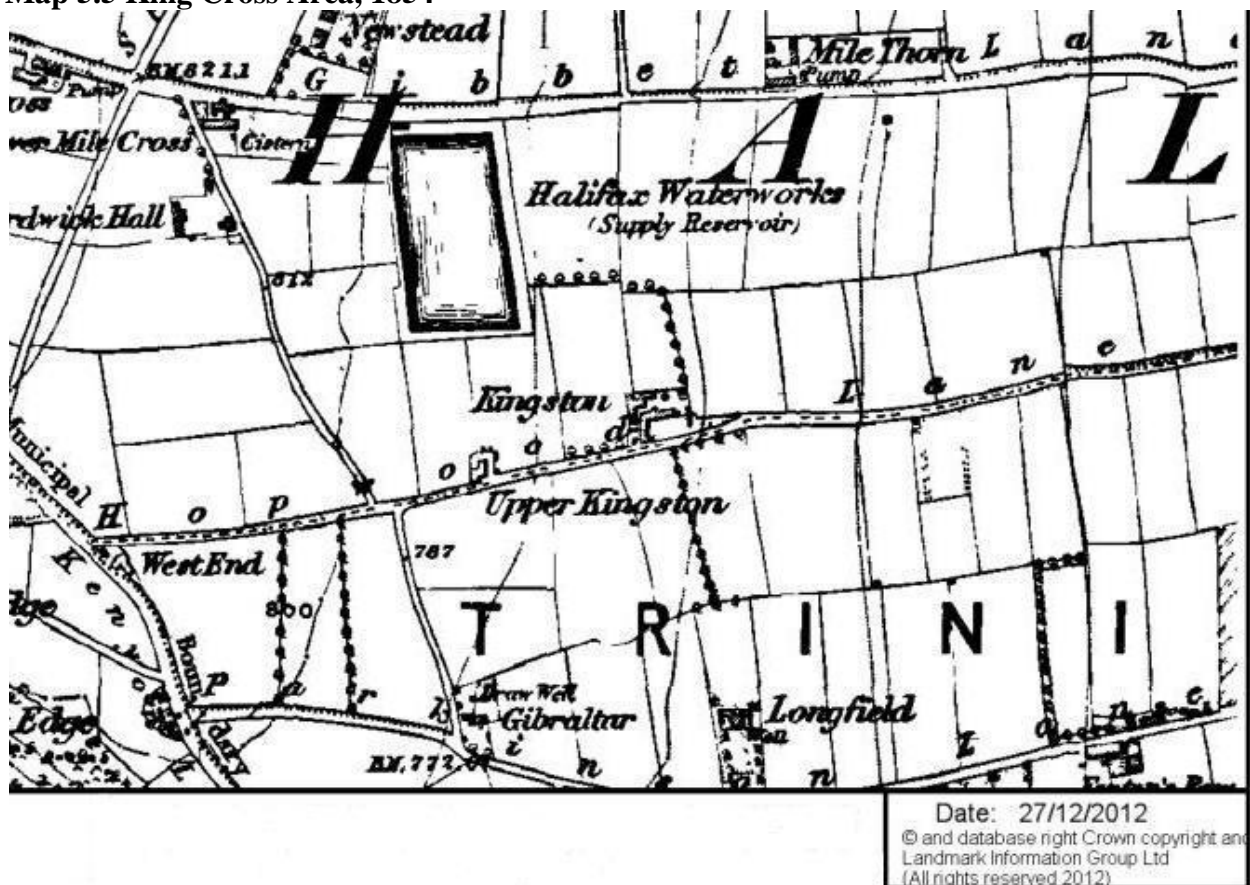
<sup>53</sup> *King Cross Cricket and Bowling Club: Jubilee Bazaar* (1928), p. 3. Skircoat Moor and Savile Park are used interchangeably.

<sup>54</sup> See chapter six, 'Finance'.

elsewhere in the area.<sup>55</sup> The club then extended its investment with a large pavilion with bar which operated as a members' social club.<sup>56</sup> By this time the club was of sufficient standing to be playing in the Yorkshire Cricket Council.

Urbanisation, as Sandiford found, provided a stimulus to popular sport. It also, as Rob Light argued, created new industrial communities that looked to sport to provide a focal point of identity.<sup>57</sup> King Cross Cricket Club represented a progressive response to both these effects. As factories and housing spread inexorably westwards from Halifax, see maps 5.5 and 5.6, the village of King Cross (approximately half a mile to the south of the maps) had been largely swallowed up and the area was in danger of losing its own identity. However, in this case, the expanding population simultaneously presented a sporting, social and commercial opportunity.

Map 5.5 King Cross Area, 1854

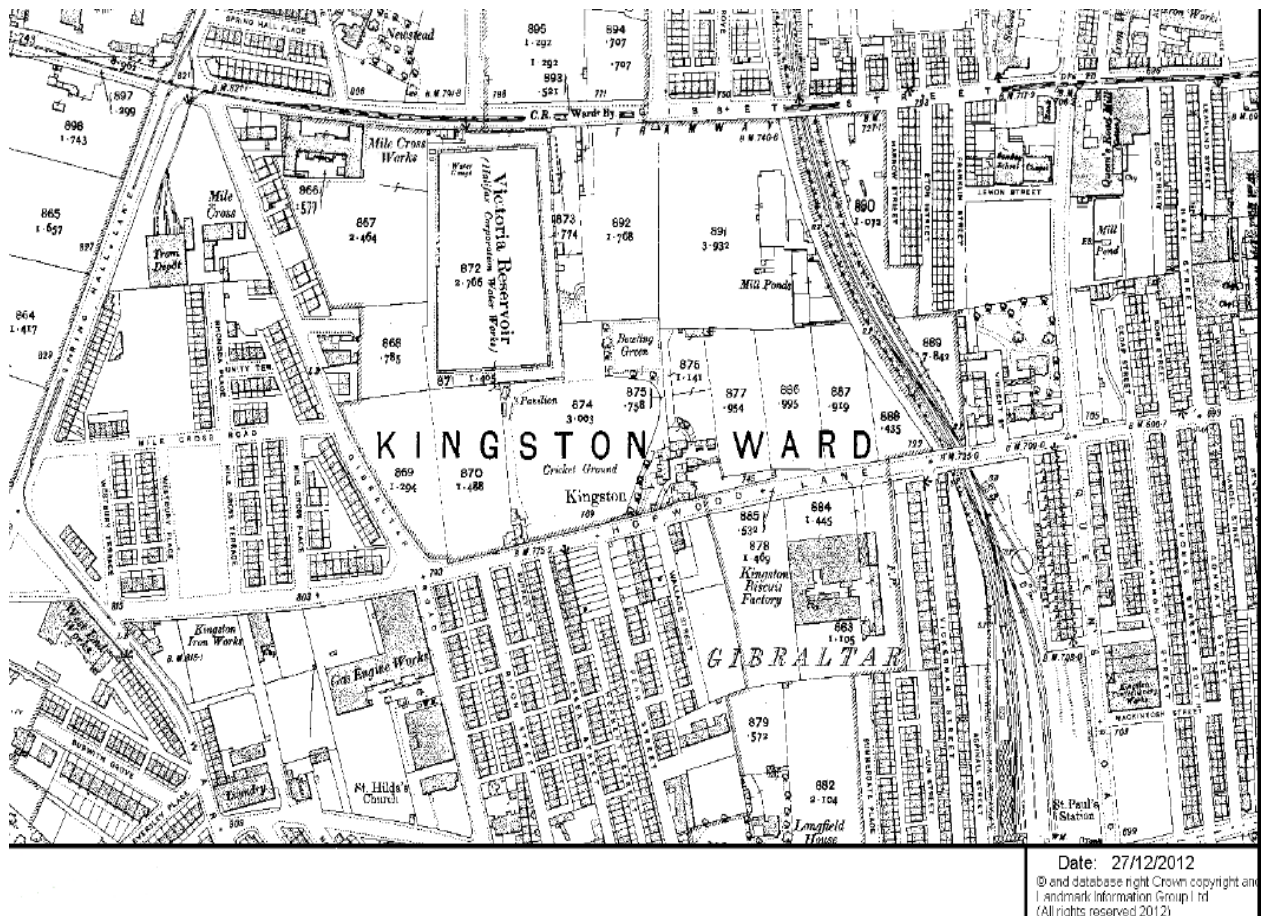


<sup>55</sup> *King Cross Centenary Year*, no page number.

<sup>56</sup> Information from 'King Cross Cricket Club: Financial Statements, 1890-1924', 1908-09.

<sup>57</sup> Light, *Cricket's Forgotten Past*, p. 32.

Map 5.6 King Cross Area, 1907



King Cross CC's new ground is shown in the centre of the map, below the reservoir.

The importance attached to the club's position was apparent with the patronage of two of Halifax's most prominent men which, despite the ending of the Wesleyan chapel connection, revealed the enduring influence of the Nonconformist-Liberal network. The earliest club presidents included the prominent Methodist New Connexion member, the chemist and editor of the Liberal *Halifax Courier* Alderman and Mayor Alfred Ramsden J.P. (whose family gave the ground its name, 'The Ramsdens') and the Congregationalist John Henry Whitley, an ambitious cotton manufacturer who became a councillor, M.P. and Speaker of the House of Commons.<sup>58</sup>

The prominence of the bar in the club's affairs, demonstrated that this patronage had more to do with politics than religion at a time of increasing competition and uneasy alliances between the Liberal and Labour parties. Aside from this, the cricket club, together with its

<sup>58</sup> *King Cross Centenary Year*, no page number. Ramsden had been Secretary of the MNC Conference, *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, 12 June 1888. Whitley was a Sunday school teacher at Park Congregational Church, Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', p. 349.

bowls, tennis and vibrant social side was a re-affirmation of the area's identity and culture and one that embraced its new communal status.

This advance, however, had secularised the former Wesleyan club. The capital and manpower needed to bring grounds and facilities to the level desired by progressive church clubs brought a conflict of loyalty between church and cricketing ambition. King Cross was merely an extreme example of this. With almost all church clubs cricketing ambition won out eventually and grounds were a central aspect of this ambition.

### **Organised Cricket: Raising the Standard**

The crucial importance of grounds to the development of cricket was explicitly evidenced by a report compiled and updated from 1891 even before the takeoff of leagues.<sup>59</sup> In May that year, the committee of the Halifax Parish Challenge Cup - the area's knockout competition which had commenced in 1888 - had resolved that three clubs would not be allowed to play their ties at home due to the unfitness of their grounds.<sup>60</sup> In September, a sub committee was commissioned

for the purpose of visiting and inspecting the grounds of the various clubs entered for the cup competition, in order that we might draw up a report, setting forth the particulars of each ground, more especially with regard to their suitability or otherwise for the playing of a cup-tie game, some difference of opinion having arisen in the past with regard to this very important matter.

In accordance with the above resolution we have, during the present month, visited the ground of Every club entered for the competition ....<sup>61</sup>

Central oversight of the standards of the grounds was clearly the recommendation of the report:

We would suggest that a copy of the report on each ground should be forwarded to the Secretary of the club concerned, so that if any alteration or improvement is required they may be enabled to get it done during the winter or spring. When this is done our secretary should be notified so that the ground may be again inspected.

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<sup>59</sup> Only the Calder Valley League had started, that very year.

<sup>60</sup> 'Halifax Parish Cup Minutes', 12 May 1891. The clubs were Siddal United, Clark Bridge and Salterhebble.

<sup>61</sup> 'Report on Grounds' (statement dated October 1891) no page number. Underscore is original.

Further inspections took place of clubs new to the competition and of those required to make improvements, including in 1894 and 1896. Batting performances in the latter year's competition suggested that the inspections were having an effect by then. One batsman amassed a century, with another scoring an unbeaten 98. Four other players scored over 80, with a further 12 (including a clergymen, Rev. D. Hamilton) making at least 50. In the Final the winning team, King Cross, scored 235.<sup>62</sup>

The inspectors were at pains to emphasise that the cup-ties were 'important'. Considering the enduring, and increasing, passion for competitive sport in the West Riding and Lancashire this was unsurprising. After only four seasons there was already an acute awareness of the link between the Cup's success and prestige and the quality of the competing clubs' grounds and their capacity to accommodate spectators. The grounds of new applicants to the competition became subject to vetting before being admitted.<sup>63</sup>

The report revealed that none of the participant clubs played on the communal area of Skircoat Moor. It also showed the premium on space with some grounds barely larger than football pitches. Many clubs had to share grounds with football teams, including Brighouse Parish Church and Brunswick UMFC. As with the development of industry, the steep-sided, wooded valleys threw up impediments. Several reports, such as at Triangle, noted the lack of light due to trees and hills and Mytholmroyd CC was constrained to position its pavilion within the field of play.

The area's topography made it extremely difficult to achieve what Bale considered a logical requirement of grounds in sport: the facilitating of 'fair play' through providing 'a neutral plane upon which no participant has an environmental advantage over the other.'<sup>64</sup> Producing a 'level playing field' was, in any event, only one component of a more complex picture. The grounds' report revealed the integrated objectives of standardisation, capitalisation and commercialism, despite the competition being restricted entirely to amateurs until 1900.<sup>65</sup> Grounds were desired to be brought not only to parity but to a higher standard *per se*. This needed investment. The way to do this was by attracting paying spectators. Pavilions and seating capacity were scrutinised as equally as playing surfaces. There was a particular

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<sup>62</sup> *Halifax Evening Courier* cuttings for 1896 competition (no exact date) towards the end of the minute book, 'Halifax Parish Cup Minutes'.

<sup>63</sup> For example, Mytholmroyd St Michael's, Warley, King Cross Wesleyans, Wyke Parish Church and Ovenden were to be allowed in to the 1902 competition only 'subject to their grounds being satisfactory to this Committee', 'Halifax Parish Cup Minutes', 16 July 1907.

<sup>64</sup> Bale, 'Space, Place', 165.

<sup>65</sup> The change being made in August 1899, 'Halifax Parish Cup Minutes', 29 August 1899. See chapter seven, 'Rules'.



concern about the capacity of clubs to host big matches especially semi-finals and the final for which the organisation itself collected the receipts.<sup>66</sup>

Very few clubs emerged unscathed from the inspections. The grounds of four church clubs were considered to be unsuitable for important games: All Souls', Brunswick UMFC, Holy Trinity and Ripponden Church. This was also the case with the work's team, Bradshaw Mills. All of these except Holy Trinity had disbanded by 1897. In fact by 1899, 12 of the 38 clubs had ceased with six of these being church clubs.<sup>67</sup> Overall, the church clubs came out of the inspection no worse than the secular clubs.

Shifts in the sources and nature of patronage were also seen. All Souls' facilities contrasted starkly with those of King Cross. All Souls', with its 'very poor' pavilion and 'poor crease', was symptomatic of the fortunes of its church - majestic but increasingly threadbare - reflecting the financial demise of its patron Edward Akroyd and his worsted business. King Cross with its excellent report, even prior to its ground move, had a non-church diversified patronage. There remained a religious element in this support but this was indirect. The report also revealed a smaller-scale movement in the hosting of clubs with St Thomas's ground being taken over by the engineering firm of J. and J. Baldwin. This, rather than 'big' patronage' was a pointer to the inter-war period when church clubs began to give way to those of workplaces.

### **Making or Breaking**

The Parish Cup inspections made starkly clear how important grounds were to the progress of cricket in the area. The challenges outlined in the report regarding pitches and facilities can be illustrated by reference to the primary church clubs. When Illingworth acquired a new ground, members had to work on it throughout the autumn and winter and tasks included the removal of a wall and erecting a new one.<sup>68</sup> Demolishing walls to allow two fields to make up a cricket pitch was not uncommon; St Augustine's also doing this.<sup>69</sup>

Class co-operation, a feature of many voluntary organisations, was evidenced in Illingworth's ground development. A club member R. J. Hartley, a civil engineer, was frequently involved in offering advice and directing ground improvements. Illingworth's development of the

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<sup>66</sup> See Appendix 13 Extracts of Halifax Parish Challenge Cup Ground Reports, 1891-97; Rule 8, *Halifax Parish Challenge Cup Report, 1896*, CA WYC:1345/2/4.

<sup>67</sup> The other three church casualties were St Thomas's, Claremount; Park Church, Brighouse and Queensbury Baptists.

<sup>68</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 1', 17 October 1887, 30 January to 16 April 1888.

<sup>69</sup> Hardcastle, *Lost*, p. 21.

ground not only furthered its explicit objective of playing in a higher standard of cricket it also engendered *esprit de corps* through a common enterprise. This class collaboration helped to dissipate any residual acrimony from the ending of the club's church qualification. This, in October 1887, had betrayed something of a class dimension. Hartley, a committeeman and prominent member of the congregation, had almost certainly opposed the change and in its wake had proposed that non-churchgoers should be barred from serving as club officials.<sup>70</sup>

Following Illingworth's first season on its new ground, the tone of the club's annual report revealed that it was seeking to develop more than just a space to permit 'fair play', it resonated with 'topophilia'. The pitch had

come up to our expectations ... We have given it a good trial & the result is most satisfactory. It is in capital order & although our achievements on it during the season, have not been as good as we hoped for yet we feel sure that in future the club will be much benefitted by having such a ground to play on.<sup>71</sup>

The symbiotic relationship between competition and standardisation, identified in the Parish Cup reports, was also highlighted at Illingworth. The inspection there had specified an impediment common to many of the area's clubs - that its ground would 'be much improved by easing off the hill on the top side the crease & filling up the hole on the bottom side.' In the afterglow of its victory in the 1906 Parish Cup, Illingworth determined to address this by 'trying to bring the top part of hill down to the bottom & tipping to level it up.' Again, it was Hartley who was the architect and overseer of the work.<sup>72</sup> This project led to perhaps the most arresting statement of what a ground could mean to a cricket club. In October, in order to avoid any delay in the levelling operation, it was decided 'that we get some paraffin oil and lamps from Wilson Stocks of Queensbury so as to enable us to work in the evenings.'<sup>73</sup>

Such commitment, however, could not always be guaranteed even at Illingworth. The special meeting in September which instigated the work had urged that 'every member would volunteer to do their equal share so that the club would not suffer, by carrying out this big undertaking.'<sup>74</sup> However, towards the end of October a

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<sup>70</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 1', 17 October 1887.

<sup>71</sup> Annual Report for 1888, recorded in 'Notebooks of Harry Hustwick'.

<sup>72</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 2', 14 and 18 September 1906.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, October 1906, exact day not known.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 September 1906.

very strong feeling existed among the committee that more interest should be taken in the big undertaking of levelling up the ground & not be left almost entirely to a certain lot ... the secretary be empowered to write to a few of the members asking them to kindly consider it their duty bound to come & give us a little help as several outsiders are doing their best to make us a good ground ....<sup>75</sup>

How successful the appeal was is unknown. What is evident, though, is a secularising factor, albeit a benevolent one: the stake that the wider community, ‘outsiders’, had in the club and its ground.

The involvement in grounds of different stakeholders was not always benign. This was illustrated at Outlane, which had to face various forms of competition over its pitch. An article in the *Methodist New Connexion Magazine* of 1904 notes that the ‘history of this [Outlane] Church, like that of others, tells of difficulty, discouragement, and struggle’.<sup>76</sup> This was equally applicable to the chapel’s cricket club. Despite Outlane’s lack of minutes until 1907, entries in the treasurer’s cashbook revealed that the club invested in its ground from the outset. In October 1897, following its first season, a club and chapel member, John Hinchliffe, was paid for ‘26 hours’ which must have been for work on the ground. The following month £3/17/3 was paid to another member, Friend Whitwam, a farmer’s son, for ‘feeding soil’ followed by £2/14/8 to a farmer, J. A. Ingham, for sods and manure.<sup>77</sup> A complaint made to the league in 1908 regarding an opponent’s pitch suggested the club’s confidence in its own ground.<sup>78</sup>

The club, though, encountered a succession of disputes with other interested parties during the three decades its ground occupied the field opposite the chapel. There were problems with the football team in the adjoining field. In September 1908 the club refused neighbouring Sowood A.F.C. the use of its pavilion as a dressing room.<sup>79</sup> Football spectators trespassed on the cricket club’s grounds and climbed over its walls, prompting a letter of complaint from Outlane’s secretary.<sup>80</sup> Things evidently worsened as, in 1913, the committee considered purchasing wire to protect the pitch.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 23 October 1906.

<sup>76</sup> *Methodist New Connexion Magazine*, September 1904 (London), p. 338. KA WYK:84/6/4.

<sup>77</sup> ‘Outlane CC Secretary’s Book’, 23 October, 23 and 27 November 1897.

<sup>78</sup> ‘Outlane CC Minutes’, 3 June 1908.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 28 September 1908.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 6 September 1909.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 21 April 1913.

A more serious contest came following the Huddersfield Poor Law Union's acquisition of the field which included the cricket pitch in 1901 to build a Children's Home.<sup>82</sup> The Union, having bought the land from a chapel member, opened the Orphanage in 1904 next to the cricket ground. Again with no club minutes, it is not known if problems occurred during the first four years. By June 1913, however, there were signs of friction between the club and the orphanage. A minor dispute over practice areas resulted in the club deciding that 'no players be allowed to play at top end except the orphan home children.'<sup>83</sup> Within a year further troubles necessitated a request for a meeting with the Board of Poor Law Guardians to resolve their 'complaint about our field'. The following month it was resolved to 'repair wire on Homes property, put new latch on gates & warn members to come through gate & not climb wall.'<sup>84</sup> The change of landlord also brought restrictions on sub-letting the pitch which adversely affected the club's finances.<sup>85</sup>

Commitment was essential for clubs in developing their grounds. This was not, though, always in evidence. Inchfield Bottom experienced shrinking resolve and did not survive until the war. Operating from a weak financial base, the club initially made big efforts to develop its playing facilities. In January 1903, before its first season, members moved a pavilion and roller, purchased from a defunct club at Summit almost three miles away, to Walsden for storage. In March, they hauled the pavilion up the hill to their ground at the aptly named 'Height Houses.' At the end of the season a sub-committee was formed to carry out repairs to pavilion. In early 1904, there remained an enthusiasm for improvement with decisions to extend a small pavilion they had also obtained, purchase another roller and consider buying a mowing machine.<sup>86</sup>

There was no direct reference, however, to the maintenance of the pitch itself and there appears to have been a general dissatisfaction with either the ground or the terms of the lease. Other venues were considered, once before the end of the first season and twice in 1906.<sup>87</sup> There was, in any event, a growing unwillingness of members to undertake work on the ground. This was reflected in the committee which, originally composed of twelve members, was in constant flux and by October 1909 had fallen to six, with the day-to-day jobs and

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<sup>82</sup> Letter from Huddersfield Poor Law Union authorising the Guardians of the Poor to purchase the land for £625 'for the erection of the Head Quarters of the proposed Homes for Children', KA P/HU/clo/29, 10 May 1899.

<sup>83</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', June 1913 (No day given).

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 11 May and 15 June 1914.

<sup>85</sup> See chapter six, 'Finance'.

<sup>86</sup> 'Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes', 7 January, 2 March and 12 October 1903, 8 February 1904.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 31 August 1903, 12 February and 1 October 1906.

repairs being increasingly left to them.<sup>88</sup> An appeal made two years earlier that ‘the club continue providing we can get officers’ had fallen on deaf ears.<sup>89</sup> A Sunday school meeting in November 1910 noted ‘That Cricket Club in connection with the School be disbanded, owing to lack of interest shown in the working of the same.’<sup>90</sup>

## **War, Land and Peace**

The Great War, as in all areas of life, took its toll on church cricket. The clubs tended to ignore the strident establishment voices calling for sport to cease, endeavouring wherever possible to prevail through normality.<sup>91</sup> This mirrored the predominant attitude of the area’s cricket. In November 1915, the Parish League’s minutes patriotically stated that ‘nationally the call of the country come [*sic*] first & we hope that the Allied armies will eventually come out victorious & crush the heel of despotic Germany.’<sup>92</sup> The desire to continue playing was also striking. Clubs were strongly encouraged to continue wherever possible. The rules on players’ eligibility were relaxed to this end. When a full league programme became impossible in 1916, especially when conscription was introduced at the beginning of March that year, the second teams’ competition was curtailed but these sides were urged to play friendlies and even to lend players to the opposing club. As late as October 1916 there was a determination to keep competitive cricket going in 1917, with a knockout competition being proposed in lieu of a league, though this proved to be impossible.<sup>93</sup>

Stones Wesleyans also determined not only to carry on playing for as long as possible and to maintain their ground and facilities in good order.<sup>94</sup> Illingworth, which managed to play some fixtures right throughout the war, did decide to temporarily limit the scope of their ground development and ‘do nothing of importance until the country in general be more settled.’<sup>95</sup> As elsewhere, the ground provided some employment for those in the club suffering hardship during the war, it being decided that:

the patching up and improvements to the ground in general, be done by our own members in preference to being let to an outsider. Mr J.A. Jenkinson & Mr James

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, AGM, 11 October 1909.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 7 October 1907.

<sup>90</sup> ‘Inchfield Bottom Teachers’ Minutes’, 6 November 1910.

<sup>91</sup> See Holt, *Sport and the British*, pp. 276-7; Birley, *A Social History of English Cricket*, pp. 206-7.

<sup>92</sup> ‘Halifax Parish League Minutes’, 9 November 1915.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 February, 3 March and 24 October 1916. The minutes of 24 October noted a decision to meet in February 1917 to arrange fixtures for that season. This meeting never took place.

<sup>94</sup> ‘Stones CC Minutes’, 29 October, 5 and 19 November 1914; 14 and 26 April, 31 May 14 June 1915.

<sup>95</sup> ‘Illingworth CC Minute Book 2’, 9 October 1914.

Sutcliffe (who are working short time) agreed to do their best in this matter & their rate of payment for their services was left to their own discretion.<sup>96</sup>

A growth in church membership between 1918 and 1927 seems to have been one effect of the war.<sup>97</sup> During this period 16 new church clubs also appeared throughout Halifax and the Calder Valley and others revived. The chapel itself at Inchfield Bottom created a team in 1921 though, in common with the pattern of church revival, it was short-lived, surviving only that season.<sup>98</sup> Established church clubs played their small part in the general post-war reconstruction and much attention was directed at their playing facilities. Prior to the 1919 season Stones purchased a lawnmower and during the following winter its members worked on the pitch and repaired equipment on their Saturday afternoons. The same year the club bought a new hut and appointed a team of four members to be responsible for the repair of the ground.<sup>99</sup>

The disruption of the war spurred Illingworth, too, into renewed efforts. These were supported by the incumbent vicar, Rev. Horace Booth, who allowed the remainder of the vicarage's old coach house, part of which already formed the stone pavilion, to be converted by the club into dressing rooms.<sup>100</sup> The omnipresent ground-levelling project was given even greater priority as a pre-requisite of the club's acceptance into the Yorkshire Cricket Council. Admission into this league led to two members being paid to look after the ground, the introduction of sightscreens, and the conversion of an old tent into a refreshment pavilion.<sup>101</sup>

The impact the Great War and the post-war reconstruction could have on local cricket was most graphically illustrated at Outlane, which had already faced much competition over its ground and facilities. During the conflict a serious food shortage occurred largely due to the mutual blockade of shipping which hit the importation of foodstuffs on which the country was dependent. Between 1913 and 1915, imported breadstuffs fell by more than a quarter with an overall fall of almost a fifth.<sup>102</sup> As fears grew of losing the war through starvation

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 16 October 1914.

<sup>97</sup> The main Protestant churches expanded from 5,563,000 to 5,989,000. 1927 saw their peak membership. Table 2.4 Annual British Church Membership Totals, 1900-1970, in Currie, Gilbert and Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers*, p. 31.

<sup>98</sup> Heywoods, *In a League of Their Own*, p. 117.

<sup>99</sup> 'Stones CC Minutes', 22 April 1919, 13 January, 10 March and 11 October 1920. The four were W. H. Broadbent, A. Holland, C. Barrett and L. Hellowell.

<sup>100</sup> Illingworth CC Minute Book 2', 27 September 1919.

<sup>101</sup> Illingworth CC Minute Book 3', 15 October 1920, 10 January 1921, 21 November 1921 .

<sup>102</sup> Herbert Feis, 'The Industrial Situation in Great Britain: From the Armistice to the Beginning of 1921', in *American Economic Review*, Vol. 11, No 2 (June 1921), 252-267 Table ' British Food Production and Import of

during 1915-16, the government exhorted the near half-a-million owners of land to grow more grain and potatoes. This, however, proved woefully inadequate.<sup>103</sup> With matters at crisis point during 1917-18 the Board of Agriculture resolved to reclaim grassland for food production. The amount of land available to wheat cultivation expanded by almost 38 per cent between 1916 and 1918, with that given over to potatoes increasing by more than 48 per cent over the same period.<sup>104</sup>

Outlane, which had continued playing to end of the 1916 season, was very nearly a casualty of this land reclamation: its pitch having being requisitioned to grow food towards the end of the war. In spring 1918 the committee arranged a meeting with the Board of Guardians to discuss the club's anxieties regarding its ground.<sup>105</sup> How close to the brink Outlane came was revealed in December that year when a decision was made that the club only continue 'subject to a satisfactory agreement [*sic*] with the Corporation', with the president, Edward Boothroyd, to raise the matter with a councillor, J. W. Pilling.<sup>106</sup>

In the Bolton area, the Walkenden Amateur League collapsed due to its members' grounds being requisitioned in 1918 for food production.<sup>107</sup> Outlane came under the same threat. It not only had to repair the wartime damage to its pitch but also had to face continuing competition for it from the allotment holders who wanted their plots to become permanent. The purpose of club's AGM of April 1919, was 'to arrange or decide when we should take over full control of the field.' The members learnt from Cllr. Pilling that he had discussed the issue with the Chairman of the Food Production Committee, Cllr. Robson.<sup>108</sup>

The crisis over the ground broke the link with the chapel. The need to have crucial decisions ratified by the trustees was inhibiting the club's freedom of action when it was most needed. The AGM consequently did resolve to 'take hold of the field at the end of this year 1919' and to seek permission from the trustees to change the name to simply 'Outlane Cricket Club' and

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Foodstuffs', 253. In 1913 total production of breadstuffs was 144,000 thousands of hundredweights of which 122,000 were imported. In 1915 these figures were 116,919 and 89,150 respectively.

<sup>103</sup> John Sheail, 'Land Improvement and Reclamation: The Experiences of the First World War in England and Wales', *The Agricultural History Review*, Vol. 24, No.2 (1976), 110-25, 110; Feis's figures reveal an increase from 22,000 of thousands of hundredweights in 1913 to 31,626 in 1916 but this was followed by a slump to 19,948 in 1917.

<sup>104</sup> Sheail, 'Land Improvement', p. 110.

<sup>105</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', 20 March and 10 April 1918.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 December 1918. Pilling was probably sympathetic to the club which had approached him in 1915 (albeit unsuccessfully) to become a club vice-president, 20 December 1915.

<sup>107</sup> The league was revived in 1925. Williams, 'Recreational Cricket in Bolton', p. 102.

<sup>108</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', 28 April 1919.

for them ‘to renounce all claim on the Club.’<sup>109</sup> The choice was perceived as independence or demise.

The saga, though, continued. At another general meeting in November it was felt necessary to send a deputation to meet Cllr. Robson regarding the allotment holders in the cricket field.<sup>110</sup> These did not vacate the ground until the last day of 1920.<sup>111</sup> The club was left with a great deal of work to do, especially in the light of an ambitious decision to join the higher-standard Huddersfield and District Cricket Association, taken in late November 1920.<sup>112</sup> This meeting had also resolved to meet a contractor, Crosland Brothers, to ascertain what could be done ‘to get the laid ground back again into condition.’

The problems persisted even when cricket resumed after a five-year gap.<sup>113</sup> After the first home game the club again contacted Cllr. Pilling regarding the ‘unsatisfactory state of field.’<sup>114</sup> This was followed by a letter to the Board of Guardians, complaining about the state in which the Allotments Committee had left that part of the pitch which they had occupied.<sup>115</sup> The club was practically starting from scratch with its ground. This adversity evidently produced a beneficial, galvanising reaction at the club as it went on to win the local knockout competition, the Lumb Cup that year.<sup>116</sup>

A similar situation regarding its ground arose at the cricket club of Lee Mount Baptists, though it did not cause a rupture with the church. A history of the chapel, published in 1922, recorded that ‘Unfortunately during the War our field was ploughed, and since then we have not been able to secure a new one; as soon as this is possible we hope to cater again for seasonal pastimes.’<sup>117</sup> The club did manage to acquire a ground for the 1922 season, taking part in the Nonconformist League. However, the loss of its original home seemed to have brought instability. The club endured a somewhat nomadic existence with three further grounds. It disbanded in 1940 after one season in the Halifax and District, following the demise of the Nonconformist League the previous year.<sup>118</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 10 November 1919. The meeting demonstrated that the break with the chapel had been amicable, being held in its schoolroom.

<sup>111</sup> Letter From John Pearson, Secretary Outlane CC, to Poor Law Board of Guardians, 27 November 1920, KA P/Hu/Clo.

<sup>112</sup> ‘Outlane CC Minutes’, 26 November 1920.

<sup>113</sup> With a fixture at Rastrick New Road, *Huddersfield Weekly Examiner*, 23 April 1921.

<sup>114</sup> ‘‘Outlane CC Minutes’’, 2 May 1921.

<sup>115</sup> Letter From John Pearson to the Board Of Guardians, 2 June 1921.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., 8 August 1921.

<sup>117</sup> *Lee Mount Baptist Jubilee and Memorial, 187-1922: History of the Chapel and Sunday School* (1922), p. 24, CLH P286.

<sup>118</sup> Hardcastle, *Lost*, pp. 53, 79.



## **Conclusion**

The importance of the grounds of local cricket clubs has been barely considered in social histories of the game. This is an important omission, one underlined by the inspections carried out by the Halifax Parish Challenge Cup committee. As churches and chapels spread throughout Halifax and the Calder Valley from the latter part of the nineteenth century, so did their cricket clubs. Often surviving their churches, they were a legacy of ordinary men. The creation of church cricket grounds had to cope with the demands of the area's difficult landscape. Industrialisation, once more, played a central role. Urbanisation boosted the demand to play cricket but simultaneously increased the competition for spatial resources by absorbing much of what land was viable for pitches. The situation was exacerbated further by the deprivations of the Great War.

Church cricket clubs had to operate on minimal financial and technical resources and in many cases, as at Inchfield Bottom, the size of the task proved too much for the numbers and commitment of those prepared to take it on. But in other cases the effort to develop a ground, like Illingworth, survive several moves like Sowerby Bridge Church Institute, or simply to retain their pitch, like Outlane, forged the clubs themselves. With grounds a large factor, the financial and other constraints of churches were ultimately to move their clubs in the secular direction. This was seen very early at King Cross and dramatically at Outlane. There was also a portent of the inter-war shift from church to works' cricket, with the firm of J. & J. Baldwin taking over the ground and facilities of the defunct St Thomas's club.

Grounds held more than a purely functional role for successful clubs. The efforts and pride revealed in improving them illustrated the concept of 'topophilia'. Finally, the development of grounds demonstrated class co-operation, a feature of many voluntary organisations, but not one which could be assumed at a time of increasing industrial discord and emerging working-class politics.

## CHAPTER 6 FINANCE

### Introduction

Church cricket in Halifax and the Calder Valley emerged for the most part in uncertain economic times. A general increase in prosperity was a crucial factor in creating the demand for cricket after 1850. However, just as Saturday early closing was stimulating the growth of clubs, employment became less assured. From 1873 textiles, still the dominant employer in the area, began to feel the effects of foreign competition and American protectionism. *The Times* noted in April 1875 that in Halifax:

The wool market is quiet again. At many of the mills full time is worked through the necessity of completing old contracts ... there is little or no buying prospectively.... Yarns are only ordered in small quantities, and though exporters make frequent enquiries, they seldom purchase.<sup>1</sup>

In the west of the area two years later, the situation was even worse. In Todmorden ‘the extreme state of depression’ in the cotton trade brought strikes and wage cuts of up to 10 per cent.<sup>2</sup> In Halifax in 1881 there was still ‘hand-to-mouth turnover as far as the domestic market goes.’<sup>3</sup> Stones Wesleyans’ Mutual Improvement Society, having postponed its tea and entertainment in 1878 ‘owing to the depression in trade’, in 1886 was lamenting ‘some heavy losses this last year or two by some of our best debaters and writers having to leave us, and find employment elsewhere’.<sup>4</sup>

Only by 1888 was some very qualified improvement seen: ‘At former prices most kinds of home-grown wools are selling steadily .... The shipping demand for manufactured goods is fairly well maintained, but the home market keeps only quiet.’<sup>5</sup> Then the US McKinley tariffs, from 1890, increased unemployment in the next two decades. In next-door Bradford, Keith Laybourn found particularly grave situations from late 1890 to 1895 and in the winters of 1903-04 and 1905-06.<sup>6</sup> Despite falling prices, uncertainty of wages in the area meant that

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<sup>1</sup> *The Times*, 5 April 1875.

<sup>2</sup> *Manchester Times*, 11 May 1878.

<sup>3</sup> *The Times*, 24 January 1881.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Stones Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Society Minutes, 1878-87.’, CA SB226, 28 January 1878; ‘Stones MIS Gazette’, 20 October 1886.

<sup>5</sup> *The Times*, 7 May 1888.

<sup>6</sup> Keith Laybourn, “‘The Defence of the Bottom Dog’: The Independent Labour Party in Local Politics’ in D. G. Wright and J. A. Jowitt (eds), *Victorian Bradford: Essays in Honour of Jack Reynolds* (City of Bradford Metropolitan Council, Libraries Division, Bradford, 1982), p. 229.

the formative years of church cricket, including the boom generated by the leagues, took place against a backdrop of financial insecurity. Until 1910 with the Labour Exchange and 1911 with National Insurance, other than the often-inadequate resources of friendly societies, there was little to mitigate the effects of unemployment. Hunger marches took place in Halifax in 1909.<sup>7</sup> Keith Sandiford and Jack Williams concur that practically all cricket clubs encountered financial difficulties.<sup>8</sup> This section develops this line, arguing that the achievement of mainly working men in running church and other small cricket clubs is largely unconsidered by sports historians.

How did church cricket clubs develop in these unfavourable financial circumstances? It is argued that, far from being recipients of largesse, clubs operated in a business-like manner founded on the working-class ethos of self-help and co-operation, which included cross-class collaboration. They employed a remarkable range of methods, many outside of cricket, for raising revenue. The case will also be put that the clubs had much in common with their religious parents regarding financial difficulties and that they were able to exploit the churches' recently acquired commercial expertise in raising money. This experience was to benefit even secular cricket and other organisations. Finally, it is held that the parallel experience of church cricket clubs challenged the argument that the shift in church funding to a more commercial basis brought secularism.

### **Expenditure and the Centrality of Grounds**

The maintenance and development of their grounds and facilities were central to the finances of the area's church cricket clubs, being almost invariably the largest consumer of revenue. This was vividly illustrated when, as seen, Illingworth left the Halifax Parish League for the Yorkshire Cricket Council in 1919, the required ground improvements amounted to £200.<sup>9</sup>

Ground rental alone, particularly in hard economic times, could absorb a significant part of clubs' income, see table 6.1. Rents varied between £2 and £10. This equated to several times the weekly income of a working man: 10/- was the average for a worsted worker in Halifax in 1885 though this had risen to £1/6/- in 1906, with the average in cotton about £1/5/- in 1899.<sup>10</sup> These wages, of course, depended on actually being in work. Typically rents

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<sup>7</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 168.

<sup>8</sup> Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, p. 56; Williams, *Cricket and England*, pp. 174-5.

<sup>9</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 2', 27 October 1919.

<sup>10</sup> Board of Trade inquiry, 'Rates of Wages in the Textile Trades', *Leeds Mercury*, 17 February 1890; 'Table 4. Wool and worsted earnings in the United Kingdom and comparative regions in 1906', in Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 51; For cotton, the figure for Nelson, less than 15 miles from Todmorden, was taken, Hill, 'League Cricket in the North', p. 129.

represented between a fifth and a quarter of the club's income. Although the figure for Brighouse Parish Church somewhat distorted the general picture, with the club ceasing to exist within two years, it revealed that, especially at a time of high unemployment, rents could break clubs.<sup>11</sup>

**Table 6.1 Illustrations of Ground Rentals against Total Annual Income**

Club	Year	Rent	Income	%	Year	Rent	Income	%
Illingworth St. Mary's	1885	£2/-/-	£17/8/8½	11.5	1888	£10*	£49/11/7½	20.1
Luddenden St Mary's	1885	£3/-/-	N/K					
Outlane	1898	£5/-/-	£30/1/10	16.6	1899	£8	£25/19/3½	30.8
Inchfield Bottom SS	1903	£3/-/-	£32/10/3½	9.2	1909	£2/15/-	£13/4/6	20.8
Brighouse Parish Ch	1906	£12/-/-	£24/4/5	49.5				
<i>Lumbutts</i> ‡	1892	£1/10/-	£37/8/5½	4.0	1898	£3/10/-	£10/13/4	32.8
<i>King Cross</i> ‡	1898	£21/2/4†	£150/8/3½	14.0	1909	£74/9/6†	£396/2/7½	18.8

‡ Non-church clubs for comparison: *Lumbutts* was of similar scale, *King Cross* much larger.

\* Illingworth (the only club to play on church land) moved to a new, larger ground resulting in the big increase.

† *King Cross*'s figures also incorporate rates and taxes.

Some clubs attempted to have rents lowered during particularly difficult economic times. In February 1909 Inchfield Bottom obtained a reduction from £3 to £2/15/-, though for that season only.<sup>12</sup> Outlane had theirs halved from £8 to £4 during the war.<sup>13</sup> Illingworth's appeal in 1897 was, however, rejected by the vicar.<sup>14</sup>

The rent was merely the starting cost. The expense of upkeep and especially development of grounds and facilities was the benchmark of the clubs' capacity and ambition. Prior to its first season Illingworth paid £15/10/- for a 'tent' (pavilion).<sup>15</sup> The laying out of their new ground cost £47/5/-, the total debt on it of £60 amounting to almost double that year's income.<sup>16</sup> Outlane which, like Illingworth, had a constant outlay on pitch maintenance, paid £25 for a new tent in 1903.<sup>17</sup> To repair the damage done by the use of part of their ground for

<sup>11</sup> Accounts of 'Brighouse Parish Church Cricket Club 1906', *Brighouse Parish Church Statement of Accounts 1906-07*, p. 21; Hardcastle, *Lost*, p. 58.

<sup>12</sup> 'Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes', 8 February 1909; 'Inchfield Bottom CC Treasurer's Book', 1908-10.

<sup>13</sup> Letter acknowledging reduction, from Arthur Hinchliffe, Secretary, to Board of Guardians, 24 August 1915. KA P/Hu/gp/12.

<sup>14</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 1', 2 and 15 April 1897.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 March and 7 April 1884.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 September 1886, 4 November 1887. Annual receipts being £32/19/9½.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, a subscription list raised £12 and a loan for £13 was taken out, 9 July 1903.

allotments at the end of the war, £14 - about a third to a half of annual income - was needed, plus more for its upkeep.<sup>18</sup>

Lack of spending on grounds, conversely, indicated clubs in decline. Inchfield Bottom, in its first season, spent more than £8 on a pavilion and roller, over a quarter of its income.<sup>19</sup> However, from 1907 until its demise three years later, no significant outlay was made on its pitch.<sup>20</sup> The non-church club at Lumbutts, in the years before it folded alongside the entire Calder Valley League in 1912, revealed the same lack of investment. Since purchasing a roller and repairing the pavilion in 1902, only minimal upkeep had occurred.<sup>21</sup>

### **How Church Clubs Financed Themselves**

This section examines the wide range of methods necessary to finance the area's church cricket clubs. It is argued that these depended overwhelmingly on their own efforts and that clubs were remarkably adept at balancing their books. Comparisons with secular clubs, including those operating on bigger scales, will be made.

Sandiford and Williams have both examined the financial position of local cricket clubs: Sandiford considering the Victorian era and Williams concentrating on the inter-war period, particularly on league cricket.<sup>22</sup> Sandiford concluded that league clubs - the great majority of clubs in Halifax and the Calder Valley from the 1890s - 'aimed at making a profit.'<sup>23</sup> Williams, however, modified this view finding that even at the very highest level, such as Nelson and East Lancashire in the Lancashire League, losses occurred and profits were employed to increase standards on- and off-field. Williams, assessing the more typical Bolton leagues, cited the sports edition of the *Bolton Evening News*, *The Buff* that leagues in the area 'are not run for profit [they] cannot make money [but do] a valuable service in providing recreation and exercise for young people.'<sup>24</sup>

Jeff Hill, also examining Nelson, took a slightly different perspective, noting a parallel with football after the Great War when costs grew rapidly and the need to attract spectators led to increased commercialisation in order to engage star professionals, such as Learie

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<sup>18</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', 10 March 1922. Balance sheets are unavailable for the post-war years, total annual income had averaged about £30 up to the war.

<sup>19</sup> 'Inchfield Bottom CC Treasurer's Book, 1903. Its income was £32-10-3½.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 1907-10.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 1902-1912. Other than upgrading the roller in 1910, the only purchases were for whitening and minor repairs.

<sup>22</sup> Sandiford *Cricket and the Victorians*, pp. 54-7; Williams, *Cricket and England*, pp. 173-5.

<sup>23</sup> Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, p. 55.

<sup>24</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, pp. 173-5, 'Olympian' writing in *The Buff*, 19 June 1926.

Constantine.<sup>25</sup> As with football, success rather than profit *per se* was the motivation. Burnley, also of the Lancashire League, was the only club to become a limited company before the Second World War, and this was evidently to reduce debt rather than generate profit for shareholders.<sup>26</sup> Before its entry to the Lancashire League, Todmorden made £73 profit on a turnover of £455.<sup>27</sup> The club, though, was very much more concerned with on-field success than with profit, this sporting outlook being, James Walvin found, predominantly the case even with larger town or city football clubs.<sup>28</sup> Church clubs took this approach but based on a far smaller and necessarily more diverse financial operation.

### Subscriptions: The Staff of Club Life

Subscriptions were vital to church cricket clubs. They also shaped the clubs in social terms, determining who could - and equally who could not - afford to join. Hill's study of league cricket up to the Second World War revealed how subscription rates at Dudley when increased in 1920, to two guineas for players and one guinea for non-players, disproportionately lost working-class members.<sup>29</sup> Williams found evidence of subscription rates at the lowest levels of league cricket to be 'exasperatingly sparse', so an aim of this section is to fill some of this gap, see table 6.2.<sup>30</sup> Subscriptions for church clubs were

**Table 6.2 Church Club (Minimum Adult) Subscriptions**

Club	Year	Subs	Year	Subs	Year	Subs
St Thomas SS	c.1870	2/-				
Illingworth St. Mary's	1884	5/-*†	1887	7/6d	1893	6/-
Luddenden St Mary's	1884	3/-*	1885	5/-		
Mytholmroyd Wes SS	c.1930§	5/-§†				
Outlane	1897	4/-	1906	4/-†		
Inchfield Bottom SS	1902	3/-†	1906	3/-†		
<i>Lumbutts</i>	1892	5/-#†	1900	5/-†		
<i>King Cross</i>	1895	6/-	1900	6/-		

\* Could pay by instalments.

† Had a junior rate. Illingworth's was 6d. Inchfield 2/-, Mytholmroyd 3/-, Outlane and Lumbutts 2/6d in 1892, 3/- in 1900.

§ Despite being a time of depression, the figures suggest that subs would have been low in 1894.

# Lumbutts subs are not explicitly noted, the rates are deduced from overall figures

<sup>25</sup> Hill, 'League Cricket in the North'.

<sup>26</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, p. 175.

<sup>27</sup> *Todmorden Advertiser*, 3 October 1890. Receipts were £455/4/6, with expenditure £382/3/1.

<sup>28</sup> Walvin, *The People's Game*, p. 88.

<sup>29</sup> Hill, 'League Cricket', p. 128. See also chapter four, 'Club People'.

<sup>30</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, p. 34.

intended to be socially inclusive. They were directed at young working men whom religious bodies were especially anxious to retain. However, as subscriptions were the most important source of their income, the clubs had to strike a nice balance between inclusion and survival. Inchfield Bottom, as a Sunday school club in a financially troubled district, with the average adult male's cotton weaver's weekly wage in 1906 being only 18/11, had the lowest subscriptions.<sup>31</sup> Overall, the fees of church clubs were cheaper than for the secular sides though even the higher-standard King Cross would be considered inclusive. There were normally lower rates for junior members. Subscriptions did respond to both internal and external circumstances. At Illingworth the increase in 1887 was to finance the move to a new ground whereas the reduction in 1893 reflected the contemporary troubles of the textile industry, with an estimated 2,000 being out of work in the Halifax area the previous year.<sup>32</sup>

Sandiford and Williams found subscriptions to be one of the two principal forms of income for cricket clubs (the other being gate money).<sup>33</sup> This was very much the case with church clubs, producing typically 40-60 per cent of total income, see table 6.3.

**Table 6.3 Indicative Examples of Subscriptions as a Proportion of Annual Receipts**

Club	Year	Subs	Income	%	Year	Subs	Income	%
Illingworth St. Mary's	1893	£21/3/9	£46/1/7	45	1898	£13/18/6	£38/15/5	34.7
Outlane	1897	£10/9/-	£25/13/7½	40.7	1904	£22/11/9	£44/3/4	51.1
Inchfield Bottom SS	1903	£11/17/6	£32/10/3½	36.5	1908	£10/4/5	£10/-/6	98.1
Brighouse Parish Ch	1906	£16/15/-	£21/16/1½	76.8				
<i>Lumbutts</i>	1892	£12/7/6	£21/3/2½	58.5	1911	£6/-/-	£6/5/-	96
<i>King Cross</i>	1898	£41/15/-	£141/15/9½	29.5	1909	£110/18/6	£387/13/8	28.6

Income totals are net receipts for the year, i.e. exclude balances from previous year.

The paramount importance of fees to clubs was illustrated in 1909 by Outlane noting that members' contributions had 'not been paid as well as we could have liked' and that the 'subs still outstanding ... would bring in about £4 *a very large item to us at the present*', and 'named and shamed' 15 non-payers.<sup>34</sup> Bringing in subs could be very difficult. Clubs were

<sup>31</sup> In 1906 the average earnings of a cotton worker in Yorkshire was 18/11d: 'TABLE 28 contd, - YORKSHIRE Average earnings of cotton operatives at various periods. 1837-1907' in G H Wood, *The History of Wages in the Cotton Trade During the Past Hundred Years*, (London, 1910), p. 92.

<sup>32</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 1', 2 May 1887, 7 April 1893; Dawson, 'The Halifax Independent Labour Movement', p. 52.

<sup>33</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, pp. 173-4; Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, p. 56.

<sup>34</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', Annual Report for 1909, my italics. 1909 was the year of hunger marches in Halifax.

business-like, at times ruthless, in their collection and enforced the penalties for non-payment rigorously. Inchfield Bottom expelled 14 defaulting members in March 1904 and a further 23 during the following twelve months.<sup>35</sup> Clubs' rules evidenced the vital need of subscriptions.<sup>36</sup>

Nonetheless, the percentage of income from subscriptions inversely mirrored the health of church cricket clubs. A very high dependence on fees indicated decline. It revealed a lack of capacity or of enterprise to generate income from outside the club, with a corresponding dearth of investment. Consequently, Brighthouse Parish Church in 1906, Inchfield Bottom in 1908 and non-church Lumbutts in 1911 were all about to fail.

## Gates

Gate money was considered to be the second major source of income for cricket clubs by Sandiford and Williams. Hill, researching higher-standard leagues like the Durham Senior League, the Lancashire League and the Birmingham League found that gate receipts 'could prove a most rewarding source of income'.<sup>37</sup> As early as 1896, the exceptionally well-supported Nelson Cricket Club in the Lancashire League had gates of £259-12-4½.<sup>38</sup> In Halifax and the Calder Valley, Todmorden's cricket club, on the Yorkshire-Lancashire border, also played in the Lancashire League and in the 1890s had match-day receipts of at least £15, sometimes as high as £40.<sup>39</sup> Church cricket clubs in and around Halifax, however, operated at a different magnitude. Very rarely did gates generate more than five per cent of even very low total incomes, see table 6.4.

**Table 6.4 Indicative Examples of Gates as a Proportion of Annual Receipts**

Club	Year	Gates	%Inc	Year	Gates	%Inc	Year	Gates	%Inc
Illingworth St. Mary's	1895	6/11d	1.44	1896	£4/19/6	15	1905	£4/5/1½	9.7
Outlane	1897	14/10½	2.9	1900	£1/19/5½	8.1	1911	15/2	3.1
Inchfield Bottom SS	1903	2/11	0.5	1908	1/8	0.8	1910	0	0
<i>Lumbutts</i>	1892	£1/6/8½	3.9	1896	3/6½	1.4	1911	6d.	0.4
<i>King Cross</i>	1898	£2/12/0½	1.8	1900	£5/11/-	2.3	1905	£31/10/0½	6.8

Income totals are net receipts for the year, i.e. exclude balances from previous year.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, 14 March 1904 plus various meetings, 1904-05.

<sup>36</sup> See chapter seven, 'Rules'.

<sup>37</sup> Hill, 'League Cricket', pp. 128, 130.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 'Table 7.2 Nelson CC: Membership, subscriptions and gate receipts 1896, 1908, 1924 and 1926', p. 131.

<sup>39</sup> Heywoods, *Cloth Caps*, p. 174.



Formal competitive cricket, in the shape of leagues, increased gates, especially for successful teams. Illingworth's takings for 1895 were entirely from 'ordinary' (friendly) fixtures, whereas in 1896, half were for a victorious debut in the local Ovenden and District League.<sup>40</sup> Outlane's highest figure, in 1900, marked its entry to a higher standard league.<sup>41</sup> Even Inchfield Bottom made the effort to collect money in 1908 when its second team won the club's only trophy.<sup>42</sup> The larger, non-church King Cross similarly enjoyed a boost in gates through entering the countywide Yorkshire Cricket Council in 1905.<sup>43</sup> The Halifax Parish Cup grounds' report took it as read that competitive fixtures attracted crowds. However, gates were of minor importance for church cricket clubs. The different findings of Sandiford and Williams seem to be based on bigger clubs, with a lower ratio of members to spectators, more a financial fit for the Lancashire League.

### **Patrons: The 10/- Vice-Presidents of Church Cricket**

In his study of Reading, Stephen Yeo found a perception at the turn of the nineteenth century that working people expected a few wealthy individuals to finance their leisure.<sup>44</sup> Little could be further from the truth in the contemporaneous case of church cricket in Halifax and the Calder Valley. This is not to deny that church clubs encouraged wealthy sponsors but that such patrons were only minor sources of revenue.

The sponsorship of the wealthy has rarely been entirely altruistic. Walvin found that patronage of local football clubs was motivated in part by the business and sometimes-political ambitions of the benefactors.<sup>45</sup> This occurred in local cricket. The moderately sized King Cross club in 1898 had one J.P. and four councillors, one of whom was also a J.P., among its 44 patrons. Altogether, patrons contributed £24/14/6.<sup>46</sup> This more than paid the rent, though it was less than 17½ per cent of total income. More significantly, the great majority of patrons paid 6/-, with two (including a J.P.) paying only 5/-, and the rest contributing 10/- with the solitary exception of a £10 payment by a councillor. In 1905, the year the club entered the Yorkshire Cricket Council, contributions amounted to £56/4/6.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> League games brought in £4/3/10½ compared to 14/- for ordinary fixtures. There was also gate-money of 1/10 for the 2<sup>nd</sup> XI fixtures. In the season away from league cricket, in 1898, gates tumbled to 16/6½.

<sup>41</sup> From the Huddersfield and District Junior Alliance to the Huddersfield and District Junior League.

<sup>42</sup> Todmorden and District League for Calder Valley second XI's.

<sup>43</sup> The gates for King Cross may seem rather low *pro rata*, this is largely explained by the diverse nature of the club, incorporating by 1903, bowls, tennis, social events and even lectures. 'King Cross Cricket and Bowling Club Finance Reports, 1890-1924'.

<sup>44</sup> F. A. Cox, director of Reading FC in 1900, Yeo, *Voluntary Organisations in Crisis*, p. 195.

<sup>45</sup> Walvin, *The People's Game*, pp. 87-8.

<sup>46</sup> King Cross Cricket Club: Financial Statement, 1898.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 1900 and 1905.

This was less than an eighth of total income, not remotely the subsidisation suggested by Yeo.

This figure again demonstrated the different scale on which church cricket operated, representing more than the entire receipts for Outlane and more than double those of Inchfield Bottom.<sup>48</sup> Church clubs' patronage was very low level. It came usually through the subscriptions of vice-presidents rather than donations. Church clubs did hold some advantages over *small*, secular clubs. These resulted from being part of a close community that had better-off members prepared to support a church or chapel enterprise.

Outlane was reasonably characteristic regarding patronage. In 1908, when first recorded, the club had 24 vice presidents for whom 17 subscriptions have been identified.<sup>49</sup> Only four exceeded 5/-; three being for 10/- and one for 12/6.<sup>50</sup> Even these known fees, however, amounted to £5/15/-, more than four times that season's gate money and 23 per cent of total income. Moreover, for a club only loosely tied to its church, a quarter of its vice-presidents were chapel members in 1900.

Others were similar. Inchfield Bottom commenced with 21 vice-presidents, including the chapel's minister and a councillor.<sup>51</sup> Most paid only 3/-, but this realised almost 10 per cent of revenue.<sup>52</sup> Even Illingworth, attached to probably the wealthiest congregation, received no large-scale patronage. There were subscriptions of £1 for two local manufacturers in 1887 and 1888, and one of £2/2/- from a noted church patron.<sup>53</sup> In 1903 the club had 19 vice-presidents.<sup>54</sup> In 1920, a member did liquidate a debt of £6/12/7 outstanding from the alterations required by the Yorkshire Cricket Council but this was exceptional.<sup>55</sup> Mytholmroyd and Stones were similar as regards vice-presidents and patrons.<sup>56</sup>

Non-church Lumbutts had almost the same success in attracting patronage, some of which revealed church links. The first relevant records in 1911 show nine vice-presidents, including

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<sup>48</sup> Respectively: £51/2/3½, £23/13/4.

<sup>49</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', AGM 16 February 1908.

<sup>50</sup> 'Outlane CC Secretary's Book', 1908.

<sup>51</sup> 'Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes', General Meeting 15 December 1902.

<sup>52</sup> 'Inchfield Bottom CC Treasurer's Book', 1903; 'Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes', 1903. The 3/- figure is derived from total subscriptions and number of members.

<sup>53</sup> 'St Mary's Cricket Club, Illingworth, Cashbook': William Mossman, 1 August 1887; Paul Speak and Miss Jane Moss, 6 February 1888. Moss was the daughter of a former vicar of the church, Anthony Moss.

<sup>54</sup> They included four members of the Ramsden family, Paul Speak Jnr, a JP, F Walker, and Alderman Brear. 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 2', 2 October 1903.

<sup>55</sup> Dr L Brathwaite. 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 3', 15 October 1920.

<sup>56</sup> Mytholmroyd had 14 vice-presidents in 1900, falling to 10 in 1914, but rising to 19 by 1920 'Mytholmroyd Fixture Cards', 1900, 1914 and 1920; Stones, had only two elected vice-presidents until 1920, but increased this to 10. It also had 'patrons' even before 1914. 'Stones CC Minutes', 29 October 1914, 11 October 1920.

two councillors and the Rev. James Wynn - who also held the role at Inchfield Bottom.<sup>57</sup> The following year the new minister, the Rev. Walters, was among 17 vice-presidents.<sup>58</sup> Four of these were members of Lumbutts chapel the previous year.<sup>59</sup>

## Grounds as Assets

Clubs' grounds and facilities were their largest expense but also an asset that with fragile finances they had to exploit. Pitches were usually let for grazing. Inchfield Bottom did so in 1903, though only for 5/-. Illingworth, letting its grounds from the outset, was raising £4/10/- for their new, larger ground, by 1893, which was 45 per cent of its rental.<sup>60</sup> Outlane received £2, though this fell to £1/10/- in 1903 reflecting the difficult economic times.

The financial importance of clubs' grounds was seen at Outlane when its landlord, the Huddersfield Poor Law Union, forbade it to sub-let other than for grazing. In 1912 the club had raised money by renting the ground to Britannic Insurance to play a fixture. In June 1914, however, the club was unable to hire the field to the Lindley Prize Band for a concert.<sup>61</sup> When a year later, due to the straitened wartime circumstances, Outlane obtained a rent reduction, the no sub-letting restriction was extended, provoking this reply from the club's secretary:

We ... were very pleased to find that you are willing to reduce the rent of the Cricket Field, but very sorry that you imposed the conditions that we have not to sub-let. You see 30/- is what we get from the farmer for the pastorage, and that leaves us just as we were, except that now we get the grass eaten by the cattle whereas, with your condition we shall have to mow it ourselves.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> 'Lumbutts CC Treasurer's Book', 9 March 1911; 'Lumbutts United Methodist Free Chapel', *Todmorden and Walsden* website, <http://todmordenandwalsden.co.uk/>, 2009, Accessed 8 January, 2010.

<sup>58</sup> 'Lumbutts CC Treasurer's Book', 23 January 1912.

<sup>59</sup> Councillor James Wilkinson, Crossley Sutcliffe, Fred Halstead and A. Bentley. 'Lumbutts UMC Chapel Pew Rents', 1912, CA TM96/1.

<sup>60</sup> 'Inchfield Bottom Sunday School Cricket Club Treasurer's Book, 1903-10' CA WM/ 88; Illingworth, letting their grounds from the outset, did much better with the new, larger ground, raising £4/10/- by 1893, which was 45% of its rental.

<sup>61</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', 29 May 1912, 8 June 1914.

<sup>62</sup> Letter from Outlane CC Secretary Arthur Hincliffe to the Board of the Poor Law Guardians, 24 August 1915, KA P/HU/gp/12.

The club did manage to more than re-coup the money by selling the grass as hay for £5 but the episode emphasised the need to control its biggest capital resource, this being the crucial factor in its break with the chapel after the war.<sup>63</sup>

Clubs sometimes raised money through letting their ground and facilities to football clubs. This was usually the extent of the relationship, however, contrasting with the findings of Williams and Sandiford, who identified a financial dependence of cricket clubs on sister football clubs. This was partly due to the ambivalence which both churches and their cricket clubs held towards football, which in the area usually meant rugby. Illingworth rented their ground on only two occasions to the local football team, in 1888 for £1 and a year later for £2, with the opportunistic stipulation that if the football club didn't take gate money, it would.<sup>64</sup> Inchfield Bottom let its pavilion to the local Walsden F.C. from 1903 for 10/-.<sup>65</sup> Outlane, by contrast, refused its unwelcome next-door football team use of its pavilion as a changing room.<sup>66</sup> Some clubs, as will be seen, also hosted their own and others' social events on their grounds.

### **Loans: Church Help and Self-reliance**

One of the few advantages church cricket held over its secular counterparts was in obtaining loans. One of over £57 was made to Illingworth by the Rev. Oldacres, the vicar and club president, in order to re-lay their new ground.<sup>67</sup> This exceeded total annual income for any year until at least 1906 and could have proved difficult or expensive to obtain elsewhere. The previous year Oldacres had also acted as an intermediary in paying the ground contractor £14.<sup>68</sup> Church clubs were considered 'respectable' and trustworthy for loans, especially when clergymen stood as surety. This was understood at St Mary's, Luddenden, when that club decided to ask their vicar to negotiate a lease before carrying out work on their pitch.<sup>69</sup> Inchfield Bottom's provisional committee sought £15 loan from Robert Jackson, a chapel trustee and Sunday school superintendent.<sup>70</sup> Although Jackson, shortly to become club

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<sup>63</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', 20 March 1918.

<sup>64</sup> Illingworth CC Minute Book 1', 9 January 1888, September 1889 (day not known).

<sup>65</sup> 'Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes', 28 September 1903.

<sup>66</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', 28 September 1908.

<sup>67</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 1', 9 January 1888.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 May 1887.

<sup>69</sup> General Meeting, August 1919 (no precise date, but between 22 and 27) St Mary's Cricket Club, Luddenden, Minute Book, 1919-28', WA WDP39/84.

<sup>70</sup> 'Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes', meeting before 15 December 1902.

president, lent the club only £8, this constituted practically a quarter of the inaugural year's income.<sup>71</sup>

Clubs were largely self-reliant and rarely borrowed money. When necessary, they sought loans from their members or the church community rather than externally. In this respect, they resembled mutual organisations such as friendly societies. They restrained their ambitions when outside borrowing would be involved. Even ambitious Illingworth, in 1909, deferred a ground-levelling project through this reluctance take on an outside loan.<sup>72</sup> Special subscriptions for specific developments were more characteristic. In 1887, Illingworth instigated one which generated £10/3/6 with another realising £8/12/6 in 1902.<sup>73</sup> Outlane, whose members had loaned the club £7 in 1897, mainly to finance a fundraising concert, also employed special subscriptions: £1/2/6 to fund another concert in 1900, and, in 1903, £12 towards the new pavilion (in addition to a £13 members' loan) and £3/9/- towards a sports day and gala.<sup>74</sup>

In the face of austerity, this self-reliance and mutualism was seen in other areas, such as repairs, purchases and advertising. Inchfield Bottom obtained provisions from a confectioner, Fred Wood, a club vice-president as well as various supplies from Walsden Co-operative store of which the Jackson, its president, was manager. Overhauling material was a feature of the club, the repair of a roller being left to two members in 1904.<sup>75</sup> At Outlane, in 1908, at least nine out of 17 people paying it for advertising (which raised on average a little under £2 annually) were club or chapel members.<sup>76</sup>

Second-hand purchasing was necessary and commonplace. Inchfield Bottom paid £5 for a pavilion and a roller from the recently ceased Summit club, despite the hauling and storage involved. It purchased 'cricket material' for 13/6d from another defunct club, Lanebottom Sunday School, and sought second hand bats for the younger players.<sup>77</sup> In 1903 Outlane, when purchasing a new pavilion in 1903, sold its old one to a member for £1/6/-d.<sup>78</sup> Similarly, in 1920, Stones resolved to sell their existing 'hut' to fund a new one.<sup>79</sup> The often

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid., General Meeting, 15 December 1902; 'Inchfield Bottom UMFC Sunday School CC Treasurer's Book, 1903-10', CA WM80. Total receipts were £32/10/3½.

<sup>72</sup> O'Keefe, *Start of Play*, p. 45.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>74</sup> 'Outlane CC Secretary's Book', 20 October 1897, 3 November 1900; 9 and 15 July 1903.

<sup>75</sup> 'Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes', 8 April 1907. 'Outlane CC Secretary's Book', 1899-1913 (1912 and 1914 figures incomplete).

<sup>76</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', 16 February 1908.

<sup>77</sup> 'Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes', 7 January 1903, 2 and 16 February 1903, 2 March 1903.

<sup>78</sup> 'Outlane CC Secretary's Book', 1 February 1903.

<sup>79</sup> 'Stones CC Minutes', 10 March 1920.

knife-edge finances of clubs were shown by what now appear as rather quaint transactions. In lieu of payment for annual membership, Inchfield Bottom accepted a pair of leg guards in 1903 and cricket balls in 1909.<sup>80</sup> During the war, Stones resolved to sell ‘an old bat’ for 3d.<sup>81</sup>

### **Social Events: Profitable Pleasures**

Towards the end of 1902 Inchfield Bottom decided to have ‘a company of carol singers for Christmas morning’.<sup>82</sup> This generated £5/17/4 towards its funds, more than a sixth of its first year’s income.<sup>83</sup> The following year, the carollers raised £7/18/9, almost a third of its receipts for 1904.<sup>84</sup> The club had spotted a gap in the market. On the face of it quirky, it epitomised the financial situation of church cricket and, indeed, much of small club cricket in the area at the time. When popular organised cricket was in its infancy there were far fewer options for leisure, and a much larger market for such events. In *Halifax*, Hargreaves notes a growing thirst for entertainment. This was evidenced in the towns with the opening of theatres.<sup>85</sup> This commercial provision, if anything, lagged behind that provided by cricket clubs, whose own boom was itself an expression of expanding popular recreation.<sup>86</sup>

Social fundraising activities were a litmus test of church cricket clubs’ ambitions. As transport to Halifax and other towns was still often inconvenient from outlying districts, opportunities existed for local clubs, as they did for their churches. Furthermore, as will be argued, as a community hub, churches and chapels played a major role in popularising such money-raising entertainments. Consequently, they bequeathed their expertise to their cricket clubs giving them initial advantages over some secular clubs.

Social events were a very significant source of funds for church clubs, see table 6.5. Outlane in the years 1897 to 1913 raised approximately a quarter of its revenue from such events.<sup>87</sup> Larger clubs, like King Cross, had a much lower financial dependency *pro rata* on social fundraising.

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<sup>80</sup> ‘Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes’, 12 January 1903, 14 June 1909.

<sup>81</sup> ‘Stones CC Minutes’, 14 June 1915.

<sup>82</sup> ‘Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes’, precise date unknown but prior to 15 December 1902.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, note added to the minutes of 22 December 1902; ‘Inchfield Bottom Treasurer’s Book’.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 1904 accounts.

<sup>85</sup> In Halifax between 1889 and 1904, two theatres opened and one, the Theatre Royal, was rebuilt, *Halifax*, p. 172; In Todmorden, the Victorian Theatre opened in 1873 as a music hall, was briefly used for roller-skating before reverting to music as the Theatre Royal, Heywoods and Jennings, *A History of Todmorden*, p. 202; In Brighouse, the Albert Hall opened in 1899, Mitchell, *Brighouse: Birth and Death*, p. 24.

<sup>86</sup> Mitchell, *Brighouse: Birth and Death*, p. 24.

<sup>87</sup> ‘Outlane CC Secretary’s Book’, 1897-1914.

**Table 6.5 Indicative Examples of Social Events as a Proportion of Annual Receipts**

Club	Year	Socials	%Inc	Year	Socials	%Inc	Year	Socials	%Inc
Illingworth St. Mary's	1887	£6/15/-	22.3	1892	£9/19/10½	27.3	1920	£78/17/4	?
Outlane	1898	£7/17/11	28.3	1903	£24/6/4	31.5	1911	£5/12/3	23.2
Inchfield Bottom SS	1904	£11/2/4½	43.3	1905	£8/13/-	39.1	1910	0	0
<i>Lumbutts</i>	1892	£12/-/4½	32.1	1906	£3/16/5	34.8	1911	0	0
<i>King Cross</i>	1898	£7/4/11	5.1	1909	£10/10/8	2.7	1912	£20/11/2½	2.6

Big improvements in grounds and facilities were accompanied by big efforts on the social front. Illingworth was the most spectacular example. Capitalising on the post-war demand for entertainment, it raised more than a third of the £200 needed for the club's move into the Yorkshire Cricket Council this way. Similarly, in order to buy a new pavilion, Outlane during 1903 brought in £24/6/4 from events including a concert and a sports and gala day.<sup>88</sup> The latter event being another way in which it regularly exploited its grounds and facilities. Outlane also recognised the post-war potential for social events, creating a special committee to organise concerts, whist drives and dances in aid of club funds.<sup>89</sup>

Church cricket club social events were rife. In 1907, St Anne's Cricket Club at Southowram raised £5 towards relaying their pitch from a 'tea and social'.<sup>90</sup> The same year, the club at Rastrick New Road Sunday School with its second 'Minstrel Performance' had receipts of about £17.<sup>91</sup> Stones which had held annual tea and concerts up to 1914 re-started these after the war with a whist drive and dance at the local hall, as well as its annual tea and concert.<sup>92</sup> The club, too, formed a dedicated entertainment committee in 1921 which by the following year had separate tea and concert sections.<sup>93</sup>

For the same reason, a lack of social fundraising events marked the demise of church clubs. Inchfield Bottom began enthusiastically, also forming an entertainment committee, and until 1905 raised between 18 and 43 per cent of its income through entertainments. After 1905, however, only one social event was held and that was to celebrate the 2<sup>nd</sup> XI's league success

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 1903.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 26 November 1920.

<sup>90</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 16 February 1907.

<sup>91</sup> *Brighouse and Elland Echo*, 4 January 1907. Estimate of receipts based on the attendance of 430 and the seat prices from 1906. This excluded money made on refreshments.

<sup>92</sup> Although records do not exist until 1914, the club resolved that 'we don't have a tea and concert', suggesting that normal practice was to hold one, 'Stones CC Minutes', 29 October 1914; 30 September 1919. The 'meat tea' and concert attracted a 'large attendance', *Halifax Guardian*, 17 January 1920.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 11 October 1920, 10 October 1921, 11 September 1922.

in 1908.<sup>94</sup> Equally indicative of this downward trend was the club's declining income from refreshments at matches: in its first four seasons it made a total of £15/16/7½ (more than 16 per cent of income), from 1907 it made nothing. Non-church Lumbutts exhibited the same symptoms. The club hosted entertainments throughout its life with typically two events a year, a tea and social and a dance, up to October 1910 but held nothing during its final two years.<sup>95</sup>

## In the Black

J. M. Golby and A. W. Purdue, in their examination of popular culture up to 1900, identified different varieties of working-class respectability one of which was characterised by self-assertion in difficult circumstances.<sup>96</sup> In economic terms this was most clearly recognised in friendly societies and co-operatives. It was also the case with church cricket clubs. This active respectability was demonstrated by staying consistently in the 'black' during uncertain economic times, even at Inchfield Bottom as it headed towards closure, see table 6.6.

**Table 6.6 Year-on-Year Account Balances of Church Cricket Clubs**

Club	No of Years Accounts	No of Years in Black	% of Years in Black	Biggest Profit	Biggest Loss
Illingworth St. Mary's	22	18	81.8	£13/4/11	£4/-/8
Outlane	18	16	88.9	£7/17/-	2/10
Inchfield Bottom SS	8	8	100	£4/-/6	N/A
<i>Lumbutts</i>	22	21	95.5		£1/9/1

This situation, though, could inhibit their ambitions. Church clubs contrasted starkly with King Cross, a much larger operation boasting a bar, which confidently took on large temporary debt to increase its capital assets and thus its future income. When constructing its new ground in the early twentieth century the club had bank overdrafts of up to at least £232/16/-.<sup>97</sup> By 1908 the club was able to increase its overdraft, funding a large pavilion costing almost £400.<sup>98</sup> This in turn allowed a bigger out-of-season role with a wide offering of profitable social activities.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>94</sup> 'Inchfield Bottom CC Treasurer's Book', 1908-10.

<sup>95</sup> 'Lumbutts CC Treasurer's Book', 1892-1912.

<sup>96</sup> Golby and Purdue, *The Civilisation of the Crowd*, pp. 185-6.

<sup>97</sup> 'King Cross Finance Reports', 1900-03. The accounts for 1904 are missing, so it is possible that there was a larger amount owing to the bank that year.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 1908 & 1909.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, for example the 1921-22 syllabus had six smoking concerts, two lectures, a reading and three whist drives.



The church clubs' low profit levels reflected not just the tight, small-scale financial environment in which they existed but also that profits, as was the case with their churches, were purely a means to an end. Inchfield Bottom folded not through financial difficulties but because it had ceased to have sufficient volunteers to take on the vital roles in running the club.

### **The Churches' Contribution: Precedence and Proficiency**

The debt, incurred largely through church extension, constrained churches to adopt business-like and commercial practices. In doing so, they became prominent in releasing the popular potential of social fundraising events. It is contended that these church precedents benefited their cricket clubs and, indeed, many secular organisations.

The population of Halifax trebled between 1851 and 1901 but this was surpassed by its churches, whose numbers quadrupled.<sup>100</sup> This explosion of church (and church school) building brought massive expenditure and often huge debt. Hargreaves found liabilities, sometimes in thousands of pounds, in the parish of Halifax. Nonconformity, lacking state support, was particularly hard hit. When the General Baptists opened a new chapel at North Parade in 1854, they needed a 'generous firm' in Halifax to clear their debt by 1861.<sup>101</sup> Trade depression worsened the situation. In 1883, the Primitive Methodist Ebenezer Chapel's new Sunday school cost £4,500, of which £2,000 remained outstanding in 1907, with the debt not liquidated until 1913.<sup>102</sup> Simon Green found that during the last third of the century 'most new chapels ... in Halifax were born into debt', citing, among others, Stannary Congregational Chapel, opened in 1881 with a debt of £7,750 four years later, and Pye Nest Primitive Methodist Church, costing £3,120 in 1902, leaving its society owing £1,730.<sup>103</sup>

Although Green overestimated its pace, the demise of pew rents brought chronic debt.<sup>104</sup> Their replacement by 'free will' collections at Harrison Road Congregational Church in Halifax, from 1892, saw income plummeting from £303/17/9 (almost 80 per cent of total revenue) in 1891, to £203/3/- in 1912.<sup>105</sup> Anglican Holy Trinity's income fell by £60 in 1893,

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<sup>100</sup> Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 90. The population grew from 33,582 in 1851 to 104,936 in 1901, *UK Population Censuses*, 1851, 1901.

<sup>101</sup> Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', pp. 273-5, 325.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 368.

<sup>103</sup> Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, pp. 128-9, 166.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 152. Green believed pew rents had almost disappeared by 1920. Yet, Outlane and Stones retained them until, respectively, 1935 (at least) and 1965. 'Outlane Bethel Chapel Trust Cashbook, 1894-1935', KA NM/HSC/XXXVII/1; *Stones Methodist Church 75 Jubilee Year 1902-1977* (1977) no page number, CA SB:224.

<sup>105</sup> Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, pp. 161, 163.

the year following the ending of pew rents.<sup>106</sup> Home missionary work, undertaken mainly by the Anglicans and Wesleyans, incurred additional expense. The demise by the 1870s of class meetings with their attendant collection, and an absolute decline in membership from around 1907, further damaged the finances of Nonconformity.<sup>107</sup>

Diminishing church philanthropy also resulted in debt, though the extent of this has been disputed. Green held that patronage dried up during the second half of the nineteenth century, this being challenged by Hargreaves who cited numerous examples, though mainly Anglican, including the banking Rawson family who paid for St John the Divine at Triangle in 1880 and St Mary the Virgin at Luddenden Foot, and the brewing Ramsden family who supported St Mary's, Illingworth and built a mission church at Holmfield as late as 1897.<sup>108</sup> Furthermore, the Fieldens' money sustained Unitarianism in Todmorden until 1914, and the Crossleys' munificence continued for the Congregationalists.<sup>109</sup>

Nonetheless, there was a waning in large personal patronage. From the 1870s, civic-minded employers were gradually replaced by a more numerous but less locally attentive middle class, itself migrating to suburbia.<sup>110</sup> The Crossleys had departed by the 1890s. Moreover, when Colonel Edward Akroyd died in 1887, he left so little for the upkeep of All Souls' church that a bazaar was needed within two years to arrest its decline.<sup>111</sup>

By this stage bazaars had become a habitual response to church debt. They found a ready market especially as they often incorporated elements of entertainment and theatre. Along with sales-of-work and concerts they became vital sources of church income. An early instance of their capacity was seen in Halifax, at Salem MNC, which later formed a cricket club. Facing massive debt, the chapel held a four-day 'monster bazaar' in 1851.<sup>112</sup> The receipts were astonishing: £1,702/13/7½ plus £38/5/- from the sell-off of leftover articles.

Bazaars were not new but neither were they always popular.<sup>113</sup> As early as 1822, a bazaar of 'French Fashions' in Leeds appealed to 'the Nobility and Gentry', promising 'superior

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p. 163.

<sup>107</sup> Currie, Gilbert and Horsley, *Churches and Church-goers*, 'Table A3 Methodist Membership', p. 143, 'Table A4 Other Nonconformist Membership', p. 150.

<sup>108</sup> Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', pp. 273-5, 344.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., pp. 315, 345.

<sup>110</sup> Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, pp. 105, 123.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>112</sup> Dr. Daniel Ainley, *History of Salem Church during One Hundred Years: 1797-1897*, (Halifax, 1898), CA SA/51/2, no page numbers.

<sup>113</sup> For a wider discussion of bazaars, see Prochaska, F. K., 'Charity Bazaars in Nineteenth-Century England', *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Spring 1977), 62-84.

assistants' and prices ranging from 4/- to 70/-.<sup>114</sup> Another, in aid of 'the Dispensary and the House of Recovery' was held in Wakefield in 1828 under the patronage of the Marchioness of Hertford and Viscountess Pollington.<sup>115</sup> Like later county cricket, it took place mid-week commencing at midday to permit a leisurely breakfast. The entrance fees further indicated who was desired and when: being 2/6 for the first day, 2/- for the second and 1/- for the third.

Churches as community foci were in a prime position to profit from - and consequently popularise - social fundraising events. In June 1849, at Denholme, to the north of Halifax, a bazaar was held to liquidate a church debt.<sup>116</sup> It was less exclusive, with no entry fee, though it was held during the week and offered ostentatious goods such as embroidery, engravings and perfumes. Two years later, however, Salem's 'monster bazaar' and, in 1857, St Michael's Church Bazaar at Farnley near Leeds were far more egalitarian, taking place on a Saturday afternoon with free admission.<sup>117</sup> Church bazaars proved to be immensely popular in rural areas, also. That held in 1872 by the Methodist New Connexion in Midgley, an outlying village above Luddenden, reduced to just £20 a debt that had existed since the chapel's opening in 1819.<sup>118</sup>

Sales-of-work, like bazaars but selling goods produced by female congregation members, were similarly popular. The *conversazione*, originally a highbrow, drawing-room type of social gathering, evolved more popular forms when harnessed for church fundraising. The first church-based *conversazione* reported in the *Leeds Mercury* was that of Belgrave Chapel and Literary Association, in Leeds in April 1853.<sup>119</sup> Concerts were also hosted profitably by churches. Salem's bazaar in 1851 was accompanied by other fundraising events, including a 'grand concert' starring Mrs Sunderland, the 'Yorkshire Queen of Song', which raised a 'large amount' of money.<sup>120</sup> The burgeoning role of music and choirs in churches and chapels during the late Victorian period advanced both the capacity and desire of congregations to host their own concerts.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 25 May 1822.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 6 September 1828.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 June 1849.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 August 1857.

<sup>118</sup> Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', p. 365.

<sup>119</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 23 April 1853.

<sup>120</sup> Ainley, *History of Salem*, no page number.

<sup>121</sup> Green discusses the wider implications for worship, especially for Nonconformists, of this boom in church music, Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, pp. 185-9, 315-22.

The growth of such social fundraising efforts is indicated by the search results for the keywords ‘bazaar’, ‘sale of work’ and *conversazione* in the digitised *Leeds Mercury*, see table 6.7.

**Table 6.7 Expansion of Social Fundraising Events during the Nineteenth Century: Keyword Search in *Leeds Mercury*.**

Period	‘Sale of Work’	‘Bazaar’	‘Conversazione’
1800-1810	0	0	0
1811-1820	6	0	0
1821-1830	8	54	0
1831-1840	9	224	1
1841-1850	16	262	13
1851-1860	53	642	40
1861-1870	117	1170	80
1871-1880	212	1415	132
1881-1890	725	2781	405
1891-1900	602	2184	232

The anxiety induced by the 1851 Census of Religious Worship accelerated church extension and from that point the surge in popularity of these events began, spectacularly so in the case of bazaars.<sup>122</sup> Though there is a tailing off in the 1890s, even in that decade references to bazaars had increased by more than eight-fold since the 1840s; sales-of-work (though from a lower starting point) increased by more than 37 times; and *conversazioni* by almost 18 times. Furthermore, in 1880, of 18 news items and advertisements relating to sales-of-work in the *Leeds Mercury*, 13 were held by churches and other religious organisations.<sup>123</sup> That same year, of 14 classified advertisements for bazaars, 12 were held by church organisations and one by a cricket club on church property.<sup>124</sup> These figures are supported by Prochaska’s search of the *Leeds Mercury* for 1875, which showed that more than half of the bazaars advertised for the West Riding were in support of Congregational, Baptist and Primitive and New Connexion Methodists alone.<sup>125</sup>

<sup>122</sup> Searches cannot be considered 100% accurate. Other forms of church social activities such as concerts, which were too common, and ‘At Homes’, which produced too many ‘hits’ based on more general usage, were not analysed. Demographic changes also made a difference, as did the nature, circulation and readership of the *Leeds Mercury*. Nonetheless, a takeoff of these events can be clearly perceived in the wake of church-building.

<sup>123</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, throughout 1880.

<sup>124</sup> Classified advertisements in the *Leeds Mercury* throughout 1880. The cricket club bazaar was held by Beeston Manor CC, it took place in the Church School, Beeston on a Saturday from 2 pm, *Leeds Mercury*, 29 March 1880. It is not known if the club had church links.

<sup>125</sup> Prochaska, ‘Charity Bazaars’, p. 67.

Raising money in this way was a pivotal move for the churches for two reasons. First, they demonstrated their aptitude and willingness to host social activities. Secondly, they established the precedent of financing through commercial transactions in a market beyond the religious body. Despite many reservations, the churches shifted from self-funding to being partly driven by business methods. They were a major factor in rendering social fundraising activities both respectable and popular, providing both a model and a market for their cricket clubs and, indeed, for secular clubs and organisations.

Bazaars specifically do not seem to have been as regular fundraisers for cricketers as for churches, though St Thomas's at Claremount put on one in April 1890 and St Anne's, Southowram held a successful one in October 1895.<sup>126</sup> They were also a mainstay of funds at Sowerby Bridge Church Institute Cricket Club into the 1930s.<sup>127</sup> Around neighbouring Huddersfield the clubs known to use them were either church or ex-church clubs. Golcar Cricket Club, formerly St. John's Golcar, held a bazaar in 1894 which raised £264 for ground relaying, and repeated this 30 years later, raising £900 to help purchase the ground.<sup>128</sup> Slaithwaite, formerly Slaithwaite St. James, made £25 from a bazaar held at the Anglican National School in 1884 and £93/6/4d from one three years later.<sup>129</sup>

Churches played a big role in transforming formerly exclusive social events such as soirees, *conversazioni* and 'At Homes' into popular fundraising versions. A *conversazione* held by Lumbutts Sunday school, in 1891, in addition to songs and readings included a ventriloquist, a magic lantern show and stalls selling drapery, toys, sweets, ice cream and refreshments.<sup>130</sup> *Conversazioni* were also employed by their cricket clubs. Inchfield Bottom approached its Christian Endeavour Society in 1904 with a view to holding a joint *conversazione*.<sup>131</sup>

'At Homes' likewise became a common fundraising device for the area's church cricket clubs. Their appearance at Illingworth in January 1907 had followed its church's own 'At Homes' two months earlier. For both events the vicar and curates, and the prominent industrial families the Ramsdens and the Speaks acted as hosts.<sup>132</sup> Apart from being

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<sup>126</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 5 April 1890; 'Southowram: Early Years', *C&K Website*, <http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/docs/SouthowramEarly.pdf>, Accessed 11 June 2012.

<sup>127</sup> 'Sowerby Bridge Church Institute Cricket Club', 'The Early Years', *C&K Website*, [http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/sowerbyci/docs/sbci\\_theearlyyears.pdf](http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/sowerbyci/docs/sbci_theearlyyears.pdf), Accessed 5 April 2012.

<sup>128</sup> Brian Moriarty and John Cooper, *Golcar Cricket and Athletic Club: 1871-1971* (Huddersfield, 1971), p. 6.

<sup>129</sup> 'Slaithwaite CC Timeline', p. 1, *C&K Website*, [http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/southkirklees/slaithwaite/docs/slaithwaite\\_timeline.pdf](http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/southkirklees/slaithwaite/docs/slaithwaite_timeline.pdf), Accessed 5 April 2012.

<sup>130</sup> *Todmorden Advertiser*, 3 April 1891.

<sup>131</sup> 'Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes', 28 November 1904.

<sup>132</sup> O'Keefe, *Start of Play*, p. 43.

profitable, the event demonstrated the value of friendly relations with the club's well-to-do patrons and a social mixing of classes. Many other clubs raised funds through 'At Homes', including St George's, Ovenden, Wheatley Wesleyans and Rastrick New Road Sunday School.<sup>133</sup>

Church cricket clubs, out of necessity, employed a variety of methods to bring in money. These often had precedents in their churches which, as seen, had had to adopt commercial practices. As well as entertainments, this took several forms, including the letting of halls and schoolrooms. These latter transactions actually assisted secular bodies in putting on such events, for example in 1874 Rastrick United Cricket Club, held their concert in the Anglican National schoolroom with the Rev. Irving in attendance and from 1891 Lumbutts held concerts and other entertainments in the schoolroom of the local Methodist chapel and that of nearby Oldroyd.<sup>134</sup>

The chapel of one of the primary cricket clubs, Bethel MNC at Outlane, provided a mini case study in how churches could pragmatically amalgamate business-like methods of financing with their older practices. Its new chapel and Sunday school, opened in 1894, incurred total costs of over £3,000.<sup>135</sup> The campaign to raise the money had been initiated in the classically Methodist fashion with a tea meeting in 1882, and in January 1892 with £1,000 raised, a subscription list was opened requesting donations from 'One hundred guineas to half a crown'.<sup>136</sup> By November 1895 this had generated over £1,000 by which time over £3,000 had been raised.<sup>137</sup> Of this sum, only £700 was borrowed, £200 of which was from the denomination's 'Loan Fund'.<sup>138</sup>

This demonstrated the chapel's acumen in persuading people, by no means all from Outlane nor New Connexion adherents, to part with their money. The number of subscribers was almost twice that of the chapel membership.<sup>139</sup> Between a quarter and a third of the donors were not local. Subscribers came from all over Yorkshire and Lancashire and there was even one from a Miss E. M. Gledhill in America. The chapel received corporate donations such as

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<sup>133</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 10 November 1906, 2 February 1907; *Brighouse and Elland Echo*, 4 January 1907.

<sup>134</sup> *Brighouse News*, 19 December 1874; *Todmorden Advertiser*, various.

<sup>135</sup> *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 28 April 1894; *Methodist New Connexion Chapel, Outlane: Balance Sheet Shewing Receipts and Payments in connection with New Chapel and Schools*, audited 26 November 1895. KA KC 808/2/20/1.

<sup>136</sup> 'Outlane Trustees' Minute Book', Meeting of 19 May 1894 which recorded some of the chapel's history that appeared in the *Huddersfield Examiner* that evening.

<sup>137</sup> *Outlane MNC Balance Sheet*. A total of £3,112/5/5d had been received.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>139</sup> There were about 170 subscribers, whereas the previous year there were only 96 chapel members. *Ibid.*, plus 'Outlane Bethel Methodist New Connexion Chapel Members Lists, 1871-1960', KA WYK 1089/2/1.

£100 from the local Ed. Sykes & Sons. Exhibiting noteworthy expediency, it accepted £260 from members of the Ainley brewing family.<sup>140</sup> In 1901 a further subscription list was opened to clear off the remaining debt of £500.<sup>141</sup>

The chapel's cricket club was able to benefit both from the fundraising example and from people involved. Future club members were prominent in the effort and some made substantial donations, notably: Alfred (a chapel trustee) and Hirst Ainley (later a church leader and trustee), Edward Sykes, the JP Fred W Sykes, and Ben Hoyle, (trustees' treasurer and church leader), all became vice-presidents. Special subscriptions were employed later by the cricket club and at others, including Illingworth.<sup>142</sup>

The chapel was wholly pragmatic. It retained pew rents until at least 1935. It held annual sales-of-work, such as the one in 1898 in its schoolroom which raised £70.<sup>143</sup> It fully exploited the schoolroom, its most marketable asset. It charged its own organisations, including the cricket club, a rent, albeit a discounted one, and let it to outside bodies including Outlane Band.<sup>144</sup> In a time of increasing class politics and the local growth of Labour, the chapel impartially took rents from all parties.<sup>145</sup> In early 1910, probably as result of the furore over Lloyd George's 'People's Budget' and the January general election, all three parties hired the schoolroom twice.<sup>146</sup> Nor did chauvinism interfere. In August 1908, with suffragettes active in the Huddersfield area, 'Miss Pankhurst' hired the schoolroom.<sup>147</sup>

### **Churches and Cricket: Commercialism and Secularism**

The move of churches to financing themselves through commercial methods was not always undertaken without reluctance and opposition. The debate closely paralleled the one taking place in the sporting world, including (perhaps especially) cricket. Yeo considered shortage of money to have been the overriding concern of all voluntary organisations, which saw them begin to operate as businesses to a greater or lesser extent.<sup>148</sup> This, he argued, led to the

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<sup>140</sup> *Outlane MNC Balance Sheet*. The Ainleys ran the nearby Wapping Spring Brewery.

<sup>141</sup> Outlane MNC Chapel, *Statement of loan account and subscription list, c.1901*, KA, KC 808/2/20/2.

<sup>142</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 1', Annual Report 1887; 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 2', 25 November 1901; 'Outlane CC Secretary's Book', 9 July 1903.

<sup>143</sup> *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 26 February 1896.

<sup>144</sup> 'Outlane Chapel Trust Cashbook', 27 December 1895 and, 11 November 1900.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 1898-1915.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, the Labour Party 14 & 19 January for £1/9/- and 9 April for £5/5/4½; the Conservatives 15 January for 14/6 and 19 March for 17/-; the Liberals 10 January and 15 January for £1/9/-. A further general election was held over the subject in December.

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 29 August 1908.

<sup>148</sup> Yeo, *Voluntary Organisations in Crisis*, pp. 4, 197, 318.

‘putting on of sideshows in order to attract customers only to find the sideshows taking over the central activities’.<sup>149</sup>

According to Yeo, such fundraising activities denigrated the primary purpose of the organisation. In the case of religious bodies, Green saw the promotion of money-raising events as part of the wider move into social activities which reduced the specialness of churches. Moreover, he argued that by doing so the churches entered into a competitive market for adherents against government, municipal and commercial suppliers, which were soon better-equipped.<sup>150</sup> This lost the churches adherents. These dangers would exist, Yeo’s concept held, for cricket clubs.

Green made a further, more specific, argument regarding church financing. He contended that by shifting funding from the personal donations of regular worshippers to a larger, more anonymous and less committed body of people, the ideal of church membership was itself diluted. He argued that although more people were brought within the orbit of the churches they had less demanded of them: ‘less generosity, less sacrifice and less devotion.’<sup>151</sup> As churches’ finances came more and more from bazaars and concerts, their own members’ personal sacrifice mattered less and less. This weakened the vital bond between church and member and eventually brought the demise of the wider ideal. It engendered secularism.

Considering Yeo’s premise that all voluntary organisations were subject to the same financial context, the experience of church cricket clubs can be employed to understand that of their churches. The clubs methods of raising money frequently replicated those of their churches whose expertise and often personnel (as well as audiences) they often called upon. However, this study has found that the evidence from both churches and their cricket clubs point to precisely the opposite conclusion arrived at by Green. Far from alienating them from their respective cause, the putting on of social events energised their core members.

The eagerness of members in the staging of fundraising events was a characteristic of church cricket clubs. Rastrick New Road Sunday School was typical. In 1907, for ‘several weeks [before the hosting of ‘At Homes’] the members and ladies of the club had been busy preparing for the event.’<sup>152</sup> That same year at Illingworth for another ‘At Home’, the women were acknowledged for their ‘whole hearted’ enthusiasm.<sup>153</sup> The effect of putting on social

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>150</sup> Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, pp. 165-77.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., pp. 175-77.

<sup>152</sup> *Brighouse and Elland Echo*, 4 January 1907.

<sup>153</sup> ‘Illingworth CC Minute Book 2’, 15 January 1907. Women were not members at the time.



events was a strengthening of the core membership. This was matched in the churches where members tended to be energetic promoters of bazaars and entertainments. Within chapels this had the effect of engendering fellowship, which fostered the ideal of church membership.<sup>154</sup> Daniel Ainley implicitly recognised this at Salem in the mid-1860s when needing money to rebuild the chapel, the female members became impatient and decided to act themselves organising sewing meetings, and the ‘young people’ - the chapel’s future - held and furnished a bazaar.<sup>155</sup> The promoting of fundraising social activities heightened the involvement of the members whether in church or cricket club.

Green’s contention that pew rents, which partly gave way to regular social fundraising, were a force for maintaining the value and cohesion of church membership is also problematic. Green lamented a lost church tradition, a ‘hierarchically ordered associational world’, based on levels of personal contributions.<sup>156</sup> It was, however, still an order framed on a visible monetary transaction not on level of devotion. Pew rents, as seen at Illingworth St Mary’s, were potentially extremely contentious.<sup>157</sup> They created divisions between pew-holders and non pew-holders, and between gradations of pew-holders.

If bazaars and concerts had the effect of reducing church membership, they took a long time to do so. The Church of England gained adherents *pro rata* until the Great War. The Methodists kept pace with population growth until the mid-1880s, peaked in absolute terms during 1906-08, and then experienced a slight revival from the early 1920s.<sup>158</sup> The Baptists peaked in 1911 and Congregationalists four years later, the former as with the Methodists experienced a revival a few years after the war, and the latter had revived by 1927.<sup>159</sup> These revivals coincided with the post-war demand for social activities. Social fundraising events, even if they did not recruit adherents for the churches and chapels, were symptomatic of commitment, and that commitment was increased not diminished by them. In the case of church cricket, it was the club that gave up on hosting social events - Inchfield Bottom - that gave up altogether.

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<sup>154</sup> Oral evidence of Rev. Bob Davies, 30 May 2009.

<sup>155</sup> Ainley, *History of Salem Church*, no page number.

<sup>156</sup> Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 176.

<sup>157</sup> See chapter four, ‘Club People’.

<sup>158</sup> Currie, Gilbert and Horsley, *Churches and Church-goers*, ‘Table A3 Methodist Membership’, p. 143.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, ‘Table A4 Other Nonconformist Membership’, p. 150.

## **Conclusion**

Church cricket clubs, emerging for the most part during a time of wage uncertainty and with no welfare safety net, operated on a financial shoestring. Other than in wholly exceptional cases they received no large-scale patronage. The church network provided some occasional or minor advantages, such as with loans and surety, but clubs depended overwhelmingly on the efforts of ordinary members. They had to adopt business-like methods albeit within the ethos of self-reliance and mutualism as existed in the benefit and co-operative societies. In this they were predominantly successful: moderating ambition with a caution exemplified by an unwillingness to take on outside loans. In keeping with the area's general sporting philosophy (of even large cricket and football clubs) profits were sought but solely as a means to the end of the clubs' development.

The main expense for clubs was their grounds and facilities. This led to the clubs putting on social fundraising events. In this they followed their parent churches which, due to church extension from the 1850s, were frequently saddled with debt. There were small advantages here, too, for church clubs with access to church and school halls for concerts and to clergy and high-profile patrons for opening bazaars or hosting 'At Homes'. Both the experience of churches and their cricket clubs, however, refute the theory that raising money through social events devalued the financial contributions of core members and in the case of churches were a cause of secularism.

## CHAPTER 7 RULES

### Introduction

Chapters five and six revealed the often-precarious existence of church cricket clubs as they emerged throughout Halifax and the Calder Valley. This chapter considers another largely ignored aspect of local cricket clubs: the numerous and sophisticated rules devised principally to safeguard this existence. These were the rules and bye-laws drawn up to regulate the clubs themselves, with conspicuously few relating to cricket itself.<sup>1</sup> Examination of the rules is used to understand the establishment and operation of clubs at a time when cricket teams were often ephemeral and to also consider how they related to attitudes and other organisations in the wider society. While evaluating the clubs' original rules, questions will be asked as to their provenance, their introduction, and to what degree they were relevant and adhered to. Additionally, the significance of changes to the rules will be assessed.

It is argued that the rules of church cricket clubs had an eclectic provenance but were in essence a product of an industrial society, one still in many ways uncertain of itself, and, in particular, of the adaptation of working men to that society. Clergymen were very concerned about the rules and especially members' conduct. However, the case will be made that precedents in the long-established organisations of working men and the democratic or independent introduction of the rules demonstrated that there was no simple top-down imposition of behavioural and other rules. The acceptance of rules regarding talent money and annual awards, often in cash, also exhibited upward diffusion. Moreover, if the rules represented part of a wider campaign of social control, as argued by such as John Hargreaves, it was a very half-hearted campaign.<sup>2</sup>

When clergymen showed any interest at all in their clubs, it included overseeing the rules. This, it is contended, unmasked their lack of faith in their own pronouncements on the inherent behavioural and moral training of cricket. It is further held that the behaviour of church cricketers was no better than those of secular clubs and that rule amendments reflected the balance between church and cricket and also the external socio-economic changes. Finally, it is argued that the rules of leagues, through imposing an overall structure and external commitment, helped nurture cricket while at the same time causing clubs to sacrifice a degree of freedom of action and compromise in areas such as fixtures and amateurism.

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<sup>1</sup> Clubs now followed the MCC rules. Sometimes this was included in the club rules, as was the case at Inchfield Bottom's rule 17, 'Inchfield Bottom UMFC Sunday School Cricket Club Rules', c.1903, CA UC:210.

<sup>2</sup> Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*.

## **Categories of Rules**

If the surviving evidence is representative, the area's church cricket clubs had typically between 15 and 30 rules and bye-laws. These provide an insight into what clergy and members saw as the main priorities and concerns of clubs, these not always being the same. The majority of church-based cricket clubs examined had at the outset a rule requiring attendance at church or Sunday school. Of the primary clubs, the only two without this rule were the newest. Outlane was completely open but Inchfield Bottom restricted its officials to members of the Sunday school, extending this later to chapelgoers.<sup>3</sup> The church qualification rule, it will be argued, could also act as a covert form of social exclusion.

Other than the church qualification, the rules fell essentially into four categories: behavioural prescriptions; governance; finance and specifically cricketing matters. The classifications of rules for each club for which complete sets exist are shown in table 7.1.

**Table 7.1 Rules: Numbers and Main Categories**

<b>Club</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Beh</b>	<b>Gov</b>	<b>Fin</b>	<b>Crkt</b>
St Thomas's SS	15	6	10	2	1
Illingworth St. Mary's	17	6	8	3	-
Mytholmroyd Wes SS	26	5	20	2	3
Inchfield Bottom SS	31	6	20	5	1

Beh = Behavioural; Gov = Governance; Fin = Finance; Crkt = Cricket Specific

## **Behaviour**

In December 1847 *The Era* newspaper published an extract from the *Cricketer's Companion* written by William Beckett Denison, 'an old and much respected follower of the game'.

Within the last two years it has been in the knowledge of the author that there are many clergymen, in different parts of the kingdom, who have been endeavouring to cultivate cricket in their respective localities, from a conviction, in common with himself, that a vast moral good can be achieved by a general introduction of the game amongst all classes. It prevents any addiction to intoxication, because those who wish to excel, to a certain extent, if not entirely, eschew excess. Its characteristics, too, are the cultivation of a fine healthy and athletic exercise in the open air; a commingling, as, he has often before stated, of all grades the one with the other; combined also with the knowledge that if a man desires to stand well either as an operator in the game, or with his superiors, his habits must be regular and steady, and his conduct and demeanour respectful and proper. There, is nothing so good as to let a man discover,

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<sup>3</sup> Although sets of rules do not exist for St Thomas's church and Stones Wesleyans, indirect evidence strongly suggest that they, too, had such qualifications. Luddenden Foot St Mary's had one as late as 1956.

by mixing with his betters the common pastimes of his country, with those to whom he ought to look up, that course of behaviour which it is the best for him to pursue.<sup>4</sup>

These sentiments were soon supported by the Rev. James Pycroft in *The Cricket Field*:

No game is played in better humour - never lost till won - the game's alive till the last ball. For the most part, there is so little to ruffle the temper, or to cause unpleasant collision, that there is no place so free from temptation - no such happy plains or lands of innocence - as our cricket-fields. We give bail for our good behaviour from the moment that we enter them. A cricket-field is a sphere of wholesome discipline in obedience and good order, not to mention that manly spirit which faces danger without shrinking, and bears disappointment with good-nature.<sup>5</sup>

Much of Denison's extract in the *Era* had earlier appeared in West Yorkshire in his city's newspaper, the *Leeds Mercury*.<sup>6</sup> The article was much vaunted and much recycled. In 1862, Denison's re-hashed words arrived in the Upper Calder Valley, where a club had formed from the reading room at Triangle, a village on the outskirts of the expanding industrial town of Sowerby Bridge. The urge to mix with 'superiors' was omitted but the intrinsic capacity of cricket for moral training had evidently grown over the intervening years:

There is most undoubtedly a vast moral good to be achieved by the more general introduction of this game, and partly for this reason: that it necessarily prevents any addiction to intoxication, because those who wish to excel must altogether eschew excess.

We believe it to be in every way calculated to foster regular and steady habits.<sup>7</sup>

Cricket, then, had severed its ties with stake money, gambling and drink and become a game that was inherently civilising. It was claimed that the very fact of taking part meant that one would also play 'a straight bat' in the game of life. No rules should then have been needed to regulate the conduct of cricket club members. Yet this was patently not the case. Even church cricket clubs were subject to a plethora of rules and bye-laws, with many explicitly prescribing behaviour.

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<sup>4</sup> *The Era*, 12 December 1847.

<sup>5</sup> Pycroft, *The Cricket Field*, p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> *Leeds Mercury*, 31 July 1847.

<sup>7</sup> 'Extract from the *Sowerby Magazine*', 1862, reproduced in Davies and Light, *180 Not Out*, p. 43. My italics. The reading room, perhaps ironically, was based in the *Old White Bear* public house.

St Thomas's Sunday school club at Claremount has the earliest extant rules for a church team. Their printing and formal layout suggests the importance and nervousness attached to what was still a pioneering venture.<sup>8</sup> Although a Sunday school club, behaviour was to be enforced largely through fines. Such rules were not restricted to Sunday schools and churches or to the immediate area. In 1862, the Holmfirth club, in the industrial village to the south of Huddersfield, had drawn up its set of rules.<sup>9</sup> Committee members were to be fined for not sending apologies when missing meetings, and unauthorised persons playing on the field could be fined the then substantial sum of 1/-. There were at least two further rules enforcing conduct through fines. Despite Denison's and the contemporaneous Triangle Reading Room club's claim that cricket was itself an antidote to drunkenness, one stated:

If any member appear intoxicated on the cricket ground or in the meeting room or conduct himself in a disorderly manner, he shall be fined for the first offence 1/-, for the second offence 2/6, for the third offence 5/-, and for the fourth offence he shall be expelled.

The other instance from Holmfirth demonstrated that rules, as well as moralistic rhetoric, were in circulation. This stipulated that 'No fielder be allowed to smoke or lie on the ground during play; any member violating this rule will be fined one penny for each offence.' A similar rule appeared not only at St Thomas's but also, very closely worded, 22 years later at Illingworth: 'no member be allowed to smoke or lie down when he is engaged on the field.'<sup>10</sup> The rules relating to conduct of St Thomas's and Illingworth were largely the same as those known from the other church clubs, Mytholmroyd Wesleyans and Inchfield Bottom.<sup>11</sup>

The behavioural rules provide clear associations between church cricket clubs and industrial society. There is a very striking similarity with the regulations already implemented in the area's mills. Within the domestic system of production, work and play were intimately linked: controlling one's own working time permitted the determination of one's own leisure time. Rob Light has shown how, in the West Riding handloom weaving villages of Lascelles Hall and Dalton, cricket flourished throughout the first half of the nineteenth century because

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<sup>8</sup> 'St Thomas's CC Rules'. See Appendix 14 St Thomas's Sunday School Cricket Club: Rules, c.1870.

<sup>9</sup> 'Holmfirth CC The Early Years', *C&K Website*, [http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/southkirklees/holmfirth/docs/holmfirth\\_theearlyyears.pdf](http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/southkirklees/holmfirth/docs/holmfirth_theearlyyears.pdf), Accessed 3 December 2010. The club was actually founded in 1850.

<sup>10</sup> Rule XII, 'St Thomas's CC Rules'; Rule 8, 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 1', 22 February 1884.

<sup>11</sup> 'Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Sunday School Cricket Club Rules', CA WYC:1332/4/1/1; 'Inchfield Bottom CC Rules'.

their players were able to earn their living outside of the time taken up to play cricket.<sup>12</sup> Allen Hill of Lascelles Hall recalled that ‘We were all weavers, and spent half our time in playing cricket. The time we spent in practising in the daytime we made up for by sticking to the loom at night.’<sup>13</sup>

Factories, however, demanded both regular attendance and regular hours of their workers to enable entrepreneurs to optimise their capital investment. Manufacturers also determined to safeguard machinery and to prevent waste and theft of both raw materials and finished goods. The mills, moreover, brought safety considerations. Consequently, the imposition of a work discipline was regarded as one of the most urgent tasks of the manufacturer. Examining the establishment of a new clock-based labour, E. P. Thompson argued that the ‘contest over time’ became fiercest in the textile mills and engineering workshops.<sup>14</sup> Thompson rather romanticised the pre-factory dual economy in unforgiving landscapes such as Halifax and the Calder Valley. Nonetheless, the move to factory production brought systematic attempts to end the worker’s control over his own time and mill rules were their printed manifestation.<sup>15</sup>

Factories first appeared in the area in its western, cotton-manufacturing district. By 1851 Todmorden’s powerloom weavers outnumbered handloom weavers by five-to-one.<sup>16</sup> In the eastern areas the factory system arrived later with the slower technological advance in the worsted, woollen and carpet manufacturing sectors. Nonetheless, in Halifax by 1871 half of the textile labour force was in mills employing at least 50 workers.<sup>17</sup> Despite the majority of the factory workforce being females and children, life was transformed for most men. Edward Royle observed that ‘the factory did dominate the textile districts. Men who worked in domestic industry or in other trades would have worked in the factories as children, and members of their families would probably be working in the factories.’<sup>18</sup> People adapted their culture and recreation to the advantages as well as constraints of the new work patterns.

Peter Bailey has argued that from the early decades of the nineteenth century, leisure became a battlefield with fears that unsupervised working-class recreation would undermine the new

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<sup>12</sup> Light, ‘Cricket’s Forgotten Past’, p. 129.

<sup>13</sup> Pullin, *Talks with Old Yorkshire Cricketers*, p. 114.

<sup>14</sup> E. P. Thompson, ‘Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism’, *Past and Present*, Vol. 38 (1969), 5-97, 86.

<sup>15</sup> ‘Saint Monday’ persisted in numbers in Halifax at least until 1861, *Huddersfield Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 6 April 1861.

<sup>16</sup> There were 1,690 powerloom weavers compared to 340 handloom weavers. There were a further 583 weavers for whom no loom type was specified. Heywoods and Jennings, *Todmorden*, p. 161.

<sup>17</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p.129.

<sup>18</sup> Royle, *Modern Britain*, p.103.

work and social order.<sup>19</sup> This, he contended, brought a concerted effort to establish ‘a play discipline to complement the work discipline that was the principal means of social control in an industrial capitalist society.’<sup>20</sup> Hargreaves went further, arguing that the growing political influence of working men after 1867, prompted attempts to achieve hegemonic control over them and that clergy were instrumental in enlisting them through the provision of sport in order to impose bourgeois modes of behaviour on them.<sup>21</sup>

The behavioural rules of church cricket clubs had common features with those of factories. This is illustrated by juxtaposing some rules of St Thomas’s Sunday school club with those of Water-Foot cotton mill, just over the Lancashire border in Haslingden, see table 7.2.<sup>22</sup>

**Table 7.2 Comparison of Rules of St Thomas’s Sunday School CC and Water-Foot Mill**

<b>St Thomas’s Sunday School CC (c. 1870)</b>		<b>Water-Foot Mill, Haslingden (1851)</b>	
V	That any member having consented to play in any Match and not attending at the time appointed shall be fined 3d., unless he gives two days’ clear notice to the Secretary of his inability to be present; also, if any member who shall have taken part in a match or game quit the same before its conclusion without the consent of his Captain be fined 1d.	2	Any Person coming too late shall be fined as follows: - for 5 minutes 2d, 10 minutes 4d. and 15 minutes 6d, &c.
		8	Any person found away from their usual place of work, except for necessary purposes, or Talking with any one out of their own Alley, will be fined 2d for each offence.
VIII	That any Member persisting in using profane language after three times warnings be fined 1d.	10	For every Oath or insolent language, 3d for the first offence, and if repeated they shall be dismissed.
XI	That any Member throwing a bat on the floor with violence be fined 1d., if the bat breaks he will have to pay for it mending, or be expelled.	7	For any broken Bobbins, they shall be paid for according to their value, and if there is any difficulty in ascertaining the guilty party, the same shall be paid for by the whole using the Bobbins.
		14	Any person wilfully or negligently breaking the Machinery, damaging the Brushes or making too much waste, &c., they shall pay the same to its full value.
XII	That any Member guilty of kicking another Member, throwing stones, lying down or smoking during any game (except when he is waiting to go to the wickets) be fined 1d. for each offence.	18	Any persons found Smoking on the premises will be instantly dismissed.

<sup>19</sup> Bailey, *Leisure and Class*.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>21</sup> Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, pp. 57-9.

<sup>22</sup> See Appendix 15 ‘Rules of Water-Foot Mill, 1851’.



St Thomas's rules, with one or two possible exceptions (for a somewhat higher percentage of adolescents than senior sides) are characteristic of those of church cricket clubs in the area. Similarly, the rules of Water-Foot Mill are typical of factories. This inheritance from factory rules helps explain what may seem eccentric rules at cricket clubs, such as that of smoking and laying down found at St Thomas's and Illingworth. Textile mills were an obvious fire hazard but so too, during dry weather, were the long-grassed cricket outfield of the time - a danger also to the surrounding area.

Despite the correspondence of penalties to control behaviour in church cricket clubs as in mills, there was no evidence of a systematic attempt by clergymen to initiate cricket clubs for the wider purpose of social control. At Illingworth the vicar, Rev. George Oldacres, revealed ambitions to influence the conduct of young people. A captain in the Volunteers was the patron of the cricket club at Oldacres' previous church in Brighouse and the purpose of the St Mary's, Illingworth Lads' Brigade was seen as 'teaching the boys discipline'.<sup>23</sup> Oldacres also had a tendency to ingratiate himself with the employers in his congregation so the intention of 'play discipline' was likely. That he had no appetite for a wider control through cricket as is, however, evident from his determination to exclude anyone from the club whom he considered was not already 'thoroughly respectable'.<sup>24</sup> More importantly, church cricket clubs usually emerged through congregational demand and clergymen, especially Nonconformist ministers, were rarely actively involved in them.

Richard Holt held that church sports clubs, though created through the initiative of working-class adherents were established with the intention of middle-class control.<sup>25</sup> The correspondence of cricket club rules to those of factories appears to confirm this intention. This interpretation, though, requires modification. The unilateral imposition of bourgeois rules upon cricketers to effect control and a 'play discipline' is challenged by the existence of even more exacting behavioural rules within working-class organisations of a longer ancestry than factories. In 1836, a Halifax friendly society, the Loyal Albion Society, in its rule 51, decreed that

Any member swearing, being in a state of intoxication, using profane, obscene or indecent language, or being guilty of any disorderly conversation or behaviour, during

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<sup>23</sup> *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, 4 February 1879; *Illingworth Parish Magazine*, March 1902.

<sup>24</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 12 November 1887. See chapter three, 'Clergy'.

<sup>25</sup> Holt, *Sport and the British*, pp. 137-38. Holt does, however, challenge the extent of the diffusion of ethical values.

the hours of business shall for every such instance forfeit and pay the sum of one shilling.<sup>26</sup>

Similarly, in 1863, at the dawn of church cricket, the co-operative Halifax Flour Society, with its 28 rules containing multiple sub-divisions, enforced personal behaviour through financial penalties.<sup>27</sup> Fines ranging from a 1/- for first offences up to 5/- for repeated violations were imposed for ‘abusive language or opprobrious epithets’, behaving ‘in a disorderly manner’, and 6d. for ‘interrupting another who is addressing the Chair’.<sup>28</sup>

These societies were themselves inheriting from a well-established artisan tradition of self-help and self-respect dating back to at least the mid-eighteenth century, which Thompson found ‘in Newcastle and district during the Napoleonic Wars gives us a list of fines and penalties more exacting than those of a Bolton cotton-master.’<sup>29</sup> In 1807, Barton Friendly Society in Nottinghamshire had a total of 61 articles for its operation, rule IX stipulating that:

If any member comes to the society disguised in liquor, he shall forfeit and pay *six-pence*; if any curse or swear, or offers to lay any wager, or give any member the lie, or insult any one in any case whatsoever, he or they shall forfeit and pay *two-pence* for every such offence: and if any member strikes another, at any time of meeting, he shall forfeit *one shilling*.<sup>30</sup>

Friendly societies, sometimes suspect as covers for trade-union activity in the early nineteenth century, expanded rapidly in the second half of the century.<sup>31</sup> Their rules provided a framework for the provision of insurance against sickness, unemployment and (the ultimate disgrace) a pauper’s funeral but also for a vibrant social life. Geoffrey Crossick, in his study in Kentish London, found a working-class version of respectability distinguishable from that of the middle classes by being less concerned with personal social standing than with an independence based on self-governing mutualism and freedom from outside financial

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<sup>26</sup> *Rules of the Loyal Albion Society* (Halifax, 1836), p. 26, CLH P334.

<sup>27</sup> *Rules of the Halifax Flour Society (Limited)* (Halifax, 1863), CA SOC:22.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, rules 3, 4 and 5 under section XVIII ‘Misconduct and fines’.

<sup>29</sup> Thompson, *The Making*, pp. 457-58.

<sup>30</sup> ‘Articles to be Observed by the Members of a Friendly Society Held at the House of Mr. John Bamford in Barton, Nottinghamshire’ (Nottingham, 1807), reproduced in *Friendly Societies: Seven Pamphlets: 1798-1839* (New York, 1972), part of the series *British Labour Struggles: Contemporary Pamphlets 1727-1850*. Italics are original.

<sup>31</sup> Unlike trade unions, friendly societies were not devised to take industrial action.

interference.<sup>32</sup> Friendly societies epitomised this form of respectability. R. J. Morris has argued that they were ‘unlikely evidence for any social “collaboration” or “manipulation” [rather] they dipped into the stream of culture offered by the middle-class network ... to suit’.<sup>33</sup> Especially in urban areas, they were bastions of autonomy from bourgeois philanthropy, a position aided by their common location in public houses.<sup>34</sup> Even the Marxist historian John Foster found this to be the case in Oldham.<sup>35</sup>

Moreover, friendly societies were by no means confined to Crossick’s ‘artisan elite’. As with church cricket clubs, of which the same mistaken inference has been made, friendly societies came to encompass almost all of adult working men. Assessments of numbers of members vary but all were enormous.<sup>36</sup> F.M.L. Thompson found that they had expanded from about 650,000 in 1801 to 2.2 million in 1880, this being 30 per cent of all adult men, almost entirely working-class.<sup>37</sup> In the 1870s more people in Wales were members of registered friendly societies alone than attended church or chapel.<sup>38</sup> A recent study by Christopher Prom discovered membership to be spectacular, especially in the North.<sup>39</sup> He found that numbers almost doubled between 1872 and 1905 at which point there were 5.8 million adult male members of friendly societies, 61 per cent of *all* men.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, what Prom found to be a typical society, the Halifax Ancient Order of Foresters, between 1891 and 1900 (at the time of the boom in church cricket clubs linked to the leagues) had a social composition that closely matched that of the primary church cricket clubs.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Geoffrey Crossick, *An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society: Kentish London 1840-1880* (London, Croom Helm, 1978) pp. 193-97.

<sup>33</sup> R. J. Morris, ‘Clubs, Societies and Associations’, in F.M.L. Thompson, (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950, Volume 3: Social Agencies and Institutions* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 417.

<sup>34</sup> The degree to which friendly and other benefit societies remained independent depended on location and time. For example, Alun Howkins found them coming under the influence of clergy and local gentry in rural Oxfordshire in ‘The Taming of Whitsun: the Changing Face of a Nineteenth-Century Rural Holiday in Yeos (eds), *Popular Culture*, pp. 194-97. Edward Royle found that they were mainly run by those who were to benefit from them, Royle, *Modern Britain*, p. 192.

<sup>35</sup> Foster, *Class*, pp. 216-17.

<sup>36</sup> One difficulty in this being the numbers of societies that to protect their independence or for other reasons remained unregistered.

<sup>37</sup> F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, p. 201.

<sup>38</sup> Dan Weinbren and Bob James, ‘Getting a Grip - The Roles of Friendly Societies in Australia and the UK, Reappraised’, *Labour History* Vol. 88 (May 2005), 87-103, 88-9.

<sup>39</sup> Christopher J. Prom, ‘Friendly Society Discipline and Charity in Late-Victorian and Edwardian England’, *The Historian*, Vol. 72, No. 4 (Winter 2010), 888-908.

<sup>40</sup> Prom, ‘Friendly Society Discipline’, 889.

<sup>41</sup> Prom found 82% to be unskilled or skilled, 11.5% artisan and 6.4% lower-middle class (clerks, grocers and commercial travellers), Prom ‘Friendly Society Discipline’, 890; Table 4.1 Membership of Primary Church Cricket Clubs in Early Life shows 73% working-class occupations, 27% middle class. The figures are even closer than this as the cricket club figures consider self-employed craftsmen as middle class.

In his earlier doctoral thesis, Prom noted that friendly societies ‘were most prominent in areas dominated by mature factory production, such as West Yorkshire.’<sup>42</sup> These and kindred benefit societies abounded in Halifax and the Calder Valley during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.<sup>43</sup> The co-operative movement was another dominant feature of local self-help. Co-operative trading in West Yorkshire had preceded the ‘Rochdale Pioneers’ of 1844. Todmorden, where numerous benefit societies existed from the early nineteenth century, had a co-operative society as early as 1832.<sup>44</sup> The Todmorden Industrial & Co-operative Society in 1886 had an annual turnover of £106,000 and 3,010 members.<sup>45</sup> By 1920 it had reached 4,927 and the town’s co-operative movement was ‘the one which best withstood the stresses of the 1920s and 1930s’.<sup>46</sup> The Halifax Co-operative Society had sales of £175,457 in 1867 and by the early 1870s was one of the largest in the country with around 7,000 members, this rising to 11,744 with 34 branches by 1900.<sup>47</sup> The co-operative societies were founded on the same comprehensive rules as the benefit societies.

Despite the scarcity of corresponding records, members from three of the primary clubs are known to have been involved in such bodies. The Mytholmroyd Industrial Society in 1911, with a membership of 636 (alone more than a seventh of the village’s population) had two of its committee and a future treasurer of its education department on the original committee of the Mytholmroyd Wesleyan’s cricket club and a former manager was a vice-president.<sup>48</sup> Jas R. Whiteley played for Stones and was on the committee of Ripponden Co-operative Society.<sup>49</sup> At Illingworth, Harry Hustwick, though not party to the original rules, was, as the club’s guiding light for many decades, involved in their revision and when he died, in 1960,

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<sup>42</sup> Christopher J.Prom, ‘“For the Glorious Privilege of Being Independent”: Friendly Societies and Mutual Aid in Great Britain, 1870-1910’ (PhD Thesis, University of Illinois, 2004), p. 331.

<sup>43</sup> In 1906 in Halifax alone there were 15,952 members of registered friendly society lodges plus 5,248 members of burial societies, Appendix B. Registered Friendly Society Lodges in Halifax, Yorkshire, 1906, in Prom, ‘The Glorious Privilege’, pp. 369-74.

<sup>44</sup> Heywoods and Jennings, *Todmorden*, p. 193.

<sup>45</sup> *The Todmorden Industrial & Co-operative Society Limited Half-Yearly Report and Balance Sheet, From October 5<sup>th</sup>, 1885, to March 29<sup>th</sup>, 1886* (Todmorden, 1886) CLH P334.

<sup>46</sup> Heywoods and Jennings, *Todmorden*, p. 220.

<sup>47</sup> *Bradford Observer*, 30 January 1868; Marguarite Dupree, ‘The Provision of Social Services’, *Cambridge Urban History*, p. 359; there were 6,614 members in 1870, rising to 7,216 in 1875, *The Halifax Industrial Society, 1850-1900* (Calderdale Teachers’ Centre publication), no page number CLH P334. The full name was ‘The Halifax Co-operative Industrial Society’.

<sup>48</sup> William Dewhirst, George Stansfield and Irvin Sharp, and Samuel Clegg, *Mytholmroyd Industrial Society Jubilee Celebration, 1861-1911*, pp. 13, 14 and 16, CLH P334/19137. Mytholmroyd’s population that year was 4,151, *A Vision of Britain Through Time*, [http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/data\\_cube\\_page.jsp?data\\_theme=T\\_POP&data\\_cube=N\\_TOT\\_POP&id=10026404&c\\_id=&add=N](http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/data_cube_page.jsp?data_theme=T_POP&data_cube=N_TOT_POP&id=10026404&c_id=&add=N), Accessed 18 May 2012.

<sup>49</sup> John H. Priestley, *History of the Ripponden Co-Operative Society Limited* (Halifax, F. King, 1932), p. 146. Considering the lack of minutes at Stones before 1914 there are a few other possible, even probable, links but only initials were usually used in the cricket club records.

was one of the oldest members of the Ovenden Free Gardeners' Friendly Society, having been a trustee for many years, and was also secretary of the Illingworth Industrial and Provident Co-operative Society from 1911 until it was taken over by the Halifax Society in 1937.<sup>50</sup>

The behavioural rules of church cricket clubs, although they suited the clergy and lay hierarchies, were consistent with independent working-class life. It cannot be assumed that they were simply imposed 'from above'. Moreover, clubs had rules of a more positive nature which were not in the regulations of mills but were found in benefit and co-operative societies. Church cricket club rules, despite the rhetoric of clergymen and reformers, showed that conduct was to be interpreted through the prism of industrial working-class life not the more nebulous one of muscular Christianity.

## Governance

The rules for the running of church cricket clubs demonstrated hierarchical, formal structures typical of many contemporary and earlier voluntary organisations, whatever clerical or middle-class involvement there may have been in their introduction. All the sets of rules emphasise the importance of the committee and reveal attention to detail and protocol, see table 7.3.

**Table 7.3 Spread of Rules for Organising Church Cricket Clubs**

Club	Total	Clergy	Cttee/Officers	Captain	Gen Mtgs
St Thomas's SS	10	-	8	6	-
Illingworth St. Mary's	8	2	8	-	2
Mytholmroyd Wes SS	20	-	13	3	5
Inchfield Bottom SS	20	-	17	1	6

All the clubs democratically elected their officials with the sole exception of St Thomas's Sunday school club. The latter's autocracy probably reflected a club consisting mainly of boys as implied by the behavioural rules XI and XII. This perception is strengthened by the stress placed on the authority of the captain. Though the captain's role was seen as important in the other Sunday school clubs, it was much less pronounced at Mytholmroyd Wesleyans and Inchfield Bottom, suggesting that they were now accommodating the much-prized older scholars as well as teachers.

The rules revealed a general absence of clergy from the active governance of clubs. The vicar, Elijah Bagott, does not appear as one of the officers on the very formal rules sheet of St

<sup>50</sup> Obituary of Harry Hustwick, *Halifax Courier and Guardian*, 7 January 1960.

Thomas's. The rules of Mytholmroyd Wesleyans and Inchfield Bottom make no reference whatsoever to the minister, although that of the former was honorary club president up to the 1970s. Only Illingworth had a rule stating explicit clerical involvement with, among others, the club to 'be conducted by a President (the Vicar of Illingworth)'.<sup>51</sup> The vicar, however, was rarely involved, usually only at annual general meetings. The same rule also cited a vice-president - this was the curate, who did take an active role in the club's early years.<sup>52</sup> The lack of ministerial involvement at the Methodist clubs was characteristic of that denomination and where chapel leaders were involved in the running of clubs these were rarely other than working men. Anglican clergy were more likely to take an active role in the clubs.<sup>53</sup>

The rules for governance determined such matters as how members and officers were chosen; when committee, annual and special meetings should be held; how disputes among members should be resolved; and alteration of rules. The centrality of the committee and officers to the clubs' operation is evidenced by the sheer number of rules referencing them as well as their content. For example, at Mytholmroyd the committee alone allowed in new members, unlike Inchfield Bottom where, despite an open membership, but otherwise very similar rules, new members were admitted democratically. Mytholmroyd perhaps had more concerns about behaviour, though it could have simply been the impracticality of gathering the full membership together for every application. Illingworth too, had one potentially undemocratic rule, possibly a wish of the clergy to try to control the club via the committee, that the rules themselves could only be amended at the AGM 'and with the consent of the officers.'<sup>54</sup>

The committee and officers were the agents of discipline within the clubs. Illingworth had three rules outlining this. The other clubs were very similar with St Thomas's and Mytholmroyd also involving the captain in dealing with conduct. Typical rules were: 'any member wilfully injuring property ... be fined or otherwise dealt with by the committee' and 'any Member having any complaint or complaints against another Member, such complaint or complaints shall be brought before the Committee, and dealt with in the absence of the parties concerned.'<sup>55</sup>

The rules on governance mirrored how working men had to manage a venture on limited resources of time and budget. This situation can again be illuminated by reference to the mutual societies. Prom discovered that most friendly societies were based on local lodges

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<sup>51</sup> Rule 2, 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 1', 22 February 1884.

<sup>52</sup> Later the rule was amended to allow any number of vice-presidents but these were in practice honorific.

<sup>53</sup> See chapter three, 'Clergy'.

<sup>54</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 1', Rule 17, 22 February 1884.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, Rule 12; Rule 10, 'Mytholmroyd CC Rules'.

which elected officials and were responsible for their own management.<sup>56</sup> The co-operatives also demonstrated this. The Halifax Flour Society laid stress on a mutual personal commitment to the running of the organisation in which everyone was expected to play their part, to the extent that ‘Any person refusing to serve the office of President, Secretary, Treasurer or Director, or resigning such office without sufficient cause, shall be fined Two Shillings and Sixpence’; that ‘seven Directors and One Auditor shall retire from office every Half-yearly Meeting, and they or other Shareholders shall be elected in their stead’ with the same applying to the roles of President, Secretary and Treasurer, and with all officers being democratically elected by ballot.<sup>57</sup>

Mytholmroyd alone had a rule incorporating a specific religious stipulation. This stated that ‘the Meetings of the Club be commenced and concluded with devotional exercises.’<sup>58</sup> This provided further evidence of the extent of this club’s integration into its church.

## Finance

The low-level budgets on which church cricket clubs existed have already been shown.<sup>59</sup> This was reflected in the stringency of rules related to finance and especially to the payment of subscriptions, which were almost invariably their largest source of income. Other than rules related to the imposition and collection of fines, St Thomas’s had two rules relating to finance and subscriptions, Illingworth three, Mytholmroyd two and Inchfield Bottom five another indication of the financial difficulties in that area.<sup>60</sup> Subscriptions were due before or within the early part of the cricket season.

The scope and nature of the rules may be gauged from a few examples. St Thomas’s determined that ‘any Member omitting to pay his Subscriptions for more than 2 weeks be fined 3d. ... if any Member omit to pay his subscription after having notice from the Officers be expelled.’<sup>61</sup> At Illingworth a player not paying his subscriptions within three months of notification was to be ‘considered a defaulter and treated accordingly.’<sup>62</sup> Similarly, Inchfield Bottom stipulated that

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<sup>56</sup> Prom, ‘Friendly Society Discipline’, p. 889.

<sup>57</sup> *Rules of the Halifax Flour Society*, VI. Government of the Society, rule 5; VII. Election of Officers, rules 1, 2 and 3.

<sup>58</sup> Rule 16, ‘Mytholmroyd CC Rules’.

<sup>59</sup> Chapter six, ‘Finance’.

<sup>60</sup> Rules XIV and XV, ‘St Thomas’s CC Rules’; Rules 3, 5 and 6, ‘Illingworth CC Minute Book 1’, 22 February 1884; Rules 4 and 18, ‘Mytholmroyd CC Rules’; Rules 4, 5, 6 plus bye-laws 7 and 9, ‘Inchfield Bottom CC Rules’.

<sup>61</sup> Rule VII, ‘St Thomas’s CC Rules’.

<sup>62</sup> Rule 6, ‘Illingworth CC Minute Book 1’, 22 February 1884.

the subscriptions for the season be three shillings and upwards, and two shillings for persons under sixteen years, payable in advance to the Collector, and due on the first Monday in March; all persons not paying same on or before the first Monday in June to be debarred the use of the ground.<sup>63</sup>

The latter example is interesting not only from the rule's severity, which indicates the financially difficult position of the club, but also the need of a specific Collector, both of which were features of friendly and other benefit societies. This was not purely a matter of financial necessity but also of the organisations' self-respect. Co-operative stores did not allow credit, this being one of the original 'Rochdale Principles'. The Barton Friendly Society's rules on financial matters, included entrance fees and subscriptions, investments, payments and various exemptions, are precisely detailed in its rules. The society exhibited an efficiency bordering on ruthlessness in collecting dues and verifying claims, with altogether 15 rules including fines for non-adherence. The Halifax Flour Society insisted that 'Any person whose share is being paid by instalments, neglecting to pay after the rate of Six Shillings per half year shall be fined Sixpence.'<sup>64</sup> And rule 7 of the Brighouse District Industrial Society stipulated that,

Any member neglecting to pay his threepence per week, or three shillings and threepence per quarter, shall be fined threepence per quarter, unless the neglect is shown to have arisen from sickness, distress, or want of employment, or any other reason satisfactory to the committee of management ....<sup>65</sup>

The same imperative of bringing in money based on personal obligation within a mutual ethos was again to be found in both church cricket club rules and those of friendly and co-operative societies. They were part of the same rational culture which was a response to industrial society and the deprivations inherent in that society.

### **Cricket Specific Rules**

This final category of rules revealed a type of cricket much more associated with the northern competitive model than the professed southern one of playing the game purely for its own

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<sup>63</sup> Rule 4, 'Inchfield Bottom CC Rules'.

<sup>64</sup> *Rules of the Halifax Flour Society*, IV. Conditions of Membership, rule 4.

<sup>65</sup> *Rules of the Loyal Albion Society* (Halifax, 1836), p. 26. CLH P334.



sake. The governing of practice times and conduct featured heavily in the rules and, as argued in chapter four, revealed a keen, competitive and sometimes methodical approach. The St Thomas's club had one rule governing 'Field-days' with the chosen captains in charge and choosing sides.<sup>66</sup> Mytholmroyd had a similar rule for practice plus another two specifying time limits for batting and bowling.<sup>67</sup>

A rule of Inchfield Bottom also stated:

That players compiling thirty runs participate in a collection of threepence each from the other players, and players securing three wickets in three consecutive balls participate in a separate collection of threepence each from the other players.<sup>68</sup>

Light has shown how the payment of 'talent money' had a long history in the game and in Yorkshire became a feature not only of club cricket, but also of the county game.<sup>69</sup> Though Inchfield Bottom was the only club known to have enshrined this in its rules, there was a general acceptance of prizes - whether money or otherwise - for performance on the field. This reflected a cricketing tradition forged in the experience of work whether domestic or in the factories. As early as 1833 half of the work undertaken in cotton mills - such as in Inchfield Bottom's area of Walsden - was on piece rates.<sup>70</sup> Unlike the amateur ethos, anxious to distance itself from the world of paid work and trade, church cricket in Halifax and the Calder Valley wished performance to be materially rewarded.

### **Introduction of Rules**

How rules were introduced at the clubs gives insight into who formulated them and their intended operation. Those at Illingworth were accepted at the club's first recorded general meeting which took place on a Friday.<sup>71</sup> With a long working day followed by work the following morning such a sophisticated set of rules could not have been assembled at that meeting. With other matters previously decided, including the election of a committee and

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<sup>66</sup> 'Field-days' being a common term for practice and practice matches, as opposed to 'match-days', rule IV, 'St Thomas's CC Rules'.

<sup>67</sup> Bye-laws 4, 7 and 8, 'Mytholmroyd CC Rules'.

<sup>68</sup> Bye-law 8, 'Inchfield Bottom CC Rules'.

<sup>69</sup> Light, 'Cricket's Forgotten Past', pp. 192-94.

<sup>70</sup> 46.1 per cent of 67,819 workers in 225 mills. 43.7 per cent were paid by the day, with the rest not known. Sydney Pollard, 'Factory Discipline in the Industrial Revolution', *Economic History Review*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (December 1963), 254-271, 264.

<sup>71</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 1', 22 February 1884.

officers, it is virtually certain that a draft set of rules had already been drawn up.<sup>72</sup> It is also probable that the clergy were the motive force. As seen, the new president, Rev. Oldacres, displayed a concern for the behaviour of boys and young men and, as a curate, had chaired the first AGM of Brighouse Parish Church's cricket club.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, rule nine referred to 'any member behaving improperly *by word or deed*', a very ecclesiastical turn of phrase.<sup>74</sup> The rules nonetheless had to be agreed with the officials, who were mainly working men, and be ratified democratically by the entire membership.

By contrast, Outlane drew up its rules completely independently. They did require approval by the chapel's minister (despite his otherwise indifference) and the trustees. Of the five trustees involved, the occupations of four have been identified, three were working men, a percentage which mirrored the chapel's social composition.<sup>75</sup> Nothing is known as to how Mytholmroyd's rules were drawn up except that they were to be sanctioned by its Sunday school committee which was usually chaired by the minister.<sup>76</sup> Although 'under the control and Supervision of the Teachers & Officials of the School' Inchfield Bottom's rules were democratic, 'adopted after much discussion' at a meeting of the cricket club itself.<sup>77</sup>

Rules were sometimes partly derived from the precedents of earlier clubs. There seemed to be an informal semi-standardisation of rules. For example, Inchfield Bottom's were so similar to Mytholmroyd Wesleyans in their number, content, order and presentation that it seems inconceivable that they did not have much common ancestry. The introduction of rules confirmed that most clergy had more concern for the conduct of clubs and their members than interest in cricket as such. But it also revealed an independent and largely democratic acknowledgement of the necessity of such rules.

### **Relevance, Adherence, and Change**

However comprehensive their behavioural rules were, church cricket club members were no more inclined to follow them than their secular counterparts. Even before formal competitive cricket, Illingworth had serious disagreements with two neighbouring opponents; had expelled a player for misconduct prior to the leagues, and the club's second XI had disputes

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<sup>72</sup> O'Keefe, *Start of Play*, p. 12.

<sup>73</sup> *Brighouse News*, 9 November 1878.

<sup>74</sup> My italics.

<sup>75</sup> Ben Hoyle a woollen finisher, John Henry Wadsworth a woollen weaver and Henry Roberts a school caretaker. The fourth, Alfred Ainley, was a member of that brewing family'. *UK Population Census*, 1901.

<sup>76</sup> 'Mytholmroyd Sunday School Teachers' Minutes', 31 March 1893.

<sup>77</sup> 'Inchfield Bottom Teachers' Minutes', 30 September 1902; 'Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes', 12 January 1903.

with two church clubs – ecumenically one Anglican the other Methodist.<sup>78</sup> The club showed it had no compunction about disciplining even the first team captain. John Priestley was fined 6d. for damaging club property in 1888, though he was later exonerated.<sup>79</sup>

Outlane had behavioural problems, in 1908 having to apologise to the league for the conduct of W. Atkinson in a fixture against Netheroyd Hall. Atkinson subsequently received a two-match suspension.<sup>80</sup> The use of bad language was common. Outlane considered it as serious problem when, in 1913, its committee found it necessary to put up a notice ‘requesting members to use better language.’<sup>81</sup> It was similarly an issue at Inchfield Bottom where two men were fined for swearing.<sup>82</sup> The clubs, while acknowledging that misconduct and swearing took place, did take explicit measures to try to prevent it.

A common contention in the history of leisure and sport is that working men, in order to enjoy the recreational facilities of churches and other voluntary organisations, paid lip-service to behavioural prescriptions.<sup>83</sup> The case of the rules of church cricket clubs in Halifax and the Calder Valley provides little support for this argument. Although there were strong challenges to the rules, they were not to those concerning conduct or the general running of the clubs but over the links to the church when it became clear that these were inhibiting the ability to compete or control their own destiny. These challenges exhibited such a lack of deference that any concessions involved are better understood as compromise rather than lip-service.

The amendment of rule three, which ended the absolute church or Sunday-school qualification at Illingworth, saw cricketing ambition collide with the wishes of the clergy and some of the more middle-class members. The accompanying near-melodrama and subsequent defensive caveats to limit the diminution of church membership and influence, revealed the scale of the victory.<sup>84</sup> This was most evident in the almost neurotically phrased stipulation for the admission of non-church members as ‘only in the proportion of one to three i.e. such members shall never at any time exceed in number one fourth of the whole of the Club including themselves’.<sup>85</sup> The provisos illustrated how far the clergy and their allies were on

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<sup>78</sup> O’Keefe, *Start of Play*, p. 31. The church clubs were St Andrew’s, Bradford and Horton Primitives.

<sup>79</sup> ‘Illingworth CC Minute Book 1’, 23 May 1888.

<sup>80</sup> ‘Outlane CC Minutes’, 18 May and 8 June 1908.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 26 May 1913.

<sup>82</sup> ‘Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes’, 1 June 1903.

<sup>83</sup> Bailey, *Class and Leisure*, p. 178; Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, p. 128; Light, ‘Cricket’s Forgotten Past’, p. 150.

<sup>84</sup> See chapter three, ‘Clergy’.

<sup>85</sup> ‘Illingworth CC Minute Book 1’, 17 October 1887.

the back foot. The affair also exposed a covert function of the original rule - social exclusion - when the vicar, shortly afterwards, insisted that he would only permit in the club those 'who would behave themselves in a decorous manner'.<sup>86</sup> There was, though, no evidence of any of the post-change amendments being employed.

In 1920 Illingworth's re-stated rules provided a snapshot of the direction in which the club had moved. The club now placed the district ahead of the church in its title - Illingworth St Mary's Cricket Club - and there were no restrictions on membership or on serving as officers.<sup>87</sup> Other rules had become obsolete, including the prohibition on smoking in the field and only one reference to fines remained.

This reflected the stability and confidence in the club and changes, mainly economic, in wider society. The grip on employment of textile factories had been loosened by foreign competition and industry had diversified, particularly into building, confectionery and engineering.<sup>88</sup> Victorian mill rules were declining alongside their factories. The jealous local self-government and Spartan self-regulation of the friendly societies also rapidly ebbed in the wake of the National Insurance Acts of the pre-war Liberal government as they were forced to operate on a more commercial basis. As Timothy Alborn contended, 'salesmen, middle managers, and share-holders ... had clearly prevailed over fraternity and local self-reliance by the late 1930s.'<sup>89</sup> Trade unions did grow substantially during the period, especially during the Great War, reaching 8.3 million members.<sup>90</sup> But for most people their rules lacked the immediacy of those of the mills or the friendly society lodge.

The significance of the church link rule was evident at the other clubs. Although Outlane's rules no longer exist, one would have stipulated that the club was part of the chapel.<sup>91</sup> The club broke this relationship but not due to any behavioural or ideological dissension but to safeguard its ground.<sup>92</sup> The retention of the connection at Mytholmroyd had the effect of maintaining a symbiotic relationship between the church and a youthful club.<sup>93</sup> Conversely,

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<sup>86</sup> Report of Illingworth St Mary's annual dinner, *Halifax Guardian*, 12 November 1887; see chapter three, 'Clergy'.

<sup>87</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 3'

<sup>88</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 131-32.

<sup>89</sup> Timothy Alborn, 'Senses of Belonging: The Politics of Working-Class Insurance in Britain, 1880-1914', *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 73, No. 3 (Sep., 2001), 561-602, 565.

<sup>90</sup> C. J. Wrigley, 'Labour and the Trade Unions in Great Britain, 1880-1939', *Refresh: Recent Findings in Economic & Social History*, Vol. 13 (Autumn 1991), <http://www.ehs.org.uk/ehs/refresh/assets/Wrigley13a.pdf>, Accessed 13 June 2012.

<sup>91</sup> The club's minutes and secretary's books show this.

<sup>92</sup> See chapter five, 'Grounds'.

<sup>93</sup> Revised rules produced in 1956 showed that the qualification had by then disappeared, 'Mytholmroyd Methodist (Scout Road) Cricket Club Rules, 1956', CA WYC:1332/4/1/2.

rule changes over the church association at the other Sunday school club, Inchfield Bottom, were snapshots of indecision and ultimately terminal difficulties. An open club, its original rule three allowed outsiders full rights. Concerns over the club falling into secular hands, however, saw this quickly amended to restrict the holding of office to members of the Sunday school. Then at the end of the club's first season the rule was changed again to include chapel members, the first suggestion of difficulties in finding men to run the club.<sup>94</sup> This was clearly so four years later when a proposal to change the rule was made to allow anyone to take office with the alternative being seen as the club disbanding.<sup>95</sup> The rule revealed the loss of church integration so important at Mytholmroyd while simultaneously denying itself the possibility of enlisting officials from outside, as at Outlane.

If those on church links proved to be the most momentous, the real steel of the rules was in collecting subscriptions. Prom, writing specifically on the discipline of friendly societies, found the offences 'that struck most heavily against the group were those that impinged on the collected funds or the trust the group had placed in an individual.'<sup>96</sup> There was no evidence of any fraud but clubs could be as ruthless as the friendly societies in enforcing their rules on payment of subs. Before the start of the 1904 season, Inchfield Bottom struck off 14 defaulters, with a further nine being expelled before the end of the following year.<sup>97</sup> Outlane exposed 15 non-payers in its annual report of 1909 but still felt obliged to create a rule three years later preventing members with outstanding subscriptions from playing in the new season.<sup>98</sup> This was no idle threat, one player, A. G. Phillips, being informed that if he did not make payment within four weeks, he would be suspended 'as per rule made last year.'<sup>99</sup> Illingworth had difficulties from the outset, provoking a rule amendment to strike off members three months behind with their fees.<sup>100</sup> Continuing problems had led to the same naming of defaulters at the AGM as employed later at Outlane, this being enshrined in a bye-law.<sup>101</sup>

The non-payment of subscriptions was normally tersely recorded but Outlane's report of 1909 suggested a feeling of broken trust with fees 'not been paid as well as we could have liked'. This sense of fairness to the general membership was also revealed in amendments to

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<sup>94</sup> 'Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes', 2 March and 5 October 1903.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 2 September 1907.

<sup>96</sup> Prom, 'Friendly Society Discipline', p. 896.

<sup>97</sup> 'Inchfield Bottom CC Minutes', 14 March 1904; 9 January and 13 February 1905.

<sup>98</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', Annual Report, 1909, Annual Meeting, February 1912 (no exact dates).

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 5 May 1913.

<sup>100</sup> Rule 6 was revised. 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 1', 4 May 1885.

<sup>101</sup> Bye-law 6, 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 2', dated 4 October 1901.

financial rules which reflected the economic situation. In autumn of 1903, when the club had to cancel its social event due to 'Bad trade', Inchfield Bottom reversed an earlier bye-law, allowing players 'rail fare for the 1904 season.'<sup>102</sup> Conversely, the rule change raising the cost of subscriptions at Illingworth in 1887 indicated the cost of developing a new ground, though they were reduced during the difficult times of the early 1890s.<sup>103</sup>

### **League Rules and Church Clubs**

Leagues soon came to dominate cricket in Halifax and the Calder Valley and their rules evinced the need for structure and standardisation. They also revealed a compromise between centralisation and the clubs' autonomy and to a lesser degree between two sporting cultures. The Halifax Parish Challenge Cup grounds inspection of 1891 was the first centralised effort to enforce standards and improve the district's cricket.<sup>104</sup> That year the Calder Valley League, mainly for church and Sunday school clubs, commenced - the area's first. Four years later, presenting the trophy for the Hebden Bridge League, its vice-president, the Rev. Wild, neatly summed up a key benefit the organisation had brought:

one of the great disadvantages of playing with a junior club is that they very often fail to fulfil their engagements, but by this League every club is forced to keep its appointments, and so the League in this way does a great and useful work and serves a very good purpose.<sup>105</sup>

Ensuring that clubs fulfilled fixtures was made harder with Saturday morning working. Rule eight of the Halifax & District Cricket League tackled this very precisely.

Matches shall commence not later than 3 o'clock, but it is recommended that an earlier hour should be agreed upon when possible, and play shall continue until 7 o'clock in the months of June, July and August, and till 6.30 in other months. If any time be lost through either team not being ready to commence at the time appointed, the time so lost shall be made up.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> 'Inchfield Bottom CC Rules', updated rules for 1904, end of 1903, Annual Meeting 5 October 1903.

<sup>103</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 1', 2 May 1887. They were raised to 7/6d from 5/-.

<sup>104</sup> See chapter five, 'Grounds'.

<sup>105</sup> O'Keefe, 'The Lord's Opening Partnership', 255. 'Junior' signified small-club rather than youthful cricket.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

St Thomas's had a rule stating that fixtures could only be arranged through the secretary or captain and Illingworth, originally, through the secretary alone.<sup>107</sup> Neither Mytholmroyd nor Inchfield Bottom, created when the leagues had commenced, included such a rule. Leagues reduced the clubs' freedom to choose their opponents. The potential impact of this was seen at Todmorden which reversed its decision to enter the North East Lancashire League not wishing to lose its current list of opponents.<sup>108</sup> It was probably a factor at Illingworth when, in 1898, it decided against re-entering the local Ovenden and District League, which it had won in the previous two seasons.<sup>109</sup> The impact of leagues in determining opponents was initially less than may be supposed, accounting for only about half of clubs' games. With their rapid expansion, however, leagues came to dominate fixtures.

Consistency and centralisation were vital features of leagues and their rules insisted on clubs providing officials for the management committee. The Calder Valley League stipulated that

Any member of the Committee absenting himself from three consecutive meetings without giving a satisfactory reason in writing shall cease to be a representative, and be reported to his Club, who shall have power to elect another in his place.<sup>110</sup>

The rules of the area's leagues revealed what amounted to a compromise in the heated amateur-professional debate which was being most spectacularly played out in rugby.<sup>111</sup> Unlike club rules, several leagues imposed restrictions on professionalism and two out of the 16 leagues formed before 1918 entitled themselves 'Amateur'.<sup>112</sup> Despite his long attachment to the Todmorden club, which greatly esteemed professionals, the solicitor John Craven, inaugural president of the Calder Valley League, was a strong advocate of amateurism in junior cricket. Its rules consequently prevented clubs making any payments 'except such money as [a player] may be out of pocket.'<sup>113</sup> The rule did not exclude the 'broken time' payments which were to split the rugby world, though its offshoot, the Hebden Bridge League, was to permit only expenses.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Rule X, 'St Thomas's CC Rules'; rule 10, 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 1', 22 February 1884.

<sup>108</sup> Heywoods, *Cloth Caps*, p. 160.

<sup>109</sup> O'Keefe, *Start of Play*, p. 33.

<sup>110</sup> Rule 7, 'Rules of the Calder Valley Cricket League', CA WYC1332/5/2 (undated but probably 1890s).

<sup>111</sup> Climaxing in August 1895, with the formation of the Northern Union. See Collins, *Rugby's Great Split*.

<sup>112</sup> The Halifax Amateur (1892) and Halifax Thursday Amateur (1902) leagues.

<sup>113</sup> Rule 20, 'Rules of the Calder Valley League'.

<sup>114</sup> Rule 13, 'Rules of the Hebden Bridge and District Cricket League', 1902, CA WYC 1332/5/3.

Conversely, the Halifax and District League, which generally had a high percentage of church sides, allowed each club one professional and explicitly allowed those payments which had precipitated the rupture in rugby. It defined an amateur as 'one who receive any money over and above expenses actually out of pocket and an exact equivalent for the loss of his wages accruing from his usual occupation.'<sup>115</sup> The Parish League, at its formation in 1913, decided to be amateur but only following 'no small amount of discussion amongst the clubs' representatives' in which 'at least one or two clubs would have been pleased to include one or even more professionals'.<sup>116</sup> Despite its position on amateurism, as with the Halifax Parish Challenge Cup - and the area's cricket in general - the payment of talent money and collections, and prizes held a prominent position.<sup>117</sup>

As with 'respectability', perceptions of 'amateurism' varied considerably. It could imply the purity of a game played entirely for its own sake while less nobly excluding poorer players from that game or one that, more pragmatically, saw it as one method of trying to create a level playing field. The Parish Cup witnessed a long-running debate over the subject. In 1897, while amateur (one or more professionals per club being later allowed<sup>118</sup>) it revealed a practical evaluation of the term. The church club of St Anne's, Southowram, reported a Shelf player, J. Shaw, to the Cup Committee, claiming that he was a professional.<sup>119</sup> The Shelf representative denied the accusation stating that only travelling expenses had been paid. The case was very seriously considered, involving a lengthy examination of Shaw, but was eventually dismissed for lack of evidence. Moralistic and hyperbolic language was notable by its absence. Amateurism in this debate was about not taking an unfair advantage. This perception was strengthened by the fact that Shaw had played the innings which had defeated St Anne's.

In some cases to prevent poaching and money changing hands, leagues imposed regulations on clubs limiting them to fielding only registered members and similarly restricting players to

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<sup>115</sup> *Official Guide to Halifax & District Cricket League, Season 1902* (Halifax, Womersley, 1902), CA WYC 1332/5/1. At this time, four out of the league's nine clubs were church sides: Illingworth St Mary's, Luddenden Foot Saint Mary's, Siddal St Mark's and Thornfield Free Church.

<sup>116</sup> 'Halifax Parish League Minutes', 29 July 1913.

<sup>117</sup> 'Halifax Parish League Minutes', 9 June and 21 July 1914; 'Halifax Parish Cup Minutes', 8 August 1892, 9 March 1893.

<sup>118</sup> There had initially been a principled, or ideological, attitude to professionalism, almost certainly under the influence of its chairman, James Clarkson of King Cross - a solicitor from a wealthy family and a known advocate of amateurism - at one point no player could take part who had ever played for money. However, there followed a gradual watering down of the rule (6) and then under pressure from the clubs of the District League, first one, then eventually more than one registered club professionals could take part. 'Halifax Parish Cup Minutes', 25 September 1890, 29 August 1909; Halifax Parish Cricket Challenge, 1916: Rules for Competition, CA WYC:1345/2.

<sup>119</sup> 'Halifax Parish Cup Minutes', 4 June 1897.



one league club per season. In 1908 Outlane's first team was deducted two points by the Huddersfield and District Junior League, for playing an illegible man, with the second team incurring a similar penalty in 1913.<sup>120</sup> Other rules revealed their basis in *realpolitik* rather than muscular Christianity. The insistence on neutral umpires was general with stipulations that these should not suffer 'abuse or personal violence'.<sup>121</sup> The competitive nature and popular appeal of the leagues was seen in rules which required the submission of individual players' batting and bowling figures and the taking of gates.

## **Conclusion**

Church cricket clubs emerged as precarious ventures and had numerous rules devised to safeguard themselves. Prescriptions on members' conduct were a striking feature of the rules. The close correlation of such rules with those of factories indicated the desirability of a 'play discipline' for predominantly working-class cricketers. This perception was strengthened by the insistence of clergymen on ratifying the rules. At the same time, it meant that the Pycroftian vision of cricket as a game which inherently induced good behaviour was, in practice, refuted by those who preached it.

Hargreaves' view that clerics utilised cricket in a campaign of social control is less convincing. Church clubs were generally formed through congregational demand and few clergymen were pro-active. Moreover, the church qualification rule was revealed at Illingworth to have had the stealthy purpose of excluding young men considered unsuitable from the possibility of such control.

The idea that rules were purely an imposition 'from above' is, nonetheless, challenged by the involvement of the membership in their drawing up and by their prevalence in other predominantly working-class organisations. Prom found that friendly societies were not only 'the most common and highest-enrolled working-class organizations in late-Victorian Britain' but that 'they took an active role in shaping notions of self-discipline'.<sup>122</sup> The rules of friendly societies were more stringent and longer established than those of factories and were adopted by the co-operatives and trade unions. They provided a framework that enabled ordinary men to run organisations on limited and uncertain finances that was largely applicable to local cricket clubs. Rules at one club, Inchfield Bottom, also ratified the wider

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<sup>120</sup> *Huddersfield Examiner Supplement*, 26 September 1908; *Huddersfield Examiner*, indicated in league tables after June 1913.

<sup>121</sup> This particular rule was 21 in 'Rules of the Calder Valley League'.

<sup>122</sup> Prom, 'Friendly Society Discipline', p. 889.

practice of tangible rewards for performance, talent money and annual awards, whose acceptance by clergymen was an example of upward cultural diffusion.

Church cricketers were no better behaved than those of secular clubs. There were, significantly, no challenges to behavioural rules at the clubs. Methodist, working-class dominated Outlane and Inchfield Bottom were equally vigorous in enforcing rules of conduct and, especially, pursuing outstanding subscriptions as Anglican Illingworth St Mary's with its greater clerical and middle-class influence. Indeed, it was Illingworth, which uncovered the real weak link of church club rules: that of the club to the church itself. This occurred when the church association was seen to be inhibiting cricketing progress. In different but equally dramatic circumstances this was also so at Outlane.

Changes to, and removals from, the rules of church clubs were pragmatic responses to the demands of limited resources and to the leagues increasingly imposing their structure. They also reflected a changing way of life as 'Victorian values' loosened. Factories with their regulations declined as employment diversified. The benefit societies with their jealously guarded rules waned in the aftermath of state reforms in health, insurance and employment and a shift from mutual self-help to commercialism. By this point, although many clubs had come and gone, church cricket was in a more settled phase.

## CHAPTER 8 COMMUNITY SERVICE

### **Introduction**

Church cricket clubs came to play an important role in the lives of their communities between 1860 and 1920. The clubs engaged large numbers of people of both sexes and from a wide range of ages and occupations. Through the game of cricket itself they provided opportunities for playing and spectating and an affiliation between club and village. However, it is also contended that through their social and cultural as well as other sporting activities the clubs engendered an even wider appeal. Church cricket clubs became a source of recreation and identity to many and of strong commitment to some.

In this engagement, the clubs provided an insight into the relationship between churches and their communities and into the controversial and complex debate embracing recreation and secularisation. This chapter contends that, although churches retarded the forces of secularism by engaging in social and recreational activities, their cricket clubs eventually produced the opposite effect. Though at the outset reinforcing church identity and in some cases also - particularly with the appearance of separate Anglican and Nonconformist leagues - denominational identity, church cricket clubs became increasingly independent: 'St Mary's, Illingworth', for example, became 'Illingworth St Mary's' and became commonly known as simply 'Illingworth'. The clubs ultimately provided an alternative focal point - another outlet for people's time and energies - to their churches: one small turn in the screw of secularisation.

### **Church Cricket and Identity**

The role of local cricket clubs within their communities has barely been examined and, even where it has, the investigation has been confined to the game itself. Within rugby football, Tony Collins found communal identity expressed as 'civic pride' through the emergence of town-based clubs, as occurred throughout Halifax and the Calder Valley. When Sam Duckitt founded Halifax FC in 1873 it was due to the realisation that the town was lagging behind its neighbours. He explained that 'We saw reports in the papers of football matches being played at Leeds, Bradford and elsewhere, and we thought that Halifax ought to have a club also'.<sup>1</sup> Collins, invoking Patrick Joyce's concept of 'the excluded people', argued that sport gave

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<sup>1</sup> Collins, *Rugby's Great Split*, pp.15-6. A similar led to the creation of Brighouse Rangers FC.

working people an opportunity to demonstrate that civic pride was not the prerogative of the well-to-do.<sup>2</sup>

Civic pride within club cricket has been recognised by a few cricket historians. Keith Sandiford, despite his generally top-down approach, interpreted what he termed a ‘spectacular cricket explosion’ in terms of club as well as ‘first-class’ cricket.<sup>3</sup> He discovered, during the late Victorian years, the large crowds attracted by the Lancashire League, such as those of about 6,000 who watched the top sides such as Burnley or Nelson and, across the Pennines, those of approximately 2,000 in some Yorkshire villages such as Wombwell, which amounted to about an eighth of the local population.<sup>4</sup> Sandiford sympathetically contrasted the ‘quiet and decorum characteristic of the Lord’s ground’, as preferred by *Wisden*, with the clubs’ provision for urban workers of ‘an escape from the tedium of industrial labour ... an opportunity to give vent to their emotions and to identify in an overt fashion with the local team or group.’<sup>5</sup> Rob Light found that during the mid-nineteenth century, keen competition in cricket between the clubs of neighbouring new industrial towns helped to forge the identities of their working-class communities.<sup>6</sup>

This sense of oneness between a town’s club and its followers is captured in the Heywoods’ social history of Todmorden Cricket Club.<sup>7</sup> In a town frequently buffeted by the vagaries of the cotton industry, the club provided a vibrant alternative to the ‘tedium of industrial labour’ as well as the frustrations of unemployment which was a feature of the last two decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Todmorden’s fixtures generated passion rather than the hushed propriety deemed desirable at Lord’s. Games against local rivals did little to increase the stoicism of the crowds. When, in 1882, ‘Tod’ defeated nearby Bacup ‘the Todmordians became so full of jubilant mirth that a complete outburst could no longer be restrained - hats flying into the air, and in one case out of the field’.<sup>9</sup> Mike Huggins found cricket playing the same role as football in creating identity for some towns (such as Todmorden or Brighouse or

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<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22. Patrick Joyce, *Visions of the People: Industrial England and the Question of Class, 1848-1914* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993).

<sup>3</sup> Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*, pp. 53-4.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 119-20.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125.

<sup>6</sup> Light, ‘Cricket’s Forgotten Past’, p. 69.

<sup>7</sup> Heywoods, *Cloth Caps*.

<sup>8</sup> Heywoods and Jennings, *A History of Todmorden*, p. 183.

<sup>9</sup> *Bacup Times*, 18 August 1882, quoted in Heywoods, *Cloth Caps*, p. 109.

Elland) but more typically so in the case of villages (such as Luddenden Foot, Outlane or Mytholmroyd).<sup>10</sup>

Church cricket clubs typically came to represent small, sometimes quite isolated communities. They did not operate on the same scale as the town-focused teams such as Nelson or Todmorden and were, consequently, much more representative of the area's cricket. With an inhospitable terrain and underdeveloped transport they were very often village-based and particularly at the outset usually had their membership confined to the church's congregation or Sunday school. This was notably the case for teams formed in the earlier decades of this study with the only primary club exceptions known to be the two newest, Outlane and Inchfield Bottom.

At a time when sport was growing in popularity, however, churches could not restrict interest in their clubs to congregations. A local cricket match was a summer attraction whether secular or church. Within only four years of its formal inauguration, Illingworth, despite some clerical and other opposition, had extended its membership to the village. The immediate purpose was to strengthen its playing strength and raise funds but the club was already impressed by its 'friends' and 'the many in the neighbourhood' prepared to support it.<sup>11</sup>

This desire for a church club to represent its local community had been very explicitly stated eight years earlier, albeit outside the parish of Halifax, at Honley, south of neighbouring Huddersfield. In 1879, the club had parted with its church of St Mary's in order to better compete against local rivals so 'that Honley in this respect may not be behind the neighbouring villages.'<sup>12</sup> The rupture with the church was not merely to be a match for nearby clubs. It was to be so on behalf of the village.

Tony Mason has argued that churches often supported sports clubs to promote the identity of the church itself.<sup>13</sup> Church clubs throughout Halifax and the Calder Valley give tacit support to this view. St Thomas's at Claremount, consecrated in 1861, became the area's parish church in 1868, and within five years had created first its Sunday school then its senior cricket club. Similarly, St Mary's at Luddenden Foot in the Calder Valley, which opened in

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<sup>10</sup> Mike Huggins, 'Oop for t' Coop: Sporting Identity in Victorian Britain', *History Today* ( May 2005), 55-61, 56.

<sup>11</sup> See chapters three, 'Clergy' and six, 'Finance'.

<sup>12</sup> 'Honley CC: The Early Years', *C&K Website*,

[http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/southkirklees/honley/docs/honley\\_theearlyyears.pdf](http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/southkirklees/honley/docs/honley_theearlyyears.pdf), Accessed 22 February 2011.

<sup>13</sup> Mason, *Association Football*, pp. 25-26.

1873, had within a decade formed a team originally from its choirboys. St Georges' at Ovenden, consecrated in 1877, created a cricket and football in January of the following year.<sup>14</sup>

Dave Russell has shown how Yorkshire County Cricket Club provided a regional identity within which jealously guarded local identities could unite.<sup>15</sup> A similar dual identity occurred for a while within church cricket, with clubs representing both their church and their wider community. The burgeoning popularity of the game, especially when stimulated by the leagues, led to churches sharing their clubs with the locality. Church and, possibly, denominational, rivalry were probably a factor at Norland, a moorland village perched high above Sowerby Bridge, when a crowd of 200 was reported in May 1893 for a Halifax Amateur Cricket League fixture between local rivals St Luke's and Norland Baptists.<sup>16</sup> This approximated to one in seven of the population of a very scattered district.<sup>17</sup> Norland Baptists had only 26 members in 1898 plus 15 Sunday school teachers and 85 scholars.<sup>18</sup> Considering the high female composition of chapels, the youthfulness of Sunday schools and those members playing, it is highly improbable that even 50 spectators came from the chapel. As for St Luke's, it was one of the very smallest Anglican churches in the parish of Halifax.<sup>19</sup> The match was not just a churches' contest, it was also a village contest.

The Norland fixture was unusual in that the size of the crowd was known. Spectator numbers were usually recorded only for games of special interest such as local 'derbies', important league and cup matches, plus holiday games. The popularity of the clubs as regards spectating non-members, like occasional churchgoers, is difficult to assess. The money collected from paying spectators provided only an approximate guide. The amount taken fell when the club enrolled formerly casual spectators as members or vice-patrons. Charges were not always, perhaps not usually, made and it seems likely that 'offerings' were accepted. Additionally, women and children did not usually pay.

The indications are, nonetheless, that fixtures attracted between 5 and 10 per cent of the local population beyond the clubs' membership. For one of its earliest fixtures, Outlane benefited from the Whitsun weekend in 1897, taking 8/9d.<sup>20</sup> On the reasonable assumption that entry

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<sup>14</sup> Anon, *Reminiscences of St George's*, p. 19.

<sup>15</sup> Russell, 'Yorkshire County Cricket Club, 215-7.

<sup>16</sup> Hardcastle, *Lost*, p. 19.

<sup>17</sup> The (declining) population in 1901 was 1,289, Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', p. 33.

<sup>18</sup> Figures courtesy of John Hargreaves.

<sup>19</sup> In 1888, St Luke's had the fifth smallest and, in 1901, the joint third smallest benefice in the area, Hargreaves, 'Table 40: Value of Benefices in the Rural Deanery of Halifax 1888-1914', 'Religion and Society', p. 294.

<sup>20</sup> 'Outlane CC Secretary's Book', 5 June 1897.

was a 1d., this meant a paying crowd in excess of 100. With women and children admitted free, this figure would have been higher. Including the club's members, perhaps a sixth of the village's population was at the fixture.<sup>21</sup> A year earlier, in a trophy-winning season, Illingworth had taken almost £5 at the gate.<sup>22</sup> Though not seen in the same absolute numbers as town clubs, there was a clear association between church clubs and their communities.

### **Denominational Cricket and Identity: Harmony or Conflict?**

Jack Williams is perhaps unique in having considered the identities established by church sport.<sup>23</sup> He did so examining class, gender and denomination. He held that playing for a church team 'expressed a denominational identity'.<sup>24</sup> This was an important factor as church cricket arrived and developed in Halifax and the Calder Valley during a time of denominational competition and not infrequent confrontation, usually linked to politics. Alan Gilbert emphasised the closeness of this link by quoting the historian Kitson Clarke:

'religion had received so political a shape, or politics so religious a shape, that it was for many people almost impossible to separate the two'. Victorian and early Edwardian England seemed to be 'obsessed' with the Church-Chapel confrontation, 'and referred everything back to it'.<sup>25</sup>

Significant periods for cricket often coincided with heightened Anglican-Nonconformist political debates. When the Sunday school club of Providence Independent Chapel was formed in Elland in 1860, this was at the peak of the campaign against church rates. When the area's church cricket experienced its first boom, with the arrival of the Saturday half-holiday, this coincided with the Nonconformist agitation against the 1870 Education Act. It was education, once more, in the form of the Balfour Act that brought the height of denominational conflict, lasting into the late Edwardian period (and, in some cases up to 1914) when the strength of church cricket was at its zenith, stimulated by the leagues.<sup>26</sup>

As seen, the Norland church-chapel fixture attracted a large crowd for a sparse population. Illingworth in 1894 had a dispute with Horton Primitive Methodists. However, the disentangling of competitive motives is difficult as it also had a fall-out with fellow Anglican

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<sup>21</sup> Outlane's population being approximately 1,000.

<sup>22</sup> Balance sheets for 1895 and 1896, 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 1'.

<sup>23</sup> Williams, 'Churches, Sport and Identities'.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 131.

<sup>25</sup> Gilbert, *Religion and Society*, p. 162. See also chapter one, 'Moors, Mills and Ministers'.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 162-5.

club Bradford St Andrews that same season.<sup>27</sup> What is significant is that, from the outset, churches were taking the field in inter-denominational fixtures: channels of communication were opened, and normally remained open, on both a personal and semi-official level between churches and chapels. In 1873, the time of Nonconformist disquiet over the Forster Education Act, Church of England St Thomas's showed a preference for playing Christian clubs but these included North Parade Baptists and Sion Congregationalists as well as Anglican St Augustine's and St Andrew's (Bradford).<sup>28</sup> Stones Wesleyans, in their first season, played local clubs including Anglican St Mary's and Ebenezer MNC Young Men, as well as non-church teams.<sup>29</sup> In its first season, Mytholmroyd Wesleyans Sunday School played friendlies including Todmorden Church, Roomfield Baptists and Luddenden Foot UMFC as well as secular clubs.<sup>30</sup> When Outlane MNC and Inchfield Bottom UMFC started, they were in leagues composed of church, chapel and secular clubs. This was how most cricket was played and, though doubtless, there was an element of denominational pride and identity involved, no evidence has been found of any unsavoury sectarianism in this.

However, three denomination-based leagues did form in the area. One of these, the West Vale Baptist League created in 1901, was very small, survived just two years and was only nominally Baptist. The other two, which both commenced in 1908, were far more significant in sectarian terms. These were the Anglican Halifax and District Church (Sunday School) League, which had been put together at the end of the previous season,<sup>31</sup> and the Halifax and District Nonconformist League. In 1909, with both established, they boasted 21 clubs between them.

These leagues were formed during a protracted and at times very acrimonious debate between Anglicans and Dissenters over the Conservative's 1902 Education Act. This legislation overturned a stipulation of the 1870 Act forbidding sectarian religious instruction, and permitted the funding of voluntary denominational schools through the rates.<sup>32</sup> With, of the Dissenters, only the Wesleyans having a significant number of their own schools, the Nonconformists saw themselves as subsidising the religious instruction of rival churches, particularly the Anglican but also the Roman Catholic. So incensed were the Nonconformists

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<sup>27</sup> Annual Report for 1894, 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 1'.

<sup>28</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, various dates in 1873.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, various dates in 1884.

<sup>30</sup> 'Mytholmroyd Fixture Cards', 1894.

<sup>31</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 7 September 1907.

<sup>32</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of the Act and particularly the campaign to overturn it, see D. R. Pugh, 'English Nonconformity, Education and Passive Resistance 1903-6', *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society*, Vol. 19, No. 4 (1990), 355-373.



that a campaign of civil disobedience, 'passive resistance', was enacted with Dissenters, including ministers, refusing to pay that part of their rates which supported education and many were subsequently imprisoned.

Martin Pugh saw the action as not widely supported nationally by the Nonconformists and soon dying down.<sup>33</sup> And the largest Nonconformist group, the Wesleyans, refused officially to support open opposition to the Act.<sup>34</sup> However, hostility was more sustained in Halifax and the Calder Valley. This was most evident in the Upper Calder Valley, especially the Nonconformist strongholds around Todmorden, where one magistrate resigned rather than proceed against 'passive resisters'.<sup>35</sup> The Baptists were most avid in their opposition, as was seen in one campaign in Cornholme, near Todmorden where resistance continued until 1914.<sup>36</sup>

A new phase in the campaign began with the spectacular Liberal electoral success of 1906 which was achieved in large measure by the surge of Nonconformist political fervour in opposition to the Education Act. The efforts to modify the legislation and the Anglican resistance to these efforts were intensified as this was also perceived as a trial of strength for political Nonconformity. Noel Richards has argued that the Liberals' failure to pass the Education Bill of 1906 'marked, more than any other single event, the death of political Nonconformity which, in turn, did much to weaken the Liberal Party'.<sup>37</sup> The Bill, which stipulated that 'no catechism or religious formulary distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in school', was condemned as an act of intolerance, savaged by the House of Lords, and dropped in December 1906.<sup>38</sup> Other, more limited, Bills were introduced but these satisfied neither side and the often fevered argument dragged on from the Parliamentary to the popular level during which time the separate Anglican and Nonconformist leagues in Halifax commenced, in 1908.

On the eve of the start of the new cricket season with the new denominational-based leagues, the antipathy of Anglicans to the latest Bill was seen. The Tory *Halifax Guardian* saw it as trying 'to strike a blow at the Church and drive out definite religious teaching'.<sup>39</sup> The

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<sup>33</sup> Martin Pugh, *State and Society*, p. 153.

<sup>34</sup> Currie, *Methodism Divided*, p. 240.

<sup>35</sup> Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', pp. 131-2; the magistrate who resigned was a Mr Barker in February 1904, D.R. Pugh, 'Passive Resistance', fn. 74,

<sup>36</sup> Neil Arnold, *Gold Under the Hammer, Passive Resistance in Cornholme, 1902-14*, (Todmorden, Cornholme W.E.A., 1982).

<sup>37</sup> Noel J. Richards, 'The Education Bill of 1906 and the Decline of Political Nonconformity', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 23, No. 1, (January 1972), 49-63, 49-50.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>39</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 4 April 1908.

exasperation of the influential Canon Ivens of Christ Church, Sowerby Bridge was obvious, when he wrote in his parish magazine:

Some day, and it is to be hoped very shortly, this thorny question must be settled. The Churchman and the Nonconformist will each have to concede something. But the present Bill offers no prospect of a settlement, it inflicts injustice upon the Churchman, the Roman Catholic and the Jew.<sup>40</sup>

The more grassroots' Anglican antipathy to the measure was evident at the same time, as parents of children at St James's School in Halifax formed a branch of the Parents' Educational League which opposed the Bill.<sup>41</sup>

It is, nonetheless, difficult to ascertain to what degree the leagues were formed in opposition to the 'other' religious denomination, particularly as no records survive for these leagues. The only reported motivation for the creation of the Church league was that 'It is believed that the formation of a League will result in a much closer relationship between local Church teams which at present are scattered.'<sup>42</sup> If there was a sectarian reason for the league's foundation it was not driven by churchmen who, despite being written to by the organisers, were conspicuous only by their apathy.<sup>43</sup> Perhaps the likeliest explanation, other than a perception that a reorganisation would be beneficial in terms of cricket, is that ill feeling engendered by the long-running feud over education had induced a closing of denominational ranks.

One might reasonably speculate that the Nonconformist League was formed in response to the Anglican venture. Despite both leagues commencing in 1908, the Church League had been established by early October 1907.<sup>44</sup> Perceptions of falling church and Sunday school attendances and the practical advantage of existing religious and social networks were other likely reasons behind the leagues. And, although very significant, these clubs still accounted for fewer than 40 per cent of the total number of church clubs participating in all of the area's leagues that season.<sup>45</sup>

Moreover, after only two seasons the Nonconformist League's denominational identity had been diluted when it admitted two secular clubs - one of which, Ripponden Conservatives -

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 11 April 1908.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 3 August 1907.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 3 August and 7 September 1907.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 5 October 1907.

<sup>45</sup> A total of 54 church clubs figured in all the area's leagues that year.

could be seen as symbolic of religion's loosening influence on politics, in light of Dissent's history of close links with the Liberal Party and the furore over education.<sup>46</sup> And the Anglican league did not survive the Great War, its last season being 1915. Furthermore, shrinking religious adherence from around the end of the nineteenth century brought necessarily looser membership links between religious organisations and their clubs and a lessening of both church and denomination identification.

There is no evidence at all in club, league or cup minutes or newspapers that denomination played any role in the not infrequent disputes in which both church and chapel sides were involved.<sup>47</sup> Church clubs wanted to win irrespective of religious considerations. Aside from the separate leagues, they tended more to harmony than to conflict in denominational relations. The two Catholic clubs, formed at a time of much remaining anti-Catholic sentiment, by playing in leagues with other denominations suggest a desire for acceptance rather than differentiation.<sup>48</sup> The cricket clubs of the different churches, even though competing against each other, were involved in a common - and hence in overall terms, unifying - activity. The effect was akin to that of the public school system of house matches, which served to reinforce unity within the school despite the holding and encouraging of separate, competing, internal identities.<sup>49</sup>

### **Church Cricket and Local Identity**

Williams did not directly address church sport's identification with the local community. Churches and chapels were still themselves community focal points, as witnessed by the number of column inches devoted to their activities in local newspapers under their respective townships, until well into the twentieth century. Church clubs were expressions of both church and community identity. However, the clubs that survived moved inexorably in the direction of community until eventually, where an association with the church remained at all, it was a limited one through personnel with, perhaps, a clergyman as an honorific president.

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<sup>46</sup> The other club admitted for the 1911 season was the Guild Institute, Hardcastle, *Lost*, p. 54. The weakening grip of religion on politics was also evident in the rapid demise before the Great War of the Labour Church, see for example, Tony Jowitt, 'Religion and the Independent Labour Party', in Laybourn and James (eds), *The Rising Sun of Socialism*, pp. 130-2, Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes*, pp. 247-9.

<sup>47</sup> See chapter four, 'Club People'.

<sup>48</sup> The Catholic Association was in the Calder Valley League and St Bernards played in the Brighouse District and Halifax Amateur leagues. St Bernard's actually took part in the Nonconformist League during 1936-37, Hardcastle, *Lost*, p. 75.

<sup>49</sup> J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School* (London, Frank Cass, 2000), p. 146.

Success in competition was the clearest manifestation of local communities' identification with church cricket clubs. The winning of a trophy provided an occasion for people to express a pride in where they lived and clubs' celebrations were often unashamedly brash. In 1895, the St Mary's club from the recently established industrial village of Luddenden Foot won the Sowerby Division League. Following a special match against a rest of the league team the trophy was presented and 'the victors were conveyed in a waggonette through the village, preceded by the Sowerby Subscription Band playing "See the conquering hero comes", and wound up by sitting down to a first-class tea at the General Rawdon Hotel.'<sup>50</sup> There was no stoical retiring to the church schoolroom. The club shared its success with the entire village.

Church clubs took it as read that their victories would be popular. Even before the 1909 Halifax Parish Cup Final, Illingworth decided to order a charabanc in the event of success, and their victory saw them feted 'by a large crowd, people lining the route all the way to the village.'<sup>51</sup> Brass bands, themselves intimately part of the community and similarly competitive, regularly formed part of the victory processions. When Stones Wesleyans played in the Halifax Amateur League Cup Final of 1919, their neighbouring opponents Rishworth were so confident of victory they engaged the Rishworth Band to play them back home with the cup after the game.<sup>52</sup> Though this turned out to be presumptuous - Stones defeated Rishworth and the band played *them* home with the trophy instead - it confirmed the assumption that the result mattered in the district. Similarly, the victory of Outlane, only recently separated from its chapel, in the Lumb Cup Final of 1921, was received with 'high jinks' in the village.<sup>53</sup>

This movement of church cricket clubs to represent their locality was made very explicit following the Great War, when Illingworth St Mary's chose to leave the Halifax Parish League and applied for entry to the regional Yorkshire Cricket Council. The reasons stated for the move to the higher-grade competition were bound to the wider community. They were to 'provide Cricket in the District of the highest class possible' as 'the District is not represented by Such Cricket' and that the club 'look upon it as their *duty* to take this

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<sup>50</sup> 'Sowerby St Peters: The Early Years', *C&K Website*  
[http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/sowerbystpeters/docs/sowerbysp\\_theearlyyears.pdf](http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/sowerbystpeters/docs/sowerbysp_theearlyyears.pdf), Accessed 20 February 2011.

<sup>51</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 2', 25 June 2009; *Halifax Evening Courier*, 6 July 1909.

<sup>52</sup> From account of Stanley Palmer, 'Stones CC The Early Years', *C&K Website*,  
[http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/stones/docs/stones\\_theearlyyears.pdf](http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/stones/docs/stones_theearlyyears.pdf), Accessed 20 February 2011.

<sup>53</sup> *Huddersfield Examiner and West Riding Reporter*, 24 September 1921.

action.<sup>54</sup> When its third minute book was started in 1920, the club was formally referred to as ‘Illingworth St Mary’s’ rather than ‘St Mary’s, Illingworth’, the name of the district taking precedence over that of the church.<sup>55</sup> The club was also increasingly known simply as ‘Illingworth’ in both minutes and newspaper reports. Church teams retained the village part of their name when they parted with the church. Outlane Methodist New Connexion CC became ‘Outlane CC’ in 1919; Stones Wesleyan CC became ‘Stones CC’, Luddenden Foot St Mary’s CC became ‘Luddenden Foot CC’ and ‘Hebden Bridge Salem CC’ became ‘Hebden Bridge CC’.<sup>56</sup>

### **Church Cricket, Concerts and Community**

John Hargreaves found in the Halifax area ‘the continuing influence of religious life’ in the years immediately following the Great War. This was most spectacularly expressed in the celebrations to mark the signing of the Treaty of Versailles held at the Halifax rugby ground in June 1919 in which 120 Sunday schools took part.<sup>57</sup> However, this was a reflection of short-term revival. During the following decade, the area’s Protestant denominations went into a slow but protracted decline. In Todmorden, the chapels experienced falling congregations and Sunday school recruitment dropped by a fifth between 1922 and 1929.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, an historian of Brighouse saw that the inter-war period for church and chapel ‘must inevitably rank as one of decline’.<sup>59</sup> However, for at least the duration of this study, up to around 1920, communities continued to look upon churches as a key reference point, including for social activities.

The growing popular demand for entertainment, as with cricket, was subject to limited disposable income and availability. Consequently the churches’ social offerings became highly important in their localities. In his history of Halifax, from the second half of the nineteenth century, Hargreaves examines religion, recreation and culture under the same heading.<sup>60</sup> The churches and especially chapels of Todmorden were prominent in the

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<sup>54</sup> O’Keefe, *Start of Play*, pp. 25-6. My italics.

<sup>55</sup> Rule 1, ‘Illingworth CC Minute Book 3’, 1920.

<sup>56</sup> Stones Wesleyans became ‘Stones Methodists CC’ following Methodist reunion in 1932, and simply Stones CC’ in 1970.

<sup>57</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 212-13.

<sup>58</sup> Heywoods and Jennings, *A History of Todmorden*, p. 217. The demise of Inchfield Bottom UMFC Sunday School CC was an earlier but striking symptom of this decline.

<sup>59</sup> Mitchell, *Brighouse: Birth and Death*, p. 119.

<sup>60</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 168-174, 212-221, 268-275.

provision of entertainment: such as the Unitarian Church Sunday school, which held annual concerts from 1868.<sup>61</sup>

Church extension in the area had led to very many churches putting on bazaars and entertainments to finance themselves.<sup>62</sup> These were normally self-produced with the active participation of church members. The religious organisations were emulated by their cricket clubs in holding concerts, dances, 'At Homes', bazaars and other entertainments. The churches and chapels usually provided the accommodation, part of the audience and sometimes publicised these events. Clubs also held galas and sports days. Through such social events church cricket clubs widened both their appeal and contribution to their communities and engaged far more women in their activities than was the case with cricket itself.

Church cricket clubs took advantage of the expanding demand for leisure activities at a time when commercial alternatives were limited, especially in outlying villages before transportation improvements. Cinema did appear in the area's towns at the start of the twentieth century but in a rudimentary form.<sup>63</sup> By the war, it had grown in popularity, though it did not reach its heyday until the 1930s following the arrival of the true 'talkies'.<sup>64</sup> The BBC did not broadcast entertainment until December 1922 and only by 1934 did most British homes possess a wireless set.<sup>65</sup>

Church cricket clubs, along with churches and other voluntary bodies, made a difference to the cultural life of their communities through their capacity to promote successful entertainments. Putting on performances involved a very big commitment by the clubs. This can be gauged from Illingworth's second minute book. This, covering the period April 1899 to September 1920, devoted around half of its minutes to social events.<sup>66</sup> Outlane, following

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<sup>61</sup> Heywoods and Jennings, *A History of Todmorden*, pp. 197, 200.

<sup>62</sup> See chapter six, 'Finance'.

<sup>63</sup> In 1902 Edison's Animated Photo Company showed 'dissolving animated pictures' of the Boer War and Dickens' *Scrooge* in Brighouse Town Hall. Also in Brighouse, a gramophone synchronised to the film produced talking pictures of sorts at the Albert Hall in 1906. By 1910, improvements in quality saw the Town Hall putting on more cinema than drama. Mitchell, *Brighouse: Birth and Death*, pp. 27-8. Also in 1910, the Electric Theatre became the first to open in Halifax expressly to show films, Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 172.

<sup>64</sup> The 'talkies' arrived in the area in 1929: at the Albert cinema in Brighouse with 'The Singing Fool' starring Al Johnson, which later appeared in Halifax. Mitchell, *Brighouse: Birth and Death*, p. 153; Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 218. In Britain overall, Cunningham estimates that there were about 400 million annual attendances at cinemas before the war, more than doubling to 903 million in 1934 and reaching their zenith in 1946 with 1,635 million, Hugh Cunningham, 'Leisure and Culture' in F.L.M. Thompson (ed.) *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950, Volume 2: People and Their Environment* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 311-12.

<sup>65</sup> Mike Smith, 'UK Radio: A Brief History - Part 1 How It All Began', *MDS95* <http://www.mds975.co.uk/Content/ukradio.html>, Accessed 28 April 2011; Cunningham, 'Leisure and Culture', p. 317.

<sup>66</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 2', 7 April 1899 to 27 September 1920.

its first season, in November 1897, held a tea and concert in the chapel's school. The tea was attended by an impressive 200 people, but the concert was enjoyed by 'close on 500'.<sup>67</sup> The latter figure approximated to half the population of the entire village. This was by any standard a hugely popular event. The locality was well provided with public houses and had three political clubs but other than church events there were few amusements on offer, particularly for women.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, four miles distant from Huddersfield, only in February 1899 was the tramway extended to the village.<sup>69</sup>

Church club events found their way into their districts' social calendar. Outlane's event the following year was described as the 'second *annual* tea and concert of this club.'<sup>70</sup> Aside from the war, the event continued up to and beyond 1920. The club's receipts did vary but averaged about £8. The 1899 concert, although it brought in less than £6, still made its cultural contribution to the village, being reported as 'a great success from a musical point of view'.<sup>71</sup>

Like brass bands, these mainly musical events were popular demonstrations that rational recreation was not necessarily insipid. The public's response to Outlane's entertainments was not untypical. Such performances were rife, involved virtually all denominations, and almost always attracted large audiences. In 1885, St Paul's Choristers CC gave a concert; two days later, on St Valentine's Day, the new club of St Mary's, Luddenden with its vicar, the Rev. Robinson presiding, held theirs in its school, both performances attracting 'crowded' audiences.<sup>72</sup> Ten years later, Luddenden Foot St Mary's CC, had 250 attending its social evening, Stannary Congregational CC in Halifax attracted 190 for its pie supper and social, and Lane Head Primitive Methodists at Brighouse had about 140 for their annual tea and concert.<sup>73</sup> That same year the Pellon Lane Baptist's club, the Mytholmroyd Wesleyans CC and St Mark's Anglican club at Siddal among many others hosted concerts or other social events.<sup>74</sup> The club of non-denominational Rastrick New Road Sunday school was a notable promoter of entertainments. Its 'At Homes' of January 1907 proved to be such a 'financial

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<sup>67</sup> *Huddersfield Examiner*, 20 November 1897.

<sup>68</sup> A digital search of the *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle*, 1896-1900 reported only two tea and entertainments put on by St Mary's Mission Church, a Methodist New Connexion sale of work and a Wesleyan tea meeting.

<sup>69</sup> *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 4 February 1899.

<sup>70</sup> *Supplement to Huddersfield Examiner*, 19 November 1898. My italics.

<sup>71</sup> £5/13/2 was taken, 'Outlane CC Secretary's Book', 4 November 1899; *Huddersfield Examiner*, 11 November 1899.

<sup>72</sup> *Halifax Courier*, 21 February 1885.

<sup>73</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 19 October, 28 September and 23 February 1895.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, various dates in 1895.

and social' success as to also became yearly events.<sup>75</sup> The club also held 'Minstrel Performances' commencing in 1906, with the following year's concert attracting an audience in excess of 400.<sup>76</sup>

The community centred nature of the clubs was emphasised by Inchfield Bottom and later Outlane taking part in carol singing, this being also a lucrative venture. For the 1902 festive season it was reported that:

Annual parties in Walsden have been as prolific as ever, and Christmas carolling was quite popular. A party went out for the benefit of the newly formed cricket club at Inchfield Bottom, and collected £5 17s., and another on behalf of the Walsden cricket club raised between £5 and £7. The local brass band toured the village during the night and was exceedingly well supported as is usual with them.<sup>77</sup>

At the opposite end of the social calendar a big demand for competitive participant sport as well as summer entertainment provided an opportunity for local cricket clubs to exploit their grounds through sports and galas. Outlane held these for several years, there being a precedent of highly popular prize-driven athletics in the district.<sup>78</sup> Though their appeal did diminish, their popularity can be divined from the club's purchasing a roll of a 1,000 tickets in 1903, and making over £11 in profit.<sup>79</sup> The sports events once more revealed the limited diffusion of muscular Christian practices. They took place for prize money with £1/10/10 being on offer for the various races and other sporting contests. Outlane was one of the first clubs in the area to feature in its sports' programme the contemporary 'walking craze', echoing back to the days of pedestrianism, which was regarded as the highlight of the day.<sup>80</sup> A newspaper report noted that the day's cricket match continued until 6.45, at which point

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<sup>75</sup> *Brighouse and Elland Echo*, 4 January 1907.

<sup>76</sup> Rastrick New Road Sunday School CC 'Minstrel Performance' 17 March 1906 programme, on *C&K Website*, Badger Hill CC, <http://www.ckcricketheritage.org.uk/calderdale/badgerhill/archive/arcgallery4.htm>, Accessed 20 April 2011; *Brighouse and Elland Echo*, 4 January 1907.

<sup>77</sup> *Todmorden Advertiser*, 2 January 1903.

<sup>78</sup> In 1872, this annual event at Outlane had an attendance of at least 5,000 with a 500-capacity grandstand (which collapsed that year). The three prizes for the 'Grand Steeplechase' were £50, £20 and £10, there being gold, silver and bronze medals for the other seven events. *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 31 August 1872.

<sup>79</sup> 'Outlane CC Secretary's Book', 10, 15, 18 July 1903.

<sup>80</sup> *Supplement to Huddersfield Examiner*, 25 July 1903. The newspaper describing this latest craze in sports days incorrectly attributed its first appearance in the locality to the annual athletics festival held by Paddock Cricket and Bowling Club a week after the Outlane gala.



preparations were made for the walk to Nont Sarah's and back, an event which attracted a large crowd on the route. Eight competitors took part in the race won by Mr. F. Hirst (Marsh). D. Crompton came in second ... followed at various intervals by the other competitors, some of whom would have looked much happier in a waggonette.<sup>81</sup>

The club aimed to give the gala its widest possible appeal. A series of children's sports had been put on and the Outlane Brass Band (which figured in national competitions<sup>82</sup>) 'played for dancing' though 'little could be indulged in on account of the rain.'

Church clubs hosted social events right up to the Great War. During the conflict itself, as with their cricket, they endeavoured to help maintain as normal a life as possible and to raise spirits by continuing to hold entertainments when at all possible. This was often done despite shortages in both manpower and foodstuffs. The short-term boost to the local economy provided by government contracts for uniforms and armaments did help.<sup>83</sup> Illingworth kept its 'tea and social' going throughout the war, even after 1917 when it was unable to field a team. In February 1916, the club was still able to make a £5/7/9 profit on its annual tea, social and dance.<sup>84</sup> Though making only £4 in 1918, a measure of the social's popularity is that 250 bills were printed for the event.<sup>85</sup>

Other clubs tried to continue their social events, Outlane holding a concert in November 1915, though this was its only one during the war.<sup>86</sup> Also in November 1915, the St Mary's club at Luddenden Foot held a concert in the church schoolroom, where the vicar, the Rev J. Meredith 'presided over a large audience' with proceeds in aid of the Boy Scouts' Fund.<sup>87</sup> The difficulties often proved too much, Stones in late October 1914 having to abandon holding their usual tea and concert.<sup>88</sup> Local newspapers reported fewer and fewer such events as the war stretched on.

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<sup>81</sup> *Supplement to Huddersfield Examiner*, 18 July 1903. Nont Sarah's was about (a hilly) 3 miles from the ground.

<sup>82</sup> For instance appearing, with some success, at the National Brass Band Festivals of 1908 and 1910 at Crystal Palace, *The Times*, 28 September 1908 and 3 October 1910.

<sup>83</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, pp. 183-84; Heywoods and Jennings, *Todmorden*, p. 213.

<sup>84</sup> 'Illingworth CC Minute Book 2', Committee Meeting, 20 March 1916.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 26 January 1918, 15 February 1918.

<sup>86</sup> 'Outlane CC Minutes', 27 September 1915, 23 and 30 November 1915. This also demonstrated the club's continuing integration with the church.

<sup>87</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 13 November 1915.

<sup>88</sup> 'Stones CC Minutes', 29 October 1914.

## After the War

The end of the war stimulated demand for leisure activities. Relief at the conclusion of hostilities and a short-lived increase in prosperity were allied to an increased leisure time through the reduction of the industrial working week to 48 hours in 1919. Church cricket continued to provide entertainments and reports indicated that demand was such that attendances were often limited by insufficient room. In January 1920, Northowram Parish Church Cricket Club held a 'fancy dress social' which had sold 140 tickets even before the day and was considered 'a very successful venture'.<sup>89</sup> A fortnight later, Luddenden Church Cricket Club put on a 'grand concert' in the National School in front of a 'large audience' and, in March, Providence Independent Cricket and Tennis Club at Ovenden attracted a 'crowded audience' at a concert held in the chapel's schoolroom.<sup>90</sup> This also evidenced the very common practice of church cricket clubs in the aftermath of the Great War: attaching tennis clubs and bringing women from the church into sporting and social contact with the cricketers.<sup>91</sup>

Church clubs capitalised on the post-war dancing craze. Stones held a whist drive and dance in January 1920, hiring the Central Hall at Ripponden, evidencing both its popularity and its appeal beyond both club and chapel.<sup>92</sup> Northowram Parish Church's club held a dance later that year 'at which a large number assembled' while across the valley at Southowram, St Anne's Cricket Club, held a 'well attended dance' at the church institute for club funds in 1921 and Outlane (though now independent) held one on Easter Monday, 1922.<sup>93</sup>

On-field success boosted the popularity of social events. Stones' annual tea and concert in January 1921 'was celebrated in a magnificent manner. Two large "sittings down" were the outcome, and in the evening the large school was packed to its utmost capacity'. The previous season when 'a record [had been] created by the first and second teams carrying off both cups and championships for the Halifax Amateur League was doubtless responsible for so large an attendance.'<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 31 January 1920.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 14 February 1920; 27 March 1920.

<sup>91</sup> See chapter four, 'Club People'.

<sup>92</sup> 'Stones CC Minutes', 30 September 1919,

<sup>93</sup> *Halifax Evening Courier*, 12 April 1920; *Halifax Guardian*, 29 January 1921; 'Outlane CC Minutes', 9 April 1922.

<sup>94</sup> *Halifax Guardian*, 29 January 1921.

## **Socialising and Secularising**

In 1872 the Rev Joseph Halsey posed a critical question for the Surrey Congregationalist Union:

I know it is contended that the Church should go down into the world, indulge in its pastimes, breathe its air, mingle in its society, in order that the world in all its departments may become permeated with the Christian spirit, and even its chosen amusements be sanctified. But what are the probabilities, as inferred from all history, of such an experiment? - that the Church will sanctify the world, or that the world will secularize the Church?<sup>95</sup>

It has been argued that the provision of social and recreational activities by religious organisations promoted secularism. Some historians contend that it was its main cause. Stephen Yeo considered the institutional church of the early twentieth century an attempt to catch up with the challenge of politics, the state provision of welfare and the secular supply of leisure, and that the 'leisure bandwagon was the most noted of the three at the time'.<sup>96</sup> Dominic Erdozain contended that religious organisations, by gradually shifting their energies from the crusade for salvation to the deliverance from social 'vices' such as drink, brought about their own spiritual demise.<sup>97</sup> He too held that, employed as a virtuous alternative to such 'vices', recreation was a crucial element in engendering secularisation, as the churches 'lurch[ed] into human-centred activism'.<sup>98</sup>

Jeffrey Cox, from his study of Lambeth, saw the provision of leisure as part of a bigger shift in which, despite good intentions, the churches secularised themselves by concentrating on their social activities which were destined to be superseded by better-equipped municipal, state and commercial providers by the 1920s.<sup>99</sup> Yeo saw it somewhat differently, holding that shortage of money forced the churches, like all voluntary organisations, to raise funds by hosting more amusing events which eventually supplanted their main purpose.<sup>100</sup> He argued that churches, by providing recreational activities to try bringing more people into their outer orbits, blunted their spiritual edge.<sup>101</sup> This point was made by Simon Green in the case of Halifax. Green considered that the churches' attempts to raise money and widen their appeal

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<sup>95</sup> Quoted in Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure*, p. 232.

<sup>96</sup> Yeo, *Voluntary Organisations in Crisis*, p. 15.

<sup>97</sup> Erdozain, *The Problem of Pleasure*, pp. 272-73.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 277-8.

<sup>99</sup> Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society*.

<sup>100</sup> Yeo, *Voluntary Organisations in Crisis*, p. 4.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205.

through bazaars and sales-of-works, and their offering of recreational activities and hosting of social events, diluted their spiritual purpose and diminished the adherence of their devout members.<sup>102</sup>

Other historians have drawn the opposite conclusion. David Bebbington contended that in the case of Nonconformity - which had undertaken the most soul-searching regarding the provision of social activities - evangelism was adaptable and remained vibrant, operating through the chapels' recreational outlets.<sup>103</sup> This argument had also been made by Douglas Reid who, in his study of mid-Victorian Birmingham, saw an accompanying and complementary aim 'to recreate a sense of community based on the church.'<sup>104</sup>

Similar, though rather more prosaic, explanations have been made for recreation as an inducer of secularisation. Edward Royle saw an inability or reluctance on the part of the churches in the later nineteenth century to attempt external recruitment using evangelical methods. Consequently they were obliged to widen their appeal and 'diversify their product in an expanding consumer market.'<sup>105</sup> This approach, he argued, brought only short-lived success and the financial outlay involved in competing with other suppliers proved costly. This did not, however, account for the eventual absolute decline in church-going, which required a fall in internal recruitment or internal defections. Royle did offer additional explanations including scientific advances lessening belief in the divine, and the increasing detachment of politics and education from religion.

Hugh McLeod, likewise, identified the questioning of belief as an agent of secularism and he argued that the diminishing plausibility of Hell brought a corresponding reduction in the need for evangelism. Furthermore, McLeod saw church attendance becoming less and less a requirement for the maintenance of social respectability which resulted in middle-class losses from both churches and chapels.<sup>106</sup> But he also viewed leisure as a secondary cause for the decline in worship as the higher classes began to defect through becoming 'increasingly ready to take pleasure as their first consideration'.<sup>107</sup>

Hargreaves, assessing the particular case of the parish of Halifax, identified a multiplicity of causes for the fall in church-going, including population decline, suburbanisation, the growth

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<sup>102</sup> Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*.

<sup>103</sup> Interview with David Bebbington, University of Strathclyde, 24 June 2009.

<sup>104</sup> Douglas A. Reid 'Religion, Recreation and the Working Class: Birmingham 1844-1885', *Bulletin of The Society for the Study of Labour History*, Vol. 51 (April 1986), 1, 9-10.

<sup>105</sup> Royle, *Modern Britain*, pp. 340-41.

<sup>106</sup> McLeod, *Class and Religion*, pp. 226-34, 284-85.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

of the Labour movement, increased state educational and welfare provision as well as the emergence of organised leisure.<sup>108</sup> Though citing alternatives to religion and distractions from worship, Hargreaves did not argue that churches secularised themselves by entering the arena of recreation. Indeed, in 1927, an article in *The Methodist Magazine* argued that far from causing declines in church and Sunday school attendances, an increased provision of recreation, including cricket, was needed.<sup>109</sup>

Maturing industrialisation, through increased disposable income, leisure time and technical and communication advances, furnished people with the potential for recreation. This potential was inevitably going to attract commercial suppliers of amusements whether the churches competed or not. The regular provision of leisure activities brought additional costs but there is no evidence of large capital outlay on purpose-built facilities as churches and their schools already possessed halls and classrooms which accommodated recreation as well as entertainments. Moreover, lack of social fundraising efforts would have made churches and, more especially, the unendowed chapels insolvent more quickly and accelerated their closure. Not offering social activities would simply have left the field clear to secular providers, especially - and crucially - in the case of the youth. This was clearly recognised at Stones Wesleyans' Mutual Improvement Society in 1879.<sup>110</sup>

Even in isolated locations like Soyland (the village of Stones Wesleyans), Outlane or Illingworth there were always alternatives considered less desirable in beerhouses and inns. Moreover, as Cox and Green themselves have argued, people ceased to be religious mainly by not attending church rather than not attending church because they had ceased to believe in God.<sup>111</sup> If this were the case the churches would have been remiss not to have attempted to retain their churches and their young people.

Green, who supported the theory that the churches assisted their own demise by diluting their spiritual purpose, nevertheless recognised the dilemma they found themselves in. Stressing that the crucial period for the church was 1870-1920, he argued that they felt compelled by an 'impetus to growth' as 'the great hopes of those years were always tinged with real fears. At their worst, those fears were reducible to a single proposition: that the churches must grow or

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<sup>108</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 172.

<sup>109</sup> William F. Lofthouse, 'Games' in *The Methodist Magazine* (London, The Methodist Publishing House, 1927), pp. 476-82, RYL Per.:M.

<sup>110</sup> Article, 'Ought the Christian Church to supply counter Attractions and Pleasures to those of the World', 'Stones MIS Gazette', 21 October 1879.

<sup>111</sup> Cox, *The English Churches in a Secular Society*, p. 270; Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, p. 389-90.

die .... The churches chose to live.’<sup>112</sup> The dangers of the churches looking inward had been seen in the case of the Quakers earlier in the century. Before 1860, The Society of Friends determined to recruit only internally, that is from the family and friends of members, this resulting in a big fall in numbers.<sup>113</sup>

In the debate that encompasses secularisation, church cricket clubs are doubly interesting. They were themselves a product of this change in tack identified by such as Cox, Green and Royle. They also had a correspondence with the churches in their provision of entertainments and other social activities. There were, though, two crucial differences. First, cricket clubs had neither the vocation nor the desire to enrol all their neighbours into their core activity. They needed enough devotees to play, organise their operation and develop their facilities. Increasing the number of their members, though desirable, was not an end in itself. Secondly, church and other small clubs did not face the real or perceived moral dilemma confronting the churches: that offering ‘sideshows’ might demean their core purpose and which, as already seen, for some historians played a major role in their demise.<sup>114</sup>

This study brings a new perspective to the debate around secularisation through engaging the experience of church cricket clubs. This approach is invited by Yeo who, as seen, argued that the financial problems of all voluntary bodies, including churches, led them to raise money through amusements which served to devalue the organisations’ fundamental purpose. In a salient example, Yeo found that Reading Athletic Club, in order to attract more paying spectators to its sports meetings, had increasingly to include ‘sideshows’ and ‘light entertainment’ at the expense of athletics events.<sup>115</sup> Outlane MNC Cricket Club, as noted above, for a few years held gala and sports days. The putting on of these events by cricket clubs had become quite common by the time that Outlane started in 1903. This was so much so that around the district of Huddersfield, Outlane’s nearest town, there was a perception that to keep attracting the public, more and more bizarre events had to be put on:

The officials of cricket clubs are often at their wits’ end to devise means whereby the success of their annual sports may be assured. Ordinary flat and obstacle races have become somewhat stale unless some novelty is introduced into the programme to form a little diversion for the large number of spectators whose speculative faculties are not

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<sup>112</sup> Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, pp. 383-84.

<sup>113</sup> Royle, *Modern Britain*, p. 340. Quaker membership fell from 17,160 in 1830 to 13,755 in 1864, Currie, Gilbert and Horsley, Table ‘A6 Other Churches’, *Churches and Churchgoers*, p. 156 .

<sup>114</sup> Similar dilemmas have occurred in more recent decades over the introduction of bars, which some perceived as threatening to change the club’s main purpose from that of cricket to that of a social club or public house.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 201-2.

quite so keen as their desire to be interested and amused. This is comparatively easy when there is a popular 'craze' to take advantage of, but when this is lacking it is seldom that the innovative genius of officers and committee, or the advice of experts rises to the occasion. This is no reflection upon the qualifications or abilities of those estimable and often misjudged gentlemen. They invariably do their level best, and frequently the attractions they provide are worthy of better patronage. It is the tastes of a fickle public which lie at the root of the whole matter, and, no doubt, this will continue for some considerable time.<sup>116</sup>

Nonetheless, Yeo's argument that 'sideshows' took over from the core pursuits is not supported. Although employing the very latest popular attraction, the 'walking craze', on Outlane's gala and sports day, the cricket remained unaffected, taking place at its normal time and not finishing until 6.45.<sup>117</sup> Moreover in the following year, 1904, the club not only made its largest profit on the gala it also had its most successful cricketing season to date with the first team runners-up and the second XI winners of their respective divisions in the Huddersfield and District Junior League.<sup>118</sup> Outlane stopped putting on galas after 1909, the probable reason being that staleness had indeed overtaken them and certainly their profitability had fallen sharply.<sup>119</sup>

Judging by the case of their cricket clubs, churches' recreational activities would have retarded secularisation. Outlane's experience does, however, illustrate the wider debate about recreations and secularisation. Although this was a particular type of event, it is noticeable that there was a growing demand for entertainment and one that was constantly seeking novel forms. Galas and athletic events were also more likely to appeal to younger rather than older people, so were something of a weather vane for other forms of amusements. They presaged the time when cinema and radio as well as town-based commercial entertainments would start to trump the offerings of locally based voluntary organisations, including religious worship.

The beneficial effect on club members of church cricket clubs' organising and hosting social fundraising events has already been seen to cast considerable doubt on Green's argument that churches, by raising money through these methods brought about their own decline through demeaning the offerings made by their members as part of worship. The experience of cricket

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<sup>116</sup> From report of Paddock Cricket and Bowling Club 15<sup>th</sup> Annual Sports Day, *Supplement to Huddersfield Examiner*, 25 July 1903.

<sup>117</sup> *Supplement to Huddersfield Examiner*, 18 July 1903.

<sup>118</sup> The club made a profit of £10/18/7d on the 1904 gala, see chapter six, 'Finance'.

<sup>119</sup> Profits fell from the peak of £10/18/7d in 1904 to only 19/3d in 1909. See chapter six, 'Finance'.

clubs showed the contrary: not promoting fundraising entertainments was the sign of a demoralised membership.<sup>120</sup>

The Vicar of St Mary's, Illingworth, in 1928, articulated the benefits of running social fundraising events for the morale of the church membership. That winter, presiding over the church's bazaar, the Rev. Oakley 'pointed out the advantages of a bazaar as ... drawing people more closely together in a common work and as enabling everyone, old and young to take part therein. Some who might not be able to give much as money could give the equivalent in labour'.<sup>121</sup>

By 1928 things were beginning to change, however. From the late-Victorian period up to the early 1920s the local newspapers abounded with concerts, whist drives and 'At Homes', sports and gala events, hosted by religious organisations, sports clubs and other voluntary organisations. It could be considered as the apogee of community-based, do-it-yourself entertainment. There were markedly fewer such events reported in 1928. With the increase in cinemas to 12 in Halifax before 1939, including two out-of-town at Ovenden and Queens Road, James Parker, who had become the town's first Labour MP in 1906, observed that the cinema had choked the 'gaiety that was obvious when, in a less ambitious way, we provided our own amusement to a much greater extent; in school concerts, basket suppers and bazaar entertainments'.<sup>122</sup>

Parker's lament was an exaggeration, perhaps tinged with nostalgia, but it was indicative of a trend. In the Todmorden area there was a very slow decline. Several of the area's churches and chapels were still presenting musical productions with seven in 1933 and eleven in the spring of 1948.<sup>123</sup> The latter figure, according to the Heywoods was due to a similar revival in the aftermath of the Second World War as was experienced following the 1914-18 conflict: 'churches and chapels, *mainly through their social activities*, were still central to their communities.' Although 'This did not last'.<sup>124</sup> Accordingly, the Heywoods and Jennings noted the post-war decline of the churches and chapels themselves with their rapidly

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<sup>120</sup> See chapter six, 'Finance'.

<sup>121</sup> *Halifax Courier and Guardian*, 14 January 1928

<sup>122</sup> James Parker, quoted in Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 219.

<sup>123</sup> Heywoods, *In a League of their Own*, pp. 206, 215.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 215, 220. My italics. The assessment seems reasonable as, although the Anglicans experienced a slight post-war increase in membership, Nonconformity which had dominated the Todmorden district continued its slow but steady decline even in absolute terms, 'Table 2.4: British Church Membership Totals, 1900-1970', Currie, Gilbert and Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers*, pp. 31-2.



‘dwindling minority’ of regular attendances leading to numerous demolitions and closures.<sup>125</sup> This was also true of Halifax.<sup>126</sup>

Brighouse gave both a similar picture and an additional insight. Reginald Mitchell found a decline in religious observance. This was reflected at the St James’ Amateur Operatic Society which had been established at the church in 1923 and had depended on members from beyond the congregation.<sup>127</sup> In 1935 the Vicar of Brighouse took exception to the loose association between the church and the society, insisting that its members should be church adherents. This illustrated a risk that churches took by not supporting social activities that admitted outsiders. The church group simply wound-up and formed the Brighouse Light Opera Society, though this too did not survive the war. The decline in support for church entertainments did lag behind the fall in support for the churches themselves. As Green stated, attending a church social event, required less effort and commitment than attending the church itself. But they were not mutually exclusive. Churches social activities helped to retain members and at least keep contact with those outside the congregations. They did not arrest secularisation but they did help to retard it.

Mitchell did find several smaller societies, mainly linked to churches, such as Park Chapel and Rastrick Church. However, he discovered that a revival of community spirit after 1945 no longer saw its social life as revolving around the churches and chapels.<sup>128</sup> As in Todmorden and Halifax, the decline of religious worship continued, leading to church and chapel closures and demolitions. From a high point around the time of the Great War the churches’ position as the natural home in the community for social activities had slowly been eroded.

This situation also applied in cricket. In 1909, church clubs had grown to the point where they composed almost 63 per cent of those which formed the leagues of Halifax and the Calder Valley. This was church cricket’s zenith, however. Like the churches themselves, it embarked on a downward trend and was gradually caught up by works’ sides. At the end of 1920s, religious organisations, with 43 clubs, still made up almost 45 per cent of those in the area’s leagues.<sup>129</sup> However, this figure was a little deceptive compared to those before the

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<sup>125</sup> Heywoods and Jennings, *Todmorden*, pp. 229-30.

<sup>126</sup> Hargreaves, *Halifax*, p. 268.

<sup>127</sup> Mitchell, *Brighouse: Birth and Death*, pp. 119, 154.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

<sup>129</sup> At this point, in 1929, there were six leagues: the Halifax & District Amateur Association, the Halifax and District Nonconformist, the Halifax Parish, Todmorden, the Hebden Bridge and District and District and District and the Halifax Thursday Amateur.

Great War, as by now clubs were less likely to have church qualifications in place. Moreover, whereas in 1909 there were only 12 clubs from workplaces, now there were 27. By 1939, works clubs outnumbered those of churches by 31 to 27.<sup>130</sup> Williams, looking at all cricket but just for Halifax found the same trend with church clubs falling from 31 to 18 between 1914 and 1939 as the number of works' teams doubled from 12 to 24.<sup>131</sup>

The nature and requirements of communities was changing and moving away from church and chapel. Commercial entertainment, especially the cinema whose boom years began in the 1920s, and the advent of radio were important in this shift. Yeo saw such advances threatening not only religion but also the nature of leisure by fostering 'passive styles of entertainment rather than active styles of self- and mutual improvement.'<sup>132</sup> This aligns with Parker's fears in Halifax that the cinema was a more quiescent and less communal form of amusement. The extent of this, however, should not be exaggerated. Reid, in an article examining the relationship between church and recreation, makes the point that

cinema goers were not simply passive spectators but had pronounced tastes (voting with their feet in favour of entertaining American films vis-à-vis unexciting and stilted British-quota productions). Cinema going in the 1930s was a communal rather than an individualistic experience ....<sup>133</sup>

Nonetheless, the arrival of cinema and radio signalled a shift in the production and consumption of entertainment from a local fulcrum to respectively a town-based and domestic consumption of national and international rather than local products. The arrival of television for most people in the 1950s followed by the increasing ownership of motor cars accelerated this tendency. Improvements in free time and transport made town and even out of town leisure more accessible.

Williams argued that during the first three decades of the twentieth century church cricket acted as something of a bulwark against secularism. He consequently saw the decline in church teams in the North of England as an effect not a cause of the process.<sup>134</sup> He found that (though this was decreasingly the case in Halifax and the Calder Valley) cricketers had to

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<sup>130</sup> The church proportion of clubs was now 32.1 per cent. The leagues were the same as 1929.

<sup>131</sup> 'Table 1 The numbers of church-based cricket and football teams in selected localities, 1900-1939', 'Table 2 The numbers of works cricket and football teams in selected localities, 1900-1939', Williams, 'Churches, Sport and Identities', pp. 115, 123.

<sup>132</sup> Yeo, *Voluntary Organisations in Crisis*, p. 15.

<sup>133</sup> Douglas A. Reid, 'Playing and Praying', *The Cambridge Urban History*, p. 777.

<sup>134</sup> Williams, 'Churches, Sport and Identities', p. 127.

attend church or Sunday school in order to play, which from interviews with ex-players most did, consequently prolonging their church attendance. This brought the churches an additional benefit: the appearance of young cricketers ‘boosted the attendance of young women who in turn stimulated the attendance of young men who did not play sport.’<sup>135</sup> Supported by the evidence in Halifax and the Calder Valley, Williams also found, that where a qualification requirement existed teams were usually created from existing members and also that cricket was far more effective at retention than recruitment.

Williams made a further point that playing the game ‘to the expectations of clerical apologists’ hoping ‘to develop character in a distinctly Christian manner by fostering sportsmanship and unselfishness’ could be considered as a mark of retarding secularisation. Oral evidence did reveal the belief that clerical teachings were adhered to on the cricket field in Bolton in the 1930s.<sup>136</sup> However, Williams found that this perception was at variance with documentary sources, which indicated that church cricket teams were just as prone to bending the rules as other teams. The evidence from Halifax and the Calder Valley up to the 1920s, also revealed that church cricketers behaved no differently from those of secular clubs. Christians were by no means always muscular Christians.

An insight into the complexity of the role of church cricket in secularisation was given by the Rev. George Oakley. In his history of the church of St Mary’s, Illingworth, of which he was then vicar, he wrote:

The story of Illingworth would be incomplete without reference to the famous “Illingworth S. Mary's Cricket Club,” ... Its conditions of membership (at first, confined to Church people) have been widened since it was formed but there are, naturally, still many keen members of S. Mary's taking an active interest in it, and its moving spirit has, for many years, been Mr. Harry Hustwick.<sup>137</sup>

The tone is almost affectionate, but it is an affection for an outside rather than an inside body or for an offspring that has flown the nest. The reference to Harry Hustwick is apposite. In many ways he embodied the dilemma of church cricket. Hustwick was a devout church member. But he was also the cricket club’s most ambitious driving force and it was such ambition that began the club’s detachment from the church.

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<sup>135</sup> Ibid., pp. 129-30.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., pp. 127-28.

<sup>137</sup> Oakley, *The Story of Saint Mary's*, p. 99.

## **Conclusion**

Jeff Hill and Jack Williams have emphasised, despite its multi-layered nature, the significance of identity and how it is fashioned ‘through the cultural activities of our everyday lives, many of which, such as sport, are apparently trivial’. These experiences are important because they ‘tell us who we are’.<sup>138</sup> The facet of identity formed through allegiance to a group is frequently heightened, Tony Mason has argued, through sport.<sup>139</sup> Supporting a club, gave ordinary people, lacking the financial capacity to build town halls or make grand philanthropic gestures, an opportunity to express their civic pride. The men and women who came out to cheer a successful sports club may have never even watched the team - but the team had given them a shared pride in their town, district or village.

Cricket clubs formed in churches engaged non-playing church members and usually clergy in at least some capacity and, as Mason argued, could reinvigorate church identity. Church cricket could also express denominational identity, seen most obviously in the separate denominational leagues. Nonetheless, on balance, through generally competing in the same arena, they were a force for inter-denominational harmony. However, with the booming appeal of sport, and few leisure alternatives at the time, church cricket clubs attracted people from beyond the church, initially as spectators then later as players and as members at all levels of involvement. Added to declining church attendances this gradually eroded church (and denominational) identity. Cricketers began to associate themselves with both church and their wider community within a dual identity similar to that perceived by Russell with localities and Yorkshire. Many cricket clubs, church or otherwise, came and went following the first flush of enthusiasm. Those church clubs that survived and developed became evermore representative of the locality and correspondingly less of the church. Many ex-church clubs assumed the name of their village.

Less obviously, church cricket clubs constructed a role in their local communities which attracted even people with no interest in the game itself. Initiated by the need to raise money, they promoted entertainments and hosted events on their grounds, including their own sports and gala days. Aided by limited commercial and accessible alternatives, these occasions dovetailed into their districts’ social and cultural calendar.

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<sup>138</sup> Jeff Hill and Jack Williams, Hill and Williams (eds), *Sport and Identity in the North*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

Examination of the experience of their cricket clubs permitted a new insight which challenged the views of Cox, Yeo and Green that by hosting leisure activities and promoting fundraising social events churches brought about their own secularisation. The support of cricket and other forms of recreation by religious organisations retained a hold on many younger people who would otherwise have obtained what they wanted elsewhere, losing even the possibility of bringing them into church membership. Moreover, the parallel experience of church cricket showed that those clubs which promoted social events thrived whereas those that did not folded. Churches' involvement in social activities retarded secularisation.

Church cricket club themselves proved to be a more mixed blessing in the secularisation debate. Initially fostering church identity, they aided retention, though there is little evidence that they aided recruitment. They became increasingly autonomous, however, and seen as village rather than vicarage clubs, even when a church link remained. The clubs forged their own identity and became yet one more alternative to their erstwhile parents.

## CONCLUSION

Churches became the single largest source of popular organised cricket in Halifax and the Calder Valley during the game's vital formative decades between 1860 and the Great War. Reflecting a period of comparative tranquillity, this development nonetheless took place during a period of transition. Factories came to dominate the area's staple textile industry but this found itself stagnating from around the mid-1870s as a consequence of foreign competition and protective measures. Living standards generally continued to rise but employment became increasingly insecure and industrial unrest ensued. Trade-union activity increased as workers' skills in the area's important ancillary sector, engineering, were devalued by a new division of labour which brought for the first time an industrial alliance with unskilled workers. Growing dissatisfaction with the area's dominant middle-class Liberalism led to moves for independent working-class representation.

The economic transformation influenced leisure in two distinct ways. First, in industrial areas like Halifax and the Calder Valley the factory system determined the possibilities and constraints for recreation - and in particular for team sports like cricket - through wages, free time and, with increasing urbanisation, location. Secondly, for the newly rich it embodied progress, rationality and moral improvement which were reflected in 'rational recreation' and the reforming public schools' codification of games and their adoption of muscular Christianity. These new recreational and sporting norms were eventually considered appropriate for dissemination to the lower orders through reforming voluntary organisations, with churches being the most prominent.

Cricket, however, had already become established in the area (and throughout the West Riding) on pre-modern values such as contest, monetary reward and community identity and rivalry.<sup>1</sup> With clergy and many middle-class lay hierarchies espousing the new sporting ethos and working men brought up on popular sport based largely on the older values, this placed church cricket at the frontier of two sporting cultures.

The complexity and stakes of the situation regarding cricket (and leisure provision generally) were raised for the churches by their contemporary preoccupations. While worried about the absence of working men from worship, the churches' role in education and welfare, and their political influence were being eroded by changes in wider society. David Hempton considered that to attract the labouring classes, churches needed to supply services relevant to

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<sup>1</sup> Light, 'Cricket's Forgotten Past'.

their needs.<sup>2</sup> Recreation and sport were increasingly seen as one area in which they could maintain this crucial role. Hempton, however, also stressed that churches fared best when they ‘helped express a particular culture rather than wage war against it.’<sup>3</sup> This could prove problematic for clergymen immersed in a public school or college-educated culture. Moreover, the churches’ movement into recreational activities incurred not only opposition but also fears that these were putting the churches on the road to secularism.

The focus of this study has been on their cricket clubs but a conscious attempt was also made to take the churches’ perspective as they confronted these challenges. Nonetheless, founded on primary materials and unlike many previous studies of cricket, this research was determined to hear the ordinary voices and not just the loudest voices. New and neglected areas such as the significance of clubs, their grounds and their rules have been examined. Links in terms of composition, organisation, ethos and personnel between church clubs and predominantly working-class bodies, notably benefit societies and co-operatives, were also considered. Furthermore, an original perspective was taken on the secularisation debate in which leisure was strongly implicated.

By 1920 more than 190 church cricket clubs had appeared throughout Halifax and the Calder Valley. Yet this development was remarkable, not inevitable. The decades prior to 1850 were highly unfavourable to church recreation. Many clergymen’s antagonism towards the activities of the lower orders was directed not only at leisure but also at the popular reform movements. This climaxed in Chartism’s defining of a poor man’s Christianity in opposition to what it perceived as a bourgeois-clerical version which championed the wealthy and the social and political *status quo*. This was not an ideal environment for church cricket.

After 1850, the factory system, through a general increase in prosperity, brought conditions more settled and conducive to church provision of recreation. Popular demand for sport, including cricket grew. The absence, real and perceived, of working men from the churches and the revelation of the dangerously insanitary conditions in Halifax led to recommendations for outdoor exercise. Church cricket became seen as one solution to both problems. This was made more attractive to clergymen by the game’s metamorphosis into a vehicle of moral reformation. Cricket could now be employed to simultaneously engage working men and elicit middle-class values and discipline in them. According to Keith Sandiford, cricket was

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<sup>2</sup> Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture*, p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

universally propagated through the downward diffusion of muscular Christianity by its eager clerical disciples.<sup>4</sup>

This was not the case, however, in the church cricket of Halifax and the Calder Valley. Clergymen made a vital contribution to church clubs, and consequently to the area's cricket as a whole, but usually in a permissive or honorific rather than active capacity. Anglican clergymen had more enthusiasm for the game, yet the Nonconformists, sustained by their strong traditions of community and fellowship, produced more cricket clubs with a relatively small advantage in numbers. Middle-class lay hierarchies were similarly passively engaged, only very rarely being involved in playing or organising. Church clubs were largely instigated through the demand and actions of ordinary congregation members.

Although muscular Christianity had no role in codifying cricket and was a limited force in stimulating popular sport, it did bring sportsmanship more into the general consciousness. It was also employed at Stones Mutual Improvement Society as an expedient argument in the attempt to persuade those still suspicious grassroots Nonconformists of the acceptability of sport. Muscular Christianity was more a lubricant than a motor of the area's church cricket.

A pivotal factor stimulating the motive force of congregational demand was a practical rather than theoretical development, located in industrial society. The Saturday half-holiday recast formerly *ad hoc* leisure time into a common and regular format vital to team sports. It created the platform for cup competitions and leagues which rapidly became the life-blood of cricket in the industrial North. Leagues, an adaptation to new circumstances of the continuing pre-modern ethos of contest and communities' rivalry, were anathema to muscular Christianity. Their acceptance by the area's clergymen demonstrated that the diffusion of sporting values was not a one-way process.

Church clubs were dominated by working men in terms of membership and, to a slightly lesser degree, leadership, modifying Richard Holt's view that they were established to be run by the middle classes.<sup>5</sup> This proved a corrective to newspaper reports which privileged the speeches of clergy, employers and professional men (and sometimes local politicians) from the clubs' more prestigious occasions, such as annual dinners, rather than the experiences of those actually playing for and running the clubs.

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<sup>4</sup> Sandiford, *Cricket and the Victorians*.

<sup>5</sup> Holt, *Sport and the British*, pp. 137-38. Illingworth did support Holt's view of the *intention* of middle-class control.



The clubs' occupational composition backed the 'optimistic' school of working-class religious affiliation, such as Callum Brown, who challenged the view that the poor had been lost to the churches through industrial-urbanisation.<sup>6</sup> Church cricket was far from a marriage of convenience. Members appeared as genuine adherents with little evidence of the lip-service paid to entry and other qualifications as identified in voluntary organisations by Peter Bailey, Hugh Cunningham and Light.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, working-class members were found to hold more positions of authority in their churches than commonly presumed, though this was both later and in fewer numbers in Anglicanism than in Nonconformity.

Church cricket was a social crossroads where people from a wide range of backgrounds and holding a broad range of views and objectives came together. Jeff Hill's paradigm of sport and clubs holding different 'meanings' for individuals and groups proved particularly useful in understanding their chemistry.<sup>8</sup> The clubs accommodated motivations ranging from a simple desire to play to a link into a social, business and even political network. More profoundly, for some men and women, they meant an opportunity to construct something of their own at a time of employment uncertainty and further diminutions in control over their work. This was the 'transcendence' Simon Cordery identified in the running and sociability of the friendly societies.<sup>9</sup>

There was also an accommodation based on the common acceptance of certain ideals, even if these, too, could hold different meanings and intermittently raise problems, as at Illingworth in 1887. Sporting values, 'respectability' and even, as Eileen Yeo demonstrated, Christianity were shared ideals but subject to interpretation.<sup>10</sup> This may provide further insight into Jack Williams' assessment that, during the difficult inter-war years, cricket acted as a force for social cohesion.<sup>11</sup>

The social harmony in church cricket clubs was not merely between the working and middle classes. It was also *within* the working classes. The clubs were not enclaves of a 'labour aristocracy'. Williams found that between 1890 and 1920 working men in church sport were considered respectable and this served to impede working-class unity by separating them from the non-respectable.<sup>12</sup> The respectability in the area's church clubs was not, however, as

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<sup>6</sup> Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, pp.18-30.

<sup>7</sup> Bailey, *Class and Leisure*, p. 178; Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, p. 128; Light, 'Cricket's Forgotten Past', p. 150.

<sup>8</sup> Hill, *Sport, Leisure & Culture*, p. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Cordery, *British Friendly Societies*, p. 181.

<sup>10</sup> Yeo, 'Christianity in Chartist Struggle', 109.

<sup>11</sup> Williams, *Cricket and England*, pp. 131-8.

<sup>12</sup> Williams, 'Churches, Sport and Identities', pp. 132-4.

suggested by F.M.L. Thompson, founded on skilled status, it encompassed many unskilled men and labourers.<sup>13</sup> Nor was it founded on political conservatism. The Stones and Mytholmroyd Mutual Improvement Societies, sharing many members with their cricket clubs, revealed a spectrum of robustly expressed political views but with an increasing tendency to Labour politics and even Socialism. Church cricket clubs, like the benefit societies, also prefigured the welcoming of the unskilled into trade unionism.

Gender, as social class, was a controversial theme in politics and work. It was equally so in the ‘manly’ area of sport. Women made a very important contribution to church cricket clubs before 1920, when they were finally admitted as members. Their roles, though primarily of an ancillary or social nature, were a small blow against the doctrine of ‘separate spheres’. Ordinary women and girls gained a social outlet and experience beyond the hearth and church and considered their contributions and abilities to be appreciated. Selina Barrett struck a bigger blow, crossing gender boundaries by becoming a vice-president then president of Stones.

Class and gender collaboration within church clubs also played a part in a neglected but absolutely central aspect of the history of local cricket: the clubs’ grounds. Much of the clubs’ activity revolved around their grounds. The inspections carried out in the 1890s by the Halifax Parish Challenge Cup committee showed that grounds were already understood as crucial in the development of local cricket. Although the Cup, in which church clubs were prominent, was in its first decade restricted to amateurs, the report’s emphasis on the competitive and commercial potential of the grounds revealed an amalgam of new and old sporting values even at the supra-club level.

Industrial-urbanisation intensified the contest for those spatial resources suitable for cricket grounds in the already inhospitable terrain of Halifax and the Calder Valley. In only two cases were churches known to have provided the land for a pitch. However, they offered their clubs some limited advantages in access to owners of land in their congregations, improving the possibilities of obtaining residentially based pitches. Grounds were a litmus test for cricket clubs. In some cases, such as at Inchfield Bottom, the size of the task of finding, maintaining and developing a pitch and facilities proved too much for the capacity of its members. In others the effort forged the clubs. Grounds became a home not just somewhere to play: fitting examples of John Bale’s concept of ‘topophilia’.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society*, pp. 301-2.

<sup>14</sup> Bale, ‘Space, Place and Body Culture’.

Grounds had an enormous impact on church clubs' finances. Stephen Yeo saw all voluntary organisations from the end of the nineteenth century subject to the same external pressures, particularly financial.<sup>15</sup> This was very much the case with church cricket in and around Halifax. Working men's disposable income alone was insufficient for the capital outlay required to develop cricket clubs. In only very exceptional cases were they recipients of significant patronage. Church cricket clubs operated on a financial knife-edge in a necessarily business-like manner founded on self-reliance and mutualism like other predominantly working-class voluntary bodies such as benefit and co-operative societies in the same economic context.

Church extension in Halifax and the Calder Valley led churches and especially chapels into debt. To address this they were constrained to employ bazaars and other commercial methods of raising money. This, according to Simon Green, prompted secularisation as money raised through a cash rather than devotional nexus devalued the personal gift, and hence the commitment, of worshippers.<sup>16</sup> Employing Yeo's paradigm that all voluntary bodies confronted the same problems, the experience of church cricket clubs refuted Green's contention. Promoting social fundraising events inspired those very core adherents who Green argued became demoralised.

Finance, regarding the payment of subscriptions and the imposition of fines, was at the nub of the numerous rules of church cricket clubs. The rules reinforced the argument that church clubs were essentially an expression of industrial society. Clerics' insistence on sight of the rules betrayed the lip-service paid to their own Pycroftian pronouncements that cricket inherently induced good behaviour. With the rules' correspondence to factory regulations, some clergy (and lay hierarchies) wished to instigate what Bailey termed a 'play discipline'.<sup>17</sup> Nonetheless, the rules did not form part of a wider campaign of social control through sport, as perceived by John Hargreaves.<sup>18</sup> They were normally decided democratically or drawn up independently. Rules were endemic in industrial society and not only in the mills. Those of the hugely popular, predominantly working-class and fiercely independent friendly societies were both older and more draconian than those of factories. Moreover, despite clubs' growing autonomy, behavioural rules remained largely intact.

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<sup>15</sup> Yeo, *Voluntary Organisations in Crisis*.

<sup>16</sup> Green, *Religion in the Age of Decline*, pp. 175-77.

<sup>17</sup> Bailey, *Leisure and Class*, p. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture*, p. 24.

Some club rules revealed the continuation of pre-modern values, as perceived by Cunningham and Light.<sup>19</sup> These endorsed talent money and annual awards, often in cash, not playing the game purely for its own sake. Clergymen's acceptance and sometimes sponsorship of these once more demonstrated the two-way spread of sporting norms. The only serious challenges to rules came at Illingworth where the older competitive values and ambitions were being impeded by the church link which, at Outlane, was completely broken when it jeopardised its ground and survival. Other amendments showed the increasing role of the leagues and changes in wider society as 'Victorianism' declined alongside the benefit societies and textile factories. Irrespective of rules, church cricketers were no better behaved than those of secular clubs.

The ending of the church qualification rule at Illingworth portended a general shift of cricket clubs from their religious bodies to the wider community, which ultimately rendered them a small agent of secularisation. This movement occurred in both the cricketing and the social spheres. In Halifax and the Calder Valley, as Tony Mason has argued, sports clubs were often formed to fortify the identity of the church itself.<sup>20</sup> They could also reflect denominational identity and the simultaneous appearance of Anglican and Nonconformist leagues during the long-running and often bitter debate in the wake of the 1902 Education highlighted distinctions, though on balance church cricket tended to harmony between the different religious groups. But church cricket could not be played behind church walls and with the contemporary interest in sport and free Saturday afternoons the clubs, of whatever denomination, attracted attention from outside.

Church clubs had a constant need of funds and their two principal ways of raising money, subscriptions and social events, were maximised by engaging the community beyond the church. Equally importantly church restrictions began to erode through the clubs' ambitions to compete on equal terms with their neighbours and then participate in cups and leagues. The clubs sought recognition within their villages, this mutual identification being unashamedly seen when a trophy had been won. Tellingly, church cricket clubs frequently took the name of the village when they officially parted from their churches.

Church clubs, through their increasing autonomy in both cricketing and social spheres, became a rival to their churches. This did not, however, support the contention of Yeo, Green and others that the churches' engagement in recreational activities engendered their own

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<sup>19</sup> Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, p. 10; Light, 'Cricket's Forgotten Past'.

<sup>20</sup> Mason, *Association Football*, pp. 25-26.

secularisation. Leaving the recreational field open to secular providers would have almost certainly hastened the churches' demise through the earlier loss of their young people who now demanded leisure. More specifically, the examples of church cricket clubs (and of churches themselves) revealed that hosting social events stimulated their principal activity. It was no coincidence that Inchfield Bottom which stopped hosting social events very soon stopped playing cricket, too.

That churches remained key social focal points in their local communities throughout the period was reinforced in differing ways by two clubs. Lumbutts, intended by this research to provide a secular control, revealed several important links to its local chapel whereas Outlane, to a large degree was a former secular club resurrected under the chapel's wing.

After 1918 both churches and church cricket experienced a brief upturn with, respectively, an increase in membership and the creation and re-formation of several clubs. This, however, masked a general, if slow, decline. The years before the Great War marked the true high tide of church and church cricket. John Hargreaves, examining secularisation in the parish of Halifax, identified a multiplicity of reasons, such as a contracting industrial base, the decline of Sunday schools, the growth of Labour and the expansion of leisure.<sup>21</sup> As they became independent, church cricket clubs occupied this latter category of secularisation. They were, though, only a minor part of the bigger picture. From the 1920s, with improved working hours and transport, the cinema's growth in popularity and with radio, the focus of social life began a gradual drift from the local do-it-yourself entertainment provided within churches and other voluntary organisations. This was part of a general shift to a more national and passive culture while simultaneously Halifax and the Calder Valley was becoming a more homogenous region. The nature of the community with the church or chapel as its hub was slowly beginning to change. Church cricket in the area was essentially the offspring of a particular time.

As a detailed investigation of church cricket in a particular location, this is not a comparative study but it is intended to complement other regional studies which have, at least in part, examined the subject. In two such studies, despite the far smaller numbers of church clubs created, the active participation of clergymen and the diffusion of muscular Christian norms were far more extensive than in Halifax and the Calder Valley, largely due to the lack of a popular sporting culture identified by Light in West Riding cricket.<sup>22</sup> In South Wales,

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<sup>21</sup> Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', p. 408.

<sup>22</sup> Light, 'Cricket's Forgotten Past'.

Andrew Hignell saw that muscular Christianity was carried along on the tide of Anglicisation from southern England which through clerical enthusiasm took hold of the grammar schools and colleges which in turn disseminated these values downwards. This process was aided by a reaction against Nonconformity's antagonism to sport before 1850. Consequently leagues were far less significant than around Halifax.<sup>23</sup> In more rural Cornwall, Ian Clarke also found a more pro-active clerical contribution both in terms of playing and in the formation of mainly middle-class clubs and private school teams, though Methodism was far more favourable to cricket than in South Wales. Those church clubs that existed were composed of the working classes and lower-middle class but, unlike Halifax and the Calder Valley, the new reformed values went uncontested and no leagues appeared during the Victorian years.<sup>24</sup>

Unpublished research in Norfolk has revealed a more mixed picture. Again, very few church cricket teams appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, individual clergymen played for and helped administer village sides, while some independent clubs adopted the name of the local church. Leagues emerged directly or indirectly from the active involvement of two clergymen seeking to improve and organise the game in the county. The efforts of the Rev. F.A.S. Ffolkes led to the creation of the West Norfolk League in 1902 and, two years later, the Rev. Marshall initiated the Mid-Norfolk Village Challenge competition with three geographical divisions which eventually grew into a league of forty clubs.<sup>25</sup>

Evaluating the role of church sport in the period, Hugh McLeod observed that as with 'many other aspects of later Victorian and Edwardian Christianity it has often been treated merely as a part of the story of church "decline"'. Nevertheless, he argued, it was a noble ideal which should be seen as 'an important and creative phase in our religious history.'<sup>26</sup> It was also a phase in which the accommodation of popular demands for cricket and other recreational and social activities helped churches prolong their relevance in their communities as they surrendered influence in other spheres to secular agencies.

Although in Halifax and the Calder Valley religious organisations were a crucial source, church cricket was more the product of working men (and to a far lesser degree, women) and their adaptation to a transforming industrial society than to clerical influence or muscular Christianity. Church cricket was one way in which ordinary people restored to their lives

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<sup>23</sup> Hignell, *A 'Favourit' Game*, pp. 78-88, 95-6, 113-26, 151, 202, 205-6.

<sup>24</sup> Clarke, 'Cricket in Cornwall', pp. 229-37.

<sup>25</sup> I am indebted to Keir Hounsome, historian of Norfolk cricket, for both the information and permission to use it here.

<sup>26</sup> McLeod, 'Thews and Sinews', p. 46.

some of the control lost to them in the world of work - and this growing independence ultimately resulted, often with regret, in departing their ecclesiastical nursery.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1 Town Populations of Halifax and the Calder Valley 1801-1931

	Halifax	Todmorden*	Brighouse/ Hipp'leme\$	Sowerby Bridge	Elland-cum -Greetland	Ancient Parish
1801	8,886	8,453	2,879		3,385	63,434
1851	33,582†	19,055	6,091	4,633	7,210	141,100
1861	37,014	21,711	7,340	5,334	8,716	147,988
1871	65,510	22,631	9,871	7,041	10,546	173,313
1881	73,630	24,908	12,660	8,921	13,007	193,707
1891	89,832‡	25,751	15,571	10,426	14,884	
1901	104,936	26,348	21,735§	11,477	14,679	
1911	101,594	25,404	20,843	11,350	10,676**	
1921	99,183	23,892	20,279	11,452	10,552**	
1931	98,115		19,756			

\$ Brighouse and Hipperholme

\* The figures are those for Todmorden-with-Walsden, Langfield and Stansfield combined which make up modern Todmorden.

† Municipal Borough of Halifax

‡ County Borough of Halifax

§ Figures for the new Borough of Brighouse (1893)

\*\*These figures are for Elland *without* Greetland.

Information from:

*UK Population Censuses, 1851-1921.*

Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', Table 1: Population of the Parish of Halifax, 1801-71, p. 30.

Heywoods and Jennings, *A History of Todmorden*, pp. 149



## Appendix 2 Methodism Divided in Halifax and the Calder Valley

The tensions within churches were most clearly mirrored in Methodism. Despite its overall growth, Methodism underwent several, usually acrimonious, divisions mainly regarding ministerial authority and social aspirations and democratisation. Secession had occurred shortly after Wesley's death with the birth of the Methodist New Connexion as Alexander Kilham sought separation from the Church of England and the strengthening of the laity against the power of the ordained ministry and the Methodist Conference.<sup>1</sup> The New Connexion flourished mainly in the growing industrial towns of the West Riding and Lancashire and this more autonomous and democratic body became rapidly and firmly established in the Halifax area. Salem Chapel was opened in 1798 and the New Connexion circuit commenced in 1812. A further five chapels were opened by 1819 including one at Todmorden.<sup>2</sup> In Brighouse, the bitterness of the New Connexion's secession was evidenced by a legal tug-of-war for ownership of the original chapel. This was eventually regained by the Old (Wesleyan) Connexion in 1810 after a prolonged test case in High Court Chancery which resulted in the New Connexion's erecting their new chapel close to their former home.<sup>3</sup>

Further divisions took place up to mid-century which, once more, reflected political and social as much as religious differences. As on the wider front, they also demonstrated two struggles: between old and new power; and between the wealthy and the poor. The social aspect was paramount in the formation of the largely plebeian Primitive Methodists. Although this was an offshoot rather than secession, its founders, a wheelwright and small farmer-potter, had been expelled from the Wesleyan Conference for taking part in camp meetings which were considered as too enthusiastic and uncouth for the increasingly sophisticated leaders of the Old Connexion.<sup>4</sup> They were ejected ostensibly for not attending class meetings, although they had also been considered a political threat. The first Primitive Methodist chapel in Halifax, Ebenezer, was opened in 1822. The Primitives quickly took root in semi-industrial areas such as Mytholmroyd, Shelf and Elland – where the 'Ranters' met in members' houses until the first chapel was built in 1879.<sup>5</sup> Primitive Methodists had

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<sup>1</sup> Currie, *Methodism Divided*, pp. 58-9; Hempton, *Religion and Political Culture*, pp. 42-3.

<sup>2</sup> Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', pp. 142-43; Heywoods and Jennings, *A History of Todmorden*, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> George Howe, *Park Methodist Church, Brighouse. History of the Church from 1791: Centenary Souvenir Booklet* (Brighouse, 1978), pp. 7-8.

<sup>4</sup> From 'Primitive Methodist Jubilee', *Leeds Mercury*, 21 June 1860.

<sup>5</sup> Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', pp. 144-45; Albert Rinder, *A History of Elland* (Elland, 1987), p. 57.

established themselves in the Todmorden area from the early 1820s, though it took longer for them to do so in Brighouse, where cottage meetings commenced only in 1844.<sup>6</sup>

Methodism was further divided in the fifteen years before 1850 during the period of agitations for popular reform. In 1835 the Wesleyan Methodist Association (WMA) ceded from the main body again over disagreements about the authority and social status of ministers, specifically over the question of the Wesleyan Conference's establishing of a theological college. The WMA was soon challenging the Wesleyans in the Todmorden area, where the schism would have consequences for a least one future cricket club. In 1836 the secession of the WMA provided the escape route for some members of the Wesleyan congregation at Mankinholes who had become disillusioned with the politics and authoritarianism of the Old Connexion and who built a chapel at nearby Lumbutts.<sup>7</sup> Between 1835 and 1837 three more WMA chapels were set up in the Todmorden area.<sup>8</sup>

The most bitter and divisive secession came in the wake of the final Chartist petition. In 1849, the *Fly Sheets* episode split the Wesleyans yet again, stoking up the perennial demands for greater lay control and chapel autonomy by anonymously attacking the authoritarianism of the Connexion's hierarchy - personified in Jabez Bunting - and leading to the expulsion of the suspected author and two other anti-Bunting authors by the Wesleyan Conference.<sup>9</sup> The Wesleyan Reformers emerged from the schism. Nationally, with resignations and trials and expulsions (some due to the settling of old scores) membership of the Wesleyan Connexion fell by 28.5 per cent between 1850 and 1855: from 334,458 to 239,136.<sup>10</sup> In Halifax, the same losses occurred until 1855. In 1851 alone, there was a 36.2 per cent reduction in its membership with a 24.6 per cent loss that year in Todmorden.<sup>11</sup> In the small industrial town of Sowerby Bridge an 'Expelled Wesleyan Local Preachers' Plan' was drawn up in 1850 and at Elland class tickets – the Methodist membership card – was denied to those favouring reform who consequently abandoned the Wesleyan chapel.<sup>12</sup> In Brighouse on this occasion, the Wesleyans did lose the chapel to the Wesleyan Reformers, who here joined the United

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<sup>6</sup> Heywoods and Jennings, *A History of Todmorden*, pp. 164, 166; Mitchell, *Brighouse*, p. 106.

<sup>7</sup> 'United Methodist Chapel, Lumbutts', *Todmorden and Walsden*, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~todmordenandwalsden/Lumbutts-.htm#anchor1>, 3 October 2011. The Lumbutts chapel opened on 9 July 1837.

<sup>8</sup> Heywoods and Jennings, *A History of Todmorden*, pp. 164-65.

<sup>9</sup> James Everett is widely accepted as the *Fly Sheets* author. The other two were Samuel Jackson and John Rattenbury. Currie, *Methodism Divided* pp. 68-76.

<sup>10</sup> Robert Currie, Alan Gilbert and Lee Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers: Patterns of Church Growth in the British Isles since 1700* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1977), 'Table A3 Methodist Membership', p. 140.

<sup>11</sup> Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', 'Table 17: Methodist Growth Rate in the Parish of Halifax, 1785-1851', p. 152.

<sup>12</sup> Hargreaves, 'Religion and Society', pp. 147-48.

Methodist Free Churches in 1857 and in 1907 became part of the United Methodist Church. United Methodist chapels also appeared at Clifton, Hove Edge, Southowram and Rastrick.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Howe, *Park Methodist Church*, pp. 22-3.

### **Appendix 3 Leagues Formed in Halifax and the Calder Valley, 1891-1916**

Calder Valley League	1891
Halifax Amateur Cricket League	1892
Todmorden and District League	1893
Halifax & District League	1894
Hebden Bridge & District League	1894
Brighouse Cricket League	1894
Ovenden & District League	1895
Sowerby Division League	1895
Akroyden & District League	1899
West Vale Baptist League	1901
Halifax Thursday Amateur League	1902
Halifax Licensed Victuallers League	1905
Halifax and District Church (Sunday School) League	1908
Halifax and District Nonconformist League	1908
Halifax Parish League	1914
Halifax and District Council League	1916

#### Appendix 4 Sunday School Membership 1851-1931

	Anglicans	Wesleyans	MNC	UMFC	UMC	PM	BAPT	CONGS
1851			42993		-	112,568		
1857			43,551	67,025	-	139,486		
1863		536,313	64,114	11,934	-	202,631		
1871		638,606	69,413	153,684	-	281,085		
1881		810,280	78,224	183,005	-	383,350		
1890		932,888	87,717	191,707	-	431,868		
1891	2,155,000	938,372	86,446	192,066	-	435,922		
1895	2,276,000	965,222	83,515	<b>194,989</b>	-	462,856		
1901	2,333,000	965,057	82,617	185,448	-	460,763	529,516	687,012
1904	2,353,000	1,001,448	86,704	193,346	-	466,997	566,465	<b>734,986</b>
1906	2,337,000	<b>1,013,391</b>	<b>88,522</b>	194,862	-	<b>477,114</b>	<b>586,601</b>	732,466
1907	2,334,000	1,000,819	87,741	189,168	315,723	470,095	583,290	723,580
1908	2,380,000	990,264	-	-	<b>315,993</b>	465,726		714,842
1910	<b>2,437,000</b>	980,165	-	-	309,649	470,839	572,686	697,509
1911	2,433,000	976,752	-	-	305,335	466,848	572,083	693,454
1914	2,350,000	939,619	-	-	292,531	453,430	558,570	662,798
1921	1,994,000	850,871	-	-	262,595	419,245	514,411	
1931	1,798,000	759,968	-	-	222,430	361,307	473,887	506,184

MNC = Methodist New Connexion

UMFC = United Methodist Free Churches

UMC = United Methodist Church (formed from MNC, UMFC and Bible Christians in 1907)

PM = Primitive Methodists

BAPT= Baptists

CONG = Congregationalists and Independents

**Highlighted figures** represent the peak memberships for each denomination.

Figures compiled from data taken from tables, below in

Currie, Gilbert and Horsley, *Churches and Churchgoers*.

B1 Church of England, p. 167.

B6 United Methodist Free Churches, pp.181-82.

B7 United Methodist Church, p.183.

B8 Wesleyan Methodist Church, pp. 184-85.

B10 Other Churches, p.189-90.

## Appendix 5 Members of St Thomas's CC and St Thomas's Sunday School CC

Church Club Member		Age	Occupation
D[earnley]	Dews*	20	Dyehouse Labourer
G[eorge]	Hirst	17	Worsted Printer
OR G[eorge] H	Hirst	20	Stone Mason
J[oseph]	Holdsworth	25	Quarry Man
<b>OR</b> J[ames]	Holdsworth	30	Quarry Man
J[ohn] W	Moult	14	Worsted Doffer
C[harles]	Parker	13	Scholar (Father: Salesman)
G[eorge] T	Pratt†	16	Carpet Printer
W[illiam]	Scott	24	Coal Miner
OR W[illiam] H	Scott	21	Blacksmith
OR W[illiam]	Scott†	19	Stuff Dyer
Thomas H	Shackleton‡	16	Farmer's son
George	Tasker*	21	Boiler Maker
W[illiam] C	Womersley	22	Carpet Weaver
John Henry	Wadsworth	15	Cotton Carder
<b>OR</b> John Henry	Wadsworth†	18	Labourer

Sunday School Club Members		Age	Occupation
W[illiam] C	Womersley§	22	Carpet Weaver
John Henry	Wadsworth	15	Cotton Carder
OR John Henry	Wadsworth†	18	Labourer

From the 1871 Census, unless otherwise stated. Where other census, age set to that at 1871.

[ ] shown where only member's initial is known

\* These were resident at the same address in 1871. But address and occupation for Dews was from the 1881 census – being indecipherable in the 1871 returns.

† Details from 1881 census.

‡ In 1881, farmer of 12 acres

§ Officer or Committee Member

NB Individual records are less certain for this club due to having only initials rather than full names to search on, and so having to examine the likeliest possibilities.

### Appendix 6 Members of Luddenden St Mary's CC, 1884-85.

Member		Age	Occupation
Joseph	Barret	41	Joiner
OR Joseph	Barret	11	Worsted Spinner
John	Bedford	25	Woolsorter
OR James	Bedford	28	Stone Mason
T[homas]	Bedford	15	Worsted Spinner
G[eorge]	Bloomer	21	Clerk
J[ohn]	Brown	16	Rlwy Shunter (Appr.)
J[oseph]	Chew	19	Worsted Mill Hand
J[ohn]	Crossley*	17	Clerk, Worsted Mill
Sam	Crowther	14	Worsted Spinner
J[oseph]	Dyson*	42	Worsted Finisher
OR J[ames]	Dyson	12	Worsted Spinner
John William	Foster§		Hoist Minder (Tex)
W[illiam]	Greenwood	34	Stone Quarry Man
T[homas]	Greenwood	31	Blacksmith
OR T[homas]	Greenwood*	35	Woolsorter
OR T[homas]	Greenwood*	35	Woolsorter
M[atthew]	Greenwood	33	Waggoner
William Henry	Murgatroyd§	12	Worsted Mill Hand
A[lbert]	Murgatroyd§	18	W'ted Yarn Grosser
John	Murgatroyd	25	Clogger
D[avid]	Murgatroyd	33	Wool Sorter
Lafayette	Ratcliffe	20	Woollen Mfr's Son
Rev Henry	Robinson	71	Vicar of St Mary's
Rev Fred Fisher	Taylor	?	Curate
Dan	Tetlaw	21	Yarn W'houseman
George Albert	Titterington*	27	Worsted Spinner
William Henry	Wormald§	24	School Master
John	Wormald*§	31	Grocer

Information from the 1881 Census unless otherwise stated.

\* From 1891 Census. All ages given as at 1881.

[] indicate where only member's initial is known

§ Officer or Committee Member

### Appendix 7 Members of Illingworth St. Mary's CC, 1884

Member		Age	Occupation (& Father's if Scholar)
Rev George	Oldacres	37	Vicar
Joseph	Allison§	50	Schoolmaster
Joseph W	Allison§	14	Scholar (Father: Schoolmaster)
James B	Allison	11	Scholar (Father: Schoolmaster)
Sam	Booth	11	Worsted Spinner
Irvine	Butterfield	11	Scholar (G'father: Farmer 14 Acres)
Squire	Cain§	28	Fly Grinder
Milford	Clayton	29	Worsted Overlooker
John William	Cooper	12	Scholar (Father: Mger Carpet Works)
Horatio	Crowther§	16	Dyehouse Labourer
George	Greenwood	44	Sexton & Stone Cutter
Richard J	Hartley	20	Civil Engineer
William	Heginbottom	36	Cotton Spinner/Woolcomber
John	Hellawell§	20	Worsted Overlooker
Sutcliffe	Hitchen*	15	Foreman, yarn room
Fred	Horsfield§	11	Worsted Doffer
OR Fred	Horsfield§	17	Worsted Doffer
Arthur	Howarth§	22	Piece Warehouseman
Walter	Hoyle	11	Worsted Mill Hand
Rev Frederick L	Hughes	27	Curate
John W	Hustwick	12	Mill Hand (Tex)
Harry	Hustwick	9	Scholar (Father: Teamer (Carter) )
Sidney	Jowett	34	Waste Dealer
Benjamin	Lassey	13	Worsted Mill Hand
Herbert	Mason	15	Scholar (Father: Farmer 11 acres)
Harry H	Mitchell	7	Scholar (Father:Cotton Minder)
Albert	Ogden	13	Scholar (Fr: Tailor emps 5 Men & Boys)
Albert	Pickles	16	Cotton Piecer
John	Pickles	30	Carpet Weaver
John	Pickles	26	Machine Oiler
Thomas	Priestley	17	Pupil Teacher
Irvine	Priestley	11	Worsted Spinner
Driver	Robertshaw	18	Cabinet Maker (Employer, 1891)
William	Robertshaw‡	28	Wool Broker
Arthur	Spencer§	15	Pupil Teacher
Ronald F	Sunderland*	15	Manager of Electrical Works
Edwin	Sutcliffe	10	Scholar (Father: Carpet Weaver)
Joe	Sutcliffe	15	Mill Hand (Textiles)



OR Joe	Sutcliffe	21	General Labourer
OR Joe	Sutcliffe	14	Delver (Stone)
OR Joe B	Sutcliffe	12	Worsted Doffer
Nelson	Tidswell	8	Scholar (Father:Mechanic (S M))
Willis	Uttley	11	Worsted Millhand
Harry	Whitham	11	Scholar (Fr: Overlooker In Cotton Mill)
Hirst	Whitley	19	Clerk
Harry	Wilson	12	Worsted Spinner
Nicholas	Woodhead	18	Worsted Overlooker

\* Located only in 1891 Census, age as at 1881.

§ Officer or Committee Member

Table adapted from 'Table 1 St. Mary's Illingworth CC, Members 1884' in O'Keefe, *Start of Play*, p. 75, plus a few later discoveries.

### Appendix 8 Members of Stones Wesleyan CC, 1884-85.

Member		Age	Occupation
J[ames] H	Bottomley	15	Paper Maker
OR J[ohn] H	Bottomley	28	Quarry Man (Stone)
Ned	Cheetham	13	Cotton Piecer
D[avid]	Clayton	16	Cotton Twiner Piecer
OR D[aniel]	Clayton*	16	Cotton Twiner Piecer
Ratcliffe	Clayton	22	Cotton Twiner Piecer
Fred	Heap	8	Scholar (Father: Mason's Labourer)
Tom	Parker	14	Cotton Operative
William	Stott	30	Cotton Spinner
OR William	Stott	26	Stone Mason
Benjamin	Whiteley	35	Cotton Manufacturer
OR Benjamin	Whiteley	29	Cotton Twiner
OR Benjamin	Whiteley	19	Cotton Spinner's Son
Fred	Whiteley	18	Cotton Spinner
James R.	Whiteley	22	Cotton Spinner
Mallalim	Whiteley	14	Cotton Piecer
Henry H.	Whiteley	17	Cotton Spinner
Leyland	Whiteley	13	Scholar (at Rishworth Grammar)

Information from the 1881 Census unless otherwise stated.

\* From 1891 Census. Age as at 1881.

[ ] indicate where only member's initial is known

### Appendix 9 Members of Mytholmroyd Wesleyan Sunday School CC, 1894.

Member		Age	Occupation
Samuel	Clegg	45	Clothier (Self-Emp)
William	Dewhirst*§	26	Clerk in Cotton Mill
Robert	Foxcroft	43	Ironmonger Tin Plate W'ker (Emp'r)
Frank	Helliwell*	16	Woollen Weft Weigher (Self-Emp)
OR Frank	Helliwell	21	Wheelwright (Self-Emp)
John E	Helliwell*§	20	Fustian Merchant
Rev. William	Hotherall	40	Minister
Benjamin Lumb	Foster	14	Presser Fustian Trousers
George	Moore*	16	Printer Compositor
John	Morgan§	21	Fustian Dyer
Ewart	Priestley§	16	Tailor's Fitter
Frank	Sager§	13	Warehouseman
Thomas	Sager§	17	Tailor – Cutter Out
Irvine	Sharp§	18	Warehouseman - Fustian
Arthur James	Smith§	25	Assistant Wooller
Ernest	Smith§	19	Clerk, Woollen Industry
Frank	Smith	12	Scholar (Joiner 1901)
Gilbert	Smith	15	Scholar ( Father: Worsted Mfr)
Willie	Sykes§	19	Fustian Tailor's Cutter
Walker	Waddington	61	Printer and Stationer

Information from the 1891 Census unless otherwise stated.

\* From 1901 Census. Age as at 1891.

§ Officer or Committee Member

### Appendix 10 Members of Inchfield Bottom UMFC Sunday School CC 1903.

Member		Age	Occupation
Hiram	Ashworth	47	Picker Maker
John	Coupe PT§	17	Cotton Weaver
Joseph	Crowther §	36	Cotton Loom Weaver
John E	Fielden §	19	Picker Maker
James	Furness §	23	Picker Tool Maker
William	Hargreaves	34	Cotton Warp Sizer
Wright	Jackson PT	31	Cotton Weaver
William	Jackson	44	Buffalo Hide Tanner
OR William	Jackson	35	Warehouseman
Robert	Jackson (Pres)	46	Co-op Manager
Albert	Kinsbury PT§	18	Iron dressing, Iron Foundry
Frank	Law	47	Butcher
Ernest	Ogden PT	18	Cotton Worker
John	Ogden PT§	20	Cotton Worker
Walter	Shawforth	14	Cotton Card Room Hand
Joseph	Southwell PT	23	Picker Maker
Walter	Stansfield PT§	23	Picker Maker
Frank	Stenhouse	33	Cashier
Henry	Sunderland	26	Fustian Weaver
Edward	Woodhead PT§	20	Cotton Weaver
John William	Woodhead	22	Cotton Wind Twister

Information from the 1901 Census.

[] indicate where only member's initial is known

PT Player and Teacher

§ Officer or Committee Member

### Appendix 11 Members of Outlane MNC CC, 1897-98.

Member		Age	Occupation
Joseph	Ardron	25	Grocer's Assistant
Noah (1891)	Burkinshaw	33	None given
John	Burkinshaw	27	Healder Woollen (Wkr)
W[alter]	Crossley	29	Cloth Fuller
R[obert]	Diskin	23	Woollen Spinner
Michael	Diskin	21	Cotton [worker ?]
Alfred	Gledhill*		Mill Operative
Morton (1891)	Gledhill	32	Worsted Finisher
Mark	Gledhill	30	Blacksmith (Mill)
John	Hinchliffe	34	Warper Worsted
Frederick Beaumont	Holroyd	23	Manager Worsted Weft (Wkr)
T H	Holroyd	21	Cotton [worker ?]
John Arthur	Ingham	27	Farmer
W[alter]	Roberts	34	Bootmaker (own acct)
Fred	Sykes	31	Weaver Worsted
James Walker	Sykes		Gentleman?
A[rthur]	Taylor	24	Woollen Cloth Finisher
Joe [H.?)	Whitwam	19	Woollen Feeder
Friend	Whitwam	24	Farmer's Son
Tom	Wood	23	Woollen (Worker)
Ben	Hoyle	47	Cloth Finisher
David	Harrison	21	Cloth Finisher Woollen
Thomas	Hoyle	45	Dairy Farmer (Self Emp)
Ernest	Whitwam	17	Woollen Piecer

Information from the 1901 Census, unless otherwise stated, when age given as at 1901.

\* Information from *Huddersfield Daily Chronicle and West Yorkshire Advertiser*, 15 March 1890.

[] indicate where only member's initial is known

§ Officer or Committee Member

## Appendix 12 Members of Lumbutts CC, 1891.

Member		Age	Occupation
A[lured]	Bentley	23	Cotton Winder On
A[lbert]	Crowther	25	Cotton Weaver
J[ames] H.	Fielden	20	Mill Hand Cotton
T[homas]	Greenwood	21	Cotton Weaver
OR T[homas]	Greenwood	26	Butcher (Self Emp)
Fred	Halstead	24	Sandstone Quarryman
Frank	Halstead	24	Cotton Twister
OR Frank	Halstead	18	Cotton Carder
OR Frank T.	Halstead	12	Cotton Carder
T[homas]	Halstead	20	Cotton Spinner
G[eorge]	Holden	24	Cotton Operative
Edwin	Howarth	22	Picker Maker Tool
William Craven	Jackson §	34	General Labourer
John	Knowles*	26	Cotton Weaver
B[enjamin]	Leah	25	Elementary Sch Teacher
Albert	Midgley	21	Clerk in Bank
William	Sunderland§	39	Quarry Man (Stone)
James	Sutcliffe§	13	Cotton Spinner
OR James	Sutcliffe§	38	Warehouseman Cotton Mill
Frank	Taylor	14	Mill Hand Cotton
W[illiam]	Tidswell	32	Cotton Weaver
James	Wilkinson	33	Cotton Weaver

Information from the 1891 Census, unless stated.

\* From 1881 Census, age as at 1891.

[ ] indicate where only member's initial is known

§ Officer or Committee Member

William Craven Jackson was Secretary,

William Sunderland and James Sutcliffe were auditors

### Appendix 13 Extracts from Halifax Parish Challenge Cup Ground Reports, 1891-97

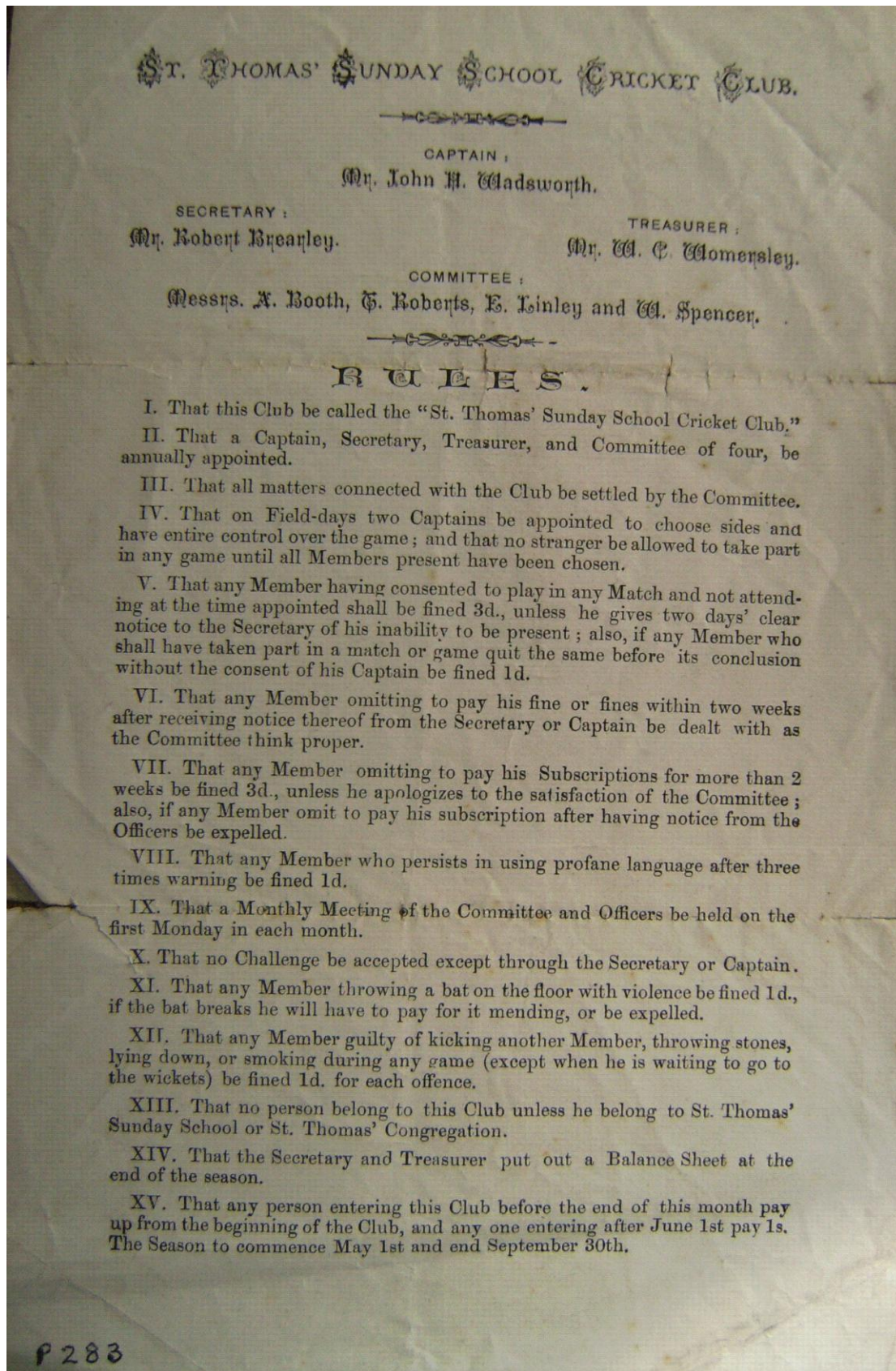
Club	Denomination	Assessment
All Souls', Halifax	Anglican	about 180 x 60 yards, having a laid crease 30 x 15 yards. The pavilion is a very poor one and there is apparently no seating accommodation. The crease is poor and the outfield though good as far as it goes is too narrow for an important match.
Brighthouse Parish Church	Anglican	170 yards x 65 ... laid crease 30 yards x 20 ... very fair but wants more attention, the outfield is also very fair .... a pretty good pavilion but no seating accommodation.
Brunswick, Halifax	UMFC	It measures 175 yards x 60 and has no laid crease. There is a small pavilion but seemingly no seating. The outfield is fair as far as it goes though too narrow for an important match. Football is played in the winter.
Holy Trinity, Halifax	Anglican	130 yards x 80 & has a laid crease 40 yards x 40 a good pavilion & a little temporary seating ... crease is a fair one but badly looked after apparently. The outfield is good ... though too small for an important match.
Park Church, Brighthouse	Wesleyan	It measures 150 yards x 150 with a laid crease 30 yards x 30, a small pavilion but seating accommodation. The crease is only poor in quality being Evidently in want of attention While the outfield is very rough.
Queensbury	Baptist	situate near the church, and 190 yards x 120. There is a very good pavilion with small stand in front, and seating (exclusive of the above) for about 100.
Ripponden Church	Anglican	situate by the riverside ... measures 83 x 65 yards having a laid crease of 30 x 17 yds. There is a good pavilion, but apparently no seating accommodation.  The outfield is pretty good though too restricted in area for an important match, while the crease is only poor. Owing to its situation, being surrounded by hills & trees this field can never have very good light.
St. Anne's, Southowram	Anglican	It measures 125 x 100 yards and has a laid crease 30 x 20 yards, a good though small pavilion and seating for about 60. Both crease and outfield are good though the latter is somewhat uneven in contour.
St. Augustine's, Halifax	Anglican	Both crease and outfield are decidedly poor in quality and very rough. There is a small pavilion but no seating accommodation.
St. George's,	Anglican	field is very uneven both in shape and contour, the

Ovenden		outfield being very bad, though the crease is fair. There is seating for about 50, but no pavilion. Presumably the Denfield Arms acts in the latter capacity.
St. Mary's, Illingworth	Anglican	situate behind the vicarage .... It measures about 140 yards x 110 having a laid crease 50 x 40 and seating accommodation for about 50. The crease is very good though the outfield is only moderate. It would however be much improved by easing off the hill on the top side the crease & filling up the hole on the bottom side.
St. Mary's, Luddendenfoot	Anglican	long & peculiar shaped field .... Both crease & outfield are only poor in quality one side of the field forming quite a steep slope Extending to the Edge of the crease. There is a good pavilion & seating for about 60.
St. Thomas's, Claremount	Anglican	This field has been much improved lately the crease being very good and the outfield fair. There is a good pavilion and seating for about 130. Part of the crease has been relaid, but is somewhat rough at present. The outfield has also been improved.  1897 – This field is now occupied by J & J Baldwins, Clark Bridge Mills. St Thomas's having broken up.
Sowerby Bridge West End	Congregational	This field is situate near to White Windows, on the Sowerby Old Road. It measures 200 yards x 120 yards, having a laid crease 37 x 12 yards, a good new pavilion, but apparently no seating accommodation. The crease is small and poor in quality but the outfield is very good.
Booth		irregular shape and on a fairly steep hillside ... about 100 yards x 100 yards ... a laid crease 30 yards x 20 yards. The crease is capable of being made a good one but needs well rolling. The outfield has a pretty good surface but the contour is uneven. There is a small pavilion but no seating.
Bradshaw Mills		a crease [that] is fair as far as it goes though sadly too small, while the outfield is too narrow, in fact – it can scarcely be said that this field is good enough to play an important match on.
King Cross		a very good pavilion and seating for 150 ... Both crease and outfield ... good ....
Lightcliffe		field [and] crease ... in good condition ... a good pavilion and seating for about 70.
Mytholmroyd		situate between the river and the canal ... crease is good and the outfield is fair. There is a fair pavilion and



		seating for about 60. It should be mentioned that not the whole of the field is available as the pavilion is placed some way into the field.
Stainland		There is a fair pavilion, though small, but apparently no seating accommodation. The crease is laid crosswise so as to obtain more space for driving.
Triangle		situate by the riverside, near to Stansfield Mill ... measures 220 x 75 yards, seating accommodation for about 100 & an old and somewhat dilapidated pavilion. The crease is good and the outfield the same, the chief drawbacks being the narrowing of the latter, and the bad light owing to its being surrounded by hills and trees.

Appendix 14 St Thomas's Sunday School Cricket Club: Rules, c.1870.



Appendix 15 Rules of Water-Foot Mill, 1851.

# **R U L E S**

# **TO BE OBSERVED**

**By the Hands Employed in**

# **THIS MILL.**

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- RULE 1.** All the Overlookers shall be on the premises first and last.
2. Any Person coming too late shall be fined as follows:—for 5 minutes 2d, 10 minutes 4d, and 15 minutes 6d, &c.
  3. For any Bobbins found on the floor 1d for each Bobbin.
  4. For single Drawing, Slubbing, or Roving 2d for each single end.
  5. For Waste on the floor 2d.
  6. For any Oil wasted or spilled on the floor 2d each offence, besides paying for the value of the Oil.
  7. For any broken Bobbins, they shall be paid for according to their value, and if there is any difficulty in ascertaining the guilty party, the same shall be paid for by the whole using such Bobbins.
  8. Any person neglecting to Oil at the proper times shall be fined 2d.
  9. Any person leaving their Work and found Talking with any of the other workpeople shall be fined 2d for each offence.
  10. For every Oath or insolent language, 3d for the first offence, and if repeated they shall be dismissed.
  11. The Machinery shall be swept and cleaned down every meal time.
  12. All persons in our employ shall serve Four Weeks' Notice before leaving their employ; but L. WHITAKER & SONS shall and will turn any person off without notice being given.
  13. If two persons are known to be in one Necessary together they shall be fined 3d each; and if any Man or Boy go into the Women's Necessary he shall be instantly dismissed.
  14. Any person wilfully or negligently breaking the Machinery, damaging the Brushes, making too much Waste, &c., they shall pay for the same to its full value.
  15. Any person hanging anything on the Gas Pendants will be fined 2d.
  16. The Masters would recommend that all their workpeople Wash themselves every morning, but they shall Wash themselves at least twice every week, Monday Morning and Thursday morning; and any found not washed will be fined 3d for each offence.
  17. The Grinders, Drawers, Slubbers and Rovers shall sweep at least eight times in the day as follows, in the Morning at 7½, 9½, 11 and 12; and in the Afternoon at 1½, 2½, 3½, 4½ and 5½ o'clock; and to notice the Board hung up, when the black side is turned that is the time to sweep, and only quarter of an hour will be allowed for sweeping. The Spinners shall sweep as follows, in the Morning at 7½, 10 and 12; in the Afternoon at 3 and 5½ o'clock. Any neglecting to sweep at the time will be fined 2d for each offence.
  18. Any persons found Smoking on the premises will be instantly dismissed.
  19. Any person found away from their usual place of work, except for necessary purposes, or Talking with any one out of their own Alley will be fined 2d for each offence.
  20. Any person bringing dirty Bobbins will be fined 1d for each Bobbin.
  21. Any person wilfully damaging this Notice will be dismissed.

The Overlookers are strictly enjoined to attend to these Rules, and they will be responsible to the Masters for the Workpeople observing them.

WATER-FOOT MILL, NEAR HASLINGDEN,  
SEPTEMBER, 1851.

J. Read, Printer, and Bookbinder, Haslingden.

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