

## HEY'S LADIES OF BRADFORD, THE GIRLS FROM A BREWERY BOTTLING PLANT WHO BECAME THE FOOTBALL CHAMPIONS OF YORKSHIRE

DAVID PENDLETON AND KATHRYN HEY

### Introduction

Within two years Hey's Ladies Football Club went from playing their first match at a park gala, to representing England in matches in France and Scotland; conversely, two years later they had abandoned football in favour of club cricket. A century on, women's football is undergoing exponential growth as both a participatory and spectator sport, thus the time appears to be ripe to re-evaluate the achievements of the women from a brewery bottling plant who became one of the foremost women's football teams of their generation.

The story of Hey's Ladies is a snapshot of the tensions of gender, sport and the workplace that were partly a continuation of issues that arose during the Great War. By retelling their story, we are able to deepen the history of women's football and give a timely reminder that expansion and popularity brought challenges in the 1920s that could be revisited as, a century on, the women's game enjoys another era of growth.

### Munitionettes, mill girls and the Great War

Before delving into the story of the Hey's Ladies, it is worth placing their achievements into a historical framework. Pinning down the first recorded game of women's football is a moveable feast, as the digitisation of British newspapers carries on apace, undoubtedly firsts' will be claimed and debunked with growing regularity. Until recently, academics viewed a match at Inverness in 1888 as being the first recorded game, whatever the truth of that statement, there is no doubt that it was the First World War that transformed women's football.<sup>1</sup> With so many men fighting at the front it was the women of Britain who stepped forward to fill the gaps in the workplace. They worked in factories, drove trams, delivered the post and much else besides. It is esti-

ated that over one million women entered the workplace during the war. The cultural impact of the empowerment of women, who did not even have the right to vote, cannot be overstated, particularly given the context of the Suffragette campaign which had been suspended for the duration of the Great War.

The influx of women into hazardous industries, particularly munitions factories, raised official concerns. Government supervisors were sent to observe and make recommendations as regards the welfare of the newly employed women. One recommendation was that sporting activities should be encouraged. Football was taken up with such zeal that it almost became the official sport of the so-called 'munitionettes' — the nickname deriving from the factory production of munitions (shells, bullets, bombs, etc) for the armed services. However, although the munitionettes were a highly visible element of women's football, many other industries that employed large numbers of women also spawned football teams.<sup>2</sup> As will be shown, that is supported by developments in Bradford with the formation of teams from iron works, textile mills and a brewery.

From at least 1917 women's football teams were active in Bradford. In September of that year a match took place at Bradford Park Avenue featuring teams from the factories of Thwaites Bros. Ltd. iron works of Thornton Road and Phoenix Dynamo Manufacturing Ltd.<sup>3</sup> Bradford City's 1911 FA Cup winning manager, Peter O'Rourke, referenced these games when he wrote in support of women's football in the *Yorkshire Weekly Record*.<sup>4</sup> The matches were probably played in aid of injured servicemen and the families of men killed in action. Inevitably some of the women playing would have had fathers, husbands, brothers or sons who had been killed or wounded, so participating in the games would have been deeply personal to them.<sup>5</sup>

Undoubtedly, the most famous of the women's works' teams was the Preston based Dick Kerr's Ladies who popularised

the women's game after the war. By the 1920s they had become the *de facto* England women's national team. By contrast most of the Bradford based works teams appear to have disbanded after the war ended in 1918. However, one team, perhaps inspired by Dick Kerr's, was formed in 1921 as Manningham, (or Lister's) Ladies. The bulk of the team was made up of Lister's Mill hockey team. Both teams were part of a huge paternalistic sports section that was provided by the mill owners and subscriptions that were deducted from the workers' wages.<sup>6</sup>

When it was announced that Manningham Ladies would meet the famous Dick Kerr's Ladies at Valley Parade, there was considerable interest in their preparations. A large crowd watched their final practice match on the Manningham Mills' Scotchman Road playing fields. Several photographs appeared in the local press of the training and the left-winger Holden was said to be 'the Dickie Bond of the team'; Bond being Bradford City's famous England international winger.<sup>7</sup> Miss Derry captained both the Lister's football and hockey teams. In a press interview she said she had seen Bradford City play twice, but the majority of the players had never been to a match. However, Derry, and her teammate Bogg, had gained valuable experience when they played the previous week for a combined Yorkshire and Lancashire team that had met Dick Kerr's at Leeds.<sup>8</sup>

On 13 April 1921 Manningham Ladies played Dick Kerr's Ladies at Valley Parade. Bradford City's captain George Robinson acted as referee, while other City players Frank O'Rourke and Dickie Bond ran the lines. The involvement of those high-profile players can be viewed as overt support for women's football, but additionally it should be remembered that all three men would have been deeply affected by the Great War. Indeed, Bond had served with the Bradford Pals at the Battle of the Somme and had ended the war in a prisoner of war camp in Germany.<sup>9</sup>

Around 10,000 spectators saw Dick Kerr's run out comfortable 6-0 winners, but the Manningham Ladies, despite being formed only six weeks before the game, were said to have given a good account of themselves. The £900 raised by the match was split between Bradford Hospitals and Earl Haigh's Fund for former servicemen. After the game both teams dined at the Great Northern Victoria Hotel. Later they took in a show as guests of honour at the Alhambra Theatre.<sup>10</sup>

### Yorkshire's Champions, Hey's Ladies

It is worthy of note that Manningham Ladies were representing the enormous Manningham Mills complex. A generation earlier, in 1890-91, the mill was at the epicentre of the infa-

mous Manningham Mills strike, involving a predominantly female workforce in a dispute over cuts to wages. The strike collapsed after a riot, but ultimately led to the formation of the Independent Labour Party.<sup>11</sup> Additionally, during the years leading up to the Great War, the suburb of Manningham was at the forefront of the suffragette movement in Bradford.<sup>12</sup>

Drawing a direct line between those events and the prevalence of women's football in Manningham is probably unwise, but it may indicate that Manningham was more culturally receptive to the empowerment of women.

Manningham Mills was a short walk from Hey's Brewery. It was from the latter's bottling plant, and the largely female workforce, that the Hey's Ladies football team emerged. Given the proximity of the two workplaces, it is likely that the highly publicised exploits of the Manningham Ladies would have given inspiration to the formation of a team at Hey's.<sup>13</sup>

Indeed, Hey's Ladies first known game was against the Manningham Ladies at the Peel Park Carnival on 18 May 1921, with the Manningham team winning 5-1. The rematch was rather more successful for Hey's, with the brewery side winning a five-a-side sports carnival 2-0 at Bradford Park Avenue on 6 August 1921. Around 8,000 spectators watched a men's competition featuring sides from Barnsley, Bradford City, Bradford Park Avenue, Halifax Town, Harrogate, Huddersfield Town, Hull City and Leeds United.<sup>14</sup>

Although cultural factors noted earlier may have been a factor in the formation of another women's team from Manningham, there may well have been an element of support from Bradford City AFC whose Valley Parade ground was within a mile of Manningham Mills and only a few minutes' walk from Hey's Brewery.

The links between the Hey family and Bradford City AFC are particularly compelling. Herbert Hey, a worsted manufacturer, who was directly related to the brewers, had been a director of Bradford City AFC between 1910 and 1913 and was vice-president of the club between 1921 and 1922.<sup>15</sup> Arthur Hey, the general manager of the brewery, was also the chairman of Bradford City between 1927 and 1929 and a director between 1933 and 1947.<sup>16</sup> Judging by newspaper reports it appears that it was Arthur Hey who was the driving force behind Hey's Ladies.<sup>17</sup> That was not unusual as the majority of women's teams during this era were headed by a male administrator.<sup>18</sup>

However, in the absence of company or football club records, it is impossible to establish whether Hey's Ladies was



Figure 1. The new ladies' team from Hey's brewery who were defeated by Lister's Ladies 5-1 at the Carnival in Peel Park on Wednesday 18 May 1921. Photo taken at Valley Parade, Bradford. *Bradford Daily Argus*, Saturday 21 May 1921. Source. Kathryn Hey collection.



Figure 2. Whitehead Lifeboat Shield Competition played during May 1922. Hey's defeated Doncaster Ladies 4-0 in the final on 27 May 1922 at Greenfield. Source. Kathryn Hey collection.



Figure 3. Hey's Brewery Ladies Team, 20 October 1921. Source. Unknown.



Figure 4. Dick Kerr's Ladies. *Leeds Mercury*, 20 October 1921.



SOME INTERNATIONAL FOOTBALLERS, INCLUDING MISS TETLOW IN BACKGROUND.

Figure 5. Four international players, including Mary Tetlow. Mary took the place of bottling foreman. 7 players were under 17, none over 20. *Brewing Trading Review*, January 1931. Source. Malcolm Toft.

#### FRENCH LADY FOOTBALLERS.



The ladies' team from the Olympique de Paris, photographed on their arrival in Bradford yesterday for their football match with the ladies' team at Hey's Brewery. "Telegraph" Copyright Photo.

Figure 6. The French team, Olympique de Paris contained five athletic champions in their ranks pictured upon their arrival on the steps of their base, the Rawson Hotel before the match at Greenfield on 28 March 1922. Hey's Ladies won 2-0. *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 27 March 1922. Source. Kathryn Hey collection.



Figure 7. Dick Kerr's postcard, 1925. Source. Lizzy Ashcroft Collection.



Figure 8. Femina Sport 1925. Hey's played against some of these women including superstar footballer Carmen Pomies far right. Source. Steve Bolton.

formed due to Arthur Hey's close associations with the game of football, or whether it was the women themselves who initiated the team.<sup>19</sup> Of course, given the publicity afforded to the women's game in the early 1920s, it is possible that the brewery was using the popularity of the women's game as an advertising opportunity. However, when weighing the evidence, it is unlikely that this was the overriding motivation. What is certain is that women's football fell on fertile grounds at Hey's Brewery and it is without doubt that the Hey's Ladies received enthusiastic backing from the company.

The close links between Hey's Brewery and Bradford City AFC almost certainly led to Hey's Ladies playing their first high-profile appearance at Valley Parade in a fund-raising match in aid of the 'New Motor Lifeboat Fund'. It was the beginning of a long association between the city of Bradford and the RNLI as the success of the fund led to a lifeboat being named 'City of Bradford' which was based at Spurn Head at the mouth of the River Humber.<sup>20</sup> The fund raising match enjoyed civic patronage as the Lord Mayor of Bradford, Lieutenant colonel Anthony Gadie, was credited with organising the event. It took place on 19 October 1921. Inevitably, the famous Dick Kerr's Ladies provided the opposition. Acting as linesmen were Bradford City's Scottish international keeper Jock Ewart and centre forward Frank O'Rourke. Hey's Ladies lost 4-1, with Edith Jackson scoring the consolation goal.<sup>21</sup> The attendance of 4,070 raised £184 for the New Lifeboat Fund.<sup>22</sup>

The visits of Dick Kerr's to Bradford was just a small part of the Preston based team's prodigious charitable and fund-raising work. However, when women footballers played several matches to aid striking miners in Lancashire, it arguably gave the Football Association the excuse they were looking for in order to stifle the popularity of teams such as Dick Kerr's.<sup>23</sup> In December 1921 the FA banned women from playing on Football League grounds.<sup>24</sup> Although the intricacies of the ban will not be discussed in this article, it is worth reproducing the FA statement in order to illustrate the pressures being faced by the women's game:

Complaints having been made as to football being played by women, the council feel impelled to express their strong opinion that the game of football is quite unsuitable for females and ought not to be encouraged. Complaints have also been made as to the conditions under which some of these matches have been arranged and played, and the appropriation of receipts to other than charitable objects. The council are further of the opinion that an excessive proportion of the receipts are absorbed in expenses and an inadequate percentage devoted to charitable objects. For these reasons the council request clubs belonging to the association to refuse the use of their grounds for such matches.<sup>25</sup>

Arthur Hey informed the *Yorkshire Evening Post* that, despite the FA ban, Hey's Ladies 'would continue so long as the girls wanted to play'. He defended women's football saying that 'the girls enjoy playing football, they worked all the better for it and were much better in health'. He thought that it 'was as if the FA were jealous of the girls encroaching on their sacred preserves'. He viewed the governing body's actions as 'interference practically amounting to impertinence' and challenged the FA to divulge any evidence of alleged abuse of expenses. He stated that Hey's Ladies 'only charged expenses if they undertook an 'exceptionally long journey''. However, Hey did reveal that the players were paid 'broken time' if they suffered a loss in wages. The only fixed expense was insurance against injuries. This was in line with similar recompenses paid by Dick Kerr's and may have been a standard model across the women's game.<sup>26</sup> He said that the ladies team had cost the brewery £60 in subsidy since their formation eight months earlier.<sup>27</sup>

On Boxing Day 1921 Hey's were crowned 'Champions of Yorkshire' when they defeated the previously unbeaten Doncaster Ladies. Hey's won by five clear goals and in subsequent publicity they were referred to as the 'Yorkshire Champions'. Charity work continued to be at the forefront of Hey's Ladies and on 7 January 1922 they met Dick Kerr's to play a match in aid of the Wakefield Workpeople's Hospital Fund. Due to the Football Association ban they were forced to play at Belle Vue, home of Wakefield Trinity Rugby League Club. The use of a Rugby League ground is illustrative of the creative thinking women's football was forced to adopt in order to find venues on which to play and circumvent the FA ban.<sup>28</sup>

Around 5,000 spectators saw, what was termed, a thrilling 1-1 draw. Florrie Redford opened the scoring for Dick Kerr's after only ten minutes with a strong cross shot. Mabel Benson in the Hey's net, got a hand on the ball, but could not prevent the goal. Despite losing 'Tiny' Emmerston with a twisted knee after fifty-five minutes, Hey's pressed hard for an equaliser. It came five minutes from time when the little centre forward, Edith Jackson, got through to score with a brilliant shot. However, Dick Kerr's hung on to preserve their unbeaten record. A rematch was arranged to take place at Greenfield Stadium, Bradford. The ground was a well-known athletics ground and had been the home of Bradford Northern Rugby League Club for one season in 1907/08. The match was to be played in aid of Manningham Soldiers Fund. Unfortunately, heavy snow caused its postponement, but the match eventually went ahead on 18 February 1922. Bradford East MP Captain Charles Loseby kicked off the game.<sup>29</sup> The match was a high-scoring 4-4 draw.<sup>30</sup>

Perhaps partly in recognition of the prowess of Hey's Ladies, Bradford was becoming something of a centre for women's football. The inaugural meeting of the English Ladies FA had been held in the city in 1921 and Bradford had been selected to host the 1922 English Ladies FA Challenge Cup Final.<sup>31</sup> However, a suitable ground could not be found and the final had to be relocated. The difficulty in finding grounds in the wake of the FA ban was illustrated when in March 1922, Bradford Rugby Union Football Club applied to the Yorkshire Rugby Union to host a game between Hey's Ladies and a French touring side.

James Miller of Leeds opposed the application, saying that football was not suitable for women, and when they tried to play it they made a ridiculous exhibition of themselves.<sup>32</sup> He was supported by the Rev. Huggard of Barnsley who said that 'they respected, and loved their women, and therefore ought not to encourage them to do anything derogatory to their position, or anything that would be unseemly'. The application was refused.

The match was moved to what was rapidly becoming Hey's home ground, Greenfield at Dudley Hill. The French team, Olympique de Paris, contained five athletic champions in their ranks. Their arrival in Bradford caused great interest and they were photographed on the steps of their base, the Rawson Hotel (owned by the Hey's Brewery) before the match.<sup>33</sup> The game was played in aid of Rheims Cathedral Restoration Fund and the Bradford Hospital Fund. The cathedral had been severely damaged by German shelling during the Great War. It was portrayed as a war crime and a British Empire Fund for Restoration of Rheims Cathedral was launched. It eventually raised 443,000 francs and, in an act of solidarity and gratitude, a plaque was laid in the cathedral commemorating British and Commonwealth soldiers killed in France. On 28 March 1922 an estimated 3,000 spectators saw Hey's defeat their French opponents 2-0. Among the match reports is a line that suggests that Hey's may have been poaching players from other Yorkshire clubs as it was said that Lucy Bromage had 'again' turned out for Hey's. Bromage usually played for Doncaster Ladies and was the daughter of the former Derby County and Leeds City goalkeeper, Harry Bromage.

Domestically, the highpoint of Hey's Ladies came in the six team Whitehead Lifeboat Shield competition. Played during May 1922 it featured: Doncaster Ladies, Hey's Ladies, Huddersfield Alexandra, Huddersfield Atalanta, Huddersfield Ladies and Keighley. Hey's defeated Huddersfield Alexandra 4-1 and Huddersfield Atalanta 4-0 en route to the final.<sup>34</sup> Around 5,000 spectators witnessed the final at Greenfield when Hey's defeated Doncaster Ladies 4-0. The Lord

Mayor of Bradford Thomas Blythe presented the shield to Mabel Benson, the victorious Hey's captain.<sup>35</sup>

That victory saw the team invited to play games in Scotland, the south west of England and France. Although the match in Glasgow was against a team from Rutherglen, much of the press reported the game as a ladies international and referred to the two teams as Scotland and England. 'Scotland', or Rutherglen, hit the crossbar in a goalless first half, but in the second period Hey's dominated scoring three goals without reply and brought a silver trophy back to Bradford.<sup>36</sup> The trophy went on display in the King's Head pub in Bradford, which was owned by Hey's Brewery.

The following spring Hey's were invited by the French Ministry of Sport to play, what was described as, the French Ladies international side.<sup>37</sup> The match took place at the Stade Pershing in Paris on 29 April 1923. A crowd estimated to be between 5,000 to 8,000 saw Jennie Harris score for Hey's after 20 minutes, which was enough to win a tight match 1-0.<sup>38</sup>

If any single event illustrated the dedication of the Hey's Ladies to their sport it was their trip to Plymouth in May 1923. After working all day on the Friday, the team caught the 21.00 train from Bradford and travelled overnight to Plymouth. They arrived in the West Country at 10.15am the following morning. After a further three hours travelling to Cambourne, they then walked over a mile to the ground where they defeated Plymouth Amateurs 5-1.<sup>39</sup>

These high-profile trips in some respects obscured the fact that the FA ban was beginning to constrict the women's game. In contrast to other parts of the country, where women's football ended abruptly, Leigh and Wigan being a case in point, Hey's battled on.<sup>40</sup> However, finding opponents became increasingly difficult and it is notable that Hey's final games were against their old friends and adversaries Dick Kerr's.<sup>41</sup> In 1924 they played games against Dick Kerr's in aid of causes as varied as Castleford Carnival funds and Burnley Cricket Club.<sup>42</sup> The latter game was quite a spectacle, being floodlit, with electric lamps on thirty posts, and a white chrome ball was used.

By 1925 Hey's Ladies switched sports and had taken up club cricket. It could be argued that disenchanted by the politics of football Hey's turned their back on the game and took up cricket. Perhaps cricket offered an extension of the camaraderie that sport had offered them?

Hey's Ladies first reported cricket match was played against a team from the Bradford Dyer's Association. Hey's Ladies scored 105 for the loss of four wickets. The Dyers' Associa-



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Gave THE HIGHEST BRITISH HONOURS to these productions at the

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Figure 9. King's Head Advertisement. *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 21 November 1922. Source. Malcolm Toft.



Figure 10. Hey's player. Source. Kathryn Hey Collection.

tion side was all out for nine. 'Tiny' Emmerson (a winger from the football team), took seven wickets for seven runs. Margaret Whelan (scorer of several goals for Hey's Ladies) captured three wickets for two runs. The team played in the Bradford Ladies' Evening Cricket League. In 1931 they won all four cups offered in Bradford.

In the wake of the FA ban the women's game has been described as being placed in a state of 'suspended animation' and despite their best efforts, the fate of Hey's Ladies is representative of that process.<sup>43</sup> Until the revival of women's football in the 1980s, the game in Bradford was reduced to one off events such as the floodlit 1953 match between Preston Ladies and Manchester at Odsal Stadium. On a purely local level, occasional charity games between women's teams continued to take place. One example being the 1956 game between the Queen Tigers, from the Queen public house on Thornton Road, and a team from Fairweather Green Working Men's Club. The game raised £12 10s for Fairweather Green WMC annual children's treat. According to newspaper reports the match was a lively affair with much screaming and hair pulling. At one point both goalkeepers were reportedly embroiled in a fight for the ball.

## Conclusion

Why did women's football become a popular spectator sport and why was it confined to a relatively brief period. The linkage with the Great War and the fact that the game had a social purpose that enabled women's football to side step the constraints imposed by gender politics and stereotypes. In particular, the tapping into the narrative of the 'plucky heroine' that emerged during the Great War as women were 'thrown into traditional male roles at home, in the work place and on the sports field', meant that games during this era avoided condescending and hostile perceptions that have dogged women's football.<sup>44</sup> It has been argued that spectators were more receptive because the matches were charitable events that raised money for the families of soldiers killed or wounded at the front.<sup>45</sup>

Hey's prowess on the field of play, the meeting of the English Ladies FA at Bradford in 1921 and the abortive attempt to host the 1922 English Ladies FA Challenge Cup Final, illustrate that Bradford was one of the key locations of women's football after the Great War.<sup>46</sup> Hey's Ladies adoption of cricket in 1925 may reflect the pressures brought to bear on the management of Hey's Brewery, who were also involved at board level with Bradford City AFC during the same period, by the FA ban. However, the fact that the social context of women's football's charitable role and

workplace emancipation had lost some of its focus by the early 1920s could also have been a factor.<sup>47</sup>

It could be argued that the subsequent chaotic and light-hearted matches, as represented by the 1956 game at Fairweather Green, represented the ultimate victory of those who sought to crush women's football in the wake of the Great War. The high-minded ideals of charity, emancipation and solidarity had fallen a long way. The fact that the FA's ban on women's football was not lifted until 1971 reflects poorly on, and asks uncomfortable questions of, the so-called people's game. Even after the ban was lifted it was another decade before women's football began a long overdue rehabilitation. However, a century on from Hey's appearance in international matches, perhaps at long last the Champions of Yorkshire, from a brewery bottling plant can begin to take their rightful place in the sporting and social history of Bradford and beyond.

## Note

This article has been written in conjunction with Malcolm Toft, writer of articles for the Brewery History Society and Bradford Campaign for Real Ale and Michael Pendleton.

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- 4 *Yorkshire Weekly Record*, 11 September 1917.
- 5 Melling, A. (1999) 'Plucky Ladies, Pea Soup and Politics, the role of ladies football during the 1921 miners' lock out in Wigan and Leigh', *Journal of the History of Sport*. 16:1, p.46.
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12. Wheeler, J. (2021) 'The Mouse That Got Away: an act of militant activism during the Votes for Women campaign, Bradford 1913', *Bradford Antiquary*. 82, pp.18-29.
13. *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 12 December 1921. Although the Manningham Ladies match was the likely inspiration for the formation of Hey's Ladies, some of the Hey's players had a long association with the game, including Hey's captain Mabel Benson who said that she began playing football in 1914.
14. *Leeds Mercury*, 8 August 1921.
15. Arnold, T. (1988) *A Game That Would Pay, a business history of professional football in Bradford*. London: Duckworth, p.199.
16. *ibid.*, p.201.
17. *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 12 December 1921. Arthur's cousin, Walter Hey, also encouraged women's sporting activities at the brewery.
18. Williams, J. (2003b) *op. cit.*, p.31.
19. *ibid.*, p.31.
20. 'SKEALS Celebrates Humber Lifeboat Bicentenary' <http://www.skeals.co.uk/Articles/SKEALS%20Celebrates%20lifeboat%20bicentenary.html> accessed 26 October 2014. A lifeboat named 'City of Bradford' was based at Spurn Head between 1923 and 1987.
21. Once again, strong links with service in the Great War are to the fore: Gadie had been an officer with the 2nd West Riding Territorial Brigade; O'Rourke had served in the Royal Flying Corps; and Jock Ewart suffered from shell shock.
22. *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 19 October 1921.
23. Melling, A. (1999) *op. cit.*, p.55.
24. Williams, J. (2003b) *op. cit.*, p.33.
25. Lee, J. (2007) 'Life after Death', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*. 22:11, p.1494; Macbeth, J. (2002) *op. cit.*, p.155; Melling, A. (1999) *op. cit.*, p.53; Williams, J. (2003b) *op. cit.*, pp.33-6; Williams, J. (2003a) *op. cit.*, pp.115-16. A fairly comprehensive analysis of the ban has been produced.
26. Lee, J. (2007) *op. cit.*, p.1495.
27. *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 12 December 1921.
28. Williams, J. (2003b) *op. cit.*, p.36.
29. Bradford Daily Telegraph, 20 February 1922. Loseby was gassed at Ypres in 1915.
30. *Bradford Daily Argus*, 20 February 1922.
31. Williams, J. (2003b) *op. cit.*, p.35.
32. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 14 March 1922. Miller was a long-standing official of the Yorkshire Rugby Union and had been an implacable opponent of broken time payments in rugby which had led to the 'great split' of 1895 and the formation of, what is known today as, the Rugby League.
33. *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 29 March 1922.
34. *Bradford Daily Argus*, 8 May 1922; *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, 18 May 1922.
35. *Bradford Daily Argus*, 29 May 1922.
36. *Sunday Post*, October 1922.
37. *Bradford Daily Argus*, 31 March 1923.
38. *Les Sportives*.
39. *Bradford Daily Telegraph*, August 1923.
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42. *Leeds Mercury*, 4 August 1924,
43. Macbeth, J. (2002) *op. cit.*, p.153; Williamson, D.J. (1991) *op. cit.*, p.98.
44. Melling, A. (1999) *op. cit.*, p.38.
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46. Williams, J. (2003b) *op. cit.*, p.4.
47. Williams, J. and Woodhouse, J. (1991) 'Women's Football in Britain', in Williams, J. and Wagg, S. (eds) *British Football and Social Change, Getting into Europe*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, p.92.