

**'Battle at long range':
correspondence chess in Britain and Ireland, 1824-1914,
a social and cultural history**

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Declaration

This thesis is entirely my own work and it has not previously been submitted to this or any other university.

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Summary

THIS thesis is a history of the development of chess as a pastime and cultural activity in the United Kingdom, principally between 1824 and 1914, concentrating on the 'grass roots' rather than professional chess. It examines the game's growth from various perspectives and relates the findings to areas of academic debate in the history of sports and leisure. Historians up to now have paid little attention to indoor and mental games, although the need for such a study has been noted. Chess's high cultural status led it to its downward diffusion in Victorian society. Sober and utterly divorced from gambling, unlike cards, chess was respectable and gradually developed into a sport, and later a 'hobby', during this period.

The thesis uses qualitative evidence since there is little data on which to make a statistical analysis. The evidence is derived mostly from archival research into printed primary sources, but wherever possible it also draws on manuscript sources. These include correspondence relating to the Edinburgh match, records of some chess early clubs, the correspondence of Scottish champion G. B. Fraser, and the extensive papers of chess historian Harold Murray in the Bodleian Library.

Correspondence chess and club chess (also examined in some detail) developed in parallel during the mid-nineteenth century. It is argued here that, following a noticeable increase in middle-class chess activity and the beginnings of regular publicity for the game in 1835, the first major influx of 'new blood' into the chess world came in the 1840s. Previous writers have recognised that this was an important period in the development of the game but were unable to explain why. Hitherto the impact of the 'rational recreation' movement had chiefly influenced middle-class participation, but now the 'problem of working class leisure' was coming into focus. Alongside the growth of print and communications, the crucial extra factor was the promotion of chess in mechanics' institutes and other urban institutions of a similar nature, which usually included informal chess and often ran chess classes or chess clubs. This involved a strong element of patronage in the early stages, but ideological explanations along the lines of 'social control' are rejected. Chess had traditionally been played among professionals, merchants, the

clergy and the military but now artisans and lower middle-classes, especially clerks, took up the game. As the lower-middle classes grew, so did the chess clubs and competitions catering to them.

From the 1830s onwards, an extensive chess literature developed, the most important aspect from an historical point of view being the chess columns in a wide variety of periodicals. These not only supply information about what was happening in the game and the society where it was played, but provide an insight into the mentalities of chess-players. An early chapter in the thesis examines the role of the editors and the publishing environment in which they worked. Several editors organised competitions, including correspondence chess matches and tournaments, which then provided copy for their articles. Before regional and national chess associations became established, these chess editors were among the most important organisers of competitions for amateurs.

Correspondence chess is the main focus of the thesis. The first major British chess contest, indeed almost the first competitive chess event of any kind, was the 1824-8 *Edinburgh v. London* postal match, which attracted considerable interest at the time and has been the subject of controversy long after. Correspondence chess involves playing the game with distant opponents over time. That usually meant by post although the telegraph and telephone were also pressed into service at the earliest opportunity. Two crucial watersheds for postal chess were 1840, when the universal penny post began, and 1870, when the halfpenny postcard was introduced. Both led to marked increases in the playing of postal chess, and particularly tournaments, which had begun in the 1850s. The text of the thesis concentrates on early and important contests, including international competition, but appendices document the sporting side of the game in detail as the tournaments, in particular, have never been previously researched.

The thesis also includes an extensive argument about women's chess, placed in a context of gender theory, demonstrating that correspondence chess and chess problem tourneys provided a 'semi-public' sphere where women could compete from their homes. It also includes new evidence about early Irish chess clubs and the growth of chess activity in Ireland, which largely paralleled that of Scotland.

Contents

Acknowledgments	ix
Abbreviations	xiii
Glossary of Chess Terms	xiv
Note on Chess Notation	xvi
Note on References and Reference Works	xviii
List of Scanned Images	xix
1 Introduction and Historiography	1
1 Problems with the 'standard model' in leisure history	1
2 The historiography of sport	15
3 Introduction to the history of chess	24
4 The cultural status of chess	28
5 The historiography of chess	35
6 Pre-history of correspondence chess	47
7 Looking forward	51
2 The London-Edinburgh Match, 1824-8	53
1 The cancelled Paris match, and Edinburgh's challenge	53
2 The clubs and their members	57
3 The start of the match, and publicity	62
4 The mystery of the fifth game	65
Table 1: Edinburgh-London match results	68
5 The controversy and its aftermath	71
6 Conclusion	77
3 Chess and Print Culture	78
1 Chess books as sources and resources	78
2 Magazines: heroic failures and gritty survivors	82
2a) The strange saga of the <i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	85
2b) Development of chess magazines from the 1860s	90
2c) Manuscript magazines	92
3 Chess columns in periodicals	93
3a) The definition and role of a chess column	94
3b) Early columns and the identification problem	97

3c) <i>Bell's Life in London</i> : the pioneering column	101
3d) The <i>I.L.N.</i> and Staunton's feud with Walker	103
3e) The 'family paper' decades	110
3f) A major column: <i>The Field</i>	114
3g) Different types of publication with chess columns	116
4 Case study: <i>The Home Circle</i> and the first postal chess tourney	119
5 Concluding points	129
4 Chess Clubs and Associations	131
1 The growth of the chess club	131
1a) Counting the chess clubs	133
1b) Handicaps and stake money	138
1c) Categorising the clubs	141
1d) Two early small-town clubs in Ireland	145
2 Chess in Mechanics' Institutes and the like	148
3 Case study: Lord Lyttelton and the educative role of chess	155
4 From the club to the association	166
5 Case study: the B.C.C.A. and its precursors	172
6 Conclusions	182
5 Inter-club and Team Matches	184
1 How consultation matches worked	184
2 Early matches before the postal reform	186
3 Matches between individuals and clubs	192
4 Postal reform and over the board play	194
5 International club matches	196
5a) The Paris-Westminster match of 1834-6	196
5b) The matches with Amsterdam	198
5c) The London-Vienna match	200
5d) Later international consultation matches	203
6 The change to team matches	206
7 Case study: Battle at long range, U.K. v U.S.A., 1877-81	210
8 Games by telephone and radio	219
9 Later postal team matches, official and unofficial	221
9a) Official matches between associations	221
9b) Later Irish matches and unofficial matches	223
9c) The matches with Bohemia and post-war developments	225
10 Conclusion	228

6 Correspondence Competitions for Individuals	228
1 The private match	228
2 Case study: the Blackmore v. Fedden match	232
3 The knock-out tourney	236
3a) The Birmingham and Cassell's tournaments	236
3b) Abortive tournaments and the debut of Blackburne	240
3c) Knock-out tournaments of later years	242
4 Transition to a new tournament format	250
5 Correspondence chess as a life-style choice	257
6 Principal all-play-all tourneys up to 1914	262
7 Conclusion: from the collective to the individual	269
7 Women and Chess	270
1 The fight against prejudice	271
2 Some early female chess-players	275
3 Women start to compete at chess	283
4 Gender differences and the life-cycle	294
5 Case study: Frideswide Rowland and the development of Irish chess	298
8 Four Countries, One Kingdom	309
1 Differences and similarities	309
1 a) Chess in the Jewish community	310
1 b) Exceptionalism of chess in Wales	311
1 c) More on early Irish chess clubs	315
2 'Celtic chess': comparing three countries	319
3 Case study: G. B. Fraser and the Scottish experience	322
4 Conclusions	332
9 Connections and Conclusions	334
1 Review of the chapters and the main discoveries	334
2 Why chess grew	337
3 What is new here about the history of the game	342
4 Self-critique and recommendations	346
5 Some final points	349

Bibliography	353
Primary Sources 1: Manuscripts	353
1.1 MSS in private hands	353
1.2 Manuscripts and records in publicly available archives	354
Primary Sources 2: Official Publications	357
2.1 House of Commons Sessional Papers	357
2.2 Principal Acts of Westminster Parliament re the Post Office	357
2.3 Principal Act of Dublin Parliament re the Post Office	358
2.4 Other official publications	358
2.5 Law reports	358
Primary Sources 3: Contemporary Works: Periodical Publications	358
3.1 Directories and Annuals	358
3.2 Articles relating to chess in contemporary periodicals	359
3.3 Specialist U. K. Chess and Games Magazines	361
3.4 U.K. Magazines and Newspapers	362
3.4 a) Irish Magazines and Newspapers	362
3.4 b) British Magazines and Newspapers	363
3.4 c) Digitised services (with principal titles)	367
3.4 d) Other titles that were sampled	367
3.5 Periodicals published outside the U.K.	368
Primary Sources 4: Contemporary Works: Books and Pamphlets	369
Electronic Reference Works	381
Bibliographies and Works of Reference	381
Secondary Works 1: Modern Books	384
Secondary Works 2: Articles in modern chess journals	399
Secondary Works 3: Articles in modern journals: academic & general	400
Secondary Works 4: Unpublished Academic Dissertations	405
Secondary Works 5: Other unpublished works	405
Secondary Works 6: Pages and documents on the internet	406

APPENDICES

Appendix I) Postal history	407
I a) Summary of legislation	407
I b) Summary of postage rates before 1840	410
Appendix II) Bibliographical Supplement	412
II a) Irish chess columns and magazines to 1918 (chronological)	413
II b) Irish chess columns and magazines to 1918 (alphabetical)	415
II c) British chess columns to 1850 complete list (chronological)	421
II d) Selected British chess columns 1813-1914 (alphabetical)	422
II e) British chess magazines, 1837-1914 (chronological summary)	431
II f) Publishing history of the <i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i> variants	434
Appendix III) Matches between clubs	436
III a) U.K. inter-club consultation matches to 1914 (summary)	436
III b) Corrections and queries about inter-club consultation matches	440
Appendix IV) U.K. correspondence chess tourney lists	449
IV a) Knock-out tourneys to 1914 (chronological summary)	449
IV b) All-play-all tourneys to 1916 (chronological summary)	450
Appendix V) Results of Team Matches	452
Oxford University v. Cambridge Staunton Club, 1871	452
Oxford University v. Cambridge Staunton Club, 1872	452
Postcard Match U.S.A. v. Canada, 1875-7	453
Postcard Match U.K. v. U.S.A., 1877-81	454
North of the Tweed v. South of the Tweed, 1876-7	455
Albion Corresponding Club v. Chichester Chess Club, 1879-80	455
Ireland v. Sussex, 1885-6	456
Sussex v. Yorkshire, 1886	456
Ireland v. Scotland, 1886-7	457
Ireland v. Yorkshire, 1887-9	459
Sussex v. Yorkshire, 1887, 1890, and 1894	460
Belfast v. Dublin, 1890-1 and 1891-2	460
Ireland v. West of England & Wales, 1892-3	464
Aberdeenshire v. Londonderry, 1888 & 1890	467

Smaller matches of the period	467
North v. South of England, 1900-1	468
Further regional matches in England	469
Matches between readers of chess columns, 1901-2	470
Irish regional matches, 1903-13	471
Ireland v. England, 1903-4 and 1906	472
Anglo-Bohemia matches, 1905-6 and 1907-9	472
<i>Four-Leaved Shamrock</i> matches	474
Other British Correspondence Chess Association matches	476
Ireland v. English counties	476
The only Irish inter-county match	477
Irish North v. South wartime match	478
Appendix VI) Results of Correspondence Tourneys	479
VI a) Knock-out Tourneys to 1914	479
<i>The Home Circle</i> tourney, 1853-6	479
<i>Birmingham Mercury</i> tourney, 1854-6	480
<i>Cassell's</i> tourney -1, 1856-60	480
<i>Cassell's</i> tourney -2, 1859-64	481
<i>Cassell's</i> tourney -3, 1860-?	481
<i>Cassell's</i> tourney -4, 1863-?	482
<i>Boy's Journal</i> tourneys, 1863-5	482
<i>Cassell's</i> tourney -5, 1865-?	483
<i>London Journal</i> tournament(s), 1859	483
<i>Parlor Journal</i> tournament, c. 1861	483
<i>Household Chess Magazine</i> tourney, 1865	484
<i>Young Men of Great Britain</i> tourneys, c. 1868	484
<i>Gentleman's Journal</i> tourney(s), c. 1870-71	484
<i>Chess Players' Quarterly Chronicle</i> thematic tourneys, c. 1870-3	485
<i>Irish Sportsman & Farmer</i> tournament, 1871	485
<i>Chess Players' Chronicle</i> tourneys, 1873-6	486
<i>The Amateur Chess Magazine</i> tournaments, 1872-4	486
<i>Edinburgh Magazine</i> tournaments, 1872 -3	487
<i>Recreationist</i> tournaments, 1873	487
British Chess Association tourney, 1873-5	487
<i>Bow Bells</i> tournaments, c. 1874-80	488
Rev Archdall's first tournament, 1875-6	488
William Nash's first tournament, 1876	488
<i>Amateur World</i> tournaments, 1876-7	489

Hull tournament, 1878-80	489
Albion Club tournament, 1879	489
<i>Royal Exchange</i> and <i>Preston Guardian</i> tournaments, 1879-81	490
<i>Burnley Express</i> tourney, 1881-3	490
<i>Preston Guardian</i> second tourney, 1881-3	490
<i>Croydon Guardian</i> tournaments, 1882-5	492
First Scottish Chess Association tournament, 1885-7	492
Sussex county tourney, 1889-90	492
<i>Bow Bells</i> tournament, 1890	493
<i>Cricket and Football Field</i> tournament, 1908-10	493
VI b) Crosstables of large round-robin tournaments	494
VI c) Round-Robin Tourneys to 1914	505
Archdall's tournament, 1876-7	505
Nash's tournament series, 1877-88	505
<i>C.P.C.</i> handicap tournaments, 1878-9 and 1880-2	508
<i>Leeds Mercury</i> tournaments, 1879-84	509
Albion Club second tournament, 1880-3	510
<i>C.P.C.</i> tournament, 1882	510
<i>British Chess Magazine</i> tournament, 1882-3	510
<i>Brighton Guardian</i> tournament, 1882-5	511
<i>English Mechanic</i> series, 1882-94	511
Scottish Chess Association tournament-2, 1888-9	513
Fraser's U.K. International, 1888-9 and later events	513
<i>Norwich Mercury</i> tournaments, 1888-9	514
<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i> tournaments, 1889-98	514
<i>Dudley Herald</i> tournament, 1893-5	517
<i>Brighton Society</i> tournament, 1896-7	517
<i>Hobbies</i> tournaments, 1898-1910	517
Scottish Chess Association tournaments, 1898-9	520
<i>Hampstead Record</i> tournament, 1900-1	520
Kitchin Memorial tournaments in Yorkshire	521
<i>Womanhood</i> tournaments, 1901-7	521
<i>Kingstown Society</i> and later Rowland tournaments, 1902-14	524
<i>British Chess Magazine</i> tournament, 1908-12	526
British Correspondence Chess Association competitions, 1906-14	527
VI d) French tourneys with British participants, 1884-1904	528
<i>La Stratégie</i> tourney-2, 1884-9	528
<i>Le Monde Illustré</i> tourney-2, 1889-93	529

Later <i>La Stratégie</i> tournaments	529
<i>Le Monde Illustré</i> Rice Gambit tournament	531
VI e) Irish Correspondence Chess Championships, 1908-16	532
Appendix VII) Excerpts from rules and other documents	534
Introduction	534
Extracts from the Rules of the Manchester Chess Club, 1817	535
Announcement and rules of the <i>Home Circle</i> tourney, 1853	536
Mott's rules for his first <i>Cassell's</i> tournament, 1856	538
Staunton's rules for correspondence chess, 1860	539
Prospectus of the Caïssa Correspondence Club, 1871	540
Rules of the London-Vienna correspondence match, 1872	541
Archdall and Nash's announcements & rules, 1876 and 1877	542
Rules of the Postcard Match, U.K. v. U.S.A, 1877	543
Rules of Fraser's U.K. International Tourney, 1887	544
James Pierce's rules for his fifth <i>English Mechanic</i> tourney, 1889	545
British Chess Company correspondence competition rules, 1901	546
Major Murray's advice to postal players, 1904	546
Extracts from the British Chess Company prospectus of 1905	547
Rules of the British Correspondence Chess Association, 1907	548
British Chess Federation rules for correspondence play, 1911	550
Appendix VIII) Selected Games	551
Appendix IX) A-Z of Chess People	602
Appendix X) Scanned Images	708

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Abbreviations

IN ACCORDANCE with the recommendation of *Irish Historical Studies' Rules for Contributors*, abbreviated names which are normally pronounced as words (i.e. acronyms) are not punctuated by full points in this thesis; the others are.

B.C.A.	British Chess Association
B.C.C.A.	British Correspondence Chess Association
B.C.F.	British Chess Federation
<i>B.C.M.</i>	<i>British Chess Magazine</i>
<i>B.L.L.</i>	<i>Bell's Life in London</i>
<i>C.P.C.</i>	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i> [or variant title in the series]
<i>D.N.B.</i>	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> (original series)
ECCO	Eighteenth Century Collection Online
EEBO	Early English Books Online
FIDE	Fédération Internationale des Echecs (world governing body)
GAA	Gaelic Athletic Association
I.C.A.	Irish Chess Association
I.C.C.F.	International Correspondence Chess Federation
<i>I.L.N.</i>	<i>Illustrated London News</i>
N.L.I.	National Library of Ireland
<i>O.D.N.B.</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>O.E.D.</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
S.C.A.	Scottish Chess Association
S.C.C.U.	Southern Counties Chess Union
U.K.	United Kingdom [of Great Britain and Ireland]
W.M.C.I.U.	Working Men's Club and Institute Union

Glossary of Chess Terms

THE following is a brief explanation of some terms current during the period under study and occurring in the text. Where necessary, they are then explained in more detail.

Chessist: A person interested in chess (see p. 28 n107).

Chess column: Regular series of articles about chess appearing, usually weekly, in a newspaper or other periodical (see Chapter Three).

Chess notation: Method(s) of recording all the moves of a game, or the solution to a problem or study (q.v.) and used to conduct correspondence chess games. See the separate 'note on notation'.

Endgame study: A composed position with few men on the board, White having the task either to force a win or to force a draw when this seems improbable. There should be a unique solution.

Handicap: Odds (q.v.) or a tournament played at odds.

Match: (1) A formal contest consisting of a series of games between two players (or two clubs), sometimes for money or other stake, usually to be decided by the first to win a specified number of games.

Match: (2) A contest between two teams to be decided by the aggregate points scored by the players in their individual games.

Odds: Practice of the stronger player conceding a less skilled opponent an advantage at the commencement of the game, usually by starting without a pawn or a piece (rare since the Second World War).

Perpetual check: Situation where the opponent cannot escape an endless series of checks. Players usually agree a draw when the player giving check announces his intention to continue, or either player can claim a draw once a position has been repeated several times. Draws by repetition can also occur without there being checks; the exact wording of this rule was a point of contention during the nineteenth century.

Pieces: All chessmen other than the pawns.

Problem: Composed chess position, other than an endgame study (q.v.), in which White has the task of forcing checkmate in a specified maximum number of moves.

Problemist: Composer of problems; expert in the 'art' of the chess problem.

Stalemate: Situation where the player whose turn it is to move cannot do so but his king is not in check. The game is considered drawn — but in some countries in the eighteenth century, and some old books still circulating later, the stalemated player won the game.

Study: See 'Endgame study'. However, the word initially did not have this sense: Walker's *Chess Studies* being actually a collection of games.¹

Sitting: A series of games between two players on one occasion, not constituting a formal match. Each individual game might be played for a small stake.

Tournament: Originally a meeting consisting of several distinct contests, *tourneys* (q.v.), but increasingly this word became applied to a single contest.

Tourney: (1) A formal competition for prizes played between individual players, nowadays always called a *tournament*. May be on a knock-out or all-play-all system. *Tourney* was the correct word for a single contest in chivalric contests between knights.

Tourney: (2) A competition for the composing or solving of chess problems or studies.

¹ A. J. Roycroft traced this use of the word back to Ponziani (1769): 'A note on the word "study"', in *B..CM.*, lxxxix (Aug. 1969), pp. 241-3.

Note on Chess Notation

WHILE some knowledge of the game of chess would be an advantage to the reader, this thesis was composed with the intention that anybody can understand it, keeping the use of technicalities to a minimum. Numerous websites and elementary books explain the basics of chess. For technical terms other than notation, see the Glossary.

The record of a chess game is known as a ‘game score’, by analogy with a musical score, which enables the reproduction of the original. Some other board games, notably the draughts family, are also capable of being recorded in notation, and in principle any game capable of being so recorded can be played by correspondence if it does not require a random factor such as dice or a deal. There are many methods of chess notations. Two fundamentally different systems were employed in the nineteenth century and for much of the twentieth, with minor local and temporal variations. Both systems are capable of recording all moves of a game without ambiguity but clerical errors (in manuscripts) or printing errors can result in a move description capable of more than one interpretation or a move which is impossible under the rules of the game. The one normally used in the English-speaking world during the period under study has fallen into disuse.

The system universally used today throughout the world in chess literature and competitions is the so-called ‘algebraic notation’. To describe a move, the initial letter of the piece (but with nothing for a pawn move) is followed by a unique alphanumeric descriptor for the square to which the piece is moved, e.g. ‘Rf4’. Sometimes a long form, naming the departure square also (e.g. ‘Rf1-f4’) is used to avoid ambiguity. This method, a form of which was used in one English chess book of the eighteenth century,¹ was in common use in German-speaking Europe early in the nineteenth century and was then usually referred to in England as the ‘German notation’. Variants of this, based on giving each square a number

¹ Philip Stamma, *The noble game of chess, or, A new and easy method to learn to play well in a short time...* (London 1745, to be found in ECCO; partly a translation of a French work by Stamma of 1737). Similar notation was used in the chess column of the *Kaleidoscope* in the 1820s (see Chapter Three).

or letter-code but not designating the piece moved, were suggested and some were used for telegraph matches in the nineteenth century. One of these numeric systems was adopted for international correspondence chess after World War Two, to circumvent language barriers (see page 123).

‘Descriptive notation’ was by far the most commonly used form of chess notation in English-speaking and Spanish-speaking countries in the nineteenth century and much of the twentieth century, and also was common in France. It evolved as shorthand for the long-winded verbal formulæ customary in previous centuries. Thus the move description (itself already quite abbreviated) ‘B^p of y^e Kg takes y^e p: of y^e contr: Kgs B^p & checks’² became ‘BxKBP+’ by the mid-twentieth century, via various simplifications in stages through the nineteenth century; it is ‘Bxf7+’ in algebraic notation and ‘3167’ in the I.C.C.F. notation. Because the words king and knight begin with the same letter, ‘Kt’ was commonly used as an abbreviation for knight but in the twentieth century this was gradually replaced by ‘N’, except in the chess problem community where ‘S’ (the abbreviation for the German name of the piece, Springer) is used instead.

In this dissertation, any descriptions of moves are transposed into the algebraic notation unless there is a particular reason to leave some quotations in the original form, in which case the modern equivalent is given in a footnote. The thesis proper does not include the game scores (i.e. lists of moves) in any game, but Appendix VIII, ‘Selected games, with critical moments in important matches’, includes for the sake of those interested some complete games (notably the second and fifth games of the London-Edinburgh match discussed in Chapter Two), and several examples of incidents from play that are referred to in the text or are otherwise of particular interest.

² This is an actual example from an MS of the early seventeenth century in the British Library. The reference is ‘Eg. 3385 B LEEDS PAPERS. Vol LXXIIB (ff. 178) Miscellaneous correspondence and papers of the Osborne and Godolphin families’. This MS, the work of G. Greco (1600-1634), is discussed by T. S. Pattie, ‘An Italian Chess-Player in England’, in *British Museum Quarterly*, xxxiii (1968-9), pp. 105-8.

Note on References and Reference Works

THE 'short title' citation system is used throughout this thesis. The first time a work is cited, full details are given, matching the bibliography — unless the title or subtitle is very long, in which case it is usually truncated in the footnote to the most meaningful early phrases. Thereafter, in the same or later chapters, only a short title is employed.

Two works of reference, universally acknowledged in the chess community as standard, are extensively cited in this thesis. Gaige's *Personalia* provides basic life facts of chess players (chiefly dates and places of birth and death),¹ and Whyld's *Columns* is the only work devoted to providing bibliographic and editorial information about chess columns appearing in newspapers and periodicals worldwide.² Both are organised on an alphabetical basis. References to these will be to the short title throughout and in any case where persons or columns are referred to without an explicit citation, the data has been taken from those books. In cases where the data in those works is incomplete or contested, or where the research for this thesis has found corrections, citations are given. The *Columns* bibliography is discussed in Chapter Three, and the list of corrections can be found in Appendix II. The British Library integrated catalogue and the *Waterloo Directory of Periodicals* series (both in print and online) were also frequently referenced for bibliographic information.

The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* was also consulted extensively, in both printed and electronic formats. While page citations to the printed edition are supplied, please note that the dictionary is updated twice annually, so that it is possible that the currently available online article differs in some respect from the version cited.

¹ Jeremy Gaige, *Chess Personalia: A bio-bibliography* (Jefferson NC & London 1987).

² Ken Whyld (ed.), *Chess Columns: A list* (Olomouc 2002).

List of Scanned Images

THE following is an index to the scanned photographs and line drawings that appear as illustrations in Appendix X. It does not include the small pictures of players from Appendix IX, who are arranged alphabetically.

These images may also be found in the Images folder on the accompanying CD-ROM, together with many more that were not of print quality.

All images are out of copyright unless otherwise stated in the captions.

Letter of 19 Oct. 1824 from London Chess Club to Edinburgh	708
Letter of 17 Oct. 1826 from London Chess Club to Edinburgh	709
Early (1840s) photograph of chess-players by Fox-Talbot	710
H.B.'s version of Satan playing chess with a man for his soul	711
George Walker sending his first move in the 1845 telegraph trial game	711
Chess players of both sexes at the Reading club soirée (1851)	712
Howard Staunton and Lord Lyttelton with other chess experts (1855)	712
William Lewis, George Walker, and Augustus Mongredien	713
Group photograph of Redcar chess meeting, 1866	713
Circular promoting Staunton's magazines <i>Chess World</i> (1867)	714
Circular announcing <i>Chess Player's Quarterly Chronicle</i> (1867)	715
Henrietta Thornhill playing chess with a friend (1868)	716
'Patriarchal' faces at the first Oxford-Cambridge match (1873)	716
Frideswide and Thomas Rowland in the 1890s	717
G. F. Barry with the Leinster C.C. cricket team, 1884	717
Page from the manuscript magazine <i>St Patrick's Chess Club Pamphlet</i>	718
Mary Rudge, Skipworth, Blake, Gunston etc. at garden party (1890)	719
George Salmon and the TCD chess club, 1892	720

List of Scanned Images

Kruger losing to General Roberts at chess (advertisement, 1900)	720
William Henry Stanley Monck	721
Chess players at the Plymouth congress in 1903	722
Murray family picture showing Sir James and his son Harold	722
An early entry in the B.C.C.A. minute book (1906)	723

1 Introduction and Historiography

JOSEPH Strutt wrote in 1801 that in order to understand the nature of a people one must examine their pastimes,¹ and in the closing decades of the last century, social historians and sociologists began to look in some detail at sport and leisure in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. Keith Sandiford, reviewing the state of the field in 1981, recognised that an important area had been neglected because, apart from a wide range of physical sports, 'it is incredible how much time and patience they still spent on indoor games, like chess... Victorian indoor games of strategy and chance have not yet attracted much attention from social historians, but it is obviously a field which deserves to be ploughed'.² The field is still rough pasture but this thesis will at least make a start on the chess furrow.

Chess has been played worldwide, in various forms, for about 1,500 years and has the best claim to be considered in any study of mental games. This study does not deal exclusively with the Victorians or with England, but Victorian England will necessarily be central to the discussion which, for reasons made clear later, begins in the early 1820s and ends at the First World War, covering all the countries then constituting the United Kingdom. Although this is primarily an empirical research project about chess, based on primary printed and manuscript sources, the context indicated by Sandiford provides a starting point. Later sections of this introduction review the historiography of chess itself, its privileged cultural position, and explain the special emphasis on correspondence chess.

1 Problems with the 'standard model' in leisure history

THE debate about Victorian sport and leisure seemed at one time to be arriving at a 'standard model' along the following lines, although there was never complete consensus. Leisure was usually defined negatively, by contrast with work, and was

¹ Joseph Strutt, *Glig-Gamena Angel-Deod, or, The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (London 1801), i. He dealt with chess (rather unsatisfactorily) on pp. 231-4.

² Keith A. P. Sandiford, 'The Victorians at play: problems in historical methodology', in *Journal of Social History*, xv (1981), pp. 271-88, here p. 281.

regarded as having involved political and moral dangers. Social and economic changes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries led to aristocratic and middle-class anxiety about how the working-classes spent their free time. Ethical ideas associated with evangelical Christianity coincided with the industrial revolution, with its concomitant urbanisation, and fears that the French Revolution might find an echo among discontented masses in England — especially after Peterloo and during the late 1830s and ‘hungry forties’. A classic history of those decades says that at the time of the Chartists, the arts were withheld from the common people and employed to give lustre to new money: ‘leisure was the exclusive privilege of those for whom work was interesting, giving to those engaged in it a bracing sense of power’.³

One assumption of the ‘standard model’ was that the topic was an adjunct to labour history. Douglas Reid’s famous Saint Monday paper begins by saying: ‘It is axiomatic that the long-neglected historical study of leisure must proceed from a firm understanding of work’.⁴ Nineteenth century workers’ leisure was seen as a problem, lest they spend it in the pub discussing politics, to the detriment of industrial output, their families, and the stability of society. One remedy was concentrating workers in factories and increasing their hours, a process that anyway seemed to follow from the more regular time-keeping required to justify heavier capital investment in machinery. Attempts to discourage, even outlaw, the rougher and more intemperate aspects of traditional leisure were another tack. The enemies were identified as insobriety, brawling, fornication, and the abuse of animals. Thus, Strutt expressed his disapproval by referring to throwing (stones) at cocks, bull-baiting, prize-fighting, and bear-baiting, as ‘barbarous recreations... which even the sanction of royalty, joined with that of ancient custom, can not

³ J. L. Hammond & Barbara Hammond, *The Age of the Chartists 1832-54* (London 1930), p. 362.

⁴ Douglas A. Reid, ‘The Decline of Saint Monday 1766-1876’, in *Past and Present*, 71 (May 1976), pp. 76-101. It is no longer considered axiomatic, probably not even true. See also the discussion of time below, pp. 10-11. E. P. Thompson had mentioned Saint Monday as part of his discussion in ‘Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism’, in *Past and Present*, No. 38 (Dec. 1967), pp. 56-97, which is reprinted as Chapter VI in his book *Customs in Common* (London 1991). Reid, based on a study of Birmingham, elaborated on this, challenging the idea that industrial capitalism had succeeded in imposing a rigid six-day working week eliminating traditional holidays.

reconcile with decency or propriety', especially because they were usually enjoyed on Sunday afternoons.⁵

According to the 'standard model', there was a middle-class programme aimed at, depending on your point of view, improving the lot and the manners of the workers, or alternatively attempting to control them. Even historians with a Marxian viewpoint usually recognised that there was a genuine element of humanitarianism and social reform. The three principal weapons for improvement were temperance, education, and 'rational recreation'. These found their expression in various types of institution established for the benefit of workers — in particular the Mechanics' Institutes, from about 1824 up to the 1850s, and subsequently the Working Men's Club movement.⁶ J. F. C. Harrison acknowledged: 'Temperance, rational recreation and adult education were different methods of dealing with the same basic problem (middle-class concern for the behaviour of people outside working hours). Indeed they were often regarded as complementary'.⁷ Robert Storch said that 'all middle-class reform movements concerned with the altering of popular leisure and culture evoked two images of the working man: as he was and how he might become after "treatment"'.⁸ He said moral reformers aimed to create what he called 'conventicles of respectability' such as mutual improvement societies, temperance societies, or societies for rational recreation. Storch also quoted an example of somebody saying an uplifted working-man 'sees and feels as we do, and will influence others to follow his example'.⁹ Although he did not mention chess, on this view a chess club could have been a 'conventicle'.

Temperance societies aimed at altering working men's preference for wasting their disposable time and money on alcoholic drink, seen by many as the root of poverty and vice. Their campaigns took different forms between the 1840s and 1890s in both Britain and Ireland. The standard works are respectively Brian

⁵ Strutt, *Sports*, xxxvii-xxxviii.

⁶ These are discussed in more detail in the case study on Lord Lyttelton in Chap. Four, pp. 160-5.

⁷ J. F. C. Harrison, *Learning and Living 1790-1960* (London 1994 [1961]), p. 77.

⁸ Robert D. Storch, 'The Problem of Working-class Leisure. Some roots of middle-class moral reform in the industrial north: 1825-50', in A. P. Donajrodzki (ed), *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Totowa N.J. and London 1977), pp. 138-62; here p. 139.

⁹ Storch, 'Problem', p. 149.

Harrison's *Drink and the Victorians* and Elizabeth Malcolm's parallel Irish study,¹⁰ but other works deal in detail with specific campaigns. Chess was sometimes associated with temperance. Teetotallers needed a social alternative to the pub, and an Irish example is the City Chess Club founded in November 1887 at the Coffee Palace hotel and social centre run by the Dublin Total Abstinence Society in Townsend Street.¹¹ Its magazine had a chess column and the City Club was active well into the 1890s.¹²

Education was a central theme of improvement, from the 'three Rs' at one end of the scale to university reform at the other, with workers' technical training firmly on the agenda. As literacy increased and publications became much cheaper, it was of increasing concern that people (women and children especially) should read the 'right' things, leading for example to the Religious Tract Society's 1879 launch of the *Boy's Own Paper* to counter-act the so-called 'penny dreadfuls', although the publisher Brett was associated with both.¹³

¹⁰ Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: The Temperance Question in England 1815-1872* (London 1971); Elizabeth Malcolm, *Ireland Sober, Ireland Free: Drink and Temperance in 19th-Century Ireland* (Dublin 1986). This writer is grateful to Fr Micheál Mac Gréil and Fr Bernard J. McGuckian S.J. of the Pioneer Total Abstinence organisation in Dublin for some discussion on this point. Afterwards Fr McGuckian wrote in a private email (Jan. 2006) that he contacted Brother Eamonn Davis who 'knew of the link between temperance and chess. He had seen chess books belonging to a Temperance Sodality in the past... He also said that when the boys began drinking that was the end of serious chess.'

¹¹ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 24 Nov. 1887. Chess, but not this example, is mentioned in Malcolm, *Ireland Sober*, p. 179. There was also a Coffee Palace in Dun Laoghaire where the Kingstown Chess Club met two evenings a week in 1899 (*Kingstown Society*, Dec. 1899, p. 11). Coffee palaces (usually converted gin palaces) and coffee taverns were different from traditional coffee houses and modern cafés. They were an idea of the 1870s, designed to be run on proper business lines to avoid the failures of temperance predecessors: E. Hepple Hall, *Coffee Taverns, Cocoa Houses, and Coffee Palaces: Their Rise, Progress, and Prospects; with a directory* (London 1879). They sometimes also sold meals, provided accommodation, reading rooms, and games rooms. See also Malcolm Elliott, 'The Leicester Coffee-house and Cocoa-house Movement', in *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 47 (1971-2), pp. 51-61.

¹² Originally the *Coffee Palace Temperance Journal*, re-launched as *Common Sense*; very few copies of either seem to survive. (See Appendix II b, p. 416.) The D.T.A.S. was a protestant organization whose driving force at this time was Dr Ephraim MacDowel Cosgrave, a prominent freemason and later President of the Royal College of Physicians in Ireland.

¹³ For family papers and the literature for juveniles and adolescents, see Chap. Three, especially p. 116. Literature for boys and Brett's career is discussed in several articles, notably Louis James, 'Tom Brown's Imperialist Sons', in *Victorian Studies*, xvii (no. 1, Sept. 1973), pp. 89-99, and John Springhall, ' "A Life Story for the People"? Edwin J. Brett and the London "Low-Life" Penny Dreadfuls of the 1860s', in *Victorian Studies*, xxxiii (Winter 1990), pp. 223-46.

The third plank in the improvement programme, ‘rational recreation’, is the most relevant here. The term’s origin remains obscure,¹⁴ but its greatest currency seems to have been mid-century. It defies clear definition — except negatively, as a replacement for the barbaric recreations. Even Peter Bailey, whose classic work on leisure includes the term in its subtitle,¹⁵ worked around a definition. ‘Rational’ implies exercising the mind, which often meant lectures, music (but not the foolish sort), gardening, visiting museums and art galleries (where they were available), or playing intellectual games such as draughts and chess (but not any game associated with gambling). It could also include the provision of parks and public libraries by local authorities, which were enabled by legislation in 1840 and 1850 respectively. ‘Recreation’ was seen positively, as opposed to ‘leisure’ which implied freedom to do wrong. In 1855, chess master Howard Staunton, in the *Illustrated London News*, quoted approvingly the seventeenth century Bishop Joseph Hall, comparing recreation to the mind ‘as whetting to the scythe, to sharpen the edge of it, which otherwise would grow dull and blunt.’¹⁶

The ‘standard model’, in its original form before it was modified by later research, suggested that traditional forms of recreation largely died out by 1850, for the reasons outlined above — together with the fact that they were often tied to the agricultural calendar, which for many people was no longer relevant. Robert Malcolmson’s *Popular Recreations in English Society* expressed the argument

¹⁴ The British Library holds *The Annual Miscellany; or rational recreations for 1812* but apart from mathematical puzzles there is little in it that a Victorian would have called a ‘rational recreation’. On the other hand, William Marsh, *The right choice, or the difference between worldly diversions and rational recreations* (London 1857), considered religion was the most important rational recreation, although it is not normally included in such lists. He did not mention sport or chess.

¹⁵ Peter Bailey, *Leisure and class in Victorian England: Rational recreation and the contest for control 1830-1885* (London and Toronto/Buffalo 1987 [1978]).

¹⁶ *I.L.N.*, xxvii (25 Aug. 1855), p. 238; ‘The Whetting of a Scythe’, in Joseph Hall (Bishop of Exeter, and later of Norwich), *Occasional meditations by Ios. Exon* (2nd ed., London 1631). An early Victorian edition was *Select pieces, from the practical and devotional writings of the eminently pious and learned Bishop Hall* (London 1838), p. 375. Staunton quoted from an edition with archaic spelling. The full passage in the 1838 edition is: ‘Recreation is that to the mind, which whetting is to the scythe; it sharpens the edge, which otherwise would grow dull and blunt. He therefore that spends his whole time in recreation, is ever whetting, never mowing: his grass may grow and his steed starve. On the contrary, he that always toils and never recreates, is ever mowing, never whetting; labouring much to little purpose, and as good have no scythe as no edge. Then only doth the work go forward, when the scythe is so seasonably and moderately whetted that it may cut; and so cuts, that it may have the help of sharpening. I would so interchange my employment as neither to be dull with work, nor idle and wanton with recreation.’

most clearly,¹⁷ speaking of a 'leisure vacuum', only filled in the second half of the nineteenth century by new, largely commercial forms of sport and leisure activity that emerged when working hours reduced and people began to have money to spend on commercialised leisure. Along with this picture, which is now generally agreed to have been over-simplified, the role of the middle-classes in attempting to impose their value structure on people poorer than themselves was often stressed. Since policing, as it is now understood, was still in its infancy in the 1840s,¹⁸ the State had limited effectiveness in such matters. Prosecution societies like the R.S.P.C.A. and the Lord's Day Observance Society were formed to bring transgressions to magistrates' attention.¹⁹ The interest taken by Malcolmson and his contemporaries in the leisure and recreations of the common people was connected with the movement towards 'history from below', which itself arose from the fact that post-war Britain offered increased opportunities for academe to be a career open to all the talents.²⁰ These writers often mentioned 'social control', seen by them as the underlying (not always explicit) aim of various voluntary associations from the 1820s through to mid-Victorian times. It is more neutral to write in terms of 'improvement'.

This thesis is rather 'history from the middle' since most chess-players in Victorian society were to be found in the middle strata. Bailey has given considerable attention to middle-class leisure, and aristocratic leisure has been studied too,²¹ but the emphasis in late twentieth century historiography was on

¹⁷ R. W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society 1700-1850* (Cambridge 1973). This was based on his doctoral thesis, supervised by E. P. Thompson, author of the influential *The Making of the English Working Class* (London 1963) and of the paper on time, cited above. Early discussions of popular recreations tended to be largely descriptive, in the Strutt tradition, although Christina Hole's *English Sports and Pastimes* (London 1949) has good illustrations.

¹⁸ See for example T. A. Critchley, *A history of police in England and Wales* (London 1978 [1967]).

¹⁹ Brian Harrison, 'Religion and recreation in nineteenth century England', in *Past and Present*, 38 (1967), pp. 98-125, discusses these two societies and also the temperance movement discussed at greater length in his book, cited above.

²⁰ This is made explicit in Catriona Parratt's article 'Robert W. Malcolmson's *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850*: An Appreciation', in *Journal of Sport History*, xxix (no. 2, Summer 2002), pp. 313-323. She writes of the 'leftist ideological underpinnings of histories such as this [Malcolmson's], that infuriate those of a conservative or centrist bent'.

²¹ Surveyed by David Cannadine, 'Review: The Theory and Practice of the English Leisure Classes', in *The Historical Journal*, xxi (no. 2, June 1978), pp. 445-467. Marcia Vale, *The Gentleman's Recreations: Accomplishments and pastimes of the English gentleman 1580-1630* (Cambridge 1977), dealt with early modern aristocratic leisure.

working-class recreation and sport. Some recent studies challenge the once commonly held view that the aristocracy and working-classes shared some 'rough' sporting tastes, such as horse racing, from which the middle-class remained aloof.²² 'Roughness' and 'respectability' were not mutually exclusive, but rather modes of behaviour between which individuals might alternate or which reflected stages in their life-cycle. Phrases like 'social control' are more persuasive when applied to adolescents rather than mature people.²³

Hugh Cunningham's *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution*, which appeared shortly after Bailey's influential book, provided the most significant amendment to the 'standard model'. Cunningham denied the 'leisure vacuum',²⁴ demonstrating continuity in both temporal directions. Commercial recreations already began in the eighteenth century, as Plumb also argued from different evidence,²⁵ while many traditional recreations continued longer than Malcolmson thought. Throwing at cocks may have stopped, but cock-fighting remained popular in some circles long after it was made illegal, as did bareknuckle prize-fighting.²⁶ Later work, such as Adrian Harvey's comparative study of sport in Oxfordshire and Manchester during both the Napoleonic wars and the early Victorian period, has nuanced what could be called the 'revised standard model', though Harvey

²² Comparing Wray Vamplew, *The Turf: A Social and Economic History of Horse Racing* (London 1976) with Mike Huggins, *Flat Racing and British Society 1790-1914* (London 2000), Huggins found more middle-class race-goers and downplayed the influence of the Jockey Club.

²³ See Peter Bailey, *Popular culture and performance in the Victorian city* (Cambridge 1998), Chap. Two. On misbehaviour at Oxbridge, the races, and elsewhere, see Mike Huggins & J. A. Mangan (eds.), *Disreputable Pleasures: Less virtuous Victorians at play* (Abingdon 2004), but there seems an element of special pleading about some of this. Race meetings were usually on weekdays when the middle classes worked, although businesses may have closed for the annual local meeting. The respectability thesis, as expounded in (for example) F. M. L. Thompson, *The rise of respectable society: a social history of Victorian Britain 1830-1900* (London 1988), must absorb some counter-examples but is not overthrown yet.

²⁴ Hugh Cunningham, *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution* (London 1980).

²⁵ J. H. Plumb, *The commercialisation of leisure in eighteenth-century England* (Reading 1973): the 1972 Stenton lecture at the University of Reading; reprinted in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer & J. H. Plumb, *The birth of a consumer society* (London 1982). Plumb found evidence from print culture of affluent middle-classes looking for new things on which to spend their money — including sports events, advertised in the papers. As sport became increasingly public, it also encouraged entrepreneurs to become involved. This view is hard to reconcile with Malcolmson's assumption that popular recreations were dependent on customary usage and local patronage, with just some involvement of local publicans.

²⁶ Dennis Brailsford, *Bareknuckles: a Social History of Prize Fighting* (Cambridge 1988); Pierce Egan, *Boxiana... a selection, edited and introduced by John Ford* (London 1976, based on five volumes published in 1812, 1818, 1821, 1828 & 1829).

concentrated on empirical research and preferred not to involve himself much in theoretical debates.²⁷

The 'social control' concept, once used confidently if loosely by historians,²⁸ came under attack from several directions about thirty years ago. Gareth Stedman Jones warned against using the term metaphorically without an understanding of its origins in sociology, where it had implications of 'a prior functioning, a period of breakdown, and a renewed state of functioning'. He particularly warned left-wing historians that this model was incompatible with Marxian explanations.²⁹ Soon after his paper appeared, Donajgrodzki's essay collection (including the Storch article already cited) was published. Its central concept was 'social control', provoking a strong attack from a reviewer. Martin Wiener argued that moral reform movements 'formed part of a radical change in social relations — the emancipation of masses of persons from traditional restraints and exclusions, and their admission into full membership of society'.³⁰ He rejected attempts to equate such movements with social conservatism. 'Social control' also came under milder attack from F. M. L. Thompson, who concluded that at least some useful social history resulted from the 'pursuit of an alluring but poorly-defined concept'.³¹

The final element of the 'standard model' was its recognition that the reform programme generally failed, despite some local successes. Marxisant historians were faced with the problem of explaining why the English revolution failed to occur.³² That is a question other writers do not have to address. Their answer was usually framed in terms of 'hegemony', a concept derived from Italian political

²⁷ Adrian Harvey, *The Beginnings of a Commercial Sporting Culture in Britain, 1793-1850* (Aldershot 2004).

²⁸ For example in R. N. Price, 'The working men's club movement and Victorian social reform ideology', in *Victorian Studies*, xv (Dec. 1971), pp. 117-47. The research findings of this article (discussed further in Chap. Four, p. 161-5) are good but Price's analysis is reductionist.

²⁹ Gareth Stedman Jones, 'Class Expression versus Social Control? A critique of recent trends in the social history of "leisure"', in *History Workshop*, 4:1977, pp. 162-70; here, p. 164.

³⁰ Martin Wiener, 'Review of *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain* by A. P. Donajgrodzki', in *Journal of Social History*, xii (Winter 1978), pp. 314-321.

³¹ F. M. L. Thompson, 'Social Control in Victorian Britain', in *The Economic History Review*, N.S. 34 (no. 2, May 1981), pp. 189-208. Bailey noted that historians are using 'social control' less since they have been persuaded it is an often-misapplied sociological concept: 'The Politics and Poetics of Modern British Leisure: a late twentieth century review', in *Rethinking History*, 3 (no. 2, 1999), pp. 131-175; here pp. 141-2. Yet the term has not died out in historical discourse.

³² The question that Elie Halévy tried to answer in terms of Methodism.

theorist Antonio Gramsci, which expresses a similar idea to ‘social control’, but without carrying the baggage of an unfashionable sociological theory. ‘Hegemony’ attempts to explain how a dominant group in society achieves its aims by creating a consensus in (rather than through coercion of) a subordinate group. Talk of hegemony in the present context implies a claim that the working-classes were steered towards value systems and patterns of behaviour alien to them but desired by their employers and social superiors. Some have found this idea persuasive but it is open to Wiener’s objection and its explanatory power seems doubtful.³³ Golby and Purdue, impatient with the political emphasis of much discussion of leisure, considered that hegemony in the final analysis is merely ‘a brilliant attempt to span the chasm between the evidence and an unsatisfactory theory’.³⁴

The more recent writings of two leaders in the field show that they became sceptical about some of the analysis in their first books. Bailey’s introduction to the 1987 edition of *Leisure and class* admitted he had earlier used the ‘social control’ term loosely and would now prefer ‘hegemony’.³⁵ Cunningham’s conclusion to *Leisure in the Industrial Revolution* emphasised Gramsci. He wrote that ‘in the nineteenth century, in the complicated and ongoing process whereby hegemony was established and maintained, leisure was important’ and said that modern leisure was the outcome of various challenges that hegemony had to meet.³⁶ Later, in his chapter on leisure for the *Cambridge Social History*, Cunningham modified that position, without abandoning the language of class.³⁷ Debate about leisure in social and cultural history up to that time had been, he said, mainly about ‘the extent to which leisure may have contributed to the stability and reproduction of society’. He continued that:

³³ Wiener, ‘Review of Donajgrodzki’, dismissed ‘hegemony’ as ‘a dangerously fashionable term’.

³⁴ J. M. Golby and A. W. Purdue, *The Civilisation of the Crowd: popular culture in England 1750-1900* (London 1984), p. 13.

³⁵ Bailey, *Leisure*, p. 9.

³⁶ Cunningham, *Revolution*, p. 198.

³⁷ David Cannadine, *Class In Britain* (New Haven 1998; London 2000), has exposed some of the difficulties for historians in using the discourse of class, showing how in Britain there were usually three models operating at the same time: hierarchical, dualistic (‘them and us’) and triadic (upper, middle, and working class).

...few would now adhere to a crude social control interpretation of the history of leisure; rather, leisure is perceived as a field of contention and negotiation in which the outcome was neither the submission of subordinate groups to new standards nor an untrammelled celebration of its class identity.³⁸

This was only one way, and not necessarily the best way, of considering the history of leisure and recreation. New questions arise when examining a different type of leisure activity, such as chess, from the viewpoint of print culture (see Chapter Three), and of women (Chapter Seven). Most of what was written up to the 1990s on leisure and sport was about what men did. Also if one looks at bodies like chess clubs and mechanics' institutes from the associational culture point of view pioneered by Peter Clark,³⁹ for their own sake as an aspect of changing society rather than adopting an ideological viewpoint, the perspective again changes markedly. Many working men were interested in self-improvement and needed no middle-class prompting, as shown in Jonathan Rose's study of working-class reading and auto-didacticism.⁴⁰ At this point, therefore, it will be helpful to shift the discussion to a new point of view.

It can no longer be said that historians have neglected the study of leisure, and increasingly they (and sociologists) reject Sebastian De Grazia's definition of leisure (implicit in Reid's 'axiom' above) in terms of time not spent at paid work.⁴¹ Attempts to analyse concepts like 'free time' have become increasingly sophisticated. Eric Dunning and Norbert Elias, recognising that not all time off work is available for leisure activities (because of sleep, family duties, housework, bodily functions etc.), wrote of the 'spare-time spectrum'.⁴² A very recent study takes this further, arguing that 'leisure time' cannot be equated with 'time off work'

³⁸ Hugh Cunningham, 'Leisure and culture', in F. M. L. Thompson (ed.), *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950* (Cambridge 1990), ii, p. 335.

³⁹ Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford 2000).

⁴⁰ Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven and London 2001). The title of this book is very misleading, though, because intellectual life has more aspects than reading and chess was sometimes one of them, as will be shown in Chap. Four. There is much literature on Victorian reading habits and publications, discussed in Chap. Three. A pioneering work was Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader* (Chicago 1957).

⁴¹ 'In some cases it seems that leisure is another word for spare or free time': Sebastian De Grazia, *Of Time, Work and Leisure* (Garden City, N.Y. 1964), p. 13.

⁴² Norbert Elias & Eric Dunning, *Quest for Excitement: Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process* (Oxford 1986), Chap. 2 (pp. 91-125).

because some people choose to spend more time on work than they need to; therefore the term 'discretionary time' is preferred.⁴³ Rosemary Deem has stressed that 'the notion of time set aside only for leisure is very difficult to achieve for those outside full-time paid employment', notably housewives.⁴⁴ One sociology textbook agrees, and identifies the 'leisure as residual time' conception as only one of four ways to look at the topic,⁴⁵ the others being 'leisure as activities' (relevant to this chess study as it takes note of what people actually do), 'leisure as functional' (an approach of social policy-makers, neglecting the individual), and 'leisure as freedom' (the Aristotelian ideal).⁴⁶

Unburdened by the weight of debates about the 'standard model', Peter Borsay's *History of Leisure* takes a very broad view in surveying the topic roughly from 1500 to 2000, although chiefly with a post-1700 emphasis, employing a range of perspectives: economic factors and the State, class and regional identities, before coming to a discussion of time. In his attempt at a definition of leisure, he rightly says that one can try to do this negatively (in terms of discretionary time not spent in work or other obligatory activities) or positively, which is harder to do. He marshals the objections to the negative definitions: 'giving work such a dominant role in characterising leisure raises several problems'.⁴⁷ Seeking a positive characterisation of leisure, Borsay suggests three 'intrinsic' elements, which he calls symbol, play, and the 'other'.⁴⁸ By *symbol* he means a notion of representation, such as a racehorse representing its owner and those who bet on it. By *play* 'is meant something synthetic, unreal, and experimental: a self-contained activity without obvious consequence or significance, a mere game'. As for his notion of the 'other', he suggests a fantasy world such as in tourism (like other

⁴³ Robert Goodin, James Mahmud Rice, Antti Parpo, & Lina Eriksson, *Discretionary Time: A New Measure of Freedom* (Cambridge 2008), Chap. 1, especially pp. 3-7.

⁴⁴ Rosemary Deem, 'Feminism and leisure studies', in C. Critcher, P. Branham, & A. Tomlinson (eds.), *Sociology of leisure: a reader* (London 1995), pp. 256-68, here p. 257.

⁴⁵ Les Haywood, Francis Kew, Peter Branham, John Spink, John Capenerhurst, & Ian Henry, *Understanding Leisure* (2nd ed., Cheltenham 1995 [1989]), pp. 1-9.

⁴⁶ De Grazia, *Time*, especially pp. 20-1 and 283, compared modern ideas that only through work can people pursue happiness with Aristotle's concept, which was the reverse: that happiness depended on contemplation, so only the Greek free from work could pursue happiness.

⁴⁷ Peter Borsay, *A History of Leisure: the British experience since 1500* (London 2006), Introduction, especially p. 2.

⁴⁸ For the points in this paragraph, see Borsay, *Leisure*, pp. 6 & 216-228.

historians, he is interested in the history of the seaside holiday),⁴⁹ where ‘place’ is of vital significance, ‘but can embrace any experience which is “other” than that conceived of as normal’. Coming back to these points at the end of the book, he instances the carnivalesque atmosphere typical of horse-racing at various times and places. Borsay writes plausibly that while ‘leisure matters’ and cannot be separated from the forces driving the ‘real’ world, yet ‘it remains central to the paradox that gives leisure its meaning and function that while being *of* the real world it should be *outside* it.’ Appearing irrelevant, leisure allows emotions to be aroused and played with, with an intensity of symbolism apparent to anyone who has witnessed the behaviour of rival groups of fans at a major team sports event, for example. While there are many interesting discussions and examples in his book, and his discussion of the widely recognised symbolic element in leisure is excellent, Borsay’s concept of the ‘other’ needs more elucidation. The third element in his approach, his discussion of play, could also be developed. A minor query is whether, when Borsay discusses the anthropologist Clifford Geertz’s much-cited paper on the Balinese cockfight, he understands that the term ‘deep play’ refers to gambling, specifically to wagering far more than one can afford to lose.⁵⁰

The literature so far can be characterised as the historiography of leisure. A second strand is harder to define; ‘interdisciplinary’ is perhaps the best term. Here can be included diverse writings on play and leisure, including (in roughly temporal order) Thorstein Veblen,⁵¹ Johan Huizinga,⁵² Geertz, Elias and Dunning,⁵³ and Pierre Bourdieu,⁵⁴ which have a bearing on leisure history. Such

⁴⁹ About which he gave an interesting, as yet unpublished, lecture during the 2007 Urban Living conference at the University of Northampton.

⁵⁰ Clifford Geertz, ‘Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight’ in *Daedalus* (Winter 1972), pp. 1 - 38, reprinted in *The Interpretation of Cultures: selected essays by Clifford Geertz* (New York 1973). He examined a particular case of gambling in one ‘primitive’ society, where he lived for an anthropological field study, writing about it in a way that is intended to throw light on gambling in western societies today and in the past.

⁵¹ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York 1899); Doug Brown (ed.), *Thorstein Veblen in the Twenty-First Century: A Commemoration Of ‘The Theory of the Leisure Class’* (Cheltenham 1998).

⁵² Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: a study of the play-element in culture* (London 1949); originally *Homo Ludens: Proeve eener bepaling van het spel-element der cultuur* (Haarlem 1938).

⁵³ Norbert Elias and his pupil Eric Dunning wrote, separately and jointly, much on sport and leisure but a good starting point is the essay collection *Quest*, cited above in n42.

approaches, not rigidly adhered to, can yet offer ideas that are ‘useful to think with’, and reference will sometimes be made to these writers. One feature in common is that they look at leisure, to some extent at least, from the point of view of consumption. Leisure and sport also raise questions of gender, which are dealt with in Chapter Seven.

One problem that remains in the discussion of play is how to integrate the insights of Huizinga’s *Homo Ludens*? That work was strikingly original when first published nearly seventy years ago and was for a time influential. Scholten’s recent doctoral thesis about Dutch chess clubs brings Huizinga into the discussion, even if to reject his point of view eventually.⁵⁵ Historians of sport and leisure in the ‘Anglo-Saxon tradition’ almost uniformly disregard this work by the Dutch historian. Perhaps there are four reasons for this neglect. One is that Huizinga appeared here to be departing from the field of history;⁵⁶ indeed librarians tend to classify the book as sociology, although it defies clear disciplinary categorisation with its elements of anthropology, philosophy, and even zoology. Secondly there may be a perception that in the intervening decades the book has been somehow refuted or become irrelevant. Thirdly, and most seriously, there is the impression

⁵⁴ Bourdieu moved through anthropology and philosophy to sociology, where he introduced much-used concepts such as ‘cultural field’ and ‘cultural capital’. The earlier translations into English tend to be obscure. More accessible are Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste* (London 1984), translated by Richard Nice from *La Distinction, Critique sociale du jugement* (Paris 1979), whose subject is the later twentieth century; and *The Field of Cultural Production: essays on art and literature; edited and introduced by Randal Johnson* (Cambridge 1993). A good starting point is Richard Harker, Cheleen Mahar, & Chris Wilkes (eds.), *An Introduction to the work of Pierre Bourdieu* (Basingstoke 1990).

⁵⁵ H. J. G. M. Scholten, ‘*Het Loopt Ongenadiglijk Mat*’: *Het Schaakleven in Nederland in de negentiende eeuw; De sociaal-culturele achtergrond van het ontstaan van schaakverenigingen* [‘Chess life in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century: the social-cultural background of the origin of chess clubs’], (doctoral dissertation for the Katholieke Universiteit Brabant; Bilthoven 1999); see pp. 57-60 and 474. This thesis is introduced below, p. 41, and discussed in Chap. Four, pp. 142-8 & 182 (for comparisons with U.K. chess clubs).

⁵⁶ Huizinga is perhaps best known for *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London 1924); originally *Herfsttij der middeleeuwen* (Haarlem 1919). Also available in English is a collection of his writings, mostly from the 1930s, *Men and ideas: history, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, essays* (translated from Dutch by James S. Holmes and Hans van der Marle; New York and London 1970). This includes his article on ‘The task of cultural history’ (first published in Dutch in 1929). It is probably fair to say that ‘cultural history’, and indeed culture, is now regarded as a much broader field than in his day. Later Huizinga was accused of elitism, equating ‘culture’ with what is often termed ‘high culture’. In *Homo Ludens* his view of the subject is broader than that. For a view from a supporter, see R. L. Colie, ‘Johan Huizinga and the Task of Cultural History’, in *The American Historical Review*, lxxix (no. 3, April 1964), pp. 607-30.

one obtains from much academic work on sport and leisure, which is really about politics or economics, that the writers overlooked the essential point that games (whether chess, or cricket, or croquet) are about play. Concentrating on spectators rather than participants makes it easier to overlook.

Fourthly, the only available translation into English is widely recognised to be deficient. The old saying that ‘translators are traducers’ deserves to be applied to the anonymous person responsible for the only English edition of *Homo Ludens*. With the author safely dead, the publisher felt free to render his subtitle in a way that subtly distorted the essence of Huizinga’s thought. Ever since the appearance of the first translation of the book in English, there has been a tendency to misunderstand its central perspective because the author’s sub-title, literally meaning ‘the play element **of** culture’, was rendered as ‘the play-element **in** culture’. The change of preposition reduced what the author saw as an essential constituent of human society and interactions to just one detail among others and, by implication, not a very important one. In his Foreword, dated 1938, Huizinga wrote about this very issue, saying that he insisted on the word ‘of’ in the title of lectures he gave in the 1930s:

Each time my hosts wanted to correct it to ‘in’ Culture, and each time I protested and clung to the genitive, because it was not my object to define the place of play among all the other manifestations of culture, but rather to ascertain how far culture itself bears the character of play.⁵⁷

Huizinga’s first critic was a French writer, Caillois, who attempted a more complex classification of games.⁵⁸ In particular, he was concerned to include forms of play that were not competitive, and also games of chance, which Huizinga disregarded — as this study of the ultimate game of skill must also do. Subsequently, many writers have discussed Huizinga’s ideas, but outside the

⁵⁷ Huizinga, *Ludens*, Foreword, including translator’s footnote (un-numbered page). Yet, even given this clearest of instructions from the author, the anonymous translator went his own way, with an apologetic footnote: ‘Logically, of course, Huizinga is correct; but as English prepositions are not governed by logic I have retained the more euphonious ablative in this sub-title.’ At least the translator did not suppress this admission of guilt.

⁵⁸ Roger Caillois, *Man, Play and Games* (London 1962 [original French ed. 1958]).

historical mainstream.⁵⁹ Probably nobody would agree with Huizinga's thesis without qualifications, but art historian Gombrich commented in 1972: 'though I cannot accept the method adopted by Huizinga in *Homo Ludens* I am sure we have not yet absorbed enough of what the book can teach us'.⁶⁰ English sociologist Chris Rojek apparently believes his approach still has applicability.⁶¹

2 The Historiography of Sport

THE boundaries between the history of leisure and sport history are blurred. The latter is chiefly concerned with finding out what actually happened in a particular game, family of sports, or sport in general. The vast majority are popular histories, written by journalists, fans, players, or former players.⁶² There are also academic studies, which display deeper research and rigour, and try to answer more profound questions or explore areas left untouched in the popular works. Examples of the latter are surveys of sport in particular countries (such as two studies by Richard Holt⁶³), and histories of particular sports such as boxing, football and cricket,⁶⁴ the latter being sometimes used for comparisons in this

⁵⁹ Jacques Ehrmann (translated by Cathy & Phil Lewis), 'Homo Ludens Revisited', in *Yale French Studies*, 41, *Game, Play, Literature* (1968), pp. 31-57; Robert Anchor, 'History and Play: Johan Huizinga and his Critics', in *History and Theory*, xvii (No. 1, 1978), pp. 63-93.

⁶⁰ E. H. Gombrich, 'Huizinga's *Homo Ludens*', in W. R. H. Koops, E. H. Kossmann, and Gees van der Plaats (eds.), *Johan Huizinga 1872-1972: Papers delivered to the Johan Huizinga Conference, Groningen, 11-15 December 1972* (The Hague 1973), pp. 133-154. Except for Gombrich, and Kossmann's postscript, this book is not in English.

⁶¹ Chris Rojek, *Leisure and Culture* (Basingstoke & London, 2000), contrast two models of humanity: *Homo faber* (man the maker) and *Homo ludens* (man the player), and writes (pp. 125-6): 'I want to take the implications of the *Homo ludens* model seriously'. Rojek sees, for example, Huizinga's insights as applicable to understanding of socially deviant behaviour.

⁶² A classic example is Clive Everton, *The History of Snooker and Billiards* (Haywards Heath 1986). He apologised for all the statistics, there having been no previous work on the subject, and evidently did prodigious research into the leading players, their matches and techniques. He was the acknowledged expert on the technicalities and personalities of the games but his book lacks any social context. The social history of billiards and other table games (e.g. bagatelle) in eighteenth and nineteenth century Britain awaits an author.

⁶³ Richard Holt, *Sport and society in modern France* (London 1981); *Sport and the British: a modern history* (Oxford 1989). In the latter, p. 346, he made the comparison that British 'people have created their own kind of pleasure through sport and there has been no powerful institutional "push" of the kind that came, for example, from the French Church after 1905 or the German Social Democratic Party of the Wilhelmine era'.

⁶⁴ Derek Birley, *A social history of English cricket* (London 1999). There is no academic study devoted to Irish cricket but Chapter Four of Tom Hunt, *Sport and Society in Victorian Ireland:*

study. There have also been thematic studies such as Vamplew's on the economics of early professional sport,⁶⁵ and Lowerson's monograph on middle-class sport.⁶⁶ The time periods covered in all these works vary, but the authors generally have concentrated on the most critical developmental periods, rarely going much later than the First World War. It is uncommon for chess to be mentioned.

Several sociologists have also studied sport, but their analyses tend to be at a higher level of abstraction and can be vulnerable to new archival work by historians that challenges the evidential basis of their generalisations.⁶⁷ Holt is typical of most sports history writers in being wary of theory. He argued that 'the use of sport as an ideological tool was for the most part informal... A campaign to promote sport for "social control" was not attempted.'⁶⁸ In his view, concepts like 'fair play' and a shared acceptance of rules (seen in politics, as in chess and cricket), with the monarchy and some other state institutions as neutral 'referee', made for social stability in Britain in a way that was not true in France.

Some writers have argued that the amateur athletic ethos developed in mid-Victorian England as a way of maintaining middle-class hegemonic power; it was used to exclude artisans not just from particular sports but the zones of sociability and influence associated with them.⁶⁹ Historians have disagreed on the meaning of 'amateur' or when it acquired its modern sense, but have usually agreed that in the context of Victorian Britain it had a social significance that went beyond the simple

the Case of Westmeath (Cork 2007) had some quite surprising findings about it. This book also covers hunting, horse racing, football of various kinds, and other sports in the county. The best popular history of Irish cricket is Gerard Siggins, *Green Days: Cricket in Ireland 1792-2005* (Dublin 2005). See also W. P. Hone, *Cricket in Ireland* (Tralee 1956).

⁶⁵ Wray Vamplew, *Pay up and play the game: Professional Sport in Britain 1875-1914* (Cambridge 1988).

⁶⁶ John Lowerson, *Sport and the English middle classes* (Manchester 1993).

⁶⁷ See, for example, Adrian Harvey: *Football, the first hundred years: the untold story* (London and New York 2005). His research into mid-Victorian football in Sheffield, and its influence on the development of the Football Association, appears to cast doubt on the conventional wisdom that public school football was the decisive influence in the codification of soccer.

⁶⁸ Holt, *British*, p. 270.

⁶⁹ The fullest expression of this position is in John Hargreaves, *Sport, Power and Culture: a social and historical analysis of popular sport in Britain* (Cambridge 1986). A thorough discussion is Norman Baker, 'Whose Hegemony? The origins of the amateur ethos in nineteenth century English society', in *Sport in History*, xxi (no. 1, Summer 2004), pp. 1-16, especially pp. 6-7. Baker was critical of those who tended to deny the diversity of the middle-classes by embracing all within the loaded concept 'bourgeois'.

question of whether somebody was paid for playing games. Holt wrote that ‘the term “professional” came into use in the 1850s and “amateur” in the 1880s,’⁷⁰ but this was too categorical. Harvey found that by the 1830s the concepts of ‘amateur’ and ‘professional’ had become mutually exclusive, although the attitude of various sports towards professionalism varied substantially.⁷¹ During the Napoleonic wars, he argued, the terms ‘professional’ and ‘amateur’ had been mutually compatible: ‘Far from precluding an individual from competing in sport for money, it was almost unknown for an “amateur” to do otherwise.’⁷² Eventually amateurism became connected with muscular Christianity, the public school system, and imperialism.⁷³ In chess, although some people thought the amateur-professional distinction important, no strict demarcation lines were ever drawn.⁷⁴

Some have doubted, or just not thought about, whether chess and other intellectual pastimes should be classed as sports. An example is the important early work in the history of sport, Allen Guttman’s *From Ritual to Record* (1978),⁷⁵ which was republished in 2004 with a self-critique. Guttman’s book consists of two long essays, the first of which explained ‘the contrast between *now* and *then*’. These first three chapters largely stood the test of the time, while the author now admits the second half has not been so successful. Some of the attributes that Guttman identified as being typical of sports do apply to chess. Yet he made the deliberate decision to insist that physical strength or skill was a defining element of ‘sport’ although many writers have taken the opposite view and the American periodical *Sports Illustrated*, which he often quotes, does include chess and bridge. Chess perhaps has a better claim to be considered a sport than some which fill the sports pages of newspapers: especially horse-racing, which

⁷⁰ Holt, *British*, p. 103.

⁷¹ Harvey, *Beginnings*, p. 204.

⁷² Harvey, *Beginnings*, p. 190.

⁷³ Bruce E. Haley, ‘Sports and the Victorian world’, in *Western Humanities Review*, xxii (no. 2, Spring 1968), pp. 115-24; J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian public school: the emergence and consolidation of an educational ideology* (London 2000 [1981]).

⁷⁴ *The Field* twice called in editorials for legislation on chess amateurism: lxiv (12 July 1884), pp. 40-1, and civ (17 Sept. 1904), p. 540. The timing of both was related to the formation of national chess associations (the second B.C.A. and then the B.C.F.) but neither acted on it.

⁷⁵ Allen Guttman, *From Ritual to Record: the Nature of Modern Sports* (New York 2004 [1978]).

involves no direct contest between humans and primarily exists as a tool of the gambling industry.⁷⁶

Guttman 'devised a paradigm designed to clarify the formal-structural characteristics of modern sports',⁷⁷ which subdivided human play according to the following dichotomies: spontaneous play versus organized play (games); then games divided into non-competitive games and competitive games (contests), and finally contests divided between intellectual ones (such as chess) and physical ones which he called sports. This is unacceptable, because some sportspeople need a good deal of intellectual skill (cricketers and golfers), others only some (boxers and jockeys) and a few perhaps require none at all (sprinters). Physical fitness is also a prerequisite of success in gruelling chess events (though not in correspondence chess), which can resemble a series of lengthy final examinations at school or university. Chess competition also includes problem composing tourneys which do not fit into Guttman's dichotomies.

Asking what kind of relationship exists between sport and society, Guttman saw seven characteristics distinguishing modern sports from their predecessors: secularism (games becoming separated from their original religious context); equality (of opportunity to compete and in the conditions of competition); specialisation of roles (leading to professionalism); rationalisation (rules of competition); bureaucratic organisation; quantification, and finally the quest for records.⁷⁸ He applied this schema in various contexts. Where chess is concerned, if the game had a religious origin it was only in the far distant Asian past, while equality of access has primarily been a problem for females (see Chapter Seven). Professionals constitute a small minority of players. Rationalisation was not an issue since, except for a few minor details (like the Italian 'free castling' and disagreements about the fifty-move draw rule), the laws were standardised by the

⁷⁶ Wray Vamplew, 'Horse-racing', in Tony Mason (ed.), *Sport in Britain: A Social History* (Cambridge 1989), pp. 215-44, here p. 215: 'Horse-racing has no real recreational version for participants... [Its] *raison d'être* has always been gambling'. In the U.K., the Charities Act 2006, which extended the scope of charitable purposes to include the advancement of amateur sport, included chess in its definition so that many British chess clubs now qualify as charities along with other amateur sports clubs.

⁷⁷ Guttman, *Ritual*, p. 165.

⁷⁸ Guttman, *Ritual*, p. 15 & p. 80 et seq.

1820s. Bureaucratic organisation was attempted a few times but unsuccessfully until the twentieth century (see Chapter Four). Quantification and the quest for records do not arise in the same way as in physical sports but arguably the recording and analysis of chess game scores, which gathered pace through the nineteenth century and now takes the form of game databases, is a clear parallel.

Guttman wrote that ‘modern sports are by definition structured to produce a won-lost outcome. Ties are possible, but the entire tendency of modern sports is to eliminate them by extra innings in baseball, by “sudden-death” overtimes, by re-matches, by *some* device that will end the ambiguity.’⁷⁹ Subsequent developments in many sports seem to have strengthened this view, for example the introduction of penalty shoot-outs in soccer and limited-overs cricket rules that make ties rare (though not impossible), although it should be noted that professional golf has a sliding scale of rewards where the only outright losers are those who fail ‘to make the cut’. He seems to be wrong when he equates tie-avoidance with a desire to win at all costs; a distinction must also be made between the practical organisation and marketing of games, and players’ motivation. In Victorian chess, a loathing for ties was more evident than at a later time; the rules of many early round-robin tournaments specified that draws were replayed until a decisive result was achieved. So it could be argued that draw-avoidance in chess was a traditional not a modern characteristic. Late Victorian and Edwardian events rarely forced replays and it was only when the proportion of draws became very high (between the world wars) that ‘draw death’ was feared. The apparent inconsistency is resolved when the acceptance of draws (scored as half a point to each player) is seen in the context of the practicalities of organising an international event within a limited time, and the recognition that it is unfair for some competitors to be involved in replays while others have a free day.

When Guttman wrote that ‘it is the desire to win at all costs which eats away at the simple pleasures of play, which leads ultimately to illicit violence and the use of drugs,’⁸⁰ one hears an echo of Huizinga’s ‘merry play-mood’.⁸¹ Apparently he

⁷⁹ Guttman, *Ritual*, p. 75.

⁸⁰ Guttman, *Ritual*, p. 75.

⁸¹ Huizinga, *Ludens*, p. 198.

shared some of the Victorians' attitude to professionalism, though for different reasons, writing: 'commercial competition does not, of course, belong to the immemorial sacred play-forms'.⁸² Huizinga also referred to 'the fatal shift towards over-seriousness [which] has also infected the non-athletic games where calculation is everything, such as chess and some card-games'.⁸³ Nevertheless, at least in amateur sport, the desire to win while the contest is in progress is compatible with enjoyment of play. In 1913 *British Chess Magazine* reviewed the early decades of inter-club and inter-county chess in Yorkshire, saying that:

One of the arguments against the institution of a contest of this kind was that it would engender a keenness of play that would tend to destroy sportsmanship, lead to sharp practices, and embitter the relationship between clubs. This is the exact opposite of what has actually occurred.⁸⁴

Consideration of indoor competitions should not be restricted to board and card games; Guttmann conceded to his feminist critics, that his androcentric approach led him not to consider, for example, quilting contests and sewing bees as sporting contests. Another indoor competitive activity ignored by historians is the 'spelling bee', not unknown in Victorian England.⁸⁵ The point need not be argued further here. Clearly chess and other indoor competitive activities belong in histories of leisure, even if one does not count them as sports. Guttmann's work has been discussed at length because of his attempt to formulate a grand theory, based on comparative material from several cultures, including classical antiquity, Germany, and the modern U.S.A. He was atypical because sports history is primarily empirical and usually restricted to one sport or country in a limited period, and the present study of chess can be seen as being in that category.

Historians of physical sports usually discuss related social institutions such as clubs and leagues. Since chess was one of the earliest competitive activities for

⁸² Huizinga, *Ludens*, p. 200. Caillois, *Play*, p. 45, had a similar view: 'The principle of play has been corrupted. It is now necessary to take precautions against cheats and professional players.'

⁸³ Huizinga, *Ludens*, p. 198, and just below he has some particularly harsh things to say about money in bridge.

⁸⁴ 'The Edwin Woodhouse Cup: a review', in *B.C.M.*, xxxiii (July 1913), pp. 277-84; here p. 282. Re: the Woodhouse Cup, see also Chap. Seven, p. 302, n174.

⁸⁵ A report in the *Gravesend and Dartford Reporter*, 8 Apr. 1876, said these were popular entertainments. The 25 Mar. issue also reported on one at some length, and those were just items that happened to be noticed while searching for some chess news.

which clubs were organised (although not as early as cricket) the information provided in this thesis could be useful for comparative studies. What is most apparent in this 'sports history' strand is that since the major outdoor sports in Britain have been fairly well covered, researchers are now going deeper into certain critical areas (such as exactly how and when did the different football codes divide), or are examining previously neglected sports, and women's sport. Sport in other cultures and later twentieth century sport are also receiving more attention.

Studies of Irish sport have been relatively few,⁸⁶ but have tended to become more critical of late, rather than recycling the Gaelic Athletic Association's ideology about its role in cultural nationalism. The GAA's forgotten brief flirtation with chess is mentioned in Chapter Eight,⁸⁷ and more significantly Tom's Hunt detailed examination of Westmeath sport has challenged one typical myth. He argues that the GAA, as it initially developed in Westmeath, 'was in essence a sporting movement devoid of a political agenda', and that local disagreements over rules and organisation were the reasons why T. P. O'Connor's club in Athlone changed to soccer: until 1893 it played Gaelic Football.⁸⁸ The emergence of a strong soccer culture in Athlone followed a few years later.⁸⁹

Similarly there are popular myths in chess history that do not stand up to serious examination. Many chess players believe, for example, that in the nineteenth century gentlemen accepted sacrifices as a matter of honour; four years of research have not turned up one statement to that effect in primary sources. Players captured 'poisoned pawns' because of book recommendations, or because they believed that 'the only way to refute a gambit is to accept it', or they miscalculated, but they did not risk defeat for the sake of outmoded chivalry. Victorian experts recognised that the strategic Ruy Lopez opening was the hardest to defend against, and gambits such as the Evans were in fact sometimes declined.

It is true that many amateurs enjoyed risky attacking play, probably because of what Elias called the 'quest for excitement'. He described industrialised societies

⁸⁶ Paul Rouse, 'Why Irish Historians Have Ignored Sport: A Note', in *The History Review*, xiv (2003), pp. 67-73.

⁸⁷ See pp. 320-2.

⁸⁸ Hunt, *Westmeath*, Chap. Five, especially p. 149 & for T. P. O'Connor's club see pp. 165-7.

⁸⁹ Hunt, *Westmeath*, Chap. Six.

as ‘unexciting’ by comparison with their predecessors, by which he meant ‘the type and degree of restraint which is imposed in our type of society upon the spontaneous, elementary, and unreflected type of excitement, in joy as in sorrow, in love as in hatred’.⁹⁰ Participating in (or even watching) sporting, theatrical, and other leisure activities can allow people the intense extremes of emotion denied in normal social behaviour — even sometimes chess, though this may be hard for a non-player to believe. Aristotle’s notion of catharsis is one of the historical examples Elias used. His approach has been adopted in some monographs and articles on particular sports, notably one on rugby league.⁹¹ Scholten found a fit with some ideas from Elias in his analysis.⁹²

This survey has not attempted to mention all the important monographs and papers on the histories of leisure and sport, but only those that seemed most relevant, while others are mentioned in footnotes here or during the text. Bailey, in particular, has provided two useful summative reviews of the leisure field, at ten year intervals, and in the more recent one he says that ‘while reinforcing the general thesis of transformation, primary research has demonstrated a complexity of change that greatly modifies earlier over-schematic accounts’.⁹³ Borsay’s book may be seen as a strong early move in response to Bailey’s call for a ‘more imaginative, more broadly cast, theoretical approach’ to leisure ‘that would attend as much to the poetics of leisure as its politics, becoming alert to effect as well as purpose, to psychic and symbolic codes as well as external forms, to pleasure and performance as well as contest and control’.⁹⁴

The realms of ‘Leisure Studies’ and ‘Cultural Studies’ require brief mention. Although this thesis does not attempt to engage with these directly, perhaps practitioners will find something in it of interest to them. Both are

⁹⁰ Elias & Dunning, *Quest*, Chap. 1, especially p. 71.

⁹¹ Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard, *Barbarians, gentlemen and players: a sociological study of the development of rugby football* (2nd ed, London 2004 [1979]).

⁹² Scholten, *Schaakleven*, pp. 60-1 (in Dutch), pp. 474-5 (English), where he discusses Elias.

⁹³ Peter Bailey, ‘Leisure, culture, and the historian: reviewing the first generation of leisure historiography in Britain’, in *Leisure Studies*, viii (1989), pp. 107-127; substantially rewritten and updated as ‘The Politics and Poetics of Modern British Leisure: a late twentieth century review’, in *Rethinking History*, 3 (no. 2, 1999), pp. 131-175; here, p. 159.

⁹⁴ Bailey, *ibid.*, p. 160.

interdisciplinary fields that have emerged from sociology with some reference to history and various theoretical trends. The former developed in Britain partly through the concern of leisure providers and policy-makers, especially in the Thatcherite period when it seemed that full employment was a thing of the past and that working hours were decreasing for those who had work. Veblen's 'leisure class' (if it ever existed) had power (born of money), which it chose to proclaim in various public practices: conspicuous consumption, conspicuous recreation, conspicuous waste. This naturally raised 'Victorian' concerns about what members of a class who had leisure, but without the resources of the Veblenites, might do with all that time on their hands. In examining the meaning of leisure practices, Borsay's work is closer to this field than to some of the traditional concerns of 'leisure history'. 'Cultural Studies', on the other hand, at least in Britain, emerged from the Marxian tradition whose key texts were written by Richard Hoggart, Raymond Williams, and E. P. Thompson. As a 1988 conference recognised, cultural studies presents a challenge to leisure studies.⁹⁵ Carolyn Steedman questioned its relevance to history in her contribution to a very large volume.⁹⁶

Finally, before introducing chess in detail, it is worth noting that Sandiford's paper had illuminating things to say about interdisciplinary relations between the study of play, games, and sport, and between leisure and recreation. The interconnectedness of these topics is often lost sight of by those concentrating on a particular niche. He also noted how 'several churchmen of all persuasions... played games in the Victorian age, and encouraged others to do likewise.'⁹⁷ It will become clear in this study that chess was very popular among the clergy, especially Anglicans, several of whom played prominent roles as editors, players, writers, and as organisers of correspondence events. Postal play was undoubtedly attractive to educated men in rural rectories, many of whom lacked regular intellectual stimulation in their localities.

⁹⁵ Alan Tomlinson, 'Whose side are they on? Leisure studies and cultural studies in Britain', in *Leisure Studies*, viii 8 (1989), pp. 97-106.

⁹⁶ Carolyn Steedman, 'Culture, Cultural Studies, and the Historians', in Lawrence Grossberg, Cary Nelson, & Paula A. Treichler (eds.), *Cultural Studies* (New York & London 1992), pp. 613-622.

⁹⁷ Sandiford, 'Victorians'; the reference to the clergy is on p. 277. That article is of its time and accepts the 'leisure vacuum' idea and a necessary connection between leisure and work.

3 Introduction to the history of chess

CHESS is a test of pure intellectual skill, with a long tradition and high social status as a game for adults. Chess fitted in with requirements of social behaviour — politeness and civility, rationality and sobriety — that came to be prized by the wealthier classes in the eighteenth century and were disseminated more generally in Victorian Britain. Chess also had both private and public aspects, since it was played both domestically (by women too) and in clubs of various kinds, while correspondence play and the composing and solving of chess problems both took place in a ‘semi-public’ zone mediated by the rapidly-growing chess press, which is the subject of Chapter Three. The literature devoted to chess, now vast, was already large by 1914; the percentage of the population playing, though hard to estimate, was probably higher in the U.K. at that date than at any later time until the late twentieth century.⁹⁸

Although often known as the ‘game of kings’ or ‘the royal game’, chess is actually very democratic; wealth and high rank gave no guarantee of success.⁹⁹ Yet historians have neglected chess until now for a number of reasons, some of which have already been noted. Apart from the narrow focus on athletic games, especially by those interested in sport primarily from the ‘physical education’ point of view, a second reason for the neglect is that there was little money involved. Historians have tended to concentrate on those sports that became commercialised as spectator entertainments.¹⁰⁰ This thesis deals with a mental sport which remained primarily a participatory activity among the middle-classes: the financial element, while not entirely absent, was almost always secondary. On the positive side,

⁹⁸ To cite a counter-example, R. C. Griffith, reviewing a book in *B.C.M.*, liv (1934), p. 290, was of the opinion that ‘The number of chess clubs at the present time is far in excess of the last century and there are undoubtedly many more players. Chess is played much more at clubs and chess resorts than in the home.’ Population growth could account for quantitative increases, but post-war clubs were not researched. The impression gained during this project is that there was much more Victorian chess (in the home as well as clubs) than is generally realised, and Griffith (born 1872) might only have been aware of the situation from the 1890s.

⁹⁹ As in H. M. Bateman’s cartoon ‘Deeds that ought to win the V.C.: the sub-lieutenant takes the admiral’s queen’: *Punch*, cliv (13 Mar. 1918), p. 73.

¹⁰⁰ The meaning of the word ‘sport’ has changed with time, so that the word would now only be used for some once popular activities, such as cock-fighting, if qualified by the word ‘cruel’.

researching chess has revealed aspects of print culture, of associational culture, and new evidence of women's leisure preferences.

Particular attention is paid here to correspondence chess, the initial starting point of the project, which remains the core area of research. Although, until now, its history is even less explored than that of chess as a whole, it has features arguably making it worthier of attention than 'over-the-board' chess. When played by post, chess was more than a 'mere' game, finished in a few idle minutes, becoming an activity that tended to permeate the leisure time of its practitioners over a period of weeks and months, sometimes years. Likewise, chess was a subject for reading and for analysis that filled many a leisure hour and offered intellectual stimulation when no opponent was available. Both correspondence chess and problem composing might appear, *prima facie*, to be bizarre activities, secondary to the 'main' business of chess (i.e. playing games against opponents seated opposite), but in fact they had their own rationales and generated much competitive and literary activity peculiar to themselves.

On 1 September 1706, a Monsieur Caze, in Amsterdam, sent a manuscript of chess games played in Paris to the third Earl of Sunderland,¹⁰¹ in The Hague. His accompanying letter proposed a rule change, which he hoped to see tested in a correspondence match of two games between the chess-players of London and Paris.¹⁰² His modification was not adopted, but a Paris-London contest eventually began in 1834. That was ten years after the start of the postal match which is the subject of Chapter Two. Perhaps the first competitive chess event to receive contemporary publicity,¹⁰³ *Edinburgh v. London* was also the earliest chess match between clubs, and possibly the earliest international sporting contest of any kind between teams, as opposed to individuals. It was the genesis of a global sport:

¹⁰¹ Charles (Spencer), born 'about 1674' according to G. E. Cokayne (ed.), *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom* (13 vols. London 1910-59), xii, pp. 487-8. Known as Lord Spencer until he succeeded in 1702, he died in 1722.

¹⁰² Discussed later in the introduction. The Caze MS, long at Blenheim Palace, is now in the John G. White Collection in Cleveland, Ohio, where it is catalogued as 'Instruction pour ce livre d'echets : contenant les diverses manieres de jouer le gambit [Caze]', and is available there on microfilm. There is a partial transcript at Oxf. Bodl. MS H. J. Murray 40 (7).

¹⁰³ Not counting Philidor's public displays of blindfold chess or exhibitions of 'The Turk' (an 'automaton' concealing a chess expert of small stature); neither were competitions between equals. (For Philidor, see pp. 49-50 and also p. 276.)

today the International Correspondence Chess Federation (I.C.C.F.), with sixty-seven member countries in all continents, runs individual and team world championships and a variety of other events.¹⁰⁴

Correspondence chess is a contest between distant opponents using some method of communication to transmit moves. Until the late twentieth century, that chiefly meant postal chess. Such games are played over a long duration, which puts a premium on reflection and study, whereas good memory, rapid calculation, strong nerves, and force of personality have a major impact on outcomes in an 'over-the-board' chess contests. The comparison was well expressed in 1833, in Sir Richard Penn's maxim: 'There is as much difference between playing a game well, by correspondence, and playing one well over the board, as there is between writing a good essay, and making a good speech.'¹⁰⁵

This thesis centres on the United Kingdom and the period 1824-1914 so far as the primary research is concerned, but for context and clarification it will say something about events outside those temporal and geographical limits. The dates define the main developmental period of chess organisation during which British and Irish players played a leading role, especially for correspondence chess. The First World War represented a caesura in sports and leisure that makes 1914 the logical stopping point. A global history of twentieth century chess, especially correspondence chess, would need to rely heavily on German- and Russian-language sources, but for much of the nineteenth century Britain (including resident foreigners) led the chess world. The first German correspondence chess tourney was only in the 1890s, forty years after these began in England.

The principal objective of this thesis is to compose a picture of amateur chess as a social activity and competitive sport, largely through the lens of correspondence play and its associated activities. This necessarily involves an examination of chess clubs and of chess literature, focusing mainly on the period of

¹⁰⁴ According to www.iccf.com (30 Dec. 2007). The I.C.C.F. is an autonomous affiliate of the World Chess Federation (FIDE), which runs 'over-the-board' chess and most aspects of the game. FIDE had 161 member countries on the same day, according to www.fide.com/home/history.asp.

¹⁰⁵ R.P. [Richard Penn], *Maxims and Hints for an Angler, and Miseries of Fishing. To which are added, Maxims and Hints for a Chess Player* (London 1833); Maxim XXX. Sir Richard Penn FRS (1784-1863) was a descendant of the founder of Pennsylvania.

greatest growth from the 1840s to 1890s. Varying perspectives are employed, including 'close-ups' on particular events and persons, in the form of mini-case studies that punctuate the main chapters. Although the main focus is not on the small elite of experts and professionals, or on the major events of international competition, two leading masters (Staunton and William Steinitz) are often mentioned in connection with their significance for chess literature, and their correspondence play. Controversies involving them also cannot be ignored. Other professionals are mentioned if they played by correspondence or acted as chess editors and organisers. Over-the-board chess events are mentioned, where necessary, chiefly for background context, in order to concentrate as much as possible on new ground rather than what has been well trodden by others.

In the 1820s, many people doubtless played chess sometimes, but the numbers involved in organised competition was very small. Figures only become reliable near the end of the century. By 1893, the Austrian chess master Professor J. N. Berger calculated that the U.K. had 130 columns and magazines devoted to the game, thirty-one chess associations and 581 chess clubs, more than double the number reported for the United States, Russia, Germany, France and all other countries combined.¹⁰⁶ If anything the numbers were higher by 1914, in addition to the thousands more (impossible to count) who played socially or within their families, or who read the chess column in their paper and tried to solve its chess problems. It should be emphasised that competitive chess was for adults, although children doubtless played at home or in school, and some older ones did so by correspondence.

One purpose of employing the lens of correspondence chess is to maintain the focus on the participatory aspects of chess, and another is to document the forgotten postal competitions, because a sports history project (which in part this is) would be incomplete otherwise. However, that documentation will largely be found in the appendices. At the first Sports History Ireland conference in 2005, Professor R. V. Comerford (of Maynooth) made the point that: 'If we want to be taken seriously by other historians, we need to show that there is more to sports

¹⁰⁶ Quoted in *English Mechanic*, lvii (14 July 1893), p. 481.

history than cataloguing. Things like result lists,' he said, 'constitute raw material for study rather than the history itself.' This has been borne in mind throughout. The main questions this thesis addresses are not who beat who, when and how, but what were the reasons for this growth in interest, publicity, and competitive participation in chess between 1824-1914, particularly in the most formative period from the late 1840s? Who were the chessists who joined the clubs, played in postal competitions, and read chess literature?¹⁰⁷ What forms did this activity take? Why did involvement in correspondence chess become a familiar activity?

The specific discussion of chess continues in the next section with an outline of the status and 'visibility' the game has enjoyed, especially at the outset of the study period, the 1820s. The historiography of chess will be outlined next, in order to show how this thesis relates to previous historical writing on the game. That leads into the 'pre-history' of correspondence chess, showing that the sources for it before the *London-Edinburgh* match are primarily literary. The chapter concludes with a brief outline of the structure of the rest of the thesis.

4 The cultural status of chess

CHESS held a high status among non-physical games for many centuries. Sir Thomas Elyot recommended it in his influential treatise on the upbringing of an English gentleman, *The Governour* (1531), in the section 'Of other exercises whiche if they be moderately vsed be to every astate of man expedient'.¹⁰⁸ In this book, said to be covert advice aimed at the young Henry VIII,¹⁰⁹ Elyot wrote: "The chesse of all games wherin is no bodily exercise is mooste to be comended: for therin is right subtile engine: wherby the wytte is made more sharpe and remembra[n]ce

¹⁰⁷ The word 'chessist' was coined in Victorian times, recognising that some who were interested in chess (particularly some who were involved in the composition and solving of problems) were not primarily *chess players*. 'Chessist' has sadly fallen into disuse and the *O.E.D.* definition, by implying it meant an expert player, does not capture its precise meaning. R. J. Buckley claimed to have invented the term around 1885 but *O.E.D.* has an example from July 1881. It was used earlier in *Land and Water*, xxxi (1 Jan., p. 13, and 19 Feb. 1881, p. 142), without any hint of its being a neologism. 'Chessist' also appears, for example, in Horace Cheshire (ed.), *The Hastings Chess Tournament 1895* (London 1896), p. 362, and is perhaps due a revival.

¹⁰⁸ *The boke named the Governour, deuised by Thomas Elyot, Knight* (London 1531; facsimile reprint, Menston 1970).

¹⁰⁹ John M. Major, *Sir Thomas Elyot and Renaissance Humanism* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1964), v.

quicken'd.'¹¹⁰ In subsequent debates about recreation and games down to the nineteenth century, four distinct positions are seen. Writers following Elyot commend chess for its positive qualities, real or imagined; others (perhaps depending on their audience) stress that playing chess at least keeps people distracted from vice, drunkenness, and particularly gambling. A third group warn of negative features of chess (its potential addictiveness and tendency to lead to arguments) and finally some puritans saw no value in games at all. Victorians on the whole were positive about chess.

Chess grew in popularity during Elizabeth I's reign; she enjoyed a game with her courtiers. Treatises giving practical advice to players became available from the continent, the first in English being *The pleasaunt and wittie playe of the cheasts renewed* (1562). Publisher James Rowbothum dedicated it to Robert Dudley,¹¹¹ flattering the future Earl of Leicester that he could play as well as the French, Italians, and Spaniards, and recommended the game's use for military training:

Whiche game as it is kinglye and honest, and meete for divers sortes of men, so is it (in manye mennes judgement) not altogether unprofitable for Captains, Conductors of armies, and common Soldiours. For out of those wooden men may some knowledge bee had how to marche and sette furth Soldiours in the fielde, how to garde a King, and what forces ought to be in the sides of ye battaile.¹¹²

Leonard Wright, in 1589, expressed a similar opinion to Elyot and Rowbothum. He even hinted that just studying chess, without actually competing with an opponent, could in itself be interesting: 'for recreation of the mind Chesse play is much commended, as a delectable pastime, a pleasant study, and a princely exercise...'¹¹³ In the seventeenth century, the game met with the disapproval of

¹¹⁰ *Gouernour*, pp. 98-9. In modernised language this is rendered: 'Chess, of all games that involve no bodily exercise, is most to be commended: for therein is a very subtle engine, whereby the wit is made more sharp and the memory quickened.' Elyot thought it even better if players reflected on the moralization of the game by Cessolis (published by Caxton as *The Game and Play of the Chesse*) while playing it. This is explained by John M. Major, 'The Moralization of the Dance in Elyot's *Gouernour*', in *Studies in the Renaissance*, v (1958), pp. 27-36.

¹¹¹ *The pleasaunt and wvittie playe of the cheasts renewed, with Instructions both to learne it easely and to play it well* (London 1562), translated from a French edition of Damiano de Odenara's original Italian.

¹¹² Rowbothum, *Cheasts*, pages unnumbered, but near the end of the 'Epistle dedicatorie'.

¹¹³ Leonard Wright, *A display of Dutie. Deckt with sage sayings, pithie sentences, and proper similies* (London, 2nd ed. 1602 [1589]; in EEBO).

James I,¹¹⁴ criticism from Puritans,¹¹⁵ and Restoration England's fondness for gambling games. Charles Cotton (1630-87), in his much-reprinted *The Compleat Gamester*,¹¹⁶ found it too slow: he had known a game last a fortnight. His book testifies to the decline of chess in those times: 'the tediousness of the Game hath caus'd the practice thereof to be so little used...'¹¹⁷ A few gamesters did have a reputation for winning money at chess, notably Major-General Fielding, whose 'talent lay much in Chess and Backgammon, which two games have often lin'd his Pockets with large Sums of Gold, got from Persons of Quality who were mere Novices...'¹¹⁸ Finally, the very attractions of chess meant it could be taken to excess. The correspondence player, who always has some games in progress, will recognise the psychological truth in a 1648 diary entry by Rev Ralph Josselin: 'Wheras I have given my minde to unseasonable playing at chesse, now it run in my thoughts in my illnes as if I had been at chesse, I shall bee very sparing in the use of that recreation and that at more convenient seasons'.¹¹⁹

Nevertheless chess retained some adherents and in the eighteenth century the London visits and books of Philidor (François-André Danican, 1726-95), the French opera composer and chess master, promoted the game. Whist and its kin were more popular in Regency times but chess better suited the evangelical mood

¹¹⁴ 'And as for the chesse, I think it over fonde, because it is over-wise & Philosophick a folly'. James I, King of England, *BASILIKON ?OPON* [Basilikon Doron], *Or His Majesties Instrvctions to his dearest sonne, Henry the Prince* (London 1603), The Third Booke, p. 125. James did admit chess could be played in bad weather.

¹¹⁵ One killjoy wrote: 'That student that needeth *Chess* or *Cards* to please his *Mind*. I doubt hath a carnal empty mind.' — Richard Baxter, *A Christian directory, or, A sum of practical theologie and cases of conscience* (London 1673), p. 464 (image 264 of 629 in EEBO).

¹¹⁶ Charles Cotton, epistle to *The compleat gamester, or, Instructions how to play at billiards, trucks, bowls, and chess* (London 1674). The text is readily available in Cyril Hughes Hartmann (ed.), *Games and Gamesters of the Restoration* (London 1930), and in EEBO.

¹¹⁷ Cotton, *Gamester*, p.51. The identical preface and passage on chess reappear in *Games most use in use, in England, France and Spain*, Anthony Trollope's copy of which is in the British Library. The title page has MS inscriptions by at least two persons, speculating on the date of publication, apparently during the reign of Queen Anne; the ECCO editors speculate 1715.

¹¹⁸ Theophilus Lucas, *Memoirs of the lives, intrigues and comical adventures of the most famous gamesters...* (London 1714), p. 212; in ECCO and included in Hartmann, *Gamesters*.

¹¹⁹ Alan MacFarlane, (ed.), *The Diary of Ralph Josselin 1616-1683* (Records of Social and Economic History, new series 3: London & Oxford 1976), p. 114 (entry for 23 Feb. 1648). Josselin was vicar of Earls Colne, Essex, from 1641 -83. I am grateful to Eamon Darcy for providing this reference. Similar sentiments were expressed in the better-known *A letter from a minister to his friend concerning the game of chesse* (1680, in EEBO): 'O Chesse, I'll be aveng'd of thee for the loss of my Time... It hath had with me a fascinating property; I have been bewitch'd by it... It hath not done with me when I have done with it...'

of the early nineteenth century and gradually percolated through to more regions and strata of society than ever before. This thesis gives many examples of how this happened. Alternatives, especially if they involved cards or dice, were under suspicion in the nineteenth century.¹²⁰ After 1918, cards had their revenge, contract bridge becoming the world's most popular indoor game.

One proof of the 'visibility' of chess is that similes and metaphors based on it appeared in the press, especially in military and political contexts. At a reform meeting in Birmingham in 1832, G. F. Muntz compared the Government to 'the man who never was satisfied when he was beaten at chess; he always made some objection to the way it was done.'¹²¹ An article on slaveholders in the *New York Emancipator* on 7 February 1839 said that: 'rendered desperate by the loss of the Empire State, they have now made their last move on the political chess-board.' A report describing the Battle of Solferino said: 'as the pieces on this terrible chess-board move to and fro, it becomes more and more apparent that the two Emperors are equally matched at the game.'¹²²

References specifically to correspondence chess show it was not an unfamiliar idea requiring explanation. A newspaper article about the need for reform of the Court of Chancery in 1850 remarked that 'it has been well observed, that a game of chess played by correspondence is tedious; but nothing to this game at equity, played in writing, where the lawyers are paid by the folio.'¹²³ An 1852 report from Berlin said that it was 'as if the Prussian Cabinet was only having a match at chess by correspondence with Munich and Vienna'.¹²⁴ In 1856 another paper compared diplomacy to correspondence chess, 'with long intervals between the moves, and an abundant display both of politeness and of caution between the antagonists on either side'.¹²⁵ At a political meeting in 1881, Sir Stafford Northcote

¹²⁰ Strutt, *Sports*, p. 245, remarked on 'the evil tendency of card-playing, when it is indulged beyond the limits of discretion. Too many instances of ruin and destruction may be brought forward in the present day...'

¹²¹ 'Birmingham Reform Meeting', *The Times*, 9 May 1832, starting p. 1, col F.

¹²² *Irish Times*, 4 July 1859.

¹²³ *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 22 Sept. 1850. (The same analogy was copied by another critic of the system two years later: *Daily News*, 18 Mar. 1852.)

¹²⁴ 'Prussia', *The Times*, 18 Sept. 1852, p. 6, col. B.

¹²⁵ 'France, England, and Naples', *The Morning Chronicle*, 21 Oct. 1856.

said that: ‘...a contest, a controversy, a sort of game of chess by correspondence is going on just now between those who are taking part in the Conservative meetings and... “him”... who has been speaking in the name of his party at Leeds.’¹²⁶

Chess was familiar to readers who could appreciate jokes and allusions based on it. In 1820 Queen Caroline’s supporters issued a pamphlet *The King the avowed enemy of the Queen* containing a large engraving by Robert Cruikshank, whose brother George also used chess themes.¹²⁷ It purported to describe ‘a new royal game of chess, played for half-crown stakes’, in which the movements of the king (George IV) are ‘very irregular, now proceeding headlong forward, now shifting obliquely or sideways, but he never takes any grand or noble step’. As for the object of the game, ‘at the side of the King is a place, where a player of the old-fashioned game would say that the Queen ought to be; but the very spirit of the new game is to keep her out of it’. The John Johnson collection of ephemera at the Bodleian Library includes a series of political cartoons by ‘H. B.’¹²⁸ In the first, Earl Grey, at the chess table, says ‘I check the king’ and William IV concedes: ‘I don’t know how to move, the game is yours.’¹²⁹ On 29 September 1837 Moritz Retzsch’s lithograph of Satan playing at chess with man for his soul was adapted to depict Daniel O’Connell getting the better of Melbourne while Britannia palely looks on. The chess theme recurred on 20 October 1837 for ‘The Queen in danger’, a cartoon showing Victoria with Melbourne and Palmerston. Finally, ‘You may give perpetual check, but I defy you to win the game’ (6 Aug. 1840) features a game between Russell and Peel with Sir James Graham and Lord Stanley as onlookers. The cartoonist expected his audience to understand the term ‘perpetual check’.

A search for ‘chess’ in the electronic edition of the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* yields over 250 articles mentioning chess,¹³⁰ yet fails to find

¹²⁶ ‘Conservative demonstration at Newcastle’, *The Times*, 12 Oct. 1881, p. 7, col D. This was a reference to Lord Randolph Churchill and the chess metaphor was probably selected because he was known to be a chess player. On Churchill, see also p. 169 n201, pp. 207-8 & p. 231.

¹²⁷ Philoi-d’or (pseud.), *The King the Avowed Enemy of the Queen* (London 1820).

¹²⁸ John Doyle (1797-1868), engraved by A. Ducôté and published by T. McLean. They were accessed online at <http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/johnson/johnson.htm> on 6 June 2008.

¹²⁹ 31 July 1832. The occasion seems to have been Reform Act (2 & 3 Will. IV, cap. 45) became law on 7 June so there was a considerable time-lag for engraving, printing and colouring.

¹³⁰ A search for ‘chess’ in the text had 252 hits on 25 May 2008.

some subjects who were definitely chess players, among them Lord Lyttelton, Tennyson, and Ruskin. This partly reflects the interests of the contributors. The article on historian Sir Paul Vinogradoff does not mention chess, but has a portrait of him playing;¹³¹ he had often competed in Russian correspondence tournaments.¹³² *O.D.N.B.* includes an anecdote from the 1930s about Lord Brabazon of Tara playing chess by correspondence.¹³³ Correspondence chess has even been used as a thought experiment in an article in a philosophy journal, but the actual point at issue is not relevant here.¹³⁴

The early telegraph matches were another instance of chess being viewed as something special. I. R. Morus has suggested that ‘in many ways, for the Victorians the capacity for chess playing represented the defining feature of intelligence’ and so combined logically with the new invention.¹³⁵ Some thought the telegraph could make waging war more efficient, while others thought it could bring nations closer. A leading article in the *Illustrated London News* optimistically opined that international tourism (made possible by railways) and submarine telegraphs ‘will make future Waterloos impossible’.¹³⁶ Railway companies employed telegraphs to improve efficiency and safety; then their value in policing and journalism became recognised.¹³⁷ The first games of checkers and chess by telegraph were played late

¹³¹ *O.D.N.B.*, lvi, pp. 553-5.

¹³² Sergey Grodzensky discovered that, as Pavel Gavrilovich Vinogradov, he actually organised and played in the first one in 1882: 64 (Moscow, no. 31 of 1978), p. 10. Only one postal game played by him in England is known: *B.C.M.*, xxxix (Jan. 1919), p. 17, beating a strong amateur.

¹³³ *O.D.N.B.*, xxxiv, pp. 392-3.

¹³⁴ J. W. Roxbee Cox, ‘Can I know beforehand what I am going to decide?’ in *Philosophical Review*, lxxii (no. 1, Jan. 1963), pp. 88-92.

¹³⁵ Iwan Rhys Morus, ‘The Electric Ariel: Telegraphy and Commercial Culture in Early Victorian England’, in *Victorian Studies*, 39 (no. 3, Spring 1996), pp. 339-78.

¹³⁶ *I.L.N.*, xvii (21 Sept. 1850), p. 252. ‘Telegraph’ connoted speed and modernity long before magnetic telegraphs were in use. Some newspapers used it in their titles: the *Hibernian Telegraph* (Dublin 1799), *Mottley’s Telegraph* (Portsmouth 1802), & the *London Telegraph* (from 1824) are just examples. Howard Robinson, *The British Post Office, a History* (Princeton 1948), p. 232, mentions stage-coaches called the Exeter and the Manchester *Telegraph*.

¹³⁷ J. J. Fahie, *History of Electric Telegraphy to the Year 1837* (London 1884) discusses the science. Jeffrey L. Kieve, *The Electric Telegraph: a social and economic history* (Newton Abbot 1973) gives the British viewpoint. A popular account is Tom Standage, *The Victorian Internet* (London 1998). He and Kieve, *Telegraph*, p. 39, both tell how the murderer Tawell was arrested on arrival by train in London after a telegraph warning that the suspect was travelling ‘in the garb of a kwaker’. Menahem Blondheim discusses the place of the telegraph in American journalism in *News over the wires*: (Harvard & London 1994).

in 1844 on Samuel Morse's experimental line in Baltimore,¹³⁸ but there seems to have been no awareness of this in England, where the rival Cooke-Wheatstone system was developed and found favour around the same time. The telegraph was important as the first demonstration that information could travel much faster than any physical object; a chess move, compressed into a few 'bits' of Morse or Wheatstone's codes, was an early paradigm of high-speed data transmission.

In 1844 the Admiralty became interested in the technology.¹³⁹ By early 1845, the railway line from London had been extended to Portsmouth Harbour. The first trial of the electric telegraph from London to Gosport and to Southampton was successfully made on 31 January 1845, persuading the Admiralty of its value. By early April, the system was fully working and actually transmitted an urgent change of orders.¹⁴⁰ The chess match was a public demonstration that the Admiralty was spending its money wisely. After a conversation between Staunton and Wheatstone, it only took a few days to make arrangements with the railway and telegraph companies.¹⁴¹ Staunton and Captain Hugh Kennedy went to Gosport and on Wednesday 9 April 1845 conducted a technical trial with George Walker in London, the official game being played next day against a committee of chess experts present at the terminus of the South-Western Railway.¹⁴² There was much press interest, before and after, home and abroad.¹⁴³

¹³⁸ Samuel Irenæus Prime, *The Life of Samuel F. B. Morse* (New York 1875), pp. 519-20, says Morse visited England in 1845 with a dossier of press cuttings mentioning the American games, but such was the public impact of Staunton's match that the English were unimpressed. Alfred Vail included the moves of two games in his *The American Electro Magnetic Telegraph* (Philadelphia 1845), pp. 63-5, which is in the British Library. There may be more information in his papers at the Library of Congress. The first game, won by Baltimore, began on 16 Nov. 1844 and took three days to complete. It was reprinted in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Paper* on 20 Dec. 1856 and in the *Washington Post*, 25 Sept. 1938. Willard Mutchler, the chess editor of the *Post*, also discussed the games on 11 & 18 Sept. 1938. I am grateful to John Hilbert for alerting me to Mutchler's articles and for sending copies. See also Standage, *Internet*, pp. 52-3.

¹³⁹ 'Submarine Operations At Spithead' in *The Times*, 21 June 1844, p. 8 col. G.

¹⁴⁰ 'Naval Intelligence', in *The Times*, 7 Apr. 1845, p. 8 col. E.

¹⁴¹ *C.P.C.*, vi (1845), pp. 154-60 (May) and 191-2 (June). Kieve, *Telegraph*, mentions chess on p. 36.

¹⁴² See pp. 106-9 for the row resulting from this event.

¹⁴³ Advance stories appeared, for example, in the *Morning Herald* (page 2, col. E), and *The Times* on 8 April 1845. Reports were published in, among others, *The Times*, 11 Apr. 1845 (page 7, col. A); *I.L.N.*, vi (12 Apr. 1845), pp. 233-4, and 19 April (p. 256); 'The game of chess by the electric telegraph' in *The Polytechnic Review and Magazine of Science, Literature and the Fine Arts* (ii, London 1845), pp. 340-2, reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, vi (Boston: June 1845), p. 523.

In general, the chess world was an early adopter of technologies. Railways and steamships not only made it easier for people to travel; they aided efficient and cheap postal communication, which was essential for correspondence chess. Later chess clubs sometimes obtained sponsored use of the wires, which gave telegraph companies good publicity. Telegraph matches were played between clubs in England, Ireland (and between the two),¹⁴⁴ and soon in North America, Australia and other countries where there were great distances between groups of players. Telephone chess games in the U.S.A. and England soon followed that invention, and when ships started to have radios, chess was also played between them.¹⁴⁵

5 The historiography of chess

It is hardly possible to explain why chess was played, whether in the twelfth century or the twentieth, without a knowledge of what alternatives were available; or how chess was regarded, without a sense of the values and attitudes prevailing at the time. Treated in this way, the history of a game can draw on a much wider range of sources, and can also generate conclusions of much wider importance.¹⁴⁶

AS WITH other sports whose history is written for a popular audience, the body of reliable secondary works is small. Some useful groundwork has been laid in bibliographical and reference works,¹⁴⁷ but while Jeremy Gaige and others have

¹⁴⁴ The first inter-club telegraph chess match was between Liverpool and Manchester in 1856: see p. 196. Early Irish telegraph matches are mentioned on p. 317. Moves to arrange *London v Paris* matches in 1854-5 and in 1865 were stymied at the French end: *I.L.N.*, xxv (15 July 1854), p. 25; *I.L.N.*, xxvi (24 Feb. 1855), p. 179; *The Chess Player's Magazine*, n.s. i (1865), p. 192. The first Australian telegraph chess match was in July 1858 (*Era*, 31 Oct. 1858, p.5).

¹⁴⁵ For games by telephone and radio, see Chap. Five, Section 8, pp. 219-20.

¹⁴⁶ Richard Eales, 'Changing cultures: the Reception of Chess into Western Europe in the Middle Ages', in Irving Finkel (ed.), *Ancient Board Games in Perspective* (London 2007), pp. 162-8. In the same volume, pp. 138-57, Michael Mark, 'The Beginnings of Chess', reviews developments and theories since Murray concerning the possible origins and precursors of chess in the orient. Eales tackles the arguably more important, and more decidable, question of when and how chess took root in Europe.

¹⁴⁷ The most complete bibliography of chess works in English, so far as it goes, is Douglas A. Betts, *Chess: An annotated bibliography of works published in the English language 1850-1968* (Boston, Massachusetts 1974; reprint: Olomouc 2005). Andy Lusic, *Chess: an annotated bibliography, 1969-1988* (London 1991), is a small supplement. Betts omitted several works only to be found in the John G. White collection, so his work needs to be used in conjunction with Ken Whyld & Chris Ravilious (eds.), *Chess Texts in the English Language, printed before 1850: an annotated bibliography* (Olomouc 2002).

researched over-the-board match and tournament results, the documentation of correspondence competitions is in its infancy.¹⁴⁸ Chess is a special case because the notation used to record games enables them to be preserved in print and computer databases for future study. This explains why much effort has gone into finding game scores and tracing the technical development of chess masters rather than exploring the social context of the game. It has been done because it is possible, unlike the situation with most sports before the invention of film and video.¹⁴⁹

Chess 'biographies' usually just record a player's performances; many are merely game collections. An exception is Forster's gigantic, and fully-referenced, study of the English amateur chess master Burn (1848-1925) that did discuss his life in some detail, while almost managing to find every serious game he ever played.¹⁵⁰ Some quality work has been done on American chess history, especially by Hilbert,¹⁵¹ but Landsberger's biography of the first world champion Steinitz is unusual in that the author was a non-chess-player who had a family connection with his subject.¹⁵² Landsberger made interesting discoveries but his chapters about Steinitz's English period (1862-82) are unsatisfactory.

The serious historiography of chess began with Harold Murray, whose monumental *A History of Chess* superseded all previous work on the subject when it appeared in 1913.¹⁵³ Eldest son of the lexicographer Sir James Murray, he learned to be critical, methodical, and thorough.¹⁵⁴ Harold Murray's chief concern was not with what the majority of people interested in chess history today are

¹⁴⁸ Hence the extensive results reports and tables provided in Appendices IV-VI.

¹⁴⁹ For example, the collection made for the I.C.C.F. by this writer many years ago: Tim Harding (ed.), *The Games of the World Correspondence Chess Championships I-X* (London 1987).

¹⁵⁰ Richard Forster, *Amos Burn: A Chess Biography* (Jefferson NC & London 2004). As Burn played some postal chess, this work is occasionally cited in the thesis.

¹⁵¹ Hilbert's PhD thesis was 'A Psychological Study Of The Chess Trope In Literature' (State University of New York at Buffalo, 1982).

¹⁵² Kurt Landsberger, *William Steinitz, Chess Champion* (Jefferson NC 1993).

¹⁵³ Harold J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford 1913). Murray did respect some earlier work, notably A. A. MacDonnell's 1898 paper 'Origin and early history of chess' in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Jan. 1898), pp. 117-41. Murray is not in *O.D.N.B.* but both his father and his daughter K. M. E. Murray (1909-1998) are included.

¹⁵⁴ All James Murray's children worked on the *Dictionary* at some stage, Harold probably less than some younger siblings because of his own career. A good account is by his daughter: K. M. Elisabeth Murray, *Caught in the web of words: James Murray and the Oxford English Dictionary* (New Haven and London 1977).

researching, which is twentieth century chess. He and those who assisted him (notably American lawyer and collector John Griswold White) wanted to put on a firm scholarly grounding the early history of the game, from its long-suspected oriental origins, through its development in the Muslim world and transmission to Europe. He then traced the transformation in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries from the slow mediæval game to its modern western form with the powerful queen, which displaced the older game within a generation or two.¹⁵⁵ To do this work thoroughly, and especially to correct the mistakes of some eighteenth and nineteenth century writers, Murray, White and their collaborators sought to find, copy and translate relevant manuscripts from many countries and in several languages. While some new sources have been found and Murray's analyses and interpretations have been challenged by scholars on points of detail, the main body of his work on chess, at least up to the early sixteenth century, may never need to be repeated. Critique and refinement of it is a task for oriental scholars and mediæval historians.

In his later chapters, Murray also described the further technical development of the game up to 1851, but this was not his primary interest. His correspondence with White is nearly all about points concerning early and renaissance chess and his disagreements with authors whose researches and arguments he believed to be flawed.¹⁵⁶ Johannes Kohtz had written on early chess in German publications, especially the *Handbuch des Schachspiels*.¹⁵⁷ Murray complained to White that Kohtz:

...imagines that he can separate the game from the player, and that the picture of what it would be in the hands of modern master-players, and in the light of modern experience is the true picture of the game at any moment of its existence. I hold that chess is a form of thought interpreted in terms of a game, but always limited by the actual condition of thought at any moment.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ The scale and emphasis of Murray's book can be judged from the fact that discussion of the beginnings of modern chess, c. 1485, begins on p. 776 of an 890-page book.

¹⁵⁶ White's letters to Murray between 1900-1918 are in Oxf. Bodl. H. J. Murray 167. Both sides of are available at Cleveland, Ohio, in four volumes or two microfilms: Harold J. R. Murray, 'Correspondence relating to chess & draughts between Murray and John White, 1900-1918'.

¹⁵⁷ *Handbuch des Schachspiels von P. R. von Bilguer (v. d. Lasa)*, probably the seventh edition.

¹⁵⁸ Murray to White, 28 Jan. 1913.

Murray's coverage of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is the least satisfactory part of his *History*. This is partly because he was pressed for time: the Press rushed him for delivery of the final sections, and then did nothing for several months.¹⁵⁹ While Murray's interest in more recent periods was not as great as in the earlier centuries, he also worked within limitations that present-day scholars do not face. There is no evidence in his published work or correspondence that he made a thorough study of the *Kaleidoscope* and *Bell's Life in London*; he may have had no opportunity to do so.¹⁶⁰

Richard Eales surveyed the history of chess from the beginnings to 1980.¹⁶¹ His book also incorporated corrections where later research had modified Murray's conclusions. Eales wrote of his predecessor: 'the very excellence of his work has had a dampening effect on the subject, for whenever historians or critics come across a mention of chess in their researches they almost invariably put in a reference to Murray's *History* and pursue the matter no further'.¹⁶² That situation is beginning to change. Eales's interest is in the social context of the game (who was playing the game and why) as much as on technical developments and personalities. The part of his book most relevant to the present thesis is Chapter Five, 'The beginnings of popularity 1800-1914', but the fourth chapter, dealing with 1650-1800, is also useful for setting the scene. His treatment of the time from Philidor onwards is greatly superior to Murray's, but there is very little about

¹⁵⁹ Murray originally envisaged two volumes. He offered the book to Oxford University Press on 13 Sept. 1910 (Harold Murray correspondence file at O.U.P. archive, ref. PB/ED/001949 OP 317), and on 4 Nov. 'The Delegates very gladly accept your *History of Chess* for publication by the University.' On 27 Nov. 1910 Murray told White that O.U.P. wanted to start printing in autumn 1911, so he had to speed up writing, but by 28 Feb. 1911 his doctor had told him to rest and he could not resume until Easter. On 5 June he informed the Press that that he had now completed the text and the MS was in his father's hands in Oxford. On 19 Dec. 1911 the Delegates told him they had decided to publish in one volume. On 9 Feb. 1913 Murray told White that O.U.P. finally admitted their estimate of the book's length was inadequate and now say 800-900pp. On 12 May 1913 he complains the Press rushed him and then sat on his typescript for six months. Murray had sent drafts of early sections to White in 1907-8 and received back valuable suggestions, but White apparently had less input into the later chapters.

¹⁶⁰ Those columns are discussed in Chapter Three.

¹⁶¹ Richard Eales, *Chess; the history of a game* (London 1985).

¹⁶² Eales, *Chess*, p. 18.

correspondence chess in the book.¹⁶³ At one point, Eales raised the central problem that this thesis will address. Having stated that there was in 1830 still only one real chess club in London, and that the situation elsewhere in Europe was similar, Eales wrote:

It is therefore hard to explain the rapid advance of the next two decades towards institutionalised competitive chess. There was change, or advance, in... basic popularity, organization at a higher level, and the theory and practice of the game, and naturally all three were linked together. One can point to the accumulation of preconditions — social change, the growth of publishing, more efficient transport — which helped to break down local and national barriers, but the mainspring of change around 1830 is still elusive.¹⁶⁴

Philip Sergeant's *A Century of British Chess* is an often-cited popular history.¹⁶⁵ Sergeant wrote on a wide range of subjects,¹⁶⁶ but was a chess expert, so his book is useful despite its unsatisfactory chronicle format and its elitist concentration on the principal personalities and events in London, Oxford, and Cambridge. It cannot be categorically assigned the status either of primary or secondary source. From the late nineteenth century, Sergeant had personal knowledge of the people and developments he described. His coverage of events up to the 1880s can be quite misleading and includes errors of fact; for the early decades, he mostly relied on the chess magazines. Another over-rated work is Kasparov's award-winning *My Great Predecessors, volume 1*,¹⁶⁷ which is based on poor research into nineteenth century chess and contains numerous errors.

¹⁶³ A rare error in Eales is where he says (*Chess*, p. 136) that the Pesth-Paris correspondence match was played 1839-42 whereas it actually began on 2 Nov. 1842, as stated in *C.P.C.*, vii (1846), p. 158, and it concluded in 1845. (This was before the merger with Buda that created Budapest.)

¹⁶⁴ Eales, *Chess*, p. 132. As with the questions raised on page 28, the problem that Eales addresses here will be answered throughout the thesis, with a summing-up in the concluding chapter, see pp. 338-42. While it may be true there was only one chess club in London in 1830, there may have been up to ten in the U.K. as a whole. There had been two or three London clubs at one point in the 1820s and it is not quite clear what Eales meant by 'real'.

¹⁶⁵ Philip Walsingham Sergeant, *A Century of British Chess* (London 1934).

¹⁶⁶ Apart from four chess books, Sergeant's published works include: *The cathedral church of Winchester* (1898), *The Burlesque Napoleon* (1905), *The Courtships of Catherine the Great* (1905), *The Empress Josephine* (1908), *Cleopatra of Egypt* (1909), *The life of Anne Boleyn* (1923), *Rogues and Scoundrels* (1924), *Dominant Women* (1930), *Gamblers All* (1931), *Historic British ghosts* (1936), *Witches and warlocks* (1936). This is by no means a complete list.

¹⁶⁷ Garry Kasparov, *My Great Predecessors, volume I: Steinitz, Lasker, Capablanca, Alekhine* (London 2002). His researcher was a Russian, Dmitry Plisetsky, who appears not to have made

It is impossible to research chess history without being indebted to the late Kenneth Whyld, especially because of his bibliographic work, which he pursued over many decades as a hobby. Chapter Three often refers to his *Chess Columns: A List*,¹⁶⁸ the last book he completed. The *Oxford Companion to Chess*, by Whyld and his co-editor, the late David Hooper, is a much-praised reference work, rightfully regarded as far superior to the various chess encyclopaedias in English.¹⁶⁹ There are two distinct editions (with several additions, deletions and corrections between the first in 1984 and the second in 1992). Because its articles are necessarily very concise, it rarely states sources so, despite the extensive research its editors undeniably undertook, one is never sure whether it can be entirely relied upon.¹⁷⁰ Regrettably, Whyld never wrote any major text developing his broad and detailed knowledge of many aspects of the game, its literature, and personalities into a connected narrative.¹⁷¹ Similarly the piecemeal work of Edward Winter, whose column ‘Chess Notes’ has transferred to web publication, is chiefly reliant on editing readers’ input. Its main value is in debunking myths and correcting errors in popular publications. Finally, well-researched historical articles occasionally appear in the journal *Quarterly for Chess History* and other chess magazines.¹⁷²

good use of British sources. In 2003 Edward Winter published a catalogue of errors (some trivial) that he found, at www.chesshistory.com/winter/extra/kasparov.html (30 May 2008).

¹⁶⁸ Ken Whyld (ed.), *Chess Columns: A list* (Olomouc 2002).

¹⁶⁹ The other usually trustworthy reference work of this kind is in Russian: ШАХМАТЫ ЗНЦИКЛОПЕДИЧЕСКИЙ СЛОВАРЬ [Chess Encyclopaedic Dictionary], general editor, A. Karpov (Soviet Encyclopaedias, Moscow 1990), but for British chess it is of limited help.

¹⁷⁰ A definite error in both editions of the *Companion* can be seen in the article on ‘newspaper column’, with reference to the *Lancet*: see p. 99 n106 of this thesis. Also its article on ‘periodicals’ in both editions wrongly states that the *British Correspondence Chess Association Magazine* began in 1906 and ran until 1920. The latter was probably taken from Betts. Neither year is correct; it began in 1909 and the correct bibliographical information can be found below on pp. 179-81. Some other details are criticised later. Nevertheless, by comparison with most chess encyclopaedias, the *Companion* is extremely accurate.

¹⁷¹ From 1978 to his death in 2003, Whyld edited the ‘Quotes and Queries’ column in *British Chess Magazine* (originated by the less reliable D. J. Morgan in 1953), where various topics and ‘threads’ came up for discussion, based on readers’ contributions and Whyld’s own knowledge. That column is now conducted by Chris Ravilious, who was Whyld’s co-editor on his other major bibliography, *Chess Texts in the English Language, printed before 1850* (Olomouc 2002).

¹⁷² Edited by Dr Vlastimil Fiala (an historian at the University of Olomouc), this appears at erratic intervals and the nominal dates of volumes are misleading. His company Moravian Chess has also reprinted much scarce nineteenth century chess literature.

There have been few academic theses in chess history, by contrast with the several written on a chess theme in computer science and in psychology, or which discuss literary references to the game.¹⁷³ Searches of the online theses indexes show the earliest was Kiernan's unpublished doctoral dissertation from 1957 dealing with international master chess, principally between 1851-1914.¹⁷⁴ As it deals explicitly with professional chess, there is very little overlap with the present study. Other doctoral theses have concerned chess rivalry between America and the Soviet Union as an aspect of the Cold War,¹⁷⁵ mediæval chess,¹⁷⁶ and chess in Jewish literature and history.¹⁷⁷ The most relevant academic work is Scholten's interdisciplinary doctoral dissertation, which deals with the development of chess clubs in the Netherlands in the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁸ His findings are compared with ours, mainly in Chapter Four.¹⁷⁹

Previous publications specifically dealing with correspondence chess have chiefly taken the form of national histories of this mode of play. A Dane wrote the earliest,¹⁸⁰ but histories of correspondence chess have now been written for the Netherlands,¹⁸¹ Russia,¹⁸² the Czech Republic and Slovakia,¹⁸³ the oldest British

¹⁷³ Especially Thomas Middleton's play *A Game At Chess* (acted at the Globe Theatre in 1624 and first published in 1625).

¹⁷⁴ Bernard P. Kiernan, 'A History Of International Master Chess: 1851-1914: A Study In Modern Institutional History' (Ph.D. thesis, The American University 1957). See p. 44 n199 and p. 333.

¹⁷⁵ T. Stevens, 'Chess in the Cold War 1945-75' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Keele 2005). This was unavailable when requested on inter-library loan. It was not re-requested since there was no reason to suppose from the abstract that it would be relevant.

¹⁷⁶ Jenny Adams, *Power play: the literature and politics of chess in the late Middle Ages* (Philadelphia 2006), developed from her dissertation 'Gender, play, and power: The literary uses and cultural meanings of medieval chess in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries' (Ph.D., University of Chicago 2000).

¹⁷⁷ Victor Keats, *Chess in Jewish history and Hebrew literature* (Jerusalem 1995).

¹⁷⁸ Scholten, *Schaakleven*. This has a summary in English, pp. 473-81. Dutch friends translated those sections that the summary and table of contents suggested would be most relevant.

¹⁷⁹ Starting on p. 142, where cross-references are given in n54.

¹⁸⁰ Villads Junker, *Dansk Korrespondance Skak* [Danish Correspondence Chess], (Aabybro 1945).

¹⁸¹ L. C. M. Diepstraten, *Tweehonderdvijftig Jaar Correspondentieschaak in Nederland* [250 years of Correspondence Chess in the Netherlands], (Venlo 1991).

¹⁸² S. Ya. Grodzensky & I. Z. Romanov, ХОД В КОМБЕПТЕ [The Move in the Envelope] (Moscow 1982). Also S. Ya. Grodzensky and T. Harding, *Red Letters: the Correspondence Chess Championships of the Soviet Union* (Dublin 2003).

¹⁸³ Rudolf Ševeček & Jan Kalendovský, *Historie Korespondenčního Šachu 1870-1999* (Prague 1999).

club,¹⁸⁴ one of the main correspondence clubs in the U.S.A.,¹⁸⁵ and Canada,¹⁸⁶ while a French history of correspondence chess is in preparation.¹⁸⁷ The *ICCF Gold* jubilee book includes a global overview of correspondence chess history up to 1972,¹⁸⁸ by Hungarian master Iván Bottlik, but most of the national articles in that book either do not go back before 1945 or are historically unreliable. This writer compiled an anthology of correspondence chess texts: mostly modern, but including some primary source material and secondary articles relevant to the period under study.¹⁸⁹

Dr Bruno Bassi (1901-57), an Italian at Uppsala University, pioneered research into the early history of correspondence chess. Given the difficulties he must have faced in the immediate post-war period, he made an excellent start, making use of a library that came into his possession in Sweden and by corresponding with experts, including Murray, for assistance.¹⁹⁰ Bassi published little except a series of short articles that appeared, in English, in a chess magazine.¹⁹¹ German collector Egbert Meissenburg compiled the first international bibliography of correspondence chess.¹⁹² Also Carlo Pagni has long been researching matches played by correspondence between clubs worldwide, as well

¹⁸⁴ The British Correspondence Chess Association: see Chap. Four, section 5, pp. 172-81.

¹⁸⁵ Bryce D. Avery, *Correspondence Chess in America* (Jefferson NC & London 2000) was criticised because of its misleading title; it is almost entirely about the Correspondence Chess League of America.

¹⁸⁶ Leonard Zehr and J. Ken MacDonald, *The History of Correspondence Chess in Canada* (Davenport, Iowa 2006). This actually has more reliable information about nineteenth century U.S. correspondence chess than the book cited in the previous note.

¹⁸⁷ Eric Ruch, *L'histoire du jeu d'échecs par correspondance au XIX^e siècle, volume I: Des origines à 1840* (in preparation, draft supplied for comment by the author in 2008).

¹⁸⁸ Pedro Hegoburu (ed.), *ICCF Gold: International Correspondence Chess Federation 50th Jubilee Celebration* (Perth, Scotland 2002).

¹⁸⁹ Tim Harding, *The Write Move: an anthology of the best writing in Correspondence Chess* (Dublin 2005).

¹⁹⁰ There are a few letters from him in Oxf. Bodl. MS H. J. Murray 168. Enquiries made in Uppsala and Stockholm unfortunately failed to locate any Bassi papers.

¹⁹¹ Bruno Bassi, 'History of Correspondence Chess', incomplete series in sixteen parts, in the *ICCA Monthly Resume/Mail Chess*, 1948-9 and 1951-2, later collected and privately published in a booklet by Meissenburg. Bassi also wrote, in Italian, a fourteen-page pamphlet on early chess in Central and South America: *Ricerche zatrichiologiche sull' America Centrale e Meridionale* (Uppsala 1950). This includes an account of the Inca Atahualpa learning chess from his captors.

¹⁹² Egbert Meissenburg, *Bibliographie der Fernschachliteratur 1825-1965, nebst Beiträgen zur Frühgeschichte des Fernschachspiels* [Bibliography of Correspondence Chess, with a contribution on the early history of Correspondence Chess], (Winsen-Luhe 1966; in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague).

as investigating Italian chess history.¹⁹³ The commonly held view that nineteenth century correspondence chess largely consisted of such matches probably derives from the Italians' concentration on this aspect of correspondence chess. Early postal games between individuals have not been researched in the same depth, until now. This writer began research in the belief that there had been many private matches and tournaments for individuals in the nineteenth century and the fruits of that research are largely to be found in Chapter Six, while Chapter Five (and associated appendices) sets the record straight about the inter-club matches.

Unfortunately Bassi was unable to complete the plan set out in his introduction, where he outlined a questionable division of the history of correspondence chess into three periods, the third of which he subdivided. Firstly, and there can be no disagreement about this, came the period covering everything before the year 1800. He called it 'prehistoric... since there are no more than occasional references to correspondence chess during this time in contemporary literature'. Subsequent researchers have located many such references but it is unlikely there will be major new discoveries in English. The most controversial element of Bassi's schema is his characterisation of the second period:

The 'golden age' of C[orrespondence] C[hess] from 1800-1851, that is until the holding of the first international master tournament, during which period C.C. performed the functions and possessed all the importance of the master tournaments which followed.¹⁹⁴

The significance of the 1851 tournament as a watershed is widely recognised; Murray chose to stop his research at that point.¹⁹⁵ To summarise, until the 1840s, the only formal chess contests had been either set matches between two players or the inter-club matches discussed at length later in this thesis. Structured tournaments, where several players met at one venue and played an elimination

¹⁹³ Carlo Alberto Pagni has published *For the History of Correspondence Chess in Italy; matches between clubs* (Turin 1997); *Correspondence Chess Matches Between Clubs 1823-1899* (4 vols, Turin 1994-2006) and, in Italian, *Scacchi Senza Quartiere* (Rome 2004), essentially the contents of his earlier volumes. He has made interesting discoveries but also numerous small errors. Corrections, except the most important ones, will be found only in Appendix III.

¹⁹⁴ Bassi, 'Correspondence Chess' (1), in the *ICCA Monthly Resume*, iii (no. 2, Mar. 1948), p. 176; the publication changed its title to *Mail Chess* in October.

¹⁹⁵ Bledow first suggested a tournament in 1843, to be held in Trier, but it did not happen. His letter about it to Von der Lasa was only published in the *Schachzeitung* (1848), p. 306, cited in Murray, *History*, p. 887, n23.

contest, were probably held first in Paris, and by 1849 these were being played weekly.¹⁹⁶ The first such event in London was early in 1849,¹⁹⁷ arranged on the basis of mini-matches between two players, over an extended period at Ries's Divan. The London 1851 tournament was therefore by no means the first chess tournament to be held, but it was almost certainly the first international one. In January 1850 a T.C.D. man, probably George Salmon,¹⁹⁸ asked *The Chess Player's Chronicle*: 'Do you not think it would be possible to get up a "Chess Tournament," for players of all nations, to be contended for at the time of the great exposition of Arts and Science, in 1851?'¹⁹⁹ Staunton adopted the idea as his own,²⁰⁰ and has generally been allowed to take the credit,²⁰¹ despite the evidence that the event was not originally his idea. The tournament itself was a qualified success: it brought together in one place leading players from several countries for an open competition, but the format was unsatisfactory and some continental champions

¹⁹⁶ Vlastimil Fiala, 'Short History of the origin of chess tournaments', in *Quarterly for Chess History*, xiii (Winter 2007), pp. 7-35. On p. 8, Fiala appears to believe there were two different London tournaments in 1849, but references to the 'Cigar Divan' and 'Ries's Divan' are to the same place. *C.P.C.*, x, pp. 188-90, had an article by Kieseritzky about the 15 Apr. tournament at Cercle des Échecs, Paris, but French chess magazines mentioned these events several times, as Fiala shows. For example, 'Les Tournois à l'Estaminet de la Régence', in *La Régence*, ii (no. 1, Jan. 1850), p. 14, says the forty-fifth tournament was played 24 Nov. 1849, the forty-sixth on 1 Dec. etc. This implies that these were played every weekend, probably at a rapid pace compared with the Divan, which held mini-matches (best of three) as in 1851.

¹⁹⁷ *C.P.C.*, x (Mar. 1849), pp. 65-6.

¹⁹⁸ The identification was first published in a chess magazine: Adrian Harvey, 'Howard Staunton: zu seiner Zeit verhasst, doch heute beliebt' ['Howard Staunton: loathed in his own time, yet loved today'], in *Kaissiber* 17 (2001), pp. 53-67. Dr Harvey kindly supplied his English version.

¹⁹⁹ Letters signed 'S.M.N.' appeared in *C.P.C.*, xi (1850), pp. 59 and 317, the former bearing the line 'Trinity College, Dublin'. Kiernan ('Master Chess', p. 28) tried to identify 'S.M.N.' but his attempt to demonstrate that this was a case of an editor printing an 'anonymous' letter to himself is unconvincing. Harvey assumed rather than proved that 'S. M. N.' was Salmon, one of his references being incorrect. Although the identification is not completely watertight, Salmon's interest in chess is well-attested and he matches the clues. Salmon never claimed any credit in public; his obituaries and papers do not mention the tournament: 'Remains and Memorials of George Salmon': TCD MS/2385, 2385a, 4746/1. On the other hand, Trinity alumni lists do not indicate a plausible alternative. S. M. N.'s first letter offered to contribute to the cost of the tournament, and the list of subscribers in Howard Staunton, *The Chess Tournament — London 1851* (London 1852), p. lxi, has no 'N' with initial 'S', but: 'Salmon, Rev. Geo. Trinity College, Dublin', donating £5.

²⁰⁰ 'Grand Chess Tournament in London in 1851', in *I.L.N.*, xvii (9 Nov. 1850), p. 366. This was described as 'From a Correspondent' but Staunton evidently penned it.

²⁰¹ Sergeant, *Century*, p. 70, stated that 'there is no record of anyone else inspiring him [Staunton] with the idea', but the *Westminster Papers*, iv (Sept. 1871), p. 77, had shown that there was (without giving the *C.P.C.* reference). Compare Eales, *Chess*, p. 142: 'From the beginning it was Staunton's project'. Murray wrote more cautiously (*History*, p. 887) that the existence of the tournament was 'largely' due to Staunton.

did not participate. Staunton himself found the strain of being both principal organiser and competitor too great.²⁰² It would be many more years before international tournaments became frequent.

Aside from any general objections to periodisation and to Bassi's use of the loaded term 'golden age', it is the second half of his statement, about functions and importance, which is really contentious. The volume of postal chess play increased considerably after 1851 but Bassi was surely aware of this and presumably intended to argue in terms of significant events involving top players. Yet not only is it questionable whether correspondence chess so suddenly lost its status after 1851 but even more so whether before that date it actually had the significance he claimed for it. There are only a few examples of leading masters playing postal chess before 1851 and the *London v. Vienna* match of 1872-4 is one example of them doing so long afterwards.²⁰³ The 'golden age' tag would almost certainly have been forgotten had it not been adopted by the editors of the *Oxford Companion*, whose correspondence chess article stated as fact that:

...the "golden age" of correspondence chess was in the first half of the 19th century. Players from different cities and countries could not easily play together in any other way until travel facilities improved, after which over-the-board matches and then tournaments came into vogue.²⁰⁴

This gloss on Bassi's thesis certainly has *a priori* plausibility but Chapters Four, Five, and Six will show the picture was more complicated. It is uncertain what evidence and arguments Bassi himself would have adduced to support his thesis, because *Mail Chess* ceased publication while he was still discussing correspondence matches of the late 1830s. The *Companion* hinted at a relevant

²⁰² Staunton failed to reach the Final and the winner was Adolf Anderssen (1818-79), a Prussian mathematics teacher, who justified his success by remaining one of the world's leading masters for another twenty years, despite losing his match to Paul Morphy (1837-84) in Paris (December 1858). Early in his career, Anderssen was one of the principals on the Breslau team for its correspondence match with Hamburg (begun in 1840): see *C.P.C.*, v (1844), p. 371-4, Anderssen being named at the end.

²⁰³ See Chapter Five, Section 5c, starting p. 200.

²⁰⁴ Hooper & Whyld, *Oxford Companion*, 2nd ed. p. 95; the wording on p. 79 in the first edition says much the same but with less precision. Underlying the 'golden age' argument, especially as expressed here, there is a hidden assumption that correspondence chess is a second-best substitute for over-the-board play, soon abandoned (except by lesser players) when 'the real thing' becomes available. Correspondence players generally disagree with that. See p. 344 for a final opinion on the 'golden age' thesis.

point with its reference to travel, but a wider view needs to be taken in respect of the nineteenth century development of communications and other technologies. One can only suppose that Bassi would have discussed the consequences of postal reform in Britain in 1840, which inspired similar changes in other countries; that is arguably a much more significant date than 1851 for correspondence chess. This thesis does not include a dedicated section on postal history but significant facts are presented where relevant,²⁰⁵ and Appendix I details the relevant legislation.

Bottlik did not repeat the Bassi schema but wrote that the decade before the First World War was ‘a period about which one may rightly use the term “the golden age” of the correspondence tournaments organised by chess columns’ and that had it not been for the war an international organisation could have been formed much sooner.²⁰⁶ So far as the continental perspective is concerned, Bottlik is probably right because by 1910 German-language correspondence chess, having lagged behind Britain in the nineteenth century, had now taken the initiative whereas in the U.K. the era of innovation was drawing to a close.

The third period of Bassi’s schema spanned 1851 to the time he was writing. His threefold breakdown of this looks distorted because the perspective is different half a century later. The first subset of his ‘modern period’ was characterised as: ‘the period of games freely arranged by private agreement, and of national C.C. tournaments sponsored by different chess magazines (1851-1888)’. While this shows Bassi did recognise that games between individual players were played, 1888 had no special significance. He thought the first international postal tournament began then, but there had been earlier ones.²⁰⁷ He called his next

²⁰⁵ Thus: on postal arrangements before the reform, see pp. 56-7; on the universal penny post, see p. 194; on the introduction of postcards and international mail, see p. 210; on telegraphs, see pp. 33-5, 196, and 317; on the telephone, see pp. 219-20.

²⁰⁶ I. Bottlik, ‘Overview of the history of correspondence chess (beginnings-1972)’, in P. Hegoburu, *ICCF*, p. 15. The British Chess Federation proposed an international federation in 1913: see *The Field*, cxxii (25 Oct. 1903), p. 903. It was discussed at the 1914 international tournament in St Petersburg, but the Russians had different proposals and war broke out before anything could be decided: *The Field*, cxxiv (18 & 25 July 1904), pp. 162 and 209. It was another ten years before FIDE could be established, and international correspondence chess bodies followed later. Kiernan, ‘Master Chess’, failed to mention pre-war moves towards international organisation.

²⁰⁷ Which was the earliest depends on how one defines ‘international tournament’, but the second *La Stratégie* tourney (1884-8) won Erik Larsson’s vote: ‘Historical CC Tournaments’, part 2 in *Chess Mail*, i (no. 8-9, 1997), pp. 46-8, and part 3, in *Chess Mail*, ii (no. 4, 1998), pp. 28-31. The *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* tournament, with U.S. and Canadian players, began in 1882.

epoch the ‘technical organisation’ of international correspondence chess, starting in 1928. This was indeed a landmark date.²⁰⁸ His final subdivision was the revival of international postal chess after World War Two, but now that just looks like a resumption of 1928, whereas since the 1990s, computers and internet play have brought about a total transformation and globalisation of correspondence chess.

6 Pre-history of correspondence chess

THE earliest known correspondence games, of which the scores survive, were played in 1804 between two army officers in the Netherlands, one in The Hague and the other in Breda. Probably only Friedrich Wilhelm von Mauvillon (1774-1851) remembered them until the interest aroused by the inter-city matches of the mid-1820s led him to publish them. He was a German with French ancestry and a Dutch wife. In 1827, now a retired lieutenant-colonel, he included the games in an elementary treatise.²⁰⁹ They are of low quality (in one, a player castled illegally) but Mauvillon staked his claim to priority by publishing them. There also exists, in the library of grandmaster Lothar Schmid, a manuscript fragment of what was probably the start of a postal game in 1822 between two Bamberg citizens.²¹⁰

Correspondence chess had certainly been played at least 130 years before then. Dr Thomas Hyde made reference to it in *De Ludis Orientalibus*, written by 1673 but only published in 1694. Hyde said that, when travelling in Europe, ‘I was told that Venetian and Croatian merchants, although at a great distance apart, play chess by correspondence, and that for every single move a letter must be written, and each party be at considerable expense before they are finished playing.’²¹¹

²⁰⁸ See pp. 226-7 on the I.F.S.B. and its precursor, the I.C.S.B.

²⁰⁹ F. W. von Mauvillon, *Anweisung zur Erlernung des Schach-Spiels* (Essen 1827), pp. 373-5. One of the three games was finished ‘over-the-board’. See also Bassi, ‘Correspondence Chess (4)’, in *Mail Chess* (no. 5, June-July 1948), pp. 219-20.

²¹⁰ Pagni, *Scacchi*, frontispiece, and his article in *L’Italia Schacchistica*, xci (2001), p. 316.

²¹¹ Thomas Hyde, *Mandragorias seu historia shahludii: De Ludis Orientalibus, Libri Duo* (Oxford 1694), pages not numbered. Also to be found in his collected works, *Syntagma Dissertationum*, (Oxford 1767) ii, p. 8 (image 31 in E.C.C.O.): ‘*Et mihi relatam est, Mercatores Venetos & Croatas multum inter se distantes, per Epistolas Scachis ludere, ita ut pro singulis singulorum Militum motionibus Literæ scribendæ sint, magnos utrinque sumptus sacessentes priusquam unus aliquis Lusus finiatur.*’ The translation above is an attempt to improve upon R. Lambe, *The history of chess* (London 1764), p. 51, which had: ‘It is said, that Venetian, and Croatian

The aforementioned Caze MS not only referred to correspondence chess but was also one of the earliest documents to contain scores of games actually played. The compiler, known only by his surname, was probably a French officer. His manuscript largely consists of games he saw played in Paris about 1685. Caze sent it in 1706 to Sunderland, saying that he considered the first player in chess had too great an advantage and proposing two modifications to make the sides more equal.²¹² To paraphrase the most relevant passage, Caze proposed that his idea should be tested by a match of two games to be played by correspondence between the chess players of Paris and London ‘some time after the current war’.²¹³ The match, which he said might take two years to complete, could be played for a prize such as a valuable chess set with metal pieces hand-made by an excellent craftsman. As there could be delays with the post, he recommended the games be played simultaneously, each city playing the first move in one game.²¹⁴

What Sunderland thought of this idea is not recorded. No such match ever happened, and not only because the war continued for several years. Caze’s desire to change the rules of chess was not shared, but his proposal foreshadows the *Paris-Westminster* match of 1834-6, which did indeed require two years to complete two simultaneous games. Murray considered the most interesting aspect of Caze’s proposal to be that it ‘recognizes the fact that chess-players in Paris and London were beginning to collect together for play’.²¹⁵ A further and equally significant point is that it implies the idea of a correspondence game, indeed of an international match by post, was not unfamiliar to chess enthusiasts in 1706. On

Merchants play, by writing, at this game, at a great distance; so that for every move a letter must be written, and each party be at a considerable expence [sic] before it is finished’.

²¹² Caze proposed that each queen should stand to the left of her king (instead of facing each other) and that the first player should be compelled to open every game by a single move of the king’s pawn (1 e3 in the modern notation). John G. White first recognised the historical significance of this MS (White to Murray, 8 Sept. 1904, in Oxf. Bodl. MS H. J. Murray 167.)

²¹³ The War of the Spanish Succession, 1701-13.

²¹⁴ The key passage from folio 5 in the original MS (f.282 in the Bodleian transcript) reads: ‘*Ainsi, par exemple, les Joüeurs d’Echets de la ville de Londres, pourrvient proposer, dez a present, un deffi à ceux de la ville de Paris, à commencer un certain temps aprez la Paix. Le Prix pourroit estre un Jeu d’Echets de metal, fait à figures de la main de quelque excellent ouvrier, d’une valeur convenable, où chaque joüeur pourroit contribuer. Chaque poste on joueroit un coup, & cette Guerre peu meurtriere, pourroit durer unecouple d’annees. Que si ton craignoit de se trouver trop long temps dans l’inaction, à cause du retardement des letters; on pourroit jouer des parties en mesme temps, chaque ville ayant le trait de celle qu’il le commenceroit.*’

²¹⁵ Murray, *History*, p. 845.

the other hand, there is no suggestion that anyone knew of Caze's proposal when negotiations began in 1823 for a correspondence match (with normal rules) between London and Parisian clubs.²¹⁶

Apart from the above, information about the pre-history of correspondence chess before 1824 is almost entirely restricted to literary sources. Meissenburg took a special interest in this topic, and one of his early articles has been translated.²¹⁷ He considers, for example, nineteenth century claims that Voltaire played by correspondence against both Catherine the Great of Russia and Frederick the Great, but concludes that these remain only speculations — which cannot entirely be ruled out, at least in the case of the Prussian king. Likewise, the rumour that Philidor played a correspondence game in 1776 has never been proved, yet could have some factual basis. In 1799 an Irish parliamentarian wrote: 'The S[peaker of the Irish House of Commons] and Pitt answering each other is like Phillidor [sic] and the Spaniard playing chess at Madrid and London'.²¹⁸ The various authorities on Philidor make no mention of such a game,²¹⁹ yet Spain is the most likely country where a manuscript with a pre-nineteenth century correspondence game might one day be discovered. No actual game scores or letters including moves in actual chess games of that period, as opposed to letters mentioning chess matters, have been published. Had any existed in the U.K., they would probably have come to light during the nineteenth century, especially when the history of chess was extensively discussed in the Victorian press.

²¹⁶ See pp. 53-5.

²¹⁷ Egbert Meissenburg, 'The History of Correspondence Chess Before 1800', in Harding, *Write*, pp. 48-51.

²¹⁸ Robert Johnson to Downshire, 19 Feb. 1799 (Downshire MSS at PRONI D.607/G/75), quoted by A. P. W. Malcomson, *John Foster: the politics of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy* (Oxford 1978), p. 390. I am grateful to Dr Malcomson for providing this reference. Johnson appears to have transferred the Rousseau line, mentioned below, to Philidor, whose name in eighteenth century texts is often spelled the alternative way. There was also the story of a long-distance chess game between 'two Persons of Distinction' at Paris and Rome, in *The Craftsman*, 15 Sept. 1733, but it is fairly clear this was meant to be satire and not a description of an actual contest.

²¹⁹ The main secondary sources for Philidor's career are: George Allen, *The Life of Philidor, Musician and Chess-player* (New York & Philadelphia 1865), which took into account what Philidor told Twiss; Charles Michael Carroll, 'Philidor in London', in *B.C.M.*, lxxxi (Jan., Mar., Apr. & May 1981) based on his doctoral thesis; and various articles in *Philidor, musicien et joueur d'echecs*. (Recherches sur la musique française classique, xxviii; Picard: Paris? 1995). None of these say anything about Philidor playing postal chess; it seems improbable that he did.

In 1869, somebody signing themselves ‘G, Edinburgh’ referred in *Notes and Queries* to a passage in book three of Rousseau’s *Confessions* where he wrote about exchanging thoughts by post, ‘as it is said the Spanish play at chess’. The enquirer commented: ‘He could not have supposed that what he thus holds as a matter to be laughed at was to be done in truth and sober earnest, as was the case in the celebrated matches between London and Edinburgh.’²²⁰ George Lyttelton, the leading chess player among the British aristocracy,²²¹ replied:

G. seems to think that the matches between London and Edinburgh are single or rare instances of this. I believe they were *early* instances of it; but it has been done perpetually for many years both by clubs and individuals. I have myself done so with hardly any interruption for about twenty years. LYTTELTON.²²²

Lyttelton seemed to hint that here were perhaps other cases of postal chess in Britain before *London v. Edinburgh*, although he gave no instances. Penn’s maxim, cited above, also implies a familiarity with this mode of play at a date (prior to the 1840 postal reform) when it is usually supposed that individuals rarely if ever played correspondence chess. A curious reference, but which can hardly be considered evidence of Tudor correspondence chess, is the episode in the 1875 Tennyson drama *Queen Mary*,²²³ in which French ambassador, Noailles, invites Courtenay, earl of Devon, to dinner, hoping to inveigle him into a plot.²²⁴ Noailles says they will play at chess with ‘the Duke of Suffolk lately freed from prison, Sir Peter Carew and Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sir Thomas Stafford, and some more.’ Evidently this is all a cover for political discussions but did Tennyson have grounds for thinking such games were played in the sixteenth century?²²⁵

²²⁰ *Notes and Queries*, 4th ser. III. (20 Mar. 1869), p. 261.

²²¹ Lyttelton’s chess and other activities are the subject of a case study on pp. 154-65.

²²² *Notes and Queries*, 4th ser. III. (10 Apr. 1869), p. 347.

²²³ Alfred Tennyson, *Queen Mary* (London 1875), Act I Scene III. The play was published before it was first performed.

²²⁴ To marry Edward Lord Courtenay, a great-grandson of Edward IV, to Queen Mary and so thwart the Spaniards. Noailles was also a real person.

²²⁵ It is known from his son’s memoir that some of Tennyson’s background reading for this play was J. A. Froude, *History of England*, vi (London 1860). On p. 41 Froude himself cites Noailles as one of his sources but it has not been possible to consult these French texts. Tennyson probably developed the idea from Froude’s reference (p. 156) to the interception of enciphered messages between Noailles and the King of France.

NOAILLES. ...we play with Henry, King of France, and certain of his court. His Highness makes his moves across the Channel, we answer him with ours, and there are messengers that go between us.

COURTENAY. Why, such a game, sir, were whole years a playing.

NOAILLES. Nay; not so long I trust. That all depends upon the skill and swiftness of the players.²²⁶

7 Looking forward

THESE precedents having been surveyed, the next chapter deals with the aforementioned *London v. Edinburgh* postal match. Chapter Three discusses chess literature, which was both a driver for the development of chess and also in many cases played a functional role. The synergy between print and play accelerated in the 1840s: magazines and cheaper chess books came on the market, responding to the increasing numbers of players and clubs. Chapter Three also indicates the main printed primary sources used for the study: weekly chess columns in a wide range of newspapers and periodicals and the specialist chess magazines, checked against each other as far as possible.

Chapters Four and Five examine chess clubs and associations. Chapter Four looks at various types of club, especially those in mechanics' institutes, which were of great importance for the spread of chess into new strata of English society in mid-century. Here the case study of Lyttelton, who was closely involved in education and social reform, relates closely to the opening section of this chapter. After discussing the attempts to create regional and national chess associations, Chapter Four concludes with a section on specialist correspondence chess clubs. Chapter Five is complementary, dealing with competition between clubs and other teams by correspondence. Chapter Six examines correspondence competitions for individuals, mainly taking the form of tournaments. Almost nothing has previously been written about them in chess literature. Chapter Seven explores women's chess and gender issues, offering much new evidence about female leisure experience. Since this thesis is not confined to England, Chapter Eight discusses some

²²⁶ The date of the scene appears to be about August-September 1553 in view of the reference to Suffolk being recently released. The play, heavily cut, had a short London run in 1876 with Henry Irving in the role of Philip of Spain, and it was popular in Melbourne.

peculiarities of the chess world in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. The case study ending Chapter Seven relates both to women's and to Irish chess, while that in Chapter Eight focuses on Scotland.

Chapter Nine reviews the thesis, including suggestions for future research. Extensive appendices document the correspondence chess competitions of the period, the periodicals connected with them, and the people mentioned in the thesis. The scores of some significant games are also included.

2 The London-Edinburgh Match, 1824-8

AN EMBOSSSED silver cup, still in the Scottish capital today, bears the inscription: ‘Won by the Edinburgh Chess Club from the London Chess Club in the match at chess. Begun 23 April 1824. Ended 31 July 1828.’¹ This match was important for the history of the game as a whole, not just of chess by correspondence. It was the first contest of any kind between chess clubs; Scottish victory made it particularly newsworthy. The scores of the games were published soon after they were completed, a novelty in itself, making public the tactics now being employed by experts in clubs, in contrast to the eighteenth century strategies that filled the chess books then available.² Incidents in the match had a bearing on rules governing matches thereafter. Finally, a controversy about it simmered on into the 1850s. Numerous misconceptions are in circulation; one author mistakenly says that the winners gained ‘a silver cup and 25 guineas’.³ Early correspondence between the clubs did mention a chess set of that value, but a cup was agreed upon before play began.⁴ This detail, like much else that is new in this chapter, derives from manuscripts held in Edinburgh; no relevant papers from London survive.⁵

1 The cancelled Paris match, and Edinburgh’s challenge

THE match came about after a similar one planned between Paris and London was cancelled. It is often incorrectly stated that the English challenged the French, perhaps because of Harold Murray’s remark that ‘the London club was anxious in

¹ On the start date, apparently wrong in the inscription, see n64 below.

² Hooper & Whyld, *Oxford Companion*, p. 79: ‘For the first time a wide readership could study the games of contemporary players’.

³ Avery, *America*, p. 2.

⁴ Edinburgh Chess Club papers: memorandum of a meeting of 25 Mar. 1824; letter from London Chess Club of 10 Apr. 1824.

⁵ Papers of the London Chess Club at the London Metropolitan Archive [Refs: A/LCH/1-7] do not mention the match specifically. They appear to have been started around 1830 by club secretary Perigal, drawing on old membership records. William Lewis probably took away any papers relating to the match when preparing his book about it.

1824 to play a match with correspondence'.⁶ There is no evidence of any 'anxiety'. It was indeed Paris's fault it was cancelled,⁷ but they had issued the original challenge, as Bassi correctly stated back in 1948.⁸ A recent book speculates that Paris withdrew because De la Bourdonnais was reluctant to show his best moves,⁹ but he wrote that he even paid a visit to London in 1825 to prove that the French were not afraid of a 'second Waterloo'.¹⁰ Confirmation of some of the details he provided can be found in contemporary newspapers. As often with journalism, especially then, it can be difficult to determine who originated a story, but it was possibly *The Globe and Traveller* (a London evening paper). They reported:

CHESS.—The London Chess Club have received an invitation to play two games with the Paris Club. The challenge has been accepted, and on Tuesday last the players here were appointed. They consist of a Committee, of which five are a quorum, who are to make the moves, and transmit them. Amateurs, no doubt, will be gratified in witnessing this scientific contest, which will display the skill of, probably, the first players in Europe. The stakes are 50 guineas each game. We shall occasionally communicate the moves.¹¹

Paris had issued their challenge towards the end of 1823, inviting London to name the stake, but during the period of three months before London decided to accept, problems arose in the French club and they withdrew.¹² The collapse of the

⁶ Murray, *History*, p. 879.

⁷ As Eales says in *Chess*, p. 132, but he was wrong about which city made the challenge.

⁸ Bassi, 'Correspondence Chess' (5), in *Mail Chess*, iii (no. 6, Aug./Sept. 1948), p. 236.

⁹ Cary Utterberg, *De la Bourdonnais versus McDonnell, 1834* (Jefferson 2005), p. 12.

¹⁰ L-C. M. de la Bourdonnais, 'Un Défi par correspondance' in *Le Palamède*, i (1836), p. 14. The *Cercle du Philidor*, according to this article, was founded in 1821.

¹¹ *The Globe and Traveller*, Tuesday evening 10 Feb. 1824 (p.3 c.3), reprinted in *The Kaleidoscope*, iv (no. 190, 17 Feb. 1824), p. 276; so the meeting at London Chess Club was on 3 February. *The Courier* of 10 Feb. also had the same report but credited 'Morning Paper'. That was probably the *Globe and Traveller*; at least this shows the story did not originate with *The Courier*.

¹² De la Bourdonnais, loc. cit: '*Nous envoyâmes un défi au club de Londres, laissant nos adversaires maîtres de fixer la somme qu'ils voulaient engager. Les Anglais nous répondirent au bout de trois mois. Dans l'intervalle, quelques divisions s'étaient glissées dans notre cercle, dont le local était trop rétréci. Nous nous trouvâmes dans la nécessité de suspendre le défi...*' (The penultimate sentence is not easy to translate but this means, roughly: 'We sent a challenge to the London club, leaving the opposing masters to fix the sum for which they would play. The English replied at the end of the third month. In the interim, some divisions slipped into our circle, of which the premises were too restrictive. We found it necessary to withdraw the challenge.' They met in a room above the main Parisian chess resort, the Café de la Régence.)

planned Paris match received much more publicity than the original report. The following item appeared in numerous newspapers:¹³

We stated some days ago that the Paris Chess Club, named *Le Cercle du Philidor*, challenged the London Chess Club to play a match at chess, the moves to be transmitted either by post or by extraordinary couriers. The challenge was accepted... An answer has just been received from M. de la Bourdonnaye, the second player in Paris, declining the match, as the French Club is on the point of dissolution, in consequence of a dispute among its members... It was calculated that if the moves had been transmitted by the post, these games would have lasted about a twelvemonth. It was suggested by an enthusiastic chess-player of the London Chess Club, that as the national honour was in some degree involved, Ministers might be induced to re-establish a telegraphic communication between the two countries for this special purpose. This plan would have abridged considerably the duration of the games, and would not have cost the country more than ten thousand pounds.¹⁴

Now Edinburgh Chess Club stepped up to the mark. Internet pages occasionally state that London challenged Edinburgh but the Edinburgh club's *Report* clearly states that they made the move.¹⁵ Not finding the earliest accounts,¹⁶ Bassi dated the French withdrawal to March, and so failed to make the connection that Edinburgh were reacting to seeing in the newspapers that London lacked an opponent.¹⁷ Bassi's brief account is otherwise excellent: it was he who disproved a

¹³ This report appeared first in *The Globe and Traveller* on the 18th (p. 3 c. 3), and was then 'lifted' by *The Times* (citing 'evening paper'), *The Courier*, and the *Evening Mail* on the 19th, and by several other papers. The earlier story, quoted on p. 54, appears neither in *The Times* nor in several other papers that carried this item. *The Globe and Traveller*, alone of the several titles checked, both also had the earlier report, and did not cite another source. It was therefore probably, but not absolutely certainly, the first to print the stories about the failed Paris match.

¹⁴ There was no electric telegraphy at this date. According to Standage, *Internet*, pp. 8-15, the optical telegraph system devised by Claude Chappe was demonstrated in 1791 and a Paris-Lille line established in 1794, while the British Admiralty set up a system in 1795. He says Napoleon had a station established at Boulogne and commissioned experiments over a comparable distance, but implies that no cross-Channel optical telegraph was actually established.

¹⁵ Edinburgh Chess Club, *The Games of the Match at Chess played between the London and the Edinburgh Chess Clubs, in 1824 1825 1826 1827, and 1828; with notes and back-games; as reported by the Committee of the Edinburgh Chess-Club* (Edinburgh 1829), p. 3 (usually referred to as the 'Edinburgh Report').

¹⁶ Bassi cited *The Annals of Sporting and Fancy Gazette*, v (Mar. 1824), which reprinted the original article on p. 302.

¹⁷ Confirmation of this was found in the *Caledonian Mercury* of 13 Dec. 1828, which reported the club's annual meeting (the previous Tuesday) at which the trophy was first exhibited. The chairman (William Crawford) explicitly stated that Edinburgh (on noting the withdrawal of

German claim that an *Amsterdam-Rotterdam* match had started first. He showed that Edinburgh's first move was dispatched just before the Dutch match began.¹⁸

London to Edinburgh was the most important route in the postal service.¹⁹ The scheduled time for the stagecoach journey,²⁰ at the accession of William IV in 1830, was 44 hours 43 minutes,²¹ including stops.²² The distance was just under 400 miles,²³ so this was an average speed of almost 9mph.²⁴ While many cities had cheap local posts since the late eighteenth century, letters to other towns were a luxury.²⁵ The cost depended on the distance and the number of sheets of paper. Most of London's letters surviving in Edinburgh are on a heavy cream paper,

Paris) 'thought it a pity that the London Club should be thus disappointed, and had the hardihood, for I can call it by no other name, to challenge them...'

¹⁸ 'Tets Wegens Het Amsterdamsche Schaakgenootschap' ('Something about the Amsterdam Chess Club'), in *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen*, 1829, ii, pp. 217-28; the date is given on p. 227. Dr Eduard Dyckhoff had claimed in the *Deutsche Schachzeitung* (1932, p. 162) that the Dutch match started first. Bassi made enquiries in Holland and was told that papers of the Amsterdam chess club confirmed the date of 27 April: *Mail Chess*, iv (no. 37, Jan. 1949), p. 301.

¹⁹ David Allam, *The social and economic importance of postal reform in 1840* (Harry Hayes philatelic pamphlets. no. 4, Batley 1976). Rowland Hill made a special study of the economics of this route. Allam says that it was possible to send a letter from London to Edinburgh for 8d. by using a coastal steamer part of the way, but this would have been much slower.

²⁰ The introduction of stagecoaches had dramatically improved both the speed and security of the mails. Peter Davies and Ben Maile, *First Post: From Penny Black to the present day* (London 1990), pp. 10-12, say that by 1786 the Edinburgh route was 'covered in 60 hours, 25 hours less than the relay of mounted post-boys'. A recent history of the coaching era is Frederick Wilkinson, *Royal Mail coaches: an illustrated history* (Stroud 2007).

²¹ This information is the closest available to the date of the match. The 44 hrs. 43 mins. duration was subsequently reduced to 42 hrs. 23 mins: Robinson, *Post*, p. 238, relying on F. E. Baines, *Forty years at the Post-Office* (2 vols, London 1895), i, pp. 92 & 97; ii, p. 307 (appendix with table of distances and times at the accessions of William IV and Queen Victoria).

²² Baines, *Post-Office*, i, p. 92, says the northward coach left London at 8pm, with forty-minute stops for meals allowed next day at Grantham and York. Wilkinson, *Coaches*, p. 165 (citing Post 10/168), confirms these break times, which are incorrect in the *Companion*.

²³ Baines, *Post-Office*, i, p. 92, says 399 miles and four furlongs. It was 398 miles according to *A List of Post-towns and principal places with the postage of a single letter to or from London, according to the actual routes of the post* (London: HMSO 1831); the copy at the British Postal Museum and Archive, ref. Post 53/34, has MS amendments dated 1837. By comparison, Post 53/32, a 'List of postage rates for post towns in England and Wales with the distance and postage of a single letter from Edinburgh' (dating from the 1812 postal rate changes), includes a chart stating the mileage to London as 414 but later sources all give distances no more than 400 miles. A combination of short cuts (via new bridges) and measurement errors may explain the difference, which would amount to two hours travelling time. Baines says for a period there was also a (shorter but slower) route via Wetherby and Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

²⁴ Wilkinson, *Coaches*, p. 187 (citing Post 10/258), says that the intended speed of coaches in 1827 was 7mph but many failed to reach that. The better performance on the Edinburgh route was presumably due to superior roads and the use of new coaches and experienced crews.

²⁵ On local penny posts, see Frank Staff, *The Penny Post 1680-1918* (London 1964).

folded and sealed.²⁶ The normal cost of a letter between the cities was 1s. 1½d.,²⁷ but the Edinburgh Club cash book includes several items for 1s. 1d., suggesting that a curricle to the Tweed was already in use by 1824.²⁸ There is by no means an entry to match every move sent, making it impossible to calculate the total expenditure on the match;²⁹ there are also entries such as 'Postages to London' for 5s. 9d. and 3s. 5d.,³⁰ which presumably represented several letters.

2 The clubs and their members

LONDON Chess Club, Britain's oldest, was established on 25 March 1807; its rules limited it to sixty members but it may never have had that many.³¹ It met at Tom's Coffee House on Cornhill, until it removed to the nearby George and Vulture at Christmas 1838,³² and finally dissolved early in 1870.³³ The Edinburgh club first met on 4 November 1822 at the North British Hotel in Princes Street.³⁴ Dr A. Berry was its president.³⁵ Having begun with thirty-one members, it had thirty-three by

²⁶ Envelopes were not normally used in the U.K. until 1840 as they would have counted as an extra sheet of paper, doubling the cost.

²⁷ According to Post 53/34, the cost of a single letter between the two cities in 1831 was 13½d. See the appendices on postal legislation and postage rates for more details.

²⁸ 53 Geo. III. c. 68 (1813) obliged the Post Office to pay tolls and brought in this surcharge as compensation for four-wheeled vehicles, in Scotland only. A curricle was an open two-wheeled vehicle and so not liable to the halfpenny surcharge. Baines, *Post-office*, i, p. 93, says the curricle via Wooler was introduced in 1830; it saved two hours on the journey. Allam, *Reform*, confirms that 'a letter from London to Edinburgh was usually charged 1s. 1½d.' See the appendices on postal legislation and postage rates for more details.

²⁹ For example, entries 'Paid Postage to London Club' on 1 May, 25 June 1824 and 15 April 1826. There are far too few entries. Maybe the club sometimes found cost-free ways to send the moves to London (e.g. by hand of members visiting London, or with commercial correspondence).

³⁰ Edinburgh club account book, 20 Sept. and 7 Nov. 1825. Later in the match the clubs appear to have agreed to pay for letters on receipt: there are several entries for 'Postages from London' amounting to 2s. 3d. on 21 Dec. 1827, and again early in 1828 for 2s. 3d., 1s. 1d. and 1s. 2d.

³¹ Rules and membership list in London Metropolitan Archive, A/LCH/1.

³² In 1855 the club moved back for a few months to Tom's while Pursell, the proprietor of the George and Vulture, built 'a spacious set of rooms expressly for the club' (*B.L.L.*, 25 Mar. 1855); on 30 Dec. it reported they were in the new rooms.

³³ *B.L.L.*, 19 Feb. and 26 Feb. 1870. Staunton wrote in the *LLN.*, lvii (26 Nov. 1870), p. 555, that the club was 'recently defunct'. Pursell's was still a commercial chess resort into the 1890s: *B.C.M.* xi (May 1891), pp. 230-8.

³⁴ The first entry is dated 2 Nov. 1822. Early payments related to the purchase of candles and payment to sedan chairmen for the transport of chess pieces. The entry fee was £3 3s., annual subscriptions £1 1s. and rent £2 2s: www.edinburghchessclub.co.uk/ecchist1.htm (8 Nov. 2005).

³⁵ Not to be confused with a Dr Barry who was implicated in the Burke and Hare case.

the time the match began, according to the club's own website, or as many as fifty according to the Scottish Chess Association's history.³⁶ While sixty-nine members are named in the printed laws booklet, still in the possession of the club, the discrepancies may be due to an accession of new members during 1824 as a result of interest stimulated by the match. Many representatives of the professions and the military joined the Edinburgh club whereas London's early membership list included nobody with a military rank.

Each club named the players who would consult and decide upon the moves. Experience later showed that, for quality of play and optimal results, a committee of only two or three is best but, understandably in this dawn of the inter-club era, many members wished to be involved. Edinburgh began with a seven-man committee, 'but in consequence of the absence of members from town, and other considerations, additions were made to it from time to time'. Eventually fifteen were involved: Captain M. W. C. Aytoun (Royal Artillery), John Buchanan, William Burnett, William Crawford, James Donaldson (named as 'Convener'), James Gregory, Rev Henry Liston, Lindsay Mackersy, Hugh Cree Meiklejohn (club secretary), John More, Thomas Pender, James Rose, Sir Samuel Stirling (Bart.), Andrew Wauchope, and David Wylie.³⁷ Twelve London members were named: J. Brande, John Cochrane, William Fraser, Benjamin Keen, William Lewis, T. Mercier, Joseph Parkinson, Peter Pratt, Abraham Samuda, C. Tomlin, J. Willshire, and Joseph Woods.³⁸

London lost one of its strongest players when Cochrane sailed for India just before the critical stage in the first pair of games; he did not return to England until 1840. Lewis thereafter was the principal in London. The *O.D.N.B.* has a short profile, but the fullest account of his career is a two-part 1906 article by Murray,

³⁶ C. W. Pritchett and M. D. Thornton (eds.), *Scotland's chess centenary book: SCA 1884-1984: the Scottish Chess Association reaches its centenary* (Edinburgh 1984), pp. 2-3.

³⁷ *Edinburgh Report*, p. 4. Many Christian names have been supplied from news reports or club membership lists. Mackersy was not on the original committee. See Appendix IX for details on some players.

³⁸ London listed their players in the letter to Edinburgh dated 4 May 1824, calling everybody 'Mr'. There are variant spellings: 'Frazer', 'Tomalin', 'Wiltshire' and 'Wood'. This list appears in the *Edinburgh Report*, p. 4. See Appendix IX for more details, especially on Brand(e).

whose *History* has a few extra details.³⁹ Murray's article states cautiously that Lewis 'was for some years in low water financially'. He earned some income by chess teaching and writing, but sources agree that around 1827 he fell into financial difficulties due to investing in a piano patent.⁴⁰ Money worries could well have affected his input to the London club's deliberations, in quality, quantity or both. The *Oxford Companion* follows Sergeant in stating categorically that Lewis was bankrupted in 1827.⁴¹ *O.D.N.B.* copied this, but it is improbable because 'until 1841, the legal status of being a bankrupt was confined to traders owing more than £100' and debtors who were not traders could not be bankrupt.⁴² The incompleteness of insolvency records of that time make it difficult to prove a negative, but in 1830, he found employment with the Family Endowment Society and it is implausible that a bankrupt could have obtained such a position.⁴³

Staunton's obituary of Lewis, which stresses his athleticism but says nothing about money, says that 'he took an active part' in the Edinburgh match but after it was over 'he seems to have abandoned severe chess-playing'.⁴⁴ Lewis did continue for many years as a chess author but it is his writings on the match that concern us.

³⁹ H. J. R. Murray, 'William Lewis' pt. 1 in *B.C.M.*, xxv (Jan. 1906), pp. 8-12 and pt. 2 (Feb. 1906), pp. 49-53, and *History*, pp. 878-81. The second part deals with the years from 1824. Compare *O.D.N.B.*, xxxiii, pp. 664-5. These accounts undoubtedly relied partly on obituaries, especially the one in *Land and Water*, x (3 Sept. 1870), p. 172.

⁴⁰ The 1820s were a time of great competition and development in the piano industry; about fifty firms made pianos in London alone. Rosamond E. M. Harding, *The piano-forte its history traced to the Great Exhibition of 1851* (2nd ed., Woking 1978 [1933]), includes appendices listing the numerous patents that were taken out, none with Lewis's name on it. Without further clues, lacking in the chess sources, it is impossible to trace exactly which patent cost Lewis his money.

⁴¹ Sergeant, *Century*, p. 29; Hooper & Whyld, *Companion*, p. 184.

⁴² Information sheet 'Bankrupts and Insolvent Debtors: 1710-1869' (2004) from the National Archives, Kew. The rumour appears to originate from *Westminster Papers*, ix (Dec. 1876), p. 141, stating that in 1827 'Lewis having obtained a patent for the manufacture of piano-fortes that nobody would buy, became twice bankrupt in the course of a single year'. The original *D.N.B.* did not say he was bankrupted.

⁴³ *O.D.N.B.*, following the *Companion*, says Lewis was actuary for the Family Endowment Society, as stated by *B.L.L.*, 12 July 1840. Such work being very specialised, Murray's statement that 'friends secured for him the secretaryship' follows the *Land and Water* obituary and might seem more plausible: *B.C.M.*, xxvi (Feb 1906), p. 50. However another chess player, John Cazenove (a member of Lloyds from 1819), was certainly secretary of the Society for a long period: see their advertisements in *The Times*, 1 Jan. and 16 June 1836. *B.L.L.*, 5 July 1840, says Cazenove was secretary and *O.D.N.B.* has him there 1843-58.

⁴⁴ *ILN*, lvii (26 Nov. 1870), p. 555. Eales, *Chess*, p. 134, says 'after 1830 he preserved his reputation by playing very little'. In 1833, Lewis began a little-known match against an unknown 'foreigner of distinction' for 100 guineas: advertised in *The Age*, 16 June 1833, with a report on 23 June 1833, but it is uncertain whether the contest was completed.

Possibly anticipating good sales consequent on the expected London victory, he decided to produce booklets about it. In 1825, after two games had ended, one containing the moves appeared, priced at three shillings.⁴⁵ The publisher was William Marsh of 145 Oxford Street but no details of financial arrangements are known. In 1826, when London levelled the match, Lewis issued a slim volume, which is extremely rare and not mentioned in bibliographies;⁴⁶ costing 1s. 6d., it contained only the moves of the third game to finish.⁴⁷ At the end of the match, his book with all the games, and a preface, appeared.⁴⁸ Comparison of the editions shows that the type from the earlier booklets was preserved and used for this.

It would be wrong to regard the rest of the London committee as nonentities. Although inferior in skill to Lewis, they were experienced chessists. Mathematician Charles Babbage stated that Brande had studied chess several hours a day when at Cambridge and afterwards 'he travelled abroad, took lessons from every celebrated teacher, and played with all the most eminent players on the Continent.'⁴⁹ The only way Babbage could have any chance of beating Brande 'was by making early in the game a move so bad that it had not been mentioned in any treatise'.⁵⁰ Joseph Woods, a Quaker and the architect of the Corn Exchange, was also an enthusiastic

⁴⁵ William Lewis, *The first and second games of the match at Chess now pending between the London and the Edinburgh Chess Clubs, with numerous variations and remarks* (London 1825). This has only a brief introduction and does not discuss the controversy discussed below.

⁴⁶ Not even in the *Nineteenth Century Short Title Catalogue*, recently made available online, which 'aims to index... all printed works in English wherever published'.

⁴⁷ William Lewis, *The third game of the match at chess now pending between the London and the Edinburgh Chess Clubs, with numerous variations and remarks* (London 1826). This was the fourth game in the numbering actually used by the clubs but the third to finish. The publication was mentioned as forthcoming in the *Bristol Mercury*, 25 Sept. 1826. There is a copy, complete with cover, bound together with Lewis's 1825 booklet in Edinburgh Central Library. A note on the inside cover reads: 'The Fourth Game, of which upwards of Sixty moves have already been made, will be published as soon as it is played, and a Title and Preface will be added when the Match is finished. A few copies have been struck off on Royal Paper.'

⁴⁸ William Lewis, *The games of the match at Chess played by the London and the Edinburgh Chess Clubs between the years 1824 and 1828, with numerous variations and remarks* (London 1828). Marsh is not named; the printer is J. F. (or I. F.) Setchel of 23 King Street, Covent Garden, who also printed Lewis's reply to the *Edinburgh Report* on the match in 1829. Lewis's work was translated into French and German soon afterwards.

⁴⁹ Charles Babbage, *Passages from the life of a philosopher* (ed. with an introduction by Martin Campbell-Kelly, London 1994; based on first ed., London 1864), p. 26.

⁵⁰ Babbage, *Passages*, p. 26.

player.⁵¹ Charles Tomlinson (1808-97), scientist and authority on Dante,⁵² was Woods's office boy at the time, and recalled that:

The committee met at his chambers one evening, and sat an hour or two later than my usual bed-time, for I slept in a little bed in a recess in the office, which by day was closed with folding doors. It was with great difficulty that I kept awake. I went into the conference room several times under pretence of putting back books, or taking down others, and looked at first with some curiosity on the large board and men, and the grave earnest looks of those who were consulting.⁵³

Towards the end of May, about forty-five Scots attended a celebratory dinner at the British Hotel.⁵⁴ Tradition has it that James Donaldson, known as 'the bailie',⁵⁵ conducted most of the match single-handed, or at least was the '*facile princeps*, or chief calculator'.⁵⁶ The other Edinburgh committee members are unknown for their achievements in the chess world but may have contributed suggestions and corrections, 'protecting him from those mistakes to which the greatest player may be liable when acting single-handed' as Bassi fairly put it.⁵⁷ When the cup was won, the first toast proposed in it was to Donaldson, but he replied that the victory was a collective effort. 'By whomsoever a move might have been suggested, it was fairly examined, and either adopted or rejected according to what appeared to be its real merits,' he said.⁵⁸

Donaldson won the medal played for annually among club members, but after the 1820s he withdrew from competition, except locally.⁵⁹ In 1847 the *Chess Player's Chronicle* described him as 'the well known victor in the London and

⁵¹ *O.D.N.B.*'s profile of Woods, lx, p. 216, mentions chess but not his involvement in the match.

⁵² *O.D.N.B.*, liv, pp. 939-940; Mary Tomlinson, *The Life of Charles Tomlinson, F.R.S., F.C.S.* (London 1900).

⁵³ Charles Tomlinson (untitled memoir), *B.C.M.*, xi (Nov. 1891), pp. 489-502, here p. 492. The information that Woods was architect of the Stock Exchange is from Tomlinson.

⁵⁴ *Annals of Sporting and Fancy Gazette*, vi (July 1824), p. 61. Its statement that the match was being played for a thousand sovereigns was presumably referring to side-bets.

⁵⁵ A 'bailie' was a town magistrate in Scotland. The term is still in use there.

⁵⁶ Rev John Donaldson, 'Delta's Reminiscences' in *B.C.M.*, xi, pp. 450-9 (Oct. 1891), here p. 451; and pp. 531-3 (Dec. 1891). In the latter, he corrects those who confused him with his namesake, James Donaldson.

⁵⁷ Bassi, 'Correspondence Chess' (6) in *Mail Chess*, iii (no. 34, Oct. 1948), p. 253.

⁵⁸ *Caledonian Mercury*, 13 Dec. 1828.

⁵⁹ *B.L.L.*, 12 July 1835.

Edinburgh match', saying he had not been playing chess much lately.⁶⁰ Sometimes he visited London and was feted in the chess clubs but declined serious play.⁶¹ Then in 1848, answering a query, Staunton wrote:

...Your once celebrated player, Mr Donaldson, expired at Edinburgh, after a long indisposition, a few days ago. It is exactly twenty years since he achieved his memorable victory over the London Chess Club, in the great match by correspondence. Since that period he had devoted but little time to Chess, and his latter games afford but an imperfect notion of his powers in bygone days.⁶²

3 The start of the match, and publicity

ONCE it had been decided in principle to play the match, the exact terms had to be settled. The Edinburgh papers reveal some details that never appeared in published accounts. Although part of the preliminary correspondence is missing, there is a memorandum dated 25 March 1824 about a special meeting that day in Edinburgh. It shows that, after London asked to play for 100 guineas, Crawford had had a conversation with the London Club president Grant Allan, in which he explained that the Edinburgh custom was to play for no stake at all. A compromise was agreed. Edinburgh decided at their meeting 'to deviate from their rule' and resolved that a set of chessmen worth twenty-five guineas should be the stake. This was changed to a cup in London's letter dated 10 April, and confirmed in an Edinburgh reply on the 24th, a draft of which survives. The same London note included a resolution 'that the laws of Sarrat [sic] are to be a guide in playing the match with the Edinburgh club'. The Scottish secretary replied 'I do not know whether there are more than one editions of Sarratt's Book. The edition wh[ich] the Edinburgh Chess Club have is that of 1808.' This was presumably clarified but no further mention is made of this.⁶³

⁶⁰ *CPC*, viii (1848), pp. 224 and 226.

⁶¹ *B.L.L.*, 12 July 1835. Later Walker wrote that 'Donaldson was 'a truly great player' (*B.L.L.*, 28 Apr. 1844, p. 1).

⁶² *ILN*, xii (19 Feb. 1848), p. 105; also *CPC*, ix (1848), p. 61.

⁶³ J. H. Sarratt, *A Treatise on the Game of Chess ... A new edition, revised and improved, with Additional Notes and Remarks by W. Lewis, Teacher of Chess* (London 1822). This was a one-volume edition of Sarratt's two-volume 1821 posthumous work; itself based on the first edition of 1808.

A draft letter of 30 March asks on what day the London club would send its first move, so that Edinburgh could send its own move (in the other game) the same day. Such crossing of letters would have caused problems and extra expense. On 17 April, the London secretary N. Domett wrote to Meiklejohn in Edinburgh confirming that the London club were now willing to play the match and enclosing 'a copy of the resolutions made in reference to the same'. So Meiklejohn's draft letter of 24 April made a better suggestion:

You have not noticed my proposal as to the Move in the Games. If two games are to be played at the same time, which I should think desirable [sic], one of the Clubs must be a move in advance, and I therefore annex the first move of the game in which Edinburgh have the move. In course of post, I shall expect to receive notice of the first move of the London Chess Club in this game, & likewise the first move of the game in which the London Chess Club have the move. The Edinburgh Chess Club understand that the Club which first wins either of these games is to have the move in the Third Game. If the London Chess Club wish to have the first move in the first game, the Edinburgh Chess Club have no objection to such arrangement.

This sounds pedantic but the match had no precedents and Edinburgh evidently thought it wise to be explicit. The annexed move, 'The King's pawn two squares' thus got the match under way.⁶⁴ For the next four years, there were normally two games in progress simultaneously. Every letter (except when a game had just ended, and in the final months) contained a move in each of two games.

The clubs found unwelcome the publicity that the match soon attracted. A postscript to the 24 April letter regrets that some Edinburgh newspapers had published notices of the match, which moreover were incorrect. 'But the insertion of any notice on the subject was unauthorised by this Club, and very much against the wish of its members.' They were to find that leaks could not be prevented. Although there were no chess magazines yet, and just one chess column, in *The Kaleidoscope* (which did print the earlier games), the volume of newspapers and

⁶⁴ There is no obvious explanation for the discrepancy between the date 23 April on the cup and 24 April in the draft letter. The former, usually stated to be the start date, appears to be wrong; even the 24 April is sufficient to give this match priority before the *Amsterdam-Rotterdam* match. Early in 2008, Eric Ruch of Paris informed this writer he had found some of the London letters among some old chess books he had purchased; presumably they had been stolen from the Edinburgh club in the past. He says that in one of them, dated 29 April, London secretary Domett acknowledges Edinburgh's letter of 24 April and sends London's first moves.

periodicals grew considerably in the 1820s.⁶⁵ The match was therefore mentioned from time to time in news reports, especially at the start, when games ended, and at the conclusion of the match. Any report was usually copied in several other papers. On 20 July 1824, *The Times* reprinted an item from the *Edinburgh Observer* saying that ‘the interest in this match is daily increasing and considerable bets are said to be depending on the issue’. On 7 September *The Times* quoted the *Edinburgh Independent* saying that ‘the Edinburgh side of the question is rather more bright than it was a month or two since’ and that the match was unlikely to be concluded for some time to come. On 27 February 1825, reporting the first win, *Bell’s Life* said that: ‘bets of five to two have been lost on the first game, and bets of three to two, in favour of the English club, are still offered on the result of the match.’⁶⁶

After Lewis’s first booklet appeared, *The London Magazine* printed a lengthy article about the match, bylined ‘by an ancient amateur’ but attributed to Albany Fonblanque (1793-1872).⁶⁷ The next issue carried a reply by one who claimed to be ‘what I suspect your witty correspondent only affects to be — an old chess player’ who was present at one of Philidor’s exhibitions in 1783.⁶⁸ Both these articles criticised some of Lewis’s analysis. For more penurious chess enthusiasts, the *Mirror*, an illustrated twopenny weekly, printed the whole game in verbose style so it could be followed by anyone who had some slight understanding of the game.⁶⁹ After explaining the essence of correspondence chess, namely that the game ‘may be played by persons at a distance from each other, by merely transmitting an account of each move’, they said a correspondent had called upon them to print the moves ‘in this great match, which excited intense interest among the admirers of this intellectual game (for such it really is) in London and Edinburgh’.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ For the *Kaleidoscope* column, see pp. 97 -99 & 186-8.

⁶⁶ This was also in *The Times* next day and in *Jackson’s Oxford Journal* on 1 March.

⁶⁷ ‘Chess and chess-players, by an ancient amateur’ in *The London Magazine*, xii (May 1825), pp. 97-102.

⁶⁸ ‘The London and Edinburgh Chess Match’, in *The London Magazine*, xii (June 1825), pp. 319-20.

⁶⁹ ‘Great chess match between London and Edinburgh’, in *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction*, v (no. 137, 23 Apr. 1825), pp. 270-2.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*

Unfortunately it turned out there were some errors in the description of a few moves, which were afterwards corrected, the paper apologising and explaining they had copied the report from an Edinburgh paper.

On 20 August 1825 *The Times* published the positions in the two games then in progress (another 'first'), and *Bell's Life in London* reproduced the same verbatim next day. In 1827 it was reported that the London club celebrated its summer festival at the Ship Tavern, Greenwich, and toasted 'the health of their gallant adversaries the members of the Edinburgh Chess Club'.⁷¹ After that, there was little news until 1828, with Edinburgh's ultimate victory and the debate that followed. Finally on 11 August 1828 *The Times* reported the end of the match, from the *Caledonian Mercury*, which wrote that 'we understand the greatest cordiality has prevailed between the Clubs during the match'. Near the end, after a particularly misleading report had appeared, London wrote:

In answer to your postscript we adjure you that we have neither authorized nor sanctioned any paragraph that has appeared in the newspapers since the commencement of the match and we have no doubt that you have pursued the same course. On inquiry at the office of *Bell's Life in London* we were informed that the paragraph in question had been sent to them in a letter from Edinburg[h].⁷²

4 The mystery of the fifth game

IN THOSE days White did not necessarily move first. In matches, each side usually kept the same colour throughout. Of the two books on this match, the *Edinburgh Report* identifies the sides as 'Edinburgh' and 'London', but Lewis shows that in each game, irrespective of who moved first, London always employed the white pieces and Edinburgh the black.⁷³ For the purpose of further discussion, the modern convention that White moves first is adopted.

Game 1 was a rather dull affair, in which the Scots tried Philidor's old favourite, the Bishop's Opening. Perhaps because it was so dull, William Lewis

⁷¹ *Bristol Mercury*, 23 July 1827.

⁷² London to Edinburgh, 9 July 1828. *Bell's Life* had written on 1 June that two games were still in progress. This was corrected on 22 June, but in terms to which the *Caledonian Mercury* of 26 June took exception.

⁷³ Lewis, *Match* (1828).

called it Game 2 in his writings. When it ended in a draw in December 1824, the agreed terms stipulated that a new game be played, 'the move remaining with the party that had commenced the drawn game'. That custom in British clubs continued to apply for some more decades but was gradually replaced by the modern practice recommended in Sarratt's Law Five, which stated that 'after the *first* game the move belongs alternately to each player'.⁷⁴ When the Scots won Game 2 (in circumstances discussed below) the stipulation that 'the Club winning the game first finished should have the move in the third' applied. Now, in February 1825, Edinburgh also started what was in fact the fourth game. It was more than eighteen months before another concluded.

The original agreement was that the match was to be decided by the best of three games, draws not counting. Nothing was said initially about fourth or fifth games, the possibility of which was perhaps only dimly foreseen (London doubtless expecting an easy victory initially). A detail that no books or articles mention is that, when Edinburgh won Game 2, one of their committee argued that 'the Club were not bound by the Articles of the Match to play a fourth Game'.⁷⁵ He was outvoted; matches were usually for a fixed number of wins.

It has often been observed that Edinburgh had first move in four of the five games. It does not necessarily follow, as it would today, that they derived much advantage from having four 'Whites'. The first move tells more in modern chess than it did in the early nineteenth century, when the state of opening theory was rudimentary.⁷⁶ Moving first gives a player the opportunity to develop the pieces slightly faster and to occupy a greater share of the centre with pawns, but it only requires a few inaccuracies or one downright bad move to dissipate this advantage; errors in most games in the Edinburgh match soon gave the opponent the opportunity of getting on level terms. Indeed two games were won by the side moving second and although the first player won the decisive fifth game, the losers missed a clear opportunity to obtain a superior position at move twenty-six. In the

⁷⁴ Sarratt, *Treatise* (1822 [1808]), p. 2. That was intended to apply to games in clubs and not correspondence chess with two games being conducted simultaneously, so did not apply here.

⁷⁵ Edinburgh Club minute book, 26 Feb. 1825. The dissenters were Crawford (one of the playing committee) and Dr Berry (club president).

⁷⁶ See the discussion of openings books on pp. 79-82.

nineteenth century (especially because, unlike nowadays, the customary 1 e4 was usually met by the symmetrical 1...e5) the main advantage of having first move was that one could dictate the nature of early play: by forcing early tactical exchanges with a gambit opening, or playing more quietly to postpone the main struggle until the pieces were developed.

Through the rest of 1825 and most of 1826 London fought back, but out of the public eye. Attention naturally waned, with no result declared for over eighteen months, but for the people involved as players or with wagers riding on it, this was probably a tense time. In Game 3, London contained the advantage gained by the Scots from the opening and by mid-1826 it was heading towards a draw. It became, at ninety-nine moves, the longest published postal game until the 1950s, but at the end of September they were only at move sixty-five. Meanwhile in Game 4 there was a minor incident, where Edinburgh wrote an illegal move; this was resolved amicably and did not seriously affect the outcome. London gradually outplayed their opponents to level the score. The next decisive game would end the match.

The reason why Edinburgh started four games has never been satisfactorily explained until now. William Wayte wrote that this occurred because of 'the peculiar rules which had been laid down for the first move';⁷⁷ similarly Murray's *Short History* said the four-one split was 'owing to the conditions of the match'.⁷⁸ More recently, Pagni repeated the same statement.⁷⁹ They are correct only in so far as the third and fourth games are concerned. None of these writers saw the Edinburgh manuscripts. Yet they failed to ask themselves a simple question: why, after winning Game 4, did London not claim first move in Game 5, which began three weeks later?

Table 1, at the top of the next page, shows the dates of play and results, and using the numbering of games employed by Edinburgh in their *Report*, and by both sides in the match correspondence, rather than the different numbering Lewis adopted in his book to avoid confusing the public.

⁷⁷ W. Wayte, 'The London and Edinburgh Correspondence Match, 1824-1828', in *B.C.M.*, xii (1892), pp. 330-4; here p. 331. Rev William Wayte was a frequent contributor to *B.C.M.*

⁷⁸ H. J. R. Murray, *A Short History of Chess* (Oxford 1963), p. 74.

⁷⁹ Pagni, *Matches*, i, p. 6; *Scacchi*, p. 3.

Table 1: Edinburgh-London match 1824-8

No.	First move	Begun	Ended	Winner	Moves
1	Edinburgh	24 Apr. 1824	14 Dec. 1824	Draw	35
2	London	29 Apr. 1824	23 Feb. 1825	Edinburgh	52
3	Edinburgh	20 Dec. 1824	18 Mar. 1828	Draw	99
4	Edinburgh	26 Feb. 1825	15 Sept. 1826	London	55
5	Edinburgh	6 Oct. 1826	31 July 1828	Edinburgh	60

Edinburgh Chess Club therefore won the match by two games to one.⁸⁰

So why was Game 5, which started after Edinburgh resigned Game 4, actually opened by the Scots? Since the rules agreed at the start were inexplicit about this situation, *ad hoc* negotiations were needed. Edinburgh's report says that 'the fifth game was properly the successor of the third, although begun while the latter was still pending'.⁸¹ This says nothing explicitly about the first move but because Game 5 was the 'successor' of Game 3 it implies the reason why Edinburgh moved first. The *Report* also says that it would have been premature for Edinburgh to agree a draw in Game 3 'because, having a pawn of advantage, there was at least some chance of their winning the game, but none of their losing it.'

The solution to the mystery can be found in the London secretary's letter, to which the above passage refers. It was posted eleven days after the Scots abandoned Game 4 (so about eight days since London received the resignation).

The playing committee desire me to suggest the expediency of immediately commencing another game, as in the event of that now playing being drawn much time will be gained. **The move of course remaining with you.** Major Parry of your club who called here on Saturday last requested me to say he entirely concurred in this measure.⁸²

⁸⁰ The dates of the start of Games 1 and 2 have been changed from what is usually stated to match those on the letter, in Ruch's possession, referred to in n64.

⁸¹ *Edinburgh Report*, note on p. 9.

⁸² London to Edinburgh, 26 Sept. 1826 (adding emphasis on the crucial sentence.)

A draft of Edinburgh's reply to this survives. On 6 October they sent their first move in Game Five and also wrote that their playing committee agreed to the London proposal.⁸³ Then they added: '...as the match had been protracted much beyond the period originally anticipated, I am desired at the same time to intimate the general wish of our Club that it should terminate with the fifth game.' On 10 October, London posted their next moves but deferred their answer to the Edinburgh proposal, pending a general meeting. On the back of London's letter, Edinburgh wrote themselves a memo of what they sent in reply, probably because of the long conditional sequence of moves they were offering in Game 5. The next document is very revealing. London's letter of 17 October bears a postscript signed by Lewis himself (normally the club secretaries signed the letters), stating that:

I am requested to inform you that the Playing Committee laid before a general meeting of the London Chess Club held yesterday your proposal that the fifth game should terminate the match and the same was negatived, the playing committee at the same time declining to express any opinion on the subject.⁸⁴

One can read between the lines here. It is known from early reports on the match that some big bets were at stake. The people whose money depended on the outcome had been waiting a long time. They must have been eager for a result and accepted the slight risk involved in Edinburgh having first move in Game 5. They were less willing to accept the possibility of the match ending in a tie, in which case all bets would be off. What an anti-climax that would be! Hence they reserved the right to insist on a sixth game (should both Games 3 and 5 end in a draw), a game moreover in which London could claim first move by virtue of its win in Game 4. Had they tried to insist on first move in Game 5, Edinburgh might have replied that it should await the result of the marathon Game 3, thus postponing any possible favourable result of the match far into the future. Edinburgh's weak performance in Game 4 no doubt revived the hopes of the London players and those betting on their success, and made the Scots readier to accept a possible drawn match as a creditable performance by them, the junior club. The London

⁸³ There is a minute of the 5 Oct. playing committee meeting about this.

⁸⁴ The *Edinburgh Report* mentions the 'negatived proposal' but not Lewis's dissociation of the players from it.

committee's declining to take part in the discussion was diplomatic. It may also suggest that they had not placed big bets on themselves.

This explanation accounts for all known facts and documents. If London expected Edinburgh to continue playing as weakly as they had in Game 4, their calculations went awry. Edinburgh blamed that loss on the fact that 'they bestowed by far too little attention upon this game',⁸⁵ while they concentrated on Game 3, which for a long time they had hoped to win. They did not repeat that error with Game 5. Play proceeded steadily through 1827, though with some summer delays. *The Times* reported on 23 August that by way of explanation and apology Edinburgh 'have just transmitted to their London opponents, a box containing 12 brace of very fine grouse, which they beg to be considered as a kind of "intercalary move". This match has now been going on three years and four months.'⁸⁶

On 21 August London thanked them, saying the grouse 'effectually stopped the mouths of those who were impatient for the expected move'. The Edinburgh club also holds a note dated 26 December 1827, signed by the secretary, J. Rose:

Dear Gregory. Pay the bearer £3 14, being the price of the intercalary move... A large parcel of game came to the playing committee yesterday. Donaldson & I & any other that chuses [sic] mean to dine tomorrow in a quiet way at the Waterloo to discuss them.

During 1828 the pace of play speeded up: Game 3 ended and the decisive fifth game approached the crisis. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (in which Donaldson wrote the chess article) afterwards called it 'one of the most singular and interesting games on record' and he was right to be proud of it.⁸⁷ The endgame attack, proved correct by computer analysis, deceived the London players, who missed their chance to force a draw and so bring about that sixth game. The resignation letter appears to be lost, but the Edinburgh club minute book contains an entry, dated 7 August 1828, where Donaldson submitted a letter from Yates, the secretary of the London club, requesting to know whether they should send a cup or a draft for the value. The meeting unanimously preferred receiving a cup from

⁸⁵ *Edinburgh Report*, p 7.

⁸⁶ The grouse shooting season begins on 12 Aug.

⁸⁷ *The Encyclopædia Britannica, or Dictionary of Arts, Sciences and General Literature*, vi (7th ed, Edinburgh 1842), pp. 511-19, including two games from the match, on pp. 514 and 516.

London and it duly arrived. It is unclear whether the inscription was engraved in London or added in Scotland. Long afterwards, Donaldson's son tried to gain possession of the trophy.⁸⁸ The club agreed that he should be custodian for life, on the same terms that its present secretary was custodian, but they would not agree to a proposal 'substantially amounting to a disposal of the cup'.

5 The controversy and its aftermath

ARGUMENTS about the merits of Edinburgh's victory focused largely on the second game, in which London made a mistake and Edinburgh denied their request to retract it. This was the topic of debate both immediately after the publication of Lewis's book on the match in 1828,⁸⁹ and then again twenty years later when the match was discussed in the press. After explaining what actually happened, the various issues that became entangled in subsequent debate will be distinguished. The main (1828) book by Lewis gives a first-hand account of what occurred in London, and is quoted in the *Edinburgh Report*, which also gives the opponents' viewpoint and reaction. In a position from which London should have won comfortably by calm play,⁹⁰ some of their players thought they saw a brilliant forced winning sequence involving the sacrifice of a rook, and despatched a sequence of moves, but failed to calculate thoroughly.⁹¹ The rook sacrifice was the second move in the sequence. As Lewis explained:

The 26th, 27th and 28th moves were sent on the same day to the Edinburgh Club; this was done to save time. It so happened that the Secretary whose duty was to write the letters had an engagement which compelled him to leave the Club two hours earlier than usual.

⁸⁸ Minutes of the 16 May 1847 meeting of the club.

⁸⁹ The *Manchester Times*, 14 Nov. 1828, was critical of Lewis's excuses, arguing that 'games played by two persons across the board put their relative quickness of perception to the test; but games played by correspondence must afford the best criterion of their absolute skill'. They warned London it could 'be suspected of an indisposition to acknowledge the merit of their adversaries, and thereby subject themselves to the reproach which the Duke of Wellington incurred at Waterloo, when Napoleon declared that His Grace did not know when he was beaten'.

⁹⁰ Appendix VIII gives the moves and critical position.

⁹¹ Conditional move sequence proposals ('if you play this, my next move is that') saved time and postal expenses when the opponent's move was forced, and so became a regular feature of correspondence games. As in this case, they also created a possibility of error when subsequent moves are not checked with the same care as the initial one.

The letter was, therefore, posted at three instead of five o'clock. In the meantime one of the members discovered that the second move (27th) had not been sufficiently examined... In consequence a second letter was transmitted by the same post to Edinburgh, retracting the second and third moves (27th and 28th) and abiding only by the first (26th). The Edinburgh Club gave as their decided opinion that the London club was bound by their letter and that no move could be retracted. They therefore insisted on the moves being played. The London club conceded the point though they differed in opinion.⁹²

In view of the controversy over Lewis's 1828 book, Edinburgh published the correspondence on the matter in an appendix to their 1829 *Report*, so readers could judge for themselves who was in the right. The first member of the Edinburgh committee to arrive opened the crucial letter. As other members followed, they began to consider their reply. The club secretary then called and found the second letter from London, which read as below, and next day a new letter from Domett arrived, confirming its contents:

London, 12th Oct. 1824... SIR, In the absence of the Secretary of the London Chess Club, and by order of the Committee, I beg leave to inform you that an inaccuracy has been discovered in the moves in the second game sent off by this night's post. I have, by their desire, applied at the Post-office to release the letter, which I find cannot be accomplished without an order from the Secretary of State. Under these circumstances, the Committee desire me to say, that they adhere only to the 26th move, viz. the Queen checks at the adverse Queen's Bishop's 4th... I am, &c. W. YATES.⁹³

The Edinburgh Committee were 'decidedly of opinion' that London was not entitled to retract the further moves sent in the first letter. When replying with their moves, they included a postscript to Domett as follows.

I have to acknowledge the receipt of Mr Yates' letter of the 12th, and of your letter of the 13th current. In answer to these, I am directed by the Committee of this Club to say, that they are extremely sorry any mistake of the nature alluded to in these letters should have occurred; but it is their decided opinion, that according to the rules

⁹² Lewis, *Match* (1828), p. 3; repeated in the *Edinburgh Report*, p. 68. The original letter was not to be found in Edinburgh in July 2007; but copies of the follow-up letters were there. See Appendix VIII for the game, indicating the critical position.

⁹³ *Edinburgh Report*, p. 64.

by which we are playing these games, the moves contained in your letter of the 12th current cannot be recalled.⁹⁴

London replied that ‘they were not aware of any law which applies to this particular case’ but felt ‘no hesitation in acceding to your construction and accordingly adhere to the moves they had already sent’. The upshot of this was that, by sacrificing the rook, London had ‘converted’ a winning position to one in which a draw was the proper result. By continuing over the following moves to pursue the illusion of victory, they ultimately managed to lose.⁹⁵ Edinburgh’s insistence on abiding by the original letter established a principle that has operated ever since in correspondence chess with very rare exceptions. This can be seen as the analogue in correspondence play of the ‘touch-move’ rule in serious over-the-board chess, which operated then as now.⁹⁶ Edinburgh’s appendix clarifies that the article in Sarratt’s laws which they believed applied to this case was the eighth, which laid down that: ‘As long as a player holds a piece, he is at liberty to play it where he chooses; but when he has *let it go*, he cannot recal[l] his move’.⁹⁷ By analogy, said Edinburgh, ‘the instant a player has placed the letter beyond his own control, the move must be held to be completed...he has let the piece go.’⁹⁸ In correspondence play, analysis by moving the pieces and making notes for future reference is allowed, but once the move is mailed that is final.⁹⁹

The Edinburgh appendix unwisely conflated two different issues. They correctly refused London’s request to retract moves, but wrongly claimed they were not losing the position before London’s mistaken rook sacrifice. Edinburgh

⁹⁴ *Edinburgh Report*, p. 65.

⁹⁵ George Walker wrote in a note to his translation of *Jaenisch’s chess preceptor* (London 1847), p. 167n, that Cochrane left England for India at the critical moment ‘when the splendid attack concocted by him was on the point of being crowned with complete success; and the master-spirit once gone, the conduct of the game fell from the excellent to tame second-rate play which led to its loss. Nothing could exceed Mr Cochrane’s disgust, except his disappointment, when the news reached him in Bombay that his coadjutors had lost this party.’

⁹⁶ Laws Seven and Eight in Sarratt’s book, by which the clubs had agreed to play, referred to touch-move but said nothing explicitly about correspondence chess.

⁹⁷ Sarratt, *Treatise*, p. 3, with the apparent misprint ‘recal’.

⁹⁸ *Edinburgh Report*, p. 69.

⁹⁹ In the Ninth Correspondence World Championship Final (1977-83), the eventual champion succeeded in recovering a postcard from the mailbox, with the assistance of his local postman, but ended up making the same move a few days later: Dr F. Baumbach, *52-54 Stop. Tricks und Tips vom Weltmeister* (Berlin 1991), pp. 15-16; translated in T. Harding (ed.) *50 Golden Chess Games* (Dublin 2004), p. 146.

argued that even if London had been allowed to change their move, they could not prove a win. Lewis contested that claim vigorously in his *Remarks upon the Report*.¹⁰⁰ He demonstrated how London should have won the game with a different twenty-sixth move. Edinburgh fired another broadside as late as 1833,¹⁰¹ claiming not to have seen Lewis's *Remarks* until then. German diplomat Tassilo von der Lasa later refuted their analysis, proving that London still had a winning position at move twenty-seven had they avoided the sacrifice.¹⁰² This debate over the strictly chess-analytical question obscured for many readers what was the primary issue, the interpretation of the rules and the ethics of Edinburgh's stand.

Edinburgh pointed out that in 1825 London did not seek third party arbitration on whether they could retract the moves. Since at the time they accepted Edinburgh's ruling, 'it is felt not to be altogether handsome thus to go back upon a matter that seemed, *at the time*, to be settled to the satisfaction of both parties'. Lewis had at first yielded up the point but chose 'then to make a noise about it afterwards when the game has been lost'.¹⁰³ The question about the ethics of Edinburgh's refusal of London's request resurfaced in 1849, in a lengthy article on chess in the *Quarterly Review*.¹⁰⁴ The writer called this case 'perhaps the most remarkable instance on record of a strict enforcement of the tenor of chess-law'. After rehearsing the events as described by Lewis, the *Quarterly* made two statements certain to be provocative to their Edinburgh readers.

We cannot but think, under all the circumstances, the Edinburgh Club were to blame. What rendered the mishap more vexatious to the Londoners was, that whereas they had won a game before, they now barely lost it, and thereby the match. There can be little doubt that

¹⁰⁰ William Lewis, *Remarks on the Report of the Committee of the Edinburgh Chess Club* (London 1829).

¹⁰¹ Edinburgh Chess Club, *Additional appendix to the Report of the Committee of the Edinburgh Chess Club: observations on Mr Lewis's 'Remarks'* (Edinburgh 1833).

¹⁰² T. von der Lasa, 'London and Edinburgh match', in *The Chess Monthly*, iii (New York 1859), pp. 116-9. He had earlier pointed out the winning line in a German publication.

¹⁰³ Edinburgh, *Additional appendix*, p. 3.

¹⁰⁴ 'Chess', *Quarterly Review*, lxxxv (June 1849), pp. 82-103; here p. 92. According to Whyld & Ravilious, *Texts*, p. 148, the writer was Charles Tomlinson, mentioned above, who had written on chess in the *Saturday Magazine*. The *Quarterly's* taking the London side against Edinburgh tends to support that attribution. Walker (*B.L.L.*, 29 July 1849) rejected a suggestion that Captain Kennedy was the author, saying the article contained errors Kennedy would not make.

the London Club (then comprising Messrs Lewis, Fraser and Cochrane) was the stronger of the two...¹⁰⁵

Old debates flared up again. Staunton compounded the felony. He wrote that the Londoners 'lost the battle, and lost it by a blunder as ridiculous as it was vexatious'.¹⁰⁶ This led to a correspondence in the *Glasgow Citizen* (reprinted in Staunton's magazine *The Chess Player's Chronicle*) between 'A Spectator' (from Newcastle) and 'A Member of the Edinburgh Chess Club'.¹⁰⁷ The latter argued that Donaldson was as skilled a player as anyone in London. In the decisive fifth game, at about the fortieth move, 'when he had demonstrated to the Edinburgh committee that the game was theirs, the Londoners, it was said, were pluming themselves upon an easy victory'. (The critical position of the fifth game was indeed deceptive, and excellently played by Edinburgh, as Appendix VIII shows.)

'A Spectator' argued that since a novel situation had arisen in the second game, 'not provided for in the ordinary laws of the game...a liberal construction should have been put upon it by the Edinburgh committee'. On the other hand, he admitted their excuses as to losing the game by a mere 'blunder' were 'quite unjustifiable, and remind you only of the criticisms of a third-rate practitioner when defeated over the board'. Staunton took his side in the debate. Many years later, Murray (the son of a Scot, though bred in the Home Counties) wrote that 'Lewis... is now generally considered to have had the better of the argument'.¹⁰⁸ Murray was correct in respect of the technical but not the ethical argument.

The final word in the debate came in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* for July 1850, an article that only a chess player could have written.¹⁰⁹ The *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900* tentatively identifies the writer as

¹⁰⁵ For 'won a game', read 'a won game'.

¹⁰⁶ *ILN*, xvi (12 Jan. 1850), p. 27.

¹⁰⁷ *CPC*, xi (1850), pp. 94, 120-6 and 152-7. One of the letters was in the *Glasgow Citizen* on 23 Feb. 1850 but apparently the chess column was sometimes displaced by late news after the early editions. (This was explained in an answer to a correspondent on 16 Feb.; readers were advised to subscribe to be sure of receiving a copy containing the chess.) The *Glasgow Citizen* microfilm seen at the British Newspaper Library does not contain all the letters reprinted in *CPC*.

¹⁰⁸ Murray, 'Lewis' (part 2), p. 49.

¹⁰⁹ 'London and Edinburgh Chess Match' in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, lxxviii (July 1850), pp. 97-105.

‘James Donaldson... probably the Scottish advocate, 1818-53’.¹¹⁰ In fact this was almost certainly bailie Donaldson’s son, who surely was also the Edinburgh correspondent in the *Glasgow Citizen* debate.¹¹¹

The general thrust of his article is ‘vindication of the national honour’. Referring to the *Quarterly Review* and Staunton’s publications, *Blackwood’s* complained of ‘a departure from the fair and liberal spirit which ought to actuate antagonists—in short, by an attempt to deprive the Edinburgh Chess Club of laurels which were fairly and honourably won.’¹¹² Except that the writer persisted in the mistaken view that London would still not have won the game had they been permitted to recall the rook sacrifice, the article makes good sense. It explains that London’s sacrifice was a deliberate choice made as a result of failing to consider Edinburgh’s best line of defence. *Blackwood’s* made an important distinction between whether London was seeking a *right* to recall its error (and they never claimed such a right) or were requesting a *favour*, which the Edinburgh committee were entitled not to grant. It also noted a contradiction in the *Quarterly Review*, which elsewhere had spoken of the absurdity of allowing opponents to retract oversights. Thus the article justified Edinburgh’s ethics, and moreover, it was their superior play that ultimately decided the match.

So admirably had they analysed the game, that for a great many moves they knew that victory was certain, though all the while the London club, according to the confession of some of their own members, were blind to the fate that was awaiting them; and believed on the contrary that the game was in their own hands. This fifth game will long be remembered by chess-players as one of the most remarkable in the annals of chess; and appears to us conclusive... that their winning the match was not a mere accident.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ Edinburgh minute book. Walter E. Houghton, (ed.), *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900*, i (Toronto 1966), p. 89, says this Donaldson wrote an undated letter in the Blackwood Correspondence (MS 4938 p.97) ‘agreeing to look over the proof’. It also cites the reference work Francis J. Grant (ed.), *The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland, 1532-1943* (Edinburgh 1944), p. 57, in which it is noteworthy that while the son was an advocate, it says the bailie Donaldson was an accountant.

¹¹¹ The Edinburgh club member who wrote to the *Glasgow Citizen* made it clear that he had only joined the club about twenty years after the match, which corresponds with the club papers that show Donaldson junior was elected a member on 15 Mar. 1841.

¹¹² *Blackwood’s*, loc. cit, p. 97.

¹¹³ *ibid.*, p. 105.

6 Conclusion

VICTORY over London, as sweet as it was unexpected, was for the Scots an affirmation of their culture. London might see Edinburgh as a provincial city but it also (like Dublin) could claim to be as a national capital and had played an important role in the Enlightenment. With thinkers of the stature of David Hume and Adam Smith, writers such as Burns and Scott, and the reputation of its periodical literature, Scotland had made significant impact south of the border but also met with some rebuffs. Here was a quantifiable proof of Edinburgh's parity (at least) vis-à-vis the English capital, which in the past had taken its superiority in this, as in so many other things, for granted. This was a triumph to be celebrated and certainly worth defending against London begrudgery. It was important for the Scots not only that they had won the match but also that they had won it fairly.

Although the match publicity had some impact in promoting chess, not least in Scotland, much of this effect was delayed, as later chapters detailing the growth of clubs and correspondence competition will show. *London v Edinburgh* set a precedent for clubs to compete against each other, but in the 1820s there were still very few clubs. Edinburgh Chess Club itself went through some hard times but on 5 July 1852 the two clubs then in the city amalgamated to form the one that still exists today, with Staunton present at the inaugural dinner.¹¹⁴ Only when postal reform made correspondence chess affordable for small clubs and individuals could this mode of competition really develop, and only when weekly periodicals began to cover chess was the game brought regularly to the attention to a wider circle of people seeking a rational recreation. The next chapter therefore deals with the rapid growth of chess publishing that developed later in the century.

¹¹⁴ www.edinburghchessclub.co.uk/ecchist3.htm (8 Nov. 2005).

3 Chess and Print Culture

RECENT years have seen an expansion in studies of the relationship between print, literacy, and the development of western societies, with Victorian periodicals receiving much attention. Yet the space that many of these devoted to games and puzzles is a research topic that has largely been ignored by scholars. Chess columns increasingly featured in periodicals from mid-century; there were also magazines devoted to chess. As the market grew rapidly in response to sharply falling chess book prices in the 1840s, *The Quarterly Review* noted that 'chess has truly a literature of its own'.¹ This literature in fact provides the largest body of primary source material about correspondence chess, and amateur chess generally, for the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This chapter examines all three types of publication, but with special emphasis on columns. They were not only an important stimulus to interest in chess, but often contained more detailed information than the, necessarily selective, magazines. Many columns and magazines also sponsored competitions of various kinds, including postal tourneys, and, thus, were directly instrumental in the game's development.²

1 Chess books as sources and resources

CHESS books were mostly of a technical or instructional nature (many being for beginners), or game collections; these are of little value as sources of information about wider chess activities. Many books available in Victorian times were new editions of old titles, and Staunton's best-selling *Chess-Player's Handbook*,³ valuable in its day, continued to be reprinted when much more up-to-date works were available. Certain books did record correspondence events and so have value as primary source material; those about the Edinburgh-London match have already been discussed. An 1844 book by a Leeds amateur, largely devoted to

¹ 'Chess', *The Quarterly Review*, lxxxv (June 1849), p p. 82-103; here, p. 82.

² The organisation of matches and tournaments is discussed in later chapters.

³ Howard Staunton, *The Chess-Player's Handbook* (London 1847).

problems, is exceptional in that it is the best source for the matches played a few years earlier between Leeds and Liverpool and it also includes one correspondence game, not available anywhere else, played by the author.⁴ Some overseas correspondence events were commemorated in print, the earliest being an 1857 booklet about the match between the Philadelphia Athenaeum and New York chess clubs. There were also three nineteenth century compilations of correspondence games; two were in German. Bledow's collection of (mostly German and British) games was the first of its kind and in 1872 Max Lange extended Bledow to provide the most useful collection of inter-club games assembled up to that time.⁵ The games in the one British collection were only selected from competitions where its author, G. B. Fraser, had a personal involvement.⁶

Until the 1820s, chess games were rarely recorded or printed.⁷ Cazenove's privately published 1817 collection did not name the players.⁸ This tradition of anonymity continued well into the 1840s, with a few exceptions such as the games of the 1834 matches between McDonnell and De la Bourdonnais. Sometimes names were partially disguised but increasingly the names of winners and of well-known players were published. George Walker's 1844 *Chess Studies* was innovatory in making available a thousand games, from numerous sources, but relatively few were by correspondence.⁹

Postal players were allowed to consult printed works but not other people. Access to a library became increasingly important. They sought guidance on openings in works such as Walker's translation of Jaenisch, where the author

⁴ R. A. Brown, *Chess Problems, a collection of original positions, forming one hundred ends of games, won or drawn by brilliant, ingenious and scientific moves, to which is added a selection of games, including those played between the Leeds and Liverpool clubs, with remarks* (London 1844). Brown was on the Leeds committee. See pp. 190-1.

⁵ Ludwig Bledow, *Die zwischen dem Berliner und Posener Klub durch Correspondenz gespielten Schach-Partien...* [The chess games played by correspondence between the clubs of Berlin and Posen], (Berlin 1843); Max Lange, *Correspondenz-Partien* (Leipzig 1872).

⁶ George Brunton Fraser, *A Selection of 200 games of Chess, played by correspondence: With notes and critical remarks* (Dundee 1896). See p. 331.

⁷ Caze (see pp. 25 & 48-9) was a rare exception. For example, the only games of Philidor that were collected were played late in his life; see Murray, *History*, p. 865.

⁸ John Cazenove, *A Selection of curious and entertaining games at Chess, that have been actually played* (London 1817); the Cleveland library has Walker's copy. On Cazenove see p. 59, n43.

⁹ George Walker, *Chess Studies: comprising one thousand games actually played during the last half century* (London 1844).

wrote that ‘nothing is more conducive to improvement in chess, than to study the reasons which determine moves in games played by correspondence’.¹⁰ Studious players might buy the far more detailed *Handbuch des Schachspiels*, often known as ‘Bilguer’ from its first editor, but this required learning a different notation.¹¹ The modern type of monograph, dealing with just one opening in detail, was unknown, at least in English, until far later.¹² The nearest to a modern monograph in the Victorian era was William Steinitz’s *Modern Chess Instructor*.¹³

Staunton’s *Handbook* soon superseded the works of Lewis and Walker but, having sold the copyright, he needed a new book, so updated its coverage of the openings in *Chess Praxis* (1860).¹⁴ The first English book to deal exclusively with this subject was *The Chess Openings* by Robert Wormald (1864), but it was discursive and thin in content.¹⁵ His second edition (1875) was, he claimed, ‘in reality, a new book’, but despite the inclusion of new material it had all the faults of the original and took little account of recent developments.¹⁶ Dubliner Thomas Long experimented in a short work (1871) with a novel way of introducing openings to beginners, by printing diagrams in which the piece last moved was

¹⁰ Carl Friedrich de Jaenisch, *Jaenisch’s chess preceptor: a new analysis of the openings of games. By C. F. de Jaenisch, of Petersburg. Translated from the French, with notes, by George Walker* (London 1847), p. 291. This book is based on Jaenisch’s *Analyse Nouvelle des Ouvertures du Jeu des Échecs* (2 vols, Paris 1842-3).

¹¹ The edition seen was the eighth, from 1916: ed. Carl Schlechter with a 1922 supplement by Jacques Mieses, *Handbuch des Schachspiels von P. R. von Bilguer (v. d. Lasa); Achte, von Carl Schlechter unter Mitwirkung fachmännischer Autoritäten neubearbeitete Auflage... Mit Ergänzungsheft von Jacques Mieses* [The Handbook of Chess by Bilguer & v.d. Lasa], (Berlin and Leipzig 1922 [1843]). Paul Rudolf von Bilguer (1815-40) did not live to see the first edition in print; the work was completed by his friend Tassilo von Heydebrand und von der Lasa who was responsible for the editions until his death in 1899.

¹² Betts’s bibliography shows no titles (other than a few small booklets) earlier than 1950 dealing in detail solely with one opening; this almost certainly means there were none. In German, Curt von Bardeleben’s *Die Wiener Partie* (Leipzig 1893) was an 80-page precursor of the modern type of monograph about a single chess opening.

¹³ W. Steinitz, *The Modern Chess Instructor, Part 1* (New York and London 1889), dealt with those 1 e4 e5 openings that he considered the most important, including the Ruy Lopez (1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bb5), Two Knights’ Defence (1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bc4 Nf6) and Petroff Defence (1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6). Part two, section one (only 64 pp.), analysing two more openings, appeared in 1895 but the work was never completed.

¹⁴ Howard Staunton, *Chess Praxis: a supplement to the Chess Player’s Handbook* (London 1860).

¹⁵ Robert Bownas Wormald, *The Chess Openings* (London 1864).

¹⁶ The two lines of play successfully employed by London in the correspondence match with Vienna, for example, were not considered. That match is discussed on pp. 200-03.

printed sideways.¹⁷ Steinitz, in an 1875 review of chess books on the openings (which he mostly found deficient both in principle and detail), recommended William Cook's *Synopsis of the Chess Openings* (1874), 'as best adapted to the requirements of students of all shades of strength', not least because Cook adopted the tabular arrangement of the German *Handbuch*, making it convenient for reference.¹⁸ Thus Cook, although a provincial amateur of no great note, provided the first openings compilation in English to be of some practical value to a correspondence player who was beyond the novice stage.¹⁹ From now on, it became ever more important to have access to the latest works, and thus began a kind of 'arms race' in print which accelerated until recent times when computer databases largely took over this role. One chess editor in 1895 lamented that 'the skill of some players consists almost entirely of book knowledge, and the number of players of this description is greatly on the increase.'²⁰

In 1889, Edward Freeborough and Charles Ranken,²¹ with assistance from other *B.C.M.* contributors such as Fraser and Wayte, produced *Chess openings, ancient and modern*, claiming to include 'numerous original variations and suggestions'. They went beyond practical examples and suggested new lines of play at various points of divergence from known games.²² Like Cook, they used a tabular format with footnotes. *Modern Chess Openings* later used a similar plan; going through numerous editions from 1911, it became known as the 'chess player's bible'.²³ These works were aimed at the advanced amateur, who wanted detailed information and novelties. Clearly there were now enough of them to make such a

¹⁷ Thomas Long, *Key to the chess openings, on a novel plan, theoretically and practically considered* (Dublin 1871), supplemented later by his *Positions in the Chess Openings most frequently played...* (Dublin 1874), and other works aimed at novices followed later.

¹⁸ 'The Library', in *The Field*, xlv (12 June 1875), pp. 601-2.

¹⁹ Cook produced two further editions of the *Synopsis* and much later rewrote it with new examples as the *Chess Player's Compendium* (1902 and 1910), but by then works by other writers were probably preferable. He was for a time considered the strongest amateur in Birmingham.

²⁰ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 28 Nov. 1895.

²¹ Edward Freeborough, Hull expert (1830-96); Rev Charles Edward Ranken (1828-1905). Ranken in particular was a central figure in amateur chess and will be frequently mentioned hereafter.

²² E. Freeborough and Charles Edward Ranken, *Chess Openings ancient and modern, Revised and corrected up to the present time from the best authorities* (London 1889).

²³ Richard Clewin Griffith and J. H. White (eds.), *Modern Chess Openings... specially compiled for match and tournament players* (2nd ed., London 1913 [1911]).

book marketable (and its sales were worldwide in the English-speaking market). Thus, between the 1870s and 1914, a clear divergence emerged between treatises for the competitive player and manuals for beginners. It might have been possible to memorise all the opening variations in Staunton and Wormald's books, but by the time of Freeborough and Ranken an openings treatise was essentially an encyclopædia. Although advisable to have such reference works at home (or in the club), they soon dated. For the latest information and opening analysis, keen chessists also needed the magazines and chess columns.

2 Magazines: heroic failures and gritty survivors

THE story of chess magazines, then as later, might be described as the triumph of hope over experience. There was much enthusiasm but often little staying power. Even the world champions Steinitz, with his *International Chess Magazine* (seven volumes in New York from 1885-91), and Emanuel Lasker (nine volumes of *Lasker's Chess Magazine*, also New York, 1904-9) did not enjoy long-term success.²⁴ There were some heroic failures along the way: *The City of London Chess Magazine* (two volumes, 1874-6), Johann Löwenthal's tenure of *The Chess Player's Magazine* (1865-7),²⁵ and various attempts to serve the tiny Irish and Scottish markets.²⁶ The one gritty survivor is the *British Chess Magazine*, which began in 1881 and never missed a month, despite the bombing of the editor's home (1940), a national printer's strike (1959), and the sudden death of its typesetter/business manager (1980). Yet even *B.C.M.* was not really run on a commercial footing until the 1950s; indeed that is how it was able to survive. At its centenary, it published a lengthy article by G. H. Diggle on British magazines of the nineteenth

²⁴ Lasker also edited the *London Chess Fortnightly*, largely *in absentia*, between 15 Aug. 1892 and 30 July 1893. The very first page proposed to inaugurate a correspondence tourney for subscribers and another for ladies only (which would have been the first of its kind) but, either due to lack of interest or Lasker's absences abroad, nothing came of this.

²⁵ *The Chess Player's Magazine*, effectively a like-for-like substitute for the *C.P.C.*, was begun in 1863 by Ernest Falkbeer and then, following a takeover to prevent the publishing of a libellous review, edited by Löwenthal. The *Oxford Companion*, p. 194, wrongly stated he was the editor from 1863. For one account of the incident, see Sergeant, *Century*, pp. 135-6.

²⁶ See the section below on manuscript magazines, p. 92-3, and pp. 306-8 about *The Four-Leaved Shamrock*

century, which included colourful quotations and anecdotes, but also suffered from errors, omissions, and questionable value judgments.²⁷

The first chess magazine, *Le Palamède, Revue Mensuelle des échecs*, started in 1836 by De la Bourdonnais and Méry, had a big advantage: wealthy aristocratic subscribers.²⁸ English magazines had to rely on middle-class players. There were rarely enough of them, and few advertisers, although it is hard to be certain because binders of Victorian periodicals frequently omitted the covers where advertisements were placed. Many magazines were probably subsidised by their proprietors; some may have made enough money to pay their editors a pittance. The rest died young. European magazines sometimes did better. Jean Preti founded *La Stratégie* in 1867, recovered from missing an early year due to the Franco-Prussian war, and was succeeded by his son Numa Preti, who organised numerous correspondence tournaments.²⁹ Most impressively, the *Schachzeitung* started in 1846 and lasted for 150 years. The first British magazine was Walker's *The Philidorian*, which included literary material and articles on cards, apparently in the belief that the market would not support a magazine devoted solely to chess.³⁰ It stopped after six issues because it:

...did not pay; and the proprietor (who was also the editor) did not choose to burn his fingers beyond skin-deep. All the Chess players praised the work, but to praise a thing and to purchase were found to be two things. It might, perhaps, have been carried on by subscription, but, if we know anything of the Editor thereof, he is one who would rather take a broom, and sweep a respectable crossing, than turn beggar of his friends for shillings.³¹

²⁷ G. H. Diggle, 'British Chess Periodicals of the Nineteenth Century', in *B.C.M.*, c (Dec. 1980), pp. 627-642, and *B.C.M.*, ci (Jan. 1981), pp. 1-4. Only its indubitable errors will be noted here.

²⁸ The title was due to a myth that Palamedes invented chess during the siege of Troy.

²⁹ Jean Preti died in 1881. When Numa Preti himself died in 1908, H. Delaire took over the magazine and ran it for several decades more.

³⁰ *The Philidorian; a magazine of Chess, and other scientific games* (Dec. 1837-May 1838). Diggle did not know about either this or Huttman's periodicals (see below), saying that *The Chess Player's Chronicle* (1841) was 'the first of them all'. He also made no reference to Kling & Horwitz's *The Chess Player* and *The New Chess Player* (4 vols, 1851-3), Lasker's *Fortnightly*, mentioned in n24, or (more forgivably) to several minor magazines. A full chronological list of British and Irish chess magazines to 1914 may be found in Appendix II e), pp. 431-3.

³¹ *B.L.L.*, 13 May 1838. It appears from this that he tried to sell it through news-stands and bookshops. Selling subscriptions was becoming an obsolete way to finance book publication but became and has remained the principal way of financing journals, including chess magazines.

The next little-known attempt at periodical chess publication, in 1840, was by J. H. Huttman, a chess café proprietor at 4 Little Russell-street in Covent Garden,³² who advertised in *Bell's Life*: 'published at the above address every Wednesday, *Curious Chess Problems*, price 1d., and every Saturday, *Games of Chess*, price 1d. Both can be sent in one envelope, to any part of the kingdom, for the additional expence [sic] of a single postage'.³³ The problem slips had begun as cigar wrappers with chess gossip in small print.³⁴ There were nineteen numbers of *Curious Chess Problems*, between January and 12 August, and twenty-two *Games of Chess* between 21 March and 15 August 1840. Then they were merged into a four-page, two-penny periodical called *The Palamede*, numbered 23-32, of which the last appeared on 23 October 1841.³⁵ By then Huttman had moved to larger, more expensive premises, which failed.³⁶ 'Circumstances, temporarily insurmountable, have compelled Huttman to discontinue the publication of his little chess sheet,' wrote his greatest supporter.³⁷ In January 1843, Walker complained that Huttman was 'still a resident of White-cross Street prison'; his conduct was 'unimpeachable' but some people owed him money.³⁸ On 5 March 1843 Walker reported that after fourteen months Huttman was finally free and by 4 June he was back in the chess divan business, in a small way. Examples of his publications probably only survive, if at all, in the vaults of private collectors.

³² Huttman's earlier rooms had housed the Westminster Chess Club in the 1830s.

³³ *B.L.L.*, 10 May 1840. On 5 April, Huttman offered samples free except for postage, saying the object was to put him 'in communication with the chess clubs and chess players in the kingdom, prior to bringing out a New Chess Periodical' and he solicited suggestions and contributions. 'A diagram, beautifully printed, accompanies each problem.'

³⁴ Charles Tomlinson, 'A Reminiscence of Mr Huttman's Chess Soirées', in *The Chess-Player's Annual for 1856* (London 1856), pp. 235-44 (here p. 235), said it was at first sold for sixpence, advertised as 'including two of the finest Havannah Cigars', or 'a fine Havannah and a delicious cup of coffee'. The problem solutions were withheld for a week 'and it was quite a contest who should be the first to anticipate the printed solution'. Tomlinson said Huttman's rooms were called the Garrick Chess Divan but that name does not appear in the advertisement cited in n33; it was probably a name he used earlier or later.

³⁵ Whyld & Ravilious, *Chess Texts*, pp. 126-8 (items #1840:4, 1840:5 and 1840-13). The Royal Dutch Library has the first number of *Curious Chess Problems*; the Cleveland collection has none. Other chess bibliographies and the *Waterloo Directory* know nothing of these three titles. Publication was probably irregular; *B.L.L.*, 26 Sept. 1841 said 'our old friend Huttman has just re-commenced his modest little Chess miscellany under the old title of the *Palamedes*. Twopence for four pages of valuable Chess matter is cheap indeed.'

³⁶ Tomlinson, 'Reminiscence', p. 237.

³⁷ *B.L.L.*, 16 Jan. 1842.

³⁸ *B.L.L.*, 29 Jan. and 12 Feb. 1843.

2 a) The strange saga of the *Chess Player's Chronicle*

THE pioneering *Chess Player's Chronicle* had only apparent longevity. With successive re-launches, title and format changes, different editors and proprietors, and long periods of non-publication, it can hardly be considered one magazine. The word 'Chronicle' was the only element in common through all successive incarnations,³⁹ but it began with the short-lived *British Miscellany*, literary contributors to which had included Mrs Gore, Agnes Strickland, Major Calder Campbell, Leigh Hunt 'and other writers of note'.⁴⁰ The original plan was a fortnightly, of which two or three issues appeared in February and March 1841.⁴¹ The British Library only holds *British Miscellany* 'volume 1 part 3' for April 1841, of 310 pages.⁴² This announced that it would henceforth only appear monthly, but no more were published. The chess columnist of the *Bath and Cheltenham Gazette*, Elijah Williams, apparently saw the first issue. He said the chess editor was 'a gentleman not unknown to us, who is understood to be one of the finest chess-players in Europe': clearly meaning Staunton.⁴³ On 8 June, Williams noted that 'the proprietors have been induced to remodel the plan of the work', the chess editor being 'aided by Mr [William] Lewis, the eminent chess-professor, and the leading amateurs of the Metropolis.' It was, in fact, on 1 May 1841 that *The British Miscellany and Chess Player's Chronicle* first appeared, on a weekly schedule.⁴⁴ Its early issues contained some non-chess articles, which soon disappeared, and after volume one the *British Miscellany* tag itself was dropped.

Presumably the *Chronicle* generated income for Staunton, never a wealthy man. He evidently had some assistance because publication continued during his

³⁹ The entry in the Bibliography for the *Chess Player's Chronicle* summarises the history of that series. Appendix II f), pp. 434-5, provides more detail but the later editors are uncertain.

⁴⁰ Chess column of the *Bath and Cheltenham Gazette*, 23 Feb. 1841.

⁴¹ It has not been possible to locate parts 1 and 2. Ken Whyld's bibliographical article on the *Chess Player's Chronicle* for *Quarterly for Chess History* viii (Olomouc 2002), pp. 458-62 stated that the *British Miscellany* 'had three numbers only, around February and March 1841. It is unknown whether he had actually found the February and March numbers somewhere; some private collector may have them.

⁴² Four games and four problems evidently appeared in the missing numbers because the *British Miscellany*, part 3, has Game V and Problem V on pp. 256-7, with more chess on pp. 280-6.

⁴³ This implies that the chief editor of the *British Miscellany* was originally somebody else. The publisher (R. Hastings) remained the same.

⁴⁴ Staunton's *O.D.N.B.* profile states incorrectly that the start year was 1840.

two lengthy visits to Paris: in November-December 1843, when he won his great match against Saint-Amant, and the following winter, when he should have played the Frenchman again but fell gravely ill with pneumonia and could not return to London for many weeks.⁴⁵ The first run continued until 1852. Then in 1853 Staunton began what he called the 'New Series', which continued until August 1856, although he sold the magazine to Robert Barnett Brien during 1854.⁴⁶ Its downfall is usually attributed to Brien's ill-health.⁴⁷ The *Chronicle* was revived for the so-called Third Series in January 1859, with various people involved.⁴⁸ The history of that series, which ended in July 1862, remains somewhat confused.⁴⁹

The later magazines with similar titles had only family resemblance to the original periodical. A printed notice, probably circulated through chess clubs late in 1867,⁵⁰ announced that *The Chess Players' Quarterly Chronicle* 'will appear early in 1868... 4s. per Annum, post-free' and offering a sample copy on receipt of thirteen postage stamps.⁵¹ No editor was named, but there was a long list of patrons and supporters starting with Lord Lyttelton, Lord Ravensworth 'and other

⁴⁵ The *I.L.N.* reported on 18 Jan. 1845 that Staunton, still weak after illness, would only play in a private room with seconds but Saint-Amant refused, so Staunton went home.

⁴⁶ Staunton was now working on his edition of Shakespeare for Routledge. He returned to chess magazine editing when that work was largely complete. Brien had been contributing items to Staunton under the pen-name 'Oxoniensis'.

⁴⁷ Possibly of the alcoholic variety. Charles Tomlinson, in *B.C.M.*, xi (Nov. 1891), pp. 489-502, here p. 498, mentioned 'Brien's indulgence in a bad habit'. Sergeant, *Century*, p. 94, says Tomlinson meant drinking to excess.

⁴⁸ Editors were not named, but the series was 'published by J. H. Starie, Philidorian Chess Rooms, 46, Rathbone Place, Oxford Street'. Accounts of the editorship differ; Sergeant was rightly cautious. Diggle, 'Periodicals', p. 634 states vaguely that it was 'under Kolisch, Zytogorski and Kling'. Kolisch only came to London in mid-1860 (*Nouvelle Régence*, June 1860, p. 187), and was briefly involved; the Pole, Adolf Zytogorski was the common factor to May 1861.

⁴⁹ Löwenthal wrote in the *Era*, 15 May 1859, that 'it is edited by the amateurs frequenting the rooms, among whom Messrs. Brien, Wormald and Zytogorski are the chief.' The statement addressed to him on the inside cover of the May 1859 *C.P.C.* that 'there is a regular Editor...' appears to be a response to this. On 12 May 1861 Löwenthal wrote: 'We have received the first number of a new series of this well-known publication. It is now edited by Herr Kolisch and M. Zytogorski, and the Problem department is under the direction of Herr Kling.' Yet from June, only Kling's name remained on the cover.

⁵⁰ This and the rival *Chess World* circular mentioned below were found in Thomas Long's scrapbook in the possession of Dublin Chess Club.

⁵¹ It became bi-monthly in 1869 but was still called *Quarterly* on the volume title pages, although not on the covers of individual issues. A detail (noted by John Hilbert in an internet article many years ago) is that during Skipworth's reign the apostrophe in the title implied a plural: *Players'*, instead of *Player's* under the other editors. Sergeant's footnote, *Century*, p. 169, appears to note this but, perhaps due to one of his misprints, is an exact reversal of the true situation.

Members of the St. George's Club, London', plus Löwenthal and several clubs, mostly in Yorkshire. This was in direct competition to Staunton's second and far less interesting magazine *The Chess World*, which began in March 1865 and limped along until the spring of 1869. That announcement is probably what prompted Staunton's own circular, dated December 1867, appealing for 200-250 additional subscribers to make the *World* self-supporting, saying the magazine had been run 'at the expense in time and money of two or three individuals'.

From 1868-80, the *Chronicle* was not under professional editorship. Until 1875 it was published in York, but Rev Arthur Skipworth gave it up when he obtained a comfortable living in Lincolnshire.⁵² While in charge, he filled its pages mostly with games and problems. The *Glasgow Weekly Herald* complained that: 'in a journal solely devoted to chess we are entitled to expect a pretty complete summary of the doings of the chess world generally, and in this respect the *Chronicle* has been lamentably deficient.'⁵³ That writer, John Jenkin, had his turn in 1876, but his subtitle 'a monthly record of provincial chess' cannot have helped its chances of obtaining metropolitan subscribers; nor did the licence he gave to his London correspondent.⁵⁴ This 'volume five' was suspended after three issues, and subscribers were sent a notice dated 19 April:

DEAR SIR, For several reasons it has been found necessary that I should withdraw from the management of the "Chess Player's Chronicle", and as arrangements for the continuance of the Magazine under proper guidance have not yet been completed, it is probable that this month's number may have to be dropped. I have therefore to crave your kind indulgence for a short space. Should the negotiations now pending come to nought, and it be decided to stop the Magazine, those Subscriptions which have been paid in advance will be returned. Yours faithfully, J. JENKIN.⁵⁵

⁵² Rev Arthur Bolland Skipworth (1830-98); see Appendix IX.

⁵³ *Glasgow Weekly Herald*, 7 Mar. 1874.

⁵⁴ Especially *C.P.C.*, v (Mar. 1876), p. 52, where 'A Looker-On' (probably the contributor of anonymous London letters to the *Glasgow Herald*) managed to offend everyone by insulting both Steinitz and Blackburne. See also Sergeant, *Century*, p. 169. It is unlikely that Blackburne was bribed to lose, but the hours of play were perhaps chosen to ensure that he had a good dinner, with liquid refreshment, before resuming to conduct the critical stages of the games.

⁵⁵ G. B. Fraser to John Griswold White, 29 Apr. 1876, in George B. Fraser, 'Letters relating to chess', MSS in the Cleveland Public Library, Ohio, vol. 1, folio 16. Jenkin's circular, quoted in full here because it has never before been published, survived thanks to Fraser who probably thought White would be interested and he wrote a postscript on the back of it.

Fraser, who was a contributor, explained to John G. White that an attempt was being made to amalgamate with a failing competitor, the *City of London*.⁵⁶ Evidence of the small budget, and little prospect of profit, involved in these magazines is Fraser's remark that Jenkin 'writes me that he has lost £25 on last three Nos, which is rather too much for him.'⁵⁷ The planned merger failed but later a rescue was arranged. On 30 October Fraser wrote that the magazine was to be edited by Ranken, 'whose love for the game will I think keep matters going very smoothly. It is to be published in London and I expect this will yield a good deal more support than it has enjoyed under provincial management.'⁵⁸

The January 1877 number of *The Chess Player's Chronicle* (New Series) restored the original title and monthly publication. As this was the second 'New Series', any confusion is quite forgivable.⁵⁹ Ranken was more conscientious and only had to concern himself with the editorial side. On 10 March 1877 Fraser told White the *Chronicle* 'is getting on very well, as regards subscribers & I believe will soon pay its way'. In November, Archibald Murray was appealing for more subscribers but at last they found a commercial publisher.⁶⁰ W. W. Morgan, who ran a London chess goods business, became involved in 1878, his name appearing for the first time at the foot of the final page in January. Then at the end of 1880 there was a wholesale defection of editor and contributors (all unpaid volunteers)

⁵⁶ After Potter announced the end of the *City of London Chess Magazine*, Wisker attempted it to revive it, before sailing for Australia. He published one issue (Mar. 1876), which is bound with volume two in the British Library. Diggle, 'Periodicals', p. 642, was not alone in being unaware of this.

⁵⁷ Fraser to White, 29 Apr. 1876.

⁵⁸ Fraser to White, 30 Oct. 1876; underlining as in the MS.

⁵⁹ Diggle, 'Periodicals', p. 634, said the *Chronicle* then 'lived through a long and peaceful old age from 1868 right up to 1902' and (p. 635) that it 'remained, under the steadier direction of Ranken, chiefly assisted by Wayte'. Diggle must have overlooked Ranken's resignation in 1880 and appears not to have been familiar with the later issues, as he showed no awareness of the many breaks in publication highlighted in Appendix II f), pp. 434-5. It is improbable that Ranken had any involvement in the later years, as this was never stated in the magazine or his obituaries. Moreover, he was on the editorial board of *B.C.M.*

⁶⁰ Not mentioned in the magazine itself, but in the *Newcastle Courant* column on 16 Nov. 1877. The publishers of the 1877 volume were stated to be Dean & Son in Fleet Street, London, and Thos. Murray & Son, Glasgow. Archibald K. Murray, discussed on pp. 174-7, was apparently connected with that firm.

to the project that became *B.C.M.* Also Ranken wanted to reduce the quantity of his chess work, as he said in his final, December, editorial.⁶¹

Morgan relaunched it as a weekly, under the title *The Chess Player's Chronicle and Journal of Indoor and Outdoor Amusements*, although the non-chess content was minimal. Calling this volume five, to follow Ranken's four, gave an illusion of continuity. The usually well-informed Fraser may have been wrong to believe that Rev George A. MacDonnell was editor.⁶² Fraser thought the *Chronicle* 'is a rather lively Journal, much more so than the *British Chess Magazine*. They would require to have the editors "mixed up" in order to improve both.'⁶³ Publication ceased after two years. The *Chronicle* had begun a correspondence tournament in 1882; there was no mention of this when the journal was revived in mid-1883, to coincide with the London international congress. It was now purely a chess magazine although the subtitle remained until the end of volume ten. From the summer of 1886 publication became irregular, issues thinner and rarely included original matter. Morgan died in 1893,⁶⁴ but his son later resumed publication; it was very erratic and usually of low quality, with numerous advertisements.⁶⁵ The final series, *The Chess Chronicle*, from 4 September 1901 to 25 June 1902, was in a smaller format but continued the volume numbering. It was probably connected with the British Chess Club Company and may have been under the editorship of Leopold Hoffer, who was one of its directors.⁶⁶

⁶¹ *C.P.C.*, iv (Dec. 1880), p. 265. Sergeant, *Century*, p. 179, wrongly stated that he ended in Sept.

⁶² So Fraser informed White in a letter dated 5 Jan. 1881, but criticisms of the magazine in MacDonnell's column cast doubt on this. See *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* xiv, especially p. 606 (5 Mar. 1881), showing that if MacDonnell had been involved, he must have stopped before the Feb. articles complained of. Betts's bibliography (see item 7:23 on p. 37), unreliable for the later years, names an unknown person, 'C. C. Weekly', as the last editor. Either that was a misunderstanding, as publication was sometimes weekly, or else a nom-de-plume for the publisher, Morgan junior.

⁶³ Fraser to White, 31 Dec. 1881.

⁶⁴ Ken Whyld, 'Chess Player's Chronicle', in *Quarterly for Chess History* 8 (nominally 2002), p. 461, said W. W. Morgan died on 23 June 1893 but nothing about his successor as publisher.

⁶⁵ Information from conversation with Nottingham chess book collector, publisher and historian Tony Gillam in July 2007. Certain *C.P.C.* issues from the later years are hard to find but the British Library has nearly all and the John G. White Collection in Cleveland apparently has a complete set.

⁶⁶ This is a new discovery, in Board of Trade: Companies Registration Office: Files of Dissolved Companies BT 31/9591/71269, at the National Archive, Kew. The company was founded 2 Sept. 1901 with capital of £1,000, and the *Chess Chronicle* then started; it became insolvent shortly

2 b) Development of chess magazines from the 1860s

A FULL round-up of magazines would involve a major digression.⁶⁷ Those running correspondence events are discussed in later chapters; some others nevertheless deserve special mention. *The Westminster Papers*, a quirky hybrid, began in 1868 as a club magazine, which soon became detached from its club.⁶⁸ It also contained articles on the drama, whist, and other games including croquet. Issues varied in length, with the chess content sometimes excellent, occasionally perfunctory. The writers viewed themselves as an elite on a mission. The editor, Mossop, was a whist person, not a chessist.⁶⁹ He called a halt in April 1879, boasting that the price of each issue was kept to sixpence so that working men could afford it and stated that ‘the work was done by lovers of games for love alone, and never for profit.’⁷⁰

That was the amateur spirit in which nearly all British chess magazines up to the mid-1930s were produced.⁷¹ An unusual case was the *Huddersfield College Magazine*, a monthly for pupils and old boys which began in October 1872 and ran until the August-September 1880 double number. The first issue stated that ‘a page of the *H.C.M.* might not inappropriately be devoted to the game of chess.’⁷² Its chess column originally spanned four small pages but gradually grew in extent and fame, while its chess writer John Watkinson (Huddersfield’s leading player) became co-editor and eventually sole editor. Many subscribers clearly had no connection with town or college. Other school magazines included regular chess

after the *Chronicle* publication ceased. Its articles of association included ‘to print and publish any books, papers, and periodicals’. Nobody named Morgan was a shareholder or director.

⁶⁷ Not all chess magazines are mentioned in the text. See Appendix II e), pp. 431-3, for a listing.

⁶⁸ The first volume was entitled *The Westminster Chess Club Papers* and invented a fictional editor, ‘Telemachus Brownsmith’. The club soon became a whist club. A new team took over the magazine with volume two.

⁶⁹ *Land and Water*, xxvii (12 Apr. 1879), p. 305, praised Mossop when the ‘Papers’ closed.

⁷⁰ ‘Looking Back’, in *Westminster Papers*, xi (Apr. 1879), pp. 249-51; here p. 249.

⁷¹ B. H. Wood’s launch of *Chess* in 1935 marked the start of a new era.

⁷² *Huddersfield College Magazine*, i (Oct. 1872), p. 15. This is different from the 1885-7 magazine of the same title identified (as of 4 Sept. 2007) in the online edition of *The Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals*. It is unavailable at any U.K. copyright library, but Huddersfield Public Library may have it. Complete sets are held by the special chess collections at both the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (Dutch National Library) in The Hague and the Cleveland Public Library in Ohio.

features for at least a year or two,⁷³ but in no other did the coverage become so extensive although at least half the magazine always dealt with other topics. Watkinson went on to establish *B.C.M.*, assisted by Fraser, Ranken and others.

In the 1880s there were often three chess magazines in England and the rivalry became intense; they also had American competition.⁷⁴ *The Chess-Monthly*, edited by immigrant masters Hoffer and Zukertort, began in September 1879. Fraser initially thought it would 'prove unsuccessful. The magazine has not got a very cordial reception from its English rivals, and the price will not contribute to increased circulation.'⁷⁵ Yet it did find a readership, although after Zukertort died in 1888, Hoffer struggled to keep it going; in 1896 he stopped after seventeen volumes. *B.C.M.* received help at the start through an 'enlargement fund' organised by supportive readers. Subscribers were guaranteed a certain number of pages and additional material was paid for out of the fund. *B.C.M.* survived because its writers and editors usually did not expect payment, and so it was able to subsist where others failed. It faced another crisis in 1887 when the prospectus for a *Northern Chess Magazine* was issued,⁷⁶ but in April Fraser noted that: 'the new magazine has been absorbed by the *B. C. Magazine* – all the staff going over to the latter journal.'⁷⁷ Watkinson retired in November, 'owing to the increasing pressure of other engagements', replaced by Robert Frederick Green of Liverpool.⁷⁸

⁷³ Thomas Long wrote on chess in the *Rathmines School Magazine* in 1872-3, when there was no other Irish column, and the *Wesley College Quarterly* also had a regular column ca. 1888-1895, the last article appearing in October 1897. These seem to have been aimed principally at 'old boys' but the chess columns obtained a wider readership. Other English school magazines listed by the *Waterloo Directory* as having chess content include *The Aylestonian*, *The Norvicensian* and *The Oldhallian*. In 1873, the *I.L.N.*, lxxiii (29 Nov.), p. 519, said the first issue of the *Felstedian* school magazine had 'a corner given to chess'.

⁷⁴ *Brentano's Chess Magazine*, begun in mid-1881, gave too much value for money and collapsed after a year and a half.

⁷⁵ Fraser to White, 5 Nov. 1879.

⁷⁶ The proposed *Yorkshire Chess Magazine*, mentioned in the *International Chess Magazine* at the end of 1886 (vol. 2, p. 365), was probably an earlier stage of the same project. The people named were James Rayner and 'Mr Brown, Hon. Sec.' of the Leeds Club; this was presumably Isaac McIntyre Brown (1858-1934), later editor of *B.C.M.*

⁷⁷ Fraser to White, 3? Apr. 1887 (unclear postmark).

⁷⁸ See Freddy Reilly's centenary article, *B.C.M.*, c (Dec 1880), p. 600. Sergeant, *Century*, p. 206, only names James Rayner of Leeds in connection with the *Northern* magazine; he became problem editor of *B.C.M.* The *I.L.N.*, xc (18 June 1887), p. 699, shows that J. T. C. Chatto had also been planning to launch a new magazine in September, which according to the *Dublin*

2 c) Manuscript magazines

MANUSCRIPT magazines were 'desktop publishing' for the 1870s and 1880s, utilising duplicating machines that made copies from wax stencils on which one wrote with a stylus. The result looked unprofessional but one could produce for sale short-circulation documents that were uneconomical to print. The best known system was the cyclostyle, invented by David Gestetner in 1881, while an earlier version was the tryptograph introduced in London by Eugenio Zuccato in 1877. Handwriting was necessary because early stencils could not withstand the impact of early typewriters. By 1887-8 this problem was solved, leading to stencils that could be typed for use with Edison's mimeograph and later Gestetner's automatic duplicator (1891).⁷⁹ Earlier versions of this technology apparently existed, since the *Bristol Draught Player* (1872-4) mixed manuscript and letter-press.⁸⁰

The *St Patrick's Chess Club Pamphlet* in 1885 was the first Irish chess magazine; it was rewritten (with some editing) and reissued 'in compliance with popular demand' as a booklet in 1887.⁸¹ The club had been launched to coincide with the formation of the Irish Chess Association. The *Irish Chess Chronicle*, in the early months of 1887,⁸² aimed more ambitiously to be a national chess magazine. The *Illustrated* said that it was 'interesting but rather difficult reading' and advised them to 'get into print as soon as possible'.⁸³ From May-December 1887 it was printed fortnightly in London, in a tiny page format. Both series contain much information on developments in Ireland and the chess world at large. There was

Evening Mail, 23 June 1887, was to be called *Caïssa* and have a subscription of 5 s. per annum. That was apparently a different project.

⁷⁹ Darryl Rehr, 'Early Desktop Publishing', originally published in *The Office* magazine, seen online at www.deadmedia.org/notes/2/025.html on 23 Sept. 2007.

⁸⁰ Seen in the British Library; probably also available in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow.

⁸¹ I am grateful to Maurice Carter for comparing the two versions in Cleveland Public Library, as the original was away for conservation during my visit. A review of the reissued *Pamphlet* in the *Dublin Evening Mail* on 7 Apr. 1887 said 'The text of the work is produced by a cyclostyle, or other similar copying apparatus as the original numbers were'. W. A. Murray's hand-written advertisement for the reissue, of which a copy is kept with the *Pamphlet* in Cleveland Public Library, includes the phrase 'clearly printed with the tryptograph'. See also Appendix II, p. 420.

⁸² The Irish MS chess magazines are extremely rare, but possibly available in Edinburgh Public Library (which acquired Watkinson's collection) and definitely in Cleveland, Ohio.

⁸³ *I.L.N.*, xc (22 Jan. 1887), p. 105. A. S. Peake indicated in an early issue that about 120 subscribers would be needed in order to do that.

also one Scottish manuscript magazine: *The Chess Board*, 1913-15. In some issues at least, the board diagrams were hand-coloured, truly a labour of love.

3 Chess columns in periodicals

STUDIES of magazines and newspapers in academic journals such as *Victorian Periodicals Review* have tended to concentrate on the literary, news-gathering, political, and social content, so the present study breaks new ground. Nowadays it is commonplace for newspapers and magazines to devote space to puzzles like crosswords and sudoku. Some pre-1914 newspapers and magazines printed brainteasers of various kinds, but by far the most common intellectual exercise offered to the reader was the chess column. This grew from an occasional feature in a handful of titles before 1850 into an item that was almost to be expected in a quality paper. Louis James, a pioneer in this field, has argued that ‘a periodical, because it selects and orders information in a specific way, becomes a microcosm... of a cultural outlook’.⁸⁴ One question often arising about periodicals is their ‘implied audience’; looking to see whether they had a chess column can give a clue. Accepting James’s view, the inclusion of particular amusements and pastimes reflected the outlook of the editor and publisher. Featuring a high-status rational recreation, namely chess, implied either a desire to reach a certain readership, or to elevate the readership they already had, or both. Such aspirations help, for example, to distinguish *The Home Circle*, which had a chess column, from its contemporary *The Home Companion*, which did not.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Louis James, ‘The trouble with Betsy: periodicals and the common reader in mid-nineteenth century England’, in Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff, *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings* (Leicester and Toronto 1982), pp. 349-366.

⁸⁵ *The Home Companion* is not listed in Whyld’s standard bibliography of chess columns. One year (1852) was checked and it had only a brief and unoriginal chess item.

3 a) The definition and role of a chess column

STRICTLY speaking, a 'column' in a newspaper is a physical feature, an area of a page, although only rarely did a chess article literally run from top to bottom.⁸⁶ Daily chess columns were rare in the nineteenth century. Where weekly chess series are concerned, it is not useful to draw any distinction between newspapers and magazines.⁸⁷ A chess column should be defined as a regular series. Isolated articles, or short series over a limited number of weeks, or news reports of current and upcoming events are not considered columns.⁸⁸ The space devoted to chess varied considerably from publication to publication and even from one week to another. Often it would be one-third of the typical three-column layout of Victorian weekly tabloids.

Columns played multiple roles: to entertain, to instruct, to challenge the mind, to inform of future events or products worth buying, to answer readers' queries. They typically included a composed chess problem or puzzle from actual play, together with news, announcements, games, book reviews, and of course solutions to previous puzzles. Sometimes literary material or readers' submissions were included. Crucially for the present study, many columns organised tourneys: for problem composing, problem-solving, or postal play. Murray noted columns' popularity and importance, although he does not appear to have drawn on them much in his own research:

The number of the newspaper columns which have been started is very great. A list published by Mr A. C. White in the *Norwich Mercury* in 1907 contained over 1,200 entries from all parts of the world, and yet made no pretence to completeness. Most of these

⁸⁶ The *Leeds Mercury Weekend Supplement*, at least in the 1880s, is a rare example of one that invariably did run down the physical length of a column of type.

⁸⁷ Many of the titles held at the British Newspaper Library could be regarded as magazines; a few are even monthlies, in disregard for its own definition. In a broadsheet paper, chess was perhaps more likely to be omitted from the occasional issue because of the practicalities of newspaper production, with occasional space pressures due to advertising peaks or extraordinary events.

⁸⁸ A few 'columns' in bibliographies turned out to be one-off articles, notably the *Birmingham Advertiser* of 2 Aug. 1838. Some newspapers like *The Times* and *The Irish Times* carried chess news quite frequently without having, in the Victorian period, a weekly chess column as such.

columns exist primarily in the interest of the problem, but a few also contain articles of permanent historical value.⁸⁹

White's list showed there had been 387 chess columns in British and Irish publications by 1907; subsequent researchers have found at least fifty more. To trace, let alone read, them all is impractical but the attempt was made to find all pre-1850 columns and sample all Irish chess columns up to 1914, although several are unavailable in any Irish public or university library (see the appendices).⁹⁰ Some columns are untraceable, either because they have not been preserved or because the titles were incorrectly stated in contemporary sources.⁹¹

From about 1850-1914 it was an essential qualification for a chess editor to know what made a good chess problem, and the expertise of many columnists lay more in this area than in practical play. By printing problems and readers' games, and organising tourneys for them, editors created an element of interactivity between the column and its readers. Reader responses helped the columnist prove to the editor that his contributions were of value to the title. From the publisher's point of view, regularity ensured the loyalty of subscribers because many readers obtained their copies through the post, rather than from a shop or news-stand where they could check the contents before parting with money. Sometimes chess could extend the potential catchment area of a publication. With daily papers running chess once a week, it was even possible to subscribe for only those numbers that included the chess column. The *Western Daily Mercury*, a Plymouth paper with one of the best chess columns of the early 1900s, frequently advertised this service and thereby evidently obtained a readership from outside the West Country. The price quoted in 1912 was 1s. 6d. per quarter to addresses in the U.K., or 2s. 6d. per quarter if sent overseas.

⁸⁹ Murray, *History*, p. 587. The distribution according to White's list was: Great Britain and Ireland, 387; rest of Europe 419 (Germany 120, Austria, 73); Asia, 12; Africa, 10; America, 428 (USA, 350); Australasia, 74.

⁹⁰ Where columns regularly covered correspondence chess, they were read as fully as possible. The main bibliographic and finding aids used were Whyld's *Chess Columns* (largely based for this period on the work of Murray, A. C. White and J. G. White), the catalogues of the British Library (including the printed *Newsprint* catalogue), and the *Waterloo Directories* for England and Wales (online), and for Ireland and Scotland (printed), all listed in the bibliography.

⁹¹ There are some references to a chess column in an *Irish Sporting Times* of 1861-2 but catalogues and reference works know of no such title until the 1870s. See Appendix II b), p. 418.

In many Victorian periodicals, an important interactive feature was the ‘Answers to Correspondents’; chess columns usually placed these first and in smaller print. Items could vary from one line replies to particular readers, to paragraphs where the columnist felt freer to express a personal opinion than in the more formal sections of the article; the question may have been invented for that purpose.⁹² Occasionally the editor’s irritability is evident, being obliged to confirm yet again that it is permissible to have more than one queen on the board or that stalemate is a drawn game.⁹³ Correspondents were frequently identified only by nicknames or by initials, and the fairly frequent appearance of female names is one indicator that women were playing chess. Some even composed chess problems, and occasionally games played by women were published, although they were more likely than the men to be anonymous.⁹⁴

A good column, therefore, had an interactive quality that helped to create and enlarge a ‘virtual community’ of loyal readers. The weekly column was ideal for this purpose; any magazine appearing less frequently could not easily keep up a dialogue with readers, while daily ones (rare in the nineteenth century) are invariably very short, usually consisting of just a problem. In later years the Answers feature degenerated until, in many columns, it was largely devoted to comments on the chess problems previously published, or submitted, and readers’ attempts to solve them. Chess editors also used this section to acknowledge receipt of communications, often stating that it was not possible to give private replies — although they may have written direct to valued contributors. One major difference between Victorian chess columns and modern ones is that ‘Answers to Correspondents’ died out in the twentieth century. This occurred partly because syndication of some columns through features agencies destroyed topicality and the personal link between the chess editor and his reader. Before 1914, syndication

⁹² Staunton was often accused of this but everybody did it, not only chess columnists.

⁹³ In the eighteenth century, the rule was different in England, and reprints of Philidor and Hoyle’s books contrived to perpetuate the old error well into Victoria’s reign. Staunton, for example, wrote ‘Hoyle is no authority at all upon chess’: *I.L.N.*, xv (2 Sept. 1849), p. 219.

⁹⁴ Women’s chess is the subject of Chapter 7.

of chess columns was unusual,⁹⁵ although some editors had more than one column and could save effort by mixing local copy with recycled material used elsewhere.

National and local columns complemented one another. The latter's life-cycles were mostly short. A magazine or local paper chess column might terminate abruptly, especially if the publication failed, its editorial policy changed, or the chess editor moved away, died, became too busy at work or lost interest. Decline of a column (generally indicated by missing weeks and reduction of original content) often preceded fall, but it was not unknown for a column to cease without any explanation. Provincial newspaper columns typically lasted about three years; five was good and anything over ten with the same editor would be exceptional, and the sign of a particularly good column and a strong local chess-playing community.

3 b) Early columns and the identification problem

Can any of your readers inform me as to the best sources for obtaining particulars as to the life and writings of Egerton Smith, who founded the *Liverpool Mercury*, and was one of the prime movers in founding mechanics' institutes, &c.?⁹⁶

THERE was no reply to this. Smith is a 'missing person' who was not, unfortunately, included in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. While several modern articles discuss his life and journalism, none mentions chess.⁹⁷ The

⁹⁵ It is hard to obtain proof about syndication agencies. Around 1903 a Captain King contributed very similar columns to the *Bridlington Free Press* and the *Western Daily Mercury* (Plymouth), giving an address not identical to, but very similar to, that of the Athletic News Agency listed in the *Newspaper Press Directory for 1903*, p. 65 (and also in other years). The papers also had the same draughts column. This looks suspiciously like a pseudonymous syndicated service. I am grateful to Chris Williams for telling me about the Bridlington column (unknown, like 'Captain King', to Whyld's bibliography) and sending some photocopies from it. The origins of the syndication of sports and leisure (including chess) newspaper columns is clearly an area deserving more research but this discovery was made too late to pursue it further at this time.

⁹⁶ Enquiry from 'F. S.' in *Notes and Queries*, 4th S. VI (26 Nov. 1870), p. 458.

⁹⁷ The fullest account, with source references, is Michael Perkin, 'Egerton Smith and the early nineteenth century book trade in Liverpool', in Robin Myers and Michael Harris (eds.), *Spreading the word: the distribution networks of print 1550-1850* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies 1990), pp. 151-64. See also Barbara Whittingham Jones, 'Liverpool's Political Clubs, 1812-30', in *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 111, pp. 128-133; R. McMillan, 'Liverpool Worthies: Egerton Smith: a biographical sketch of the founder of the *Liverpool Mercury*', a hagiography which can be found in two parts in the *Liverpool Weekly Mercury* (13 Dec. and 27 Dec. 1890). Smith's obituary, and an account of his funeral,

picture that emerges is of a progressive man, an innovator, and a philanthropist, who was involved in local Whig politics. One of his minor claims to fame is publishing some of the earliest series of chess articles — although it is debatable whether these strictly qualify as columns. Chess problems began in his *Liverpool Mercury* on 9 July 1813 and ended around 20 August 1814.⁹⁸ Two superior series of regular chess articles followed in another of his publications.

Smith's name appeared in 1817 in a small *Mercury* advertisement, proposing to establish a Liverpool Chess Club, meeting weekly 'upon a respectable and economical plan', but perhaps nothing came of this.⁹⁹ In 1818, he began the *Gleaner*, as a literary supplement, but was forced to discontinue it after two issues because it was deemed to be a newspaper and, therefore, liable to stamp duty.¹⁰⁰ He revised the concept and on 28 July 1818, issued the first number of *The Kaleidoscope, or Literary and Scientific Mirror*, of which it was said that: 'this weekly publication, priced threepence, was conducted with very considerable ability for many years' and the title 'was derived from the Kaleidoscope, a new optical instrument, invented by Dr Brewster of Edinburgh.'¹⁰¹ Ironically this paper, designed to be abreast of its time, ceased publication on 6 September 1831 because of the march of progress. The Liverpool area was one of the first to have railways, harming the coaching trade, on which the *Kaleidoscope* relied for distribution — since, not being stamped, it could not be sent economically by post. The chess articles had ended by then, but it is possible at last to date them accurately.¹⁰²

The first volume had only one chess article, but a regular series of problems entitled 'The Beauties of Chess', began on 13 July 1819 and ran until 17 October

appeared in the *Liverpool Mercury* on Friday 26 Nov. 1841, p. 396. (A curiosity of Smith's journalism was that he numbered the pages in his volumes consecutively, like a magazine.)

⁹⁸ According to Whyld's *Columns*.

⁹⁹ *Liverpool Mercury*, 3 Jan. 1817.

¹⁰⁰ E. W. Jones, 'A Note on the *Kaleidoscope*', in *National Library of Wales Journal*, no. 12, (1961-2), pp. 54-7.

¹⁰¹ C. H. Timperley, *Encyclopaedia of literary and typographical anecdote* (2nd ed., 1842, reprinted New York 1977, 2 vols.), ii, p. 868.

¹⁰² See n105. Some of the information about the *Kaleidoscope* in Whyld's *Columns* (p. 223) is incorrect. It is hard to understand why he wrote '1st chess column in the world' when (on p. 151) he also knew about the *Liverpool Mercury*. The explanation of why he wrote 'perhaps also 1833 & 1834', which was after publication had ceased, may be due to confusion with an Eton College publication of the same title.

1820; as in the *Mercury*, the board diagrams were crude without shaded squares. ‘Critical situations in draughts’ followed in volumes two and three. In volume five, chess returned with improved graphics, starting in number 210 of 6 July 1824. Smith preferred a system very like the ‘algebraic’ notation used today, instead of the usual ‘descriptive’ notation seen in nearly all nineteenth-century English chess literature.¹⁰³ The interest aroused by *London-Edinburgh* probably had something to do with this, because further chess items besides the problem were occasionally included.¹⁰⁴ There was also some coverage of current chess events and readers’ correspondence. The *Kaleidoscope* series of articles was more extensive and interesting than generally realised, but its influence was doubtless restricted because it was not a London paper and did not circulate nationwide.¹⁰⁵

The chess series in the reforming medical weekly *Lancet*, although better remembered, was far less interesting. It can only be called a column by stretching a point to the limit, but it is worth discussing its authorship in some detail as two different people (Walker and Sir Astley Cooper) have been named wrongly as its chess editor. Dr Thomas Wakley (1795-1862), later a Member of Parliament, was *Lancet’s* founder and first editor. He began publication on 5 October 1823 and printed its first article dealing with chess on 19 October 1823.¹⁰⁶ After some chessless weeks, the solutions to some problems set earlier were not printed until the final article, which appeared at the end of volume two, on 28 March 1824. The second article recommended chess as ‘the only game to which the medical student may profitably devote any portion of his time and attention,’ and also said that the study of chess had been recommended by ‘the distinguished professor’ whose lectures were a major feature of the magazine, namely Sir Astley Cooper.¹⁰⁷ Probably misled by that comment, Staunton told a correspondent: ‘articles on

¹⁰³ Walker confirmed Smith’s personal involvement in the chess column in *B.L.L.*, 28 June 1840.

¹⁰⁴ Examples are given in context, e.g. Chap. Two, pp. 63-4, and Chap. Five, pp. 186-7.

¹⁰⁵ The *Kaleidoscope* chess series ran longer than the July 1826 date stated in Murray’s *Short History*, p. 78. It actually continued to the end of volume nine, problem 222 appearing on 23 June 1829. Volume 10 included little chess and volume 11 had only one article. The last chess position was no. 237 on 8 Feb. 1831 and the final chess item, a letter, appeared on 31 May 1831.

¹⁰⁶ So Hooper and Whyld’s claim, *Oxford Companion*, p. 224 (and also in the second edition), that a chess game had been given in the *Lancet* in 1822 is evidently false.

¹⁰⁷ *The Lancet*, i (2 Nov. 1823), pp. 19-20.

Chess were published in the *Lancet*, under the sanction, we believe, of Sir Astley Cooper, himself no mean proficient in the game, as far back as 1823.¹⁰⁸

While that attribution is doubtful, *O.D.N.B.*'s crediting the series to Walker is demonstrably incorrect.¹⁰⁹ In 1823 he was a novice to whom Lewis conceded rook odds,¹¹⁰ and he did not claim authorship of the column himself.¹¹¹ The misattribution stems from an obituary which claimed Walker 'originated the popular "Chess column" of our time by contributing an article to the *Lancet*, which was published in the issue of that periodical on Oct. 19, 1823.'¹¹² Close examination of that article, 'Origin of the game of chess', shows it to be virtually identical with one (translated from a French Academy paper of 1719 by Nicolas Fréret) that had appeared in the *Sporting Magazine* in 1794, and many years earlier in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, which itself had copied the translation from another journal.¹¹³ Apparently it was just given to the *Lancet* printer to reproduce.¹¹⁴

There is no need to look further than the editor himself for the authorship of those parts of the series that were not, like this one, simply plagiarised. His

¹⁰⁸ *I.L.N.*, xiii (16 Dec. 1848), p. 379. I am grateful to Dr Adrian Harvey for drawing this quote to my attention in an exchange of emails about the *Lancet* column.

¹⁰⁹ This is a typical example of the propagation of a 'factoid'. The Walker misattribution was copied from the *Oxford Companion*, p. 374, to *O.D.N.B.*, lvi, pp. 841-2. Whyld repeated it in his bibliographies, *Columns*, and *Texts*, and it has now gained wide currency, e.g. Vlastimil Fiala, 'Short History of the origin of chess tournaments', in *Quarterly for Chess History*, xiii (Winter 2007), pp. 7-35, here p. 23. The original *D.N.B.*, xx (London 1909), pp. 517-8, relying on the obituary in *C.P.C.*, iii (June 1879), pp. 121-4, and Wayte's notes, did not mention the *Lancet*.

¹¹⁰ *Westminster Papers*, ix (1 Dec., 1876), pp. 140-2; Sergeant, *Century*, pp. 31-2. According to Murray, Lewis was still giving him a rook in 1827: 'George Walker', *B.C.M.*, xxvi (May 1906), pp. 189-94, here p. 190. Walker's genuine debut in chess publishing seems to have been 1831 when his pamphlet on the Muzio Gambit appeared (mentioned by Murray).

¹¹¹ Neither the brief memoir by Walker about his career, nor the unsigned article about him that follows, in *Westminster Papers*, ix (Dec 1876), pp. 140-2, mentions the *Lancet*.

¹¹² *I.L.N.*, lxxiv (3 May 1879), p. 427. The *Glasgow Weekly Herald* also attributed the column to Walker, on 24 May 1879, but probably because they had read it in the *I.L.N.*

¹¹³ *Lancet*, i (19 Oct. 1823) pp. 105-7. Originally published in *Histoire de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles lettres*, v (1729), and reprinted in *Le Palamède*, i (1836), pp. 138-45. The first English version appeared in *The country journal, or the craftsman* (6 Feb. 1742), was reprinted in the *Gentleman's magazine*, xii (1742) pp. 77-8, and revived in the *Sporting Magazine*, iv (Aug. 1794), pp. 255-8. Some of that information is in Whyld & Ravilious, *Texts*, p. 34, but the identity with the *Sporting Magazine* and *Lancet* articles has not previously been pointed out. Differences between the versions are very minor and attributable to the typesetters.

¹¹⁴ Note that the *Illustrated* did not attribute every *Lancet* article to Walker, but only the very one of which one can be absolutely certain that he was not the author!

biographer, Sprigge,¹¹⁵ mentions Wakley's lifelong interest in chess and says he was one of the few who had been able to defeat the 'automaton' chess player called The Turk.¹¹⁶ Sprigge strongly implies Wakley was responsible for both the chess and drama articles, which he dropped when the journal became successful.

3 c) *Bell's Life in London*: the pioneering column

WALKER'S principal service to chess was his long-running column in the Sunday newspaper *Bell's Life in London*.¹¹⁷ In the early years of its chess column, it had a circulation of around 20,000 nationwide.¹¹⁸ It was then a four-page broadsheet, with the front page carrying advertisements and some news, usually reports of crimes and trials. The second page had politics, wide-ranging 'Answers to Correspondents', and a cartoon. The other pages were devoted to sports.

One bibliography states that the column started in 1845, but January 1835 was the real beginning.¹¹⁹ Walker then started contributing a series of games played in the Westminster Chess Club, of which he was secretary, together with chess news. Short paragraphs about chess — which had sporadically appeared during 1834 in the 'To Correspondents: Answers' column — now became a regular feature, with chess almost invariably being the top item.¹²⁰ Some weeks had no

¹¹⁵ S. Squire Sprigge, *The life and times of Thomas Wakley* (London 1897), pp. 102-4. Sprigge was himself *Lancet* editor at that time. See also *O.D.N.B.*, lvi, pp. 751-5, and Mary Bostetter. 'The Journalism of Thomas Wakley', in Joel Wiener (ed.), *Innovators and Preachers: the Role of the Editor in Victorian England* (Contributions to the Study of Mass Media and Communications, Number 5: Westport CT and London 1985), pp. 275-92. Bostetter does not mention the chess.

¹¹⁶ S. Sprigge, *Wakley*, pp. 103-5. Possibly Lewis was the operator of the automaton when Wakley defeated it, but Sprigge does not state the year. According to the *Court and lady's magazine, monthly critic and museum* (Dec. 1843), pp. 11-12, Henry Wood (a less skilful player than Lewis) conducted it when it was last in England. It is unknown what odds Wakley received.

¹¹⁷ The history of the paper, which began in 1822, is recounted by Tony Mason, 'Sporting News 1860-1914', in Michael Harris & Alan Lee (eds.), *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries* (London 1986), pp. 168-86; here pp. 169-171.

¹¹⁸ On 18 Nov. 1838 the paper claimed an average circulation of 20,650. In 1847, from 9 May onwards, page headers announced a circulation exceeding 26,000 and on 6 June 1847 they claimed to have exceeded 27,000.

¹¹⁹ Whyld, *Columns*, p. 40, incorrectly states: '1st spell, also by Walker, just odd items. Regular weekly column from 1845' — but his *Chess Texts* (p. 149) has the correct information.

¹²⁰ In *B.L.L.*, 10 July 1842, Walker claimed 'we began to give chess articles in our journal during the playing of the great match between La Bourdonnais and McDonnell...' but although those games were played in 1834, *Bell's Life* did not print any of them until 1835. Dates in 1834 when chess did receive some coverage included 9 Feb., 23 Mar., 13 Apr., 21 Sept., & 30 Nov.

game and others no chess Answers, but only on 25 October was chess editorial content absent that year. Even though the two elements never appeared together, this really was a chess proto-column. Both with *Bell's Life* and the *Illustrated London News*, the Answers were often more interesting than the games. As a proselytiser for chess, Walker liked pontificating with such statements as 'We hold that he who supports a chess institution does nearly the same sort of good to man as he who subscribes towards a new church,'¹²¹ and 'Chess is progressing throughout England at railway speed. We hope that to be ignorant of its rudiments will shortly be held to be impossible in an educated man.'¹²²

From 12 October 1845, *Bell's* had eight pages, made possible by the installation of a new steam press.¹²³ Chess gained extra space. All items were collected together; diagrams illustrating elementary chess lessons and chess problems appeared in the paper for the first time. The *Bell's* feature now took the shape that was already becoming standard for a chess column, and for a few more years it remained vigorous. When Walker's father died 1847,¹²⁴ he became a stockbroker, having previously worked in the family business. Now increasingly removed from the main centres of chess activity in London's West End, his loyalties returned to the old London Chess Club in the Square Mile. The column became routine, although still a useful source at times when the *Chronicle* was suspended.¹²⁵ Papers reported the retirement of Walker in May 1873, but *Bell's Life* itself made no announcement.¹²⁶ The last chess column appeared on 30 August, after several missed weeks. Wormald possibly wrote these final articles: his *Westminster Papers* obituary says he was co-editor of *Bell's Life* for a time.¹²⁷

¹²¹ *B.L.L.*, 1 Nov. 1840.

¹²² *B.L.L.*, 3 July 1842.

¹²³ *B.L.L.*, 18 May 1845, announced plans for the enlargement. The 3 Aug. issue said this was due on the final Sunday of the month but it remained at four pages. Before October chess did not appear in several issues, perhaps because Walker was preparing articles for the re-launch. This may be why some researchers thought the column was only 'occasional' prior to then.

¹²⁴ Novelist and music publisher George Walker, 1772-1847: *O.D.N.B.*, lvi, p. 841.

¹²⁵ Walker usually insisted he published only games that had not appeared elsewhere, so in later years many of the *Bell's* games were from Germany. At times in 1856-8 and 1862-3 there was no English chess magazine.

¹²⁶ *Westminster Papers*, vi (1 May 1873), p. 1; also *Land and Water*, xv (10 May 1873), p. 337.

¹²⁷ *Westminster Papers*, ix (1 Jan. 1877), pp. 164-5.

To sum up, for a decade *Bell's Life in London* blazed the trail for chess virtually alone, appearing alongside the 'irrational' recreations for which the paper was more celebrated — cockfights, hare coursing, pedestrianism, pugilism, and of course horse racing. Limited reportage of draughts also appeared; items were usually placed adjacent to chess. *Bell's Life* in this period appears to have been read (or read to) people of all classes with sporting interests, throughout the U.K.¹²⁸ Its position as the leading chess column was supplanted in 1845 by the *Illustrated London News*, which will be discussed next.

3 d) The *I.L.N.* and Staunton's feud with Walker

There was one feature of the *Illustrated* which must not be passed over, as it probably gained for the paper at least some readers in almost every country of the world. This was the chess-column, now so prominent in scores of periodicals, but then, if not quite unknown, exceedingly rare. From 1844, for more than twenty years, this column was conducted by a famous chess-player, Howard Staunton, who made it not only a centre of interest to enthusiasts for the game, but also... a vehicle for his personal antagonisms...¹²⁹

IT IS rare that an historian writes about chess columns, so that observation by Kellett, from a major 1930s study of Victorian Britain, was worth quoting, although too long to do so in full. Despite some errors of fact, he was certainly right to say that, for all his faults, Staunton 'was a real benefactor to the game' and to praise him as setting a standard for future columns. Staunton's contribution to the popularisation of the game was in part through his books and magazine, as described above, and then, for almost thirty years, in the *Illustrated*. As he was not the first chess editor in that journal, and he had some prior experience of editing a column, this pre-history should be examined.

The *Illustrated London News* began on 14 May 1842 and its first chess article appeared on 25 June. The column appeared irregularly; the first volume,

¹²⁸ Mason, 'Sporting News', pp.183-4 considers that *Bell's Life in London* had a socially wide readership, although those who paid for copies of course had use of it first. It was good for chess that columns were usually in the papers that had a longer 'shelf-life'.

¹²⁹ E. E. Kellett, 'The Press', in G. M. Young (ed), *Early Victorian England* (Oxford 1934), ii, pp.62-3. However, Staunton's first *I.L.N.* column was in 1845 (see n135 below), and it was Löwenthal (not Staunton as Kellett thought) who wrote for the *Era*.

which spanned seven and a half months, having twelve chess articles, apparently written by someone with little knowledge of the game. One issue included a game ‘played at the Westminster Chess Club during last summer, between the celebrated players M. de la Bourdonnais and Mr McDonnell,’ both long dead.¹³⁰ Soon after, there was a break of several weeks until chess returned in October.

Fifteen issues in the second volume, covering January-June 1843, had chess content, mostly problems of poor quality, sometimes printed incorrectly.¹³¹ Some items were substantial, and the paper began to take on the role of facilitating communication between players and helping them to arrange postal games, which hitherto only *Bell's Life* had done. The readership of *I.L.N.*, being more than double,¹³² made this quite significant.¹³³ Chess continued through 1843, although not every week, but there was hardly any chess at all in volume four (January-June 1844) or in most of volume five. The solution to the problem published on 20 April did not appear until 6 July. On 16 November, the chess column resumed with ‘the co-operation of a distinguished member of the London Chess Club’ and inviting ‘communications relative to matches pending at clubs, problems, or any well contested games’.¹³⁴ As this article was accompanied by a brief but glowing notice of *Chess Studies*, Whyld speculated that Walker himself may have been the ‘distinguished member of the London Chess Club’. There seems no clear evidence; Walker does meet that description, but so do others. Then on 15 February 1845 the paper announced that ‘we have secured the valuable services of Mr Staunton the eminent Chess Player’ to conduct the column and his first article appeared the

¹³⁰ *I.L.N.*, i (16 July 1842), p. 155. The following week the error was admitted; the game was played in the summer of 1834. The pre-Staunton contributors have never been identified.

¹³¹ As with problem 24 on p. 319.

¹³² Newspaper stamp returns provide a record of average circulation at this time. Comparisons between *Bell's Life* and the *I.L.N.* can be made from a table Graham Law compiled from that source; see ‘“Nothing but a Newspaper”: The Contested Space of Serial Fiction in the 1840s Press’, in Laurel Brake and Julie F. Codell (eds.), *Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers* (London 2005), p. 35. In 1846, the first full year of the enlarged *Bell's*, its average weekly circulation was 24,000 but the *I.L.N.* had 51,200. The gap between the titles increased so that by 1852 *I.L.N.* led *B.L.L.* by 108,600 to 25,700.

¹³³ In *I.L.N.*, ii (25 Feb. 1843), p. 131, the Enfield chess club issued a challenge for a postal match.

¹³⁴ *I.L.N.*, v (16 Nov. 1844), p. 320.

following week.¹³⁵ While it was comparatively rare for a writer's identity to be explicitly acknowledged in this way, contemporaries active on the chess scene probably knew who edited which column, although the contributor may not have been officially acknowledged until retirement or death.¹³⁶ Some attributions remain uncertain, but another column or a magazine often supplies the name.

Staunton had already conducted a chess column for several months during 1840 in a social weekly called the *New Court Gazette*,¹³⁷ where he employed some features he later developed. He usually included a chess problem and a game, together with Answers,¹³⁸ the latter often including barbed shots at adversaries and the literary allusions by which this self-made man was fond of displaying his learning. Unfortunately many readers of the *Gazette* were not interested in chess: 'Articles on this game will only appear, for the future, occasionally; owing to several complaints of an over-dose. It is impossible to oblige every-body.'¹³⁹ Although this column petered out, it may have given Staunton the taste for editorship, which he soon indulged when founding his magazine.

When his chance came with the *Illustrated*, he established what could be called the template or standard format for a chess column, which *Bell's* copied. From his very first week, Staunton included, on the same page, substantial 'Answers', a game with light notes, a diagrammed chess problem, and the solution to the previous week's problem. Essentially, this plan never varied, although it was developed somewhat, with the addition of news items and announcements of forthcoming events (often contributed by readers), requests, occasional obituaries, and book reviews. Most weekly columns, except those with restricted space or which concentrated exclusively on problems, followed the same pattern but varied in the quantity of original material they contained.

¹³⁵ On 8 Mar. (p. 160), 'Scacchi' is reminded that the new chess editor is not responsible for any error in the column prior to 22 Feb.

¹³⁶ He was named again in *I.L.N.*, lxiv (27 June 1874), p. 619. Staunton died on the 22nd. Whyld's *Chess Columns: A List* therefore identifies 20 June as his last column, but advance deadlines suggest that he may have written all or part of the column of 27 June, and game annotations in the 4 July edition look like his work too. He must have had material set in type in advance. The 11 July column is clearly the work of his successor.

¹³⁷ From 3 Oct., the *Court Gazette*.

¹³⁸ As in *Bell's Life* at that time, the answers were often on a different page from the main column.

¹³⁹ *Court Gazette* (21 Nov. 1840), p. 756.

The 'Answers' frequently included comments to readers who had experienced difficulty with, or believed they had found flaws in, the chess problems. As with *Bell's Life*, this section sometimes contained items of more interest to the historian than the main part of the column, including information about where chess was played in various towns, opinions and facts about leading players of the past and present, observations on chess rules,¹⁴⁰ etiquette, literature, and history. Staunton did not believe in a false politeness to his readers and, like Walker, sometimes expressed himself vehemently. Kellett was right about Staunton using the column as a 'vehicle for his personal antagonisms'. This was most apparent in the later years from 1858 onwards when Staunton, semi-retired from play to pursue his editorial labours on Shakespeare, became increasingly isolated. In that period he added attacks on Löwenthal and Steinitz to his first long-running feud.

Although the bitter quarrel between Staunton and Walker is known, no writer previously traced its origins or deduced that their disagreement over the 1845 telegraph match was the key incident that reopened old wounds.¹⁴¹ This is a classic example of a war of words in the chess press. The first phase of their relationship in the late 1830s was cordial, Walker's place in the chess world being established whereas Staunton was a newcomer. Walker first mentions him matter-of-factly,¹⁴² and later, when Staunton was secretary of the Westminster club, praised him warmly as 'a very brilliant chess-player'.¹⁴³

By 1841 Staunton had surpassed Walker as a player and his increasing journalistic activity created professional rivalry. An anonymous pamphlet early that year made fun of the new edition of Walker's *Treatise*.¹⁴⁴ In the very first issue

¹⁴⁰ As with *B.L.L.*, sometimes people wrote in to get an authority to settle bets.

¹⁴¹ Except perhaps Murray, *Short History*, p. 83, who observed: 'The chess world was divided into a Staunton and an anti-Staunton camp, and the feud was waged with complete disregard of all the rules of honourable controversy. Even so slight an occasion as the first game played by telegraph in April 1845 raised its own polemic.' However Murray did not name Walker or make it clear he understood the context as explained here. On the telegraph, see also pp. 33-4.

¹⁴² Walker's earliest references to Staunton were in *B.L.L.*, 31 Dec. 1837 & 24 June 1838.

¹⁴³ *B.L.L.*, 16 Dec. 1838; Staunton is mentioned without hostility more than once in 1839.

¹⁴⁴ George Walker, *A New Treatise on Chess* (London: 3rd ed. 1841 [1832]); A Society of Amateurs, *A Few Observations on 'A New Treatise on Chess: by George Walker, Third Edition'* (London 1841). Staunton implied the pamphlet emanated from the London Chess Club, of which Walker was not then a member, though he had been one earlier and was to rejoin some years later. The club membership list [London Metropolitan Archive A/LCH/1] shows Geo. Walker elected 1830,

of *The British Miscellany and Chess Player's Chronicle*, Staunton drew attention to this in sarcastic terms, in two different replies to correspondents, using language more scathing than the jocular tone of the pamphlet itself. He spoke of 'the egregious conceit and deplorable ignorance which this Titmouse of Chess professors exhibits in his lucubrations upon the game', whose 'puerilities' were laughable.¹⁴⁵ In retaliation, *Bell's Life* never once throughout 1841 mentioned Staunton by name or referred to his magazine. The third phase in their fraught relationship was a temporary healing of the rift. Early in 1843, the *Chronicle* announced that the mediation of friends had brought about 'the restoration of harmony, and a proper understanding, where discord and animosity for years prevailed'.¹⁴⁶ This was attributed, on Staunton's side, to an impression that Walker 'had disseminated injurious and utterly unfounded imputations upon his private character' whereas Walker had believed Staunton to be the author of the aforementioned pamphlet. Walker denied 'having ever given currency to reflections inimical to the honour and respectability of Mr Staunton' and the latter promised to 'expunge from any future editions of the magazine' certain remarks about Walker which had 'originated in misconception'.¹⁴⁷ Walker thereafter contributed some articles to *C.P.C.* and Staunton was elected to Walker's chess club, the St. George's.¹⁴⁸ When Staunton took a big lead in his famous match with Saint-Amant late in 1843, Walker grew friendlier: 'Everybody who wishes to see chess supersede tobacco-smoking and gin-drinking should take in the *Chess Player's Chronicle*'.¹⁴⁹ His praise for Staunton's ultimate victory was fulsome.¹⁵⁰

resigned March 1834 (presumably because he was now at the Westminster Club) and he had rejoined by 1850. On the confusion (still existing in some library catalogues) between Walker's *Treatise* and the pamphlet attacking it, see Murray, 'Walker' in *B.C.M.*, xxvi (1906), p. 193. So Murray was aware of the pamphlet but overlooked Staunton's publicising of it.

¹⁴⁵ *The British Miscellany and Chess Player's Chronicle*, i, pp. 10-11.

¹⁴⁶ *C.P.C.*, iv (1843), p. 154.

¹⁴⁷ The nature of the imputations are never hinted at, but were possibly connected with the persistent but unproven allegation that Staunton was the illegitimate son of the fifth earl of Carlisle, as asserted in Frederic Boase, *Modern English Biography*, iii (Truro 1901), p. 715. It may have been gossip, never committed to print. If they were ever published, one of Huttman's lost little periodicals (mentioned above) would be the likely place. In that case Staunton would have suspected Walker of being the originator. This conjecture, if right, explains two mysteries but it can only be proved or disproved if a complete set of Huttman's 'slips' can be found.

¹⁴⁸ *B.L.L.*, 7 May 1843. Two weeks later Walker recommended *C.P.C.* to his readers.

¹⁴⁹ *B.L.L.*, 3 Dec. 1843.

Then in 1844, Staunton returned the compliment by giving Walker's *Chess Studies* a well-deserved warm reception.¹⁵¹

Mutual respect turned again to jealousy in 1845 when Staunton joined the *Illustrated*. The paths of their intersecting trajectories were now decisively upward for Staunton and downward for Walker; the latter's envy became apparent in his behaviour concerning the telegraph match. Walker boasted of beating Staunton in a game on Wednesday 9 April, which the latter claimed was only a private technical rehearsal to familiarise the telegraph operators with the chess codes for the official game next day, which involved several experts at the London end and invited spectators.¹⁵² The illustration that appeared in the *Illustrated* was from Wednesday, probably because the artist and engraver needed an extra day in which to make the sketch and prepare the plate.¹⁵³ When the *May Chronicle* appeared, with only the Thursday game, Walker published his 'win' in *Bell's Life* together with a lengthy criticism of Staunton which is too lengthy to quote.¹⁵⁴ This row made the breach between the men irreparable. Thereafter they sniped at each other repeatedly, notably in 1851 with the *Bell's Life* dismissal of Staunton's 'mock national chess tournament'.¹⁵⁵

An impartial view of the affair is hard to find. The June 1845 *Chronicle* published a letter from J. B. Hoffmeister, who helped with the Gosport arrange-

¹⁵⁰ *B.L.L.*, 24 Dec. 1843.

¹⁵¹ *C.P.C.*, v (Mar. 1844), p. 72 (advance notice) with review on pp. 255-6 (Aug.), and 283-5 (Sept.).

¹⁵² The main game, on the Thursday, was drawn. It would take a major digression to explain all the points made by each side in their argument but this note and n154 summarise and provide the principal references. The initial report in *ILN*, vi (12 Apr. 1845), pp. 233-4 was written by a staff journalist presumably. *B.L.L.*, 13 Apr. 1845 had Walker's initial report and then on 19 Apr., *I.L.N.*, p. 256, came Staunton's corrections, where he wrote that the *B.L.L.* account 'is correct in many particulars'. See also the reply to 'W.A.M.' on 3 May, p. 282.

¹⁵³ *I.L.N.*, vi (12 Apr. 1845), p. 233. No chess board is to be seen in the picture, for which one may blame artistic licence. The caption says Walker announced his first move and he would not need a chess set to do that.

¹⁵⁴ *B.L.L.* 27. Apr. 1845 still said 'the London players' won Wednesday's game. Then *CPC*, vi (May 1845) pp. 145-53 (Staunton's main report), following which, in *B.L.L.* on 4 May, Walker caused the breach by making the row public and printing the moves. He wrote that after publishing the game 'the matter may drop for ever as worthless controversy'. That is not how Staunton saw it. He answered in the June *C.P.C.* (pp. 191-2), including the letter from Hoffmeister mentioned below, and the July *C.P.C.*, pp. 214-5, included a letter from 'Vindex' (possibly one of the 'anonymous' letters Staunton wrote himself) reproving the editor of the French magazine for taking Walker's side.

¹⁵⁵ *B.L.L.*, 13 July & 10 Aug. 1851.

ments,¹⁵⁶ but his evidence may have been biased. Murray had the impression that Walker was all sweetness and light,¹⁵⁷ but here is typical Walker sarcasm in 1835:

Doubtless there exist lots of provincials who fancy they could beat all the world. We recollect a ridiculous instance of this in the case of a Mr Hoffmeister, a purser in the navy, resident at Portsmouth. This gentleman, not a great while back, challenged the county of Hampshire, by public advertisement, to play a match at chess for £50. Harry Wilson went over from Southampton and 'licked' him easily... the fun of the thing was that Wilson could, we believe, have given him the Knight with ease.¹⁵⁸

Hoffmeister wrote in to complain and the following week's *Bell's Life* had to admit its report had been inaccurate.¹⁵⁹ In the light of this, it is hardly surprising that, ten years on, he took Staunton's side. It is ironic that the same man whom Walker insulted in 1835 was present ten years later to contradict his account of the telegraph match. Captain Kennedy, the man in the best position to judge, never gave his opinion publicly while Staunton was alive, but he supported Staunton's viewpoint eventually.¹⁶⁰

Staunton's column, appearing almost every week,¹⁶¹ was read by far more people and in far more countries than any other until he suddenly died in 1874. His replacement, Wormald, was already in poor health himself, but saw Staunton's last book through the press.¹⁶² The next editor was Dublin-born Patrick Duffy, who had come to London after a chess apprenticeship in Newcastle, where there had long been a strong club. Duffy's writings had been the mainstay of the chess section in the *Westminster Papers* for many years. He also edited the *Land and Water* column in 1876-77 and, according to Fraser, he had conducted the second series of the *Era* column.¹⁶³ He, too, received no byline until he died.¹⁶⁴ Duffy, until

¹⁵⁶ *C.P.C.*, vi (June 1845), pp. 192.

¹⁵⁷ Murray, 'Walker' (loc cit.), p. 194: 'his character seems to have been a pleasant one throughout'.

¹⁵⁸ *B.L.L.*, 20 Sept. 1835.

¹⁵⁹ *B.L.L.*, 27 Sept. 1845.

¹⁶⁰ *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Series, VIII (25 Aug. 1877), p. 160.

¹⁶¹ Whyld, *Columns*, p. 201, refers to 'Gaps, e.g. 1863' but it appeared every week in 1863.

¹⁶² Howard Staunton (ed. R. B. Wormald), *Chess: theory and practice* (London 1876). Wormald was never named until his own death was announced in the column of 9 Dec. 1876.

¹⁶³ Fraser to White, 18 Mar. 1899. The second *Era* series ran from Jan. 1867 to Dec. 1873. This identification has not been published elsewhere. Whyld, *Columns*, p. 238, dates Duffy's tenure

his health broke, was at the centre of the capital's chess life.¹⁶⁵ He did not have to write for money, the chess master Henry Bird having found him a position with accountants, Turquand Colman.¹⁶⁶ Duffy being one of those chess editors who liked to enliven his copy with 'personalities', the future champion was a favourite target. 'It is senseless and withal useless to belittle Steinitz in the way Duffy does – for his achievements speak for themselves,' Fraser told White, adding emphatically: 'His name is now excluded in toto from all the Journals under Duffy's control!!'¹⁶⁷

Staunton's standard format did not change for at least fifty years, but the column declined in interest. Duffy's successor, Joseph William Abbott, chess editor of the *English Mechanic* from 1872-6, and also of the *Ladies' Treasury* for a time from 1876, was not a polemicist. Undistinguished as a player, he probably owed his appointment to being an acknowledged expert on chess problems. Under Abbott, the *Illustrated's* chess department was little more than the house organ of the City of London Chess Club. It remained in his hands until he died, in 1923,¹⁶⁸ after a period of tenure even longer than that of Staunton.

3 e) The 'family paper' decades

A NEW class of family weeklies began to emerge in the late 1840s, of which *The Home Circle* is discussed below in a case study, while *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*, which had the longest-running chess column in this class of publication, was very significant for the history of correspondence chess too. When the *Chronicle* was revived in 1859, it ran an article on 'The Progress of Chess', including a survey of current chess journalism. Several early columns had come to an end, yet in London publications alone there were now eleven weekly columns,

at *Land and Water* to 'c. 4/76-3/11/77'. He took over when Wisker sailed for Australia and on 10 Nov. 1877 the column said Duffy had left for America.

¹⁶⁴ *I.L.N.*, xcii (21 Apr. 1888), p. 416.

¹⁶⁵ According to Whyld's *Columns*, at times in 1885-7 Duffy was assisted, or substituted, by F. W. Lewis and a man named Cubison.

¹⁶⁶ Fraser to White, 20 Feb. 1878: Bird had been a partner in the firm.

¹⁶⁷ Fraser to White, 17 Sep. 1878. Emphasis as in the MS.

¹⁶⁸ Gaige, *Personalalia*, says 5 Aug. 1923. His last column appeared in the *I.L.N.*, clxiii on 4 Aug 1923 and an obituary appeared there on 18 Aug., p. 330.

and the *Chronicle* had something to say about each: *The Illustrated London News*, *Bell's Life*, *The Era*, *The Field*, *The Sunday Times*, *Cassell's*, *The Illustrated News of the World*, *The Review*, *Reynolds's Miscellany*, *The Family Herald*, and *The London Journal*. Four of these could be classified as family papers with literary content, five as primarily sporting papers, and two as illustrated newspapers.

The 'family magazine', whose heyday was the 1850s and early 1860s, might be bought by the head of the household or his wife, but would be read eventually by everyone in the house. That could be eight or ten people or more, including the children and the servants, when the family was prosperous enough to employ servants. A chess column was often part of the package in such papers. *The Family Friend*, which began in 1849, had a rather poor chess column from volumes 2-6 (1850-2) and another one c. 1862-3. *The Family Herald*, which began in December 1842, had a chess column from May 1858 to April 1860.¹⁶⁹ As circulation was then declining from 260,000 to 200,000, perhaps chess was part of an unsuccessful drive to go upmarket. *Cassell's*, published from December 1853, had an estimated circulation of 250,000-285,000 around 1855-8 according to the *Waterloo Directory*. Its postal chess tourneys are discussed in Chapter Six.¹⁷⁰

A journalist whose career illustrates the changing trends in periodical publishing between the 1840s and 1870s was George Frederick Pardon (1824-84). He was responsible for two of the columns of which the *Chronicle* disapproved: in *The Review* (a rival to *The Field* during 1858-9) and *The London Journal*, which was then one of the largest-selling weeklies, offering a mixture of light romantic or melodramatic fiction with miscellaneous articles of entertainment and instruction. The chess column, not mentioned in a recent monograph about the paper,¹⁷¹ ran only from August 1858 to July 1859 but it began a postal chess tournament.¹⁷² Pardon is an example of how journalists involved in radical publishing in the 1840s were adapting to serve the growing family, juvenile, and sporting readerships. He

¹⁶⁹ Volumes 16 and 17. Tomlinson began the column but rapidly passed it on to Löwenthal, 'whom he considered more qualified to write it', annoying Staunton, who thought foreigners had too much of the chess press: David Levy, *Howard Staunton 1810-74* (Nottingham 1974), p. 122.

¹⁷⁰ See pp. 236-9.

¹⁷¹ Andrew King, *The London Journal 1845-83: Periodicals, Production and Gender* (Aldershot 2004).

¹⁷² See pp. 240-2 for details.

had sub-edited for Feargus O'Connor on the *Evening Star*, then edited the *People's and Howitt's Journal*.¹⁷³ In the early 1850s he, along with the Howitts, worked for publisher John Cassell, a carpenter who made his name as a temperance orator.¹⁷⁴

Pardon seems an enthusiastic if mediocre chess player — but an expert journalist, specialising in start-ups.¹⁷⁵ In the late 1860s he edited the *Gentleman's Journal* and began a chess column in *Young Men of Great Britain*.¹⁷⁶ He used the pseudonym Captain Rawdon Crawley (borrowed from Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*), not only for his chess columns but also for books on games including draughts. Pardon complained that *The Field* reviewed his chess book with 'an ungenerous sneer', saying that 'Captain Crawley is quite unknown as a chess-player'. He retorted that after he had written on billiards for *The Field*, John Crockford asked him to write for them on chess. He was then told that the paper 'could not afford to pay ten shillings a week for chess, the circulation being so small'. 'Does this sound as if Captain Crawley was unknown?' he asked, pointing out that after he began to write for *The Review*, chess commenced in *The Field* 'and now they could afford one of the leading players, Boden, to write it'.¹⁷⁷

G. W. M. Reynolds, whose radical credentials have been questioned, followed the money from Chartism to the new mass market and became a very popular novelist.¹⁷⁸ His apolitical *Reynolds's Miscellany* (1846-69) had a substantial circulation. Its chess column was poor compared with *Cassell's*, but apparently had

¹⁷³ *O.D.N.B.*, xlii, p. 611. Mary and William Howitt were radical journalists in the 1840s: see *O.D.N.B.*, xxviii, pp. 529-532; *Mary Howitt: An Autobiography, edited by her daughter Margaret Howitt* (2 vols.; London 1889).

¹⁷⁴ *O.D.N.B.*, x, pp. 493-5. See also Simon Nowell-Smith, *The House of Cassell 1848-1958* (London 1958), and John W. Kirton, *John Cassell, His Life and Work* (London 1891).

¹⁷⁵ The *Waterloo Directory* indicates the range of his work. Among the titles he initiated for Cassell were the *Working Man's Friend*, the *Popular Educator*, and the *Illustrated Exhibitor*.

¹⁷⁶ Both those titles ran correspondence tournaments: see pp. 242-3.

¹⁷⁷ *The Review, the Country Gentleman's Journal*, ii (14 May 1859), p. 737. Though not quite reliable, this gives some idea of how much a London chess columnist was paid around this time. Samuel Standidge Boden (1826-82) was an artist and one of England's leading chess amateurs.

¹⁷⁸ Virginia Berridge, 'Popular Sunday papers and mid-Victorian society', in George Boyce, James Curran, & Pauline Wingate (eds.), *Newspaper history from the seventeenth century to the present day* (London and Beverly Hills, 1978), 247-64, especially pp. 253-4. His editorial career was the subject of Anne Humpherys, 'G. W. M. Reynolds: Popular Literature and Popular Politics', in J. Wiener (ed.), *Innovators*, pp. 3-21. A rounded view of Reynolds, with additional references to sources on his career, is Rohan McWilliam, 'The mysteries of G. W. M. Reynolds: radicalism and melodrama in Victorian Britain', in Malcolm Chase and Ian Dyck (eds.), *Living and Learning: Essays in Honour of J. F. C. Harrison* (Aldershot 1996), pp. 182-98.

sufficient following to justify its continuation for about ten years. It began in 1858 (volume 21) and except for volume 23, from which chess was almost entirely absent, there was a fairly regular column until publication ended on 19 June 1869 (volume 42).¹⁷⁹ The chess editor has never been identified, and it is possible that Reynolds paid a hack writer to conduct it, relying on readers' contributions.

Asa Briggs began his study of *Victorian People* with the men of the Great Exhibition (1851, a significant year for chess too) and closed with 1867, the year of the second Reform Act.¹⁸⁰ That period also more or less coincides with the subject of W. L. Burn's classic study *The age of equipoise*, which sought to identify a period of relative calm and prosperity following the end of one set of political tensions and the onset of the more anxious, economically and socially volatile decades that followed.¹⁸¹ The era of the 'family paper' coincides quite closely with the period Briggs and Burn identified, and in the chess world it saw consolidation between two more active periods. Petter and Galpin, who had bailed Cassell out of financial difficulties in the 1850s, were freer to make changes after his death in 1865. The house historian, Nowell-Smith, explained why their flagship periodical was remodelled (minus chess) in March 1867 as *Cassell's Magazine*:

The change of name, the dropping of the epithet 'family'... all this is significant. The *Family Paper* had suffered from the competition of Charles Dickens, who in *All the Year Round* was triumphantly selling a higher grade of literature... to a more intellectual public... The *Family Paper* circulated in the back kitchens: *Cassell's Magazine* must be made to circulate above as well as below stairs.¹⁸²

By the late 1860s, the erstwhile readers of family paper chess columns had gone elsewhere — to the specialist magazines, or perhaps to other chess columns in smaller circulation papers, and above all to the London sporting papers.¹⁸³ Meanwhile a new generation was growing up with Pardon's juvenile columns.

¹⁷⁹ Whyld, *Columns*, said chess ended in 1861. Catalogues frequently give *Reynold's* instead of *Reynolds's*, which appears on the publication itself. In vol. 23 chess resumed on 12 Nov. 1859.

¹⁸⁰ Asa Briggs, *Victorian People* (Chicago 1970 [1954]), *passim*.

¹⁸¹ W. L. Burn, *The age of equipoise: a study of the mid-Victorian generation* (Aldershot 1994; from original ed. 1964). Later historians questioned the explanatory value of the concept, e.g. Martin Hewitt (ed.), *An age of equipoise?: reassessing mid-Victorian Britain* (Aldershot 2000).

¹⁸² Nowell-Smith, *Cassell*, p. 122.

¹⁸³ Some family magazines survived, such as the penny weekly *Bow Bells* (begun by W. H. Ainsworth in 1862), but its chess column only commenced in Dec. 1873 (see p. 242). The

3 f) A major column: *The Field*

OF THE several sporting weeklies with chess columns, *The Field* was the most important from the 1870s. *Bell's Life* has already been discussed. The *Sunday Times*, strong on sport, had chess from 1857-9 (edited by the Austrian, Falkbeer) and regularly from 1899. The *Era*, which had the newsiest column from 1854-66, relied in its early years primarily on sporting readership and content, but enjoyed a circulation only one sixth the size of *Bell's*.¹⁸⁴ It seems paradoxical that the organ of the Licensed Vintners ran a column on chess, which requires sobriety for skilled performance. Nevertheless the *Era* column prospered for over a decade until the editorial direction of the paper changed into one principally dealing with theatrical matters.¹⁸⁵ Editorial requirements were the ostensible reason for Löwenthal's column closing, but an anonymous one soon replaced it, continuing to 1873.¹⁸⁶

The Field started in 1853, with a column by Williams, but in mid-1854 chess was petering out, a casualty of Crimean coverage, and it ended when he died in the cholera epidemic.¹⁸⁷ On 24 April 1858, Boden's column began; it was well-timed because of a general revival of chess activity stimulated by the exploits of Morphy. Running for about ten years, it is quite a good source for the chess world of the 1860s, but there followed an interregnum of low quality. In 1870 the *Westminster Papers* was sarcastic about mistakes in both the columns of *The Field* and the *Illustrated*, saying 'in future, we must refer to [them] as the "know-nothing"

Waterloo Directory quotes Louis James's suggestion that it was 'geared toward young white-collar families', but shows he was wrong to suppose it was a successor to *Reynolds's Miscellany*.

¹⁸⁴ Law's table in Brake & Codell, *Encounters*, p. 35 stops just before the *Era* chess column began, but in 1851-2 it sold 5,600 copies on average per week

¹⁸⁵ Jane W. Stedman, 'Theatre', in J. Don Vann & Rosemary T. VanArsdel, *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society* (Toronto 1994), pp. 162-176, here p. 167: 'the most important theatrical weekly of its day' and 'by the late 1860s it had become first and foremost a theatre paper'.

¹⁸⁶ *Era*, 29 Apr. 1866. Löwenthal received a byline from 21 June 1858 onwards, the *Era* exploiting his being the first to play a match with visiting American champion Paul Morphy. Sergeant, *Century*, p. 140, believed that he chose to resign to make more time for his work with the British Chess Association. The timing is right (the B.C.A. was reorganised a few weeks before the column ended) but Duffy may have manoeuvred to replace him. Löwenthal could probably ill afford to lose the *Era* fees and there had already been a testimonial for him in 1864: *Chess Player's Magazine*, ii (July 1864), pp. 217-8.

¹⁸⁷ R. N. Rose, *The Field 1853 1953: a centenary volume* (London 1953), gives an overview of the paper's history, and discusses its war coverage on pp. 49-50, but cannot be entirely relied upon for details about its chess columnists. He says on p. 107 that Williams died in 1857. While *Bell's Life* and other papers raised a subscription for his family, *The Field* ignored his death.

papers.’¹⁸⁸ The editorship passed through a few hands, and it is not always clear who was responsible. The first English Champion, Cecil de Vere, was chess editor in 1871-2, or at least for part of that period.¹⁸⁹

The heyday of the *Field* column dates from 1873 when Steinitz took over. His years in the editorial chair are marked by a very high standard of game annotations, which were objective and instructive to readers of all skill levels. He was able to write on chess with an authority only Zukertort (no columnist) could match. The difference with Steinitz was that he was developing his theories of positional chess in the 1870s and came to understand the game far more deeply than his contemporaries. Like Staunton, Steinitz was a controversialist. Being Jewish and from Prague, he was always considered a foreigner, despite being a long-time English resident. He made many enemies in the London chess world, though he also had wealthy friends and patrons, who probably fed him and paid him for lessons. Comments about ‘Bohemians’ in other chess writings of this time are usually barely-concealed digs at Steinitz.¹⁹⁰ His reign ended in the summer of 1882, when he resigned shortly after the Vienna international chess tournament. Steinitz thereby sacrificed most of his regular income, and left for America in October. The precise reason he resigned is not altogether clear and anyway outside the scope of this thesis,¹⁹¹ but it may be noted that Steinitz’s relations with *The Field* had already been somewhat strained in 1875 when a complaint about a serious inaccuracy obliged him to apologise to one of London’s main chess clubs.¹⁹²

His replacement, Hoffer, was a good chess reporter, but far inferior to Steinitz as player and analyst. He ran the column for over thirty years. After his

¹⁸⁸ *Westminster Papers*, ii (Nov. 1870), p. 106.

¹⁸⁹ Fraser to White, 28 June 1877. Whyld, *Columns* (p. 144), named De Vere only for 1871 and stated Boden was involved in 1871-3. Owen Hindle & Bob Jones, *The English Morphy?: The Life and Games of Cecil de Vere* (Exmouth 2001), p. 16, say Boden inherited some money and arranged for his protégé to succeed him, but De Vere lacked appetite for regular work.

¹⁹⁰ Löwenthal integrated better. His obituary in *Land and Water*, xxii (29 July 1876), p. 54, says ‘he presented in his regard for the conventionalities of life a singular contrast to the rude Bohemianism which is a distinguishing characteristic of the modern champion of chess’.

¹⁹¹ The account in Landsberger, *Steinitz*, p. 124, also leaves the question open. Rose, *Field centenary*, p. 107, rightly says that Steinitz put the column ‘in a position of pre-eminence’ but said nothing about why he left. Hooper & Whyld, *Companion* (2nd ed., 1992), p. 397, suggested that there was a conspiracy against Steinitz, but offered no evidence to substantiate this. For the internal evidence, see *The Field*, lx (8, 15, 22, & 29 July 1882), pp. 52, 94, 13, and 173.

¹⁹² To do with his honorarium from the *London v Vienna* match in 1874: see pp. 202-3.

death in 1913, veteran British master Burn took over. Throughout the years when Abbott's column was dull and parochial, *The Field* provided detailed information about chess activities, not only in Britain but also on the continent, and the column continued with a succession of editors until 1994.

3 g) Different types of publication with chess columns

AMONG periodicals aimed chiefly at the young, chess columns were to be found in *Young Men of Great Britain*, *Lads of the Village*, the *Gentleman's Journal*, and later the *Boy's Own Paper*. The peculiar publishing history of *Young Men of Great Britain* requires explanation. This title was aimed at youths graduating from *Boys of England*. Publisher Edwin Brett himself had moved from the chartist press to the 'penny dreadfuls', though his publications were not as black as they were painted.¹⁹³ *Young Men of Great Britain* began in January 1868 and the run of ten half-yearly volumes was then repeated. Thus it continued publication until 1879, though careful attention by the reader is necessary since holdings (e.g. at the British Library) may consist of a mixture of the original run and the reissue.¹⁹⁴ The 'Captain Crawley' column was passed on to Löwenthal, whose first article appears on page 308 of volume one. The first seven volumes had chess. Since Löwenthal died in July 1876, his later columns must have been reissued posthumously.

Several science and technology magazines had chess columns. The *English Mechanic* reported on inventions; its column became more important when James Pierce became editor. He ran several postal chess tournaments as well as being a clearing-house for information about chess activities.¹⁹⁵ Another magazine aimed at mechanics was *Design and Work*, whose highly regarded column specialised in chess problems. The early volumes of *Knowledge*, edited by astronomer R. A. Proctor, featured contributions by 'Mephisto' (Isidor Gunsberg, later one of the world's top chess players), and the *Illustrated Science Monthly* ran one of the

¹⁹³ See the references cited on p. 4, n13.

¹⁹⁴ Reissues usually state the fact, and the real date, in small print near the foot of a page.

¹⁹⁵ See pp. 257 & 261 -2 on Pierce's tournaments. Unfortunately his health was poor and he never seemed to have enough space. A problem with the *English Mechanic* column is that it was sometimes printed on the inside back cover which binders often omitted.

earliest chess columns edited by Frideswide Beechey (later Mrs Rowland).¹⁹⁶ A few women's papers also had chess columns; these are discussed in Chapter Seven.

Fleet Street traditionally distinguished between newspapers published in London and the provincial press, with the principal Scottish and Irish titles being included in the latter although those working on them saw it differently. To take the English provincials first, although there were a few columns in the first half of the century, their heyday was really from the 1860s (after the paper tax ended) to the late 1880s. Literacy levels were rising, and more men had the vote. Press Association wires meant provincial papers could compete with London titles on fresh news. Most cities and counties in the 1870s and 1880s had at least one weekly chess column. Several like the *Preston Guardian* and *Brighton Guardian* sponsored correspondence chess events (see Chapter Six), while others, like the *Derbyshire Advertiser* and the *Southern Weekly News* (Brighton), had thriving columns even if they only reported on events organised by others.

One reason why local columns tended to have shorter life-spans than national ones was that editors (unlike those for London titles) were in many cases probably doing it for love, not for money.¹⁹⁷ They relied on contributions from local readers, with national chess news and snippets from other columns to fill vacant space. Most provincial chess editors probably had private incomes or salaried employments. Chatto, Ranken, Skipworth, and Dr Davies (*Ipswich Journal*) were clergymen; Mitcheson (*Newcastle Courant*), James Pierce, and James White (*Leeds Mercury*) were teachers. Palmer (*Preston Guardian*) was a policeman, Dr Hunt (*Hackney Mercury* etc.) a doctor, and Timbrell Pierce (*Brighton Herald*) was an architect, but in many cases it is not known what chess editors did in their 'other' lives. It was probably because he was the proprietor of a small business that H. W. Butler (*Brighton Guardian*) stopped his column after a few months; the column was too time-consuming.

¹⁹⁶ See pp. 298-308 for a case study about her. The original title was *The Science Monthly Illustrated*; it ran from Nov. 1883 to May 1885. *Knowledge* began in Nov. 1881 and had another column later. For Proctor, see *O.D.N.B.*, xlv, pp. 461-3.

¹⁹⁷ Ken Whyld believed that the only payment many columnists received was proofs or extra copies of their columns, which they then exchanged with other editors: *B.C.M.*, cxxvii (Apr. 2007), p. 218. Direct evidence is lacking but this seems plausible in the case of provincial newspapers.

Briggs identified the 1890s as the decade when centripetal forces began to operate in English society, affecting journalism.¹⁹⁸ Advertising was now organised more on a national basis, with provincial papers restricted to what they could earn locally. Moreover, he wrote, ‘the amateurism that lay behind much provincial culture was being made to look archaic in an age that turned increasingly to “professionals” and “experts”.’ Chessists looked especially to *The Field* and (from 1883-1925) Anthony Guest’s column in the *Morning Post*, although provincial columns carried local news. A few with expert editors still carried original material in the early 1900s, notably the *Norwich Mercury*.¹⁹⁹ The postal tournaments of the early 1900s were mostly run by specialist London titles (*Hobbies* and *Womanhood*) or by chess magazines. August 1914 drastically affected journalism: Gunsberg soon lost all his columns except the *Daily Telegraph*.²⁰⁰

The Scottish and Irish situation was somewhat different, with an expatriate readership in addition to strong local markets. Distance made it hard for Fleet Street to deliver the news on time. The first Irish column ran in the *Weekly Northern Whig* from 1862-8, with some interruptions. In the 1880s the Belfast chess club helped to get a column going again in both the *Northern Whig* and the *Belfast News-letter*, the content being much the same in the two papers until the late 1900s.²⁰¹ Except for the brief 1871 column in the *Irish Sportsman and Farmer* and one by Alfred Peake during 1879-82 in the *Weekly Irish Times*, Irish chess was not well served until 1883 when George Frith Barry, the cricketer, started his column in the *Irish Fireside* (a new supplement to the *Weekly Freeman*), followed by the Rowlands’ *Irish Sportsman* column and more thereafter.²⁰²

Clydeside, Scotland’s main centre of population, had its most important columns, starting with the *Glasgow Citizen* from 1847 to 1851.²⁰³ After Fraser’s in

¹⁹⁸ Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (London 1963), pp. 355-9 in the Penguin edition, especially p. 357.

¹⁹⁹ John Keeble, whose column ran from 1902 in Norwich, was one of Murray’s correspondents.

²⁰⁰ *The Times*, 9 Dec 1916: law report on the case *Gunsberg v Associated Newspapers*.

²⁰¹ According to David McAlister of Hillsborough, the leading expert on Ulster chess history, in private conversation. The *Belfast Weekly News* also had a column for most of the 1890s.

²⁰² See also p. 302. The complete bibliographic history of Irish chess columns has been difficult to establish; see Appendices II a (chronological) and II b (alphabetical, with details).

²⁰³ Unfortunately the British Library does not have the *Glasgow Citizen* for 1847.

Dundee in the 1860s,²⁰⁴ there was no Scottish column until the 1870s. The *Glasgow Weekly Herald*, from 2 November 1872,²⁰⁵ is an excellent source of news, games and comment, not only for Scottish chess but British chess as a whole in much of this period, especially when Jenkin (1872-9), David Forsyth (c. 1886-7) and Sheriff Spens (c. 1887-97) were in charge. Not until the 1890s did Edinburgh obtain a chess column (Forsyth in the *Weekly Scotsman* from 4 November 1893); then the *Falkirk Herald* started a strong and long-running column in 1894. Also the *Northern Figaro*, an Aberdeen magazine, ran an interesting column for a few years from 1886 and the Ayrshire *Argus and Express* had one starting in 1878. As often happened with columns, both those became dull after a few years, with little original matter, and then expired. Scottish papers on the whole did not organise correspondence events, with one major exception: Hugh Bryan's small postal chess events in the mid-1870s in the *Glasgow News of the Week* led to the U.S.A.-U.K. postcard match, discussed in Chapter Five.²⁰⁶

4 Case study: *The Home Circle* and the first postal chess tourney

AMONG the family weeklies, *The Home Circle* has a special place in chess history because it ran the first postal chess tournament. This study discusses in turn the previously untold publishing history of the paper; the chess column and its contributors, readers and players; its early experiments with correspondence chess, then the tournament. Launched on Saturday 7 July 1849, *The Home Circle* ran weekly for ten half-yearly volumes, ceasing publication in mid-1854. The exact date is uncertain because from issue 157 onwards (the start of volume seven in 1852) title pages did not include issue dates, though these may have appeared on wrappers that have not survived in bound volumes. Dates were probably omitted because the paper was sold, like many contemporary periodicals, in monthly parts as well as weekly numbers. The final volume for example, was available in various

²⁰⁴ See pp. 323-4.

²⁰⁵ *I.L.N.*, lxi (9 Nov. 1872), p. 455, shows that the column began earlier in the year in the *Glasgow Weekly Star*; but that paper is unavailable at the British Newspaper Library and the cuttings scrapbook in the Edinburgh Chess Club begins with the earliest *Weekly Herald* columns.

²⁰⁶ See pp. 209-18.

formats and varying prices: weekly one penny, stamped 2*d.*, monthly parts 6*d.*²⁰⁷ Twenty-six issues constituted a volume, the last having twenty-four pages instead of the usual sixteen, so that ongoing serials could be concluded. Each volume was completed by a frontispiece and a two-page address which binders put at the front. The circulation was claimed after four or five months to be ‘about 43,000 ...with a rapidly increasing sale.’²⁰⁸ Around 1850, Manchester bookseller Abel Heywood claimed to be selling 600 copies weekly, compared to 1,500 for the more sensational titles like the *London Journal* and *Family Herald*.²⁰⁹ Although perhaps a higher peak was reached, circulation presumably fell in 1853-4 before the paper closed. Distribution may have been inefficient. The literary reviewer of the *Dundee Courier* commented in 1850 that the *Home Circle* ‘reaches us rather irregularly’ but ‘its general excellence is still kept up. The cheapest in its class, it exhibits no inferiority in talent.’²¹⁰ Very few copies have survived to the present day, even in copyright libraries.²¹¹

The editor was Pierce James Egan (1814-80), a son of the Pierce Egan (1772-1849) famous for his writing on boxing.²¹² Egan junior began as an illustrator and writer of popular historical serial novels; *The Home Circle* was his only venture into magazine proprietorship.²¹³ The claim in *O.D.N.B.* that Egan’s reign as editor ended in December 1851 appears to be a misunderstanding inherited from Boase’s

²⁰⁷ As *The Home Circle* was not a newspaper, a stamp was not compulsory, but its provincial readers probably preferred that option because the stamp included postage. The price of the bound volume ten was stated as ‘Plain 4*s.*, Gilt edges and backs 4*s.* 6*d.*’.

²⁰⁸ *Home Circle*, i (10 Nov. 1849), p. 304.

²⁰⁹ Altick, *Reader*, p. 351, citing the *Report from the Select Committee on Newspaper Stamps* (1851), Qq. 2481-2551. He believed that Heywood possibly massaged some of his figures.

²¹⁰ *Dundee Courier*, 18 Sept. 1850.

²¹¹ The last volume proved elusive, the British Library’s copy being lost or destroyed. Standard reference works such as the *Waterloo Directory* list no libraries holding complete sets but there is one at the John Rylands Library in Deansgate, Manchester — possibly the only complete set in existence. It forms part of the Douglas Munro Alexandre Dumas, père, Collection. Dumas senior was an occasional contributor to *The Home Circle* and Munro was a Scotsman who collected everything he could find to do with the French writer.

²¹² ‘He did virtually create modern sporting journalism,’ Brailsford’s profile of Egan senior in *O.D.N.B.*, xvii, pp. 984-5, claims. He died only a few weeks after the *Home Circle* launch. It is unclear whether he provided any money towards the launch of the paper. Harvey, *Beginnings*, p. 55, says Egan sr. died ‘in poverty’, whereas *O.D.N.B.* suggests that while the father was ‘somewhat less prosperous in old age’, the son ‘was said to be left comfortably placed’.

²¹³ The *Waterloo Directory* names only W. S. Johnson as publisher but the final pages of issues in the early volumes clearly state Egan to be publisher. See below.

Modern English Biography.²¹⁴ Egan was still named as editor in the colophon paragraph on the final page of volume ten.²¹⁵ What did change was that by 1851 W. S. Johnson, who originally was listed as printer, had become the publisher too and remained so until the end.²¹⁶

By 1853 the magazine was in difficulties. The address to volume eight refers to its aim of ‘altering the taste of the masses’ but complains that other publishers almost stole their title and copied their appearance.²¹⁷ That may refer to the *Home Friend*, begun by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1852. The address said: ‘several religious publishing associations have followed in our van... tried to elbow us out of the field’. In defence, a recommendation from the literary-minded Justice Talfourd was obtained, which appears on the title page in the final volume: ‘Your work is replete with innocent recreation and suggestions of practical good’.²¹⁸ The abolition of the advertisement tax may have been a final blow, since this concession would have been more beneficial to lavish competitors such as *Cassell’s*.²¹⁹ Ceasing publication was possibly Johnson’s decision. The fact that nothing was said about closure in the final issue or in the address for the volume suggests a late decision with little notice to Egan. Johnson later took over the *London Journal* and employed Egan as editor and writer.²²⁰

Unusually for mid-Victorian periodicals, *The Home Circle* named several contributors in each volume, although individual articles (including chess) were usually not bylined. The first address to the reader, issued in December 1849, lists

²¹⁴ Boase, *Biography*, i (A-H), col. 968; *O.D.N.B.*, xvii, p. 986.

²¹⁵ *Home Circle*, x (1854), p. 424.

²¹⁶ Johnson was based at Nassau Steam Press, next door in St Martin’s Lane.

²¹⁷ Published with the index to the volume, i.e. in June 1853.

²¹⁸ Sir Thomas Noon Talfourd (1795-1854), judge and playwright, agreed that his name could be used for promotion and it appears on the title page of many late issues of *The Home Circle*. He was a dramatist and friend of Charles Lamb, whose papers he edited. As MP for Reading (1835-41 and 1847-9), he introduced the copyright act (1841) before being appointed to the bench in 1849. Boase, *Biography*, iii (Truro 1901), p. 874; *O.D.N.B.*, liii, pp. 735-7.

²¹⁹ *Cassell’s* at first used a much larger page size than most family papers, although it was reduced after the first volume. A large format could accommodate more advertising. The tax on paper was not abolished until 1861.

²²⁰ Information on the relationship between Egan and Johnson is from King, *Journal*, especially pp. 114-15, 139 and 142. Publication details of *The Home Circle* were in colophon paragraphs, often on the same page as the chess columns. Egan’s obituary in *The Times* of 8 July 1880 gave an incorrect start date for *The Home Circle*, saying 1847 instead of 1849.

thirty-four names, seventeen of each sex. Similarly, volume nine (Christmas 1853) has an address and 'list of professional contributors' including twenty-one women and thirty-five men, including some well known in cultural fields: Nathaniel Hawthorne, 'M. de Balzac', Egan himself, the illustrator Phiz (H. K. Brown), and Meyerbeer.²²¹ Reprinting continental and American material probably kept costs down relative to the quality of the literary content. The chess contributors are identifiable as 'Mr H. C. Mott, Herr Kling, Herr Horwitz'.²²²

Josef Kling was a musician born in Mainz, Germany, who was proprietor of Kling's Chess Rooms in Oxford Street;²²³ his colleague Bernhard Horwitz, originally from the Berlin region, was a professional painter. They shared an interest in the analysis of chess end-games and the type of composed puzzles now known as 'endgame studies', unusual at a time when the mate problem was far more popular. Mott was named as editor of their book *Chess Studies*,²²⁴ probably meaning that he checked the puzzles for correctness and improved the authors' English. The connection between the three seems to have been close in the early 1850s. The Germans' *New Chess Player* recommended *The Home Circle*, calling it a 'remarkably well-conducted and cheap periodical, under the able editorship of Pierce Egan, Esq...'²²⁵ The favour was returned in late 1853, when the *Home Circle* informed readers that Kling was back in business: 'True lovers of the royal game will again, therefore, have the opportunity of enjoying those chess gatherings which formed so pleasing a feature of Mr Kling's former establishment.'²²⁶

Henry Cook Mott, largely forgotten, was in charge of the *Home Circle* chess articles, and also became chess editor of *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*.²²⁷ A minor civil servant, he was the pioneer in the development of correspondence

²²¹ Presumably the opera composer, Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791-1864).

²²² *Home Circle*, i (1849), p. iv.

²²³ He appears as Joseph Kling in the 1851 census.

²²⁴ Josef Kling and Bernhard Horwitz, *Chess Studies; or, Endings of Games... Edited by Henry C. Mott* (London 1851). This had the same title as Walker's book but the content was very different. The contribution of Kling and Horwitz to endgame theory is still highly regarded today.

²²⁵ *The New Chess Player*, iv (1853), p. 80, where the game *Willie v. Alpha* was analysed in detail. See Appendix VIII, pp. 569-70. The word 'New' was added to the title with volume three.

²²⁶ *Home Circle*, ix, p. 256. The implication was that Kling was not making enough money from music, so was giving chess a second chance.

²²⁷ *Newcastle Courant*, 5 Jan. 1877. Mott does not appear in Gaige's *Personalalia*. His death certificate shows he died on 25 Mar. 1875. For more personal details, see Appendix IX.

chess tournaments, mostly through his second column, as Chapter Six shows.²²⁸ Wormald's warm obituary said that 'though not a chessplayer of the first rank, Mr Mott was a diligent and devoted lover of the game; and, as an examiner of problems and end-games, had few equals for patience and accuracy.'²²⁹

Chess featured in *The Home Circle* from the very beginning. The columnist agreed with a correspondent that: 'certainly the appearance of a Chess Column, in a publication like the "HOME CIRCLE", is a novel and striking feature.'²³⁰ Postal chess was soon mentioned, with a notice that 'College House School, Worthing, would be happy to play any private School a game of Chess by correspondence.'²³¹ In March 1850, a reader using the nickname 'Philoscacchus' recommended a chess notation based on a numeric grid. He was not the originator,²³² but the suggestion was reprinted long afterwards in *B.C.M.* Erik Larsson noticed it, and made it the basis of the notation used for international correspondence chess after World War Two.²³³ In May, another reader was looking for an opponent.²³⁴ The column soon began publishing correspondence games in progress, and then announced:

J. M. M., a chess player of celebrity, will play, *por l'amour*, a match of chess, by correspondence, single-handed, against the members of any chess club collectively, or individual chess player, in Europe. It is necessary, should this challenge be accepted by a single player, that his skill and knowledge of the game should be of the first class. The moves, as they are played, to be published in the HOME CIRCLE.²³⁵

Eventually Forfarshire Chess Club accepted the challenge. The game began in October, when the *Home Circle* printed 'the first and second moves of a Game now

²²⁸ See pp. 236-9.

²²⁹ *I.L.N.*, lxvi (10 Apr. 1875), p. 355.

²³⁰ *Home Circle*, i (15 Sept. 1849), p. 176; punctuation as in the source.

²³¹ *Home Circle*, ii (16 & 23 Mar. 1850), p. 176 and repeated on p. 192.

²³² Other similar grids were proposed but in this one the a-file is numbered 11-18, the b-file 21-28 etc. According to Hooper & Whyld, *Companion*, p.80, the originator was Dr J. W. D. Wildt of Göttingen and it was used by J. F. W. Koch in his *Elementarbuch des Schachspielkunst* (1828). So 'Philoscacchus' either saw that book or reinvented the idea.

²³³ *Home Circle*, ii (30 Mar. & 6 Apr. 1850), pp. 208 and 224; *B.C.M.*, xi (June 1891), pp. 290-2; author's interview with Erik Larsson (1998), published in *Chess Mail*, iii (no. 1, Jan. 1999), pp. 5-11; here p. 9. This makes 'Philoscacchus' the grandfather of the I.C.C.F. notation.

²³⁴ *Home Circle*, ii (11 May 1850), p. 320: F.G. (Paddington) 'will be happy to play any amateur a game of chess by correspondence'. This was probably Gilder, who later played in the tourney.

²³⁵ *Home Circle*, ii (8 June 1850), p. 368, repeated in the following issues.

pending between the belligerents.’²³⁶ It continued well into 1851; the anonymous celebrity, later revealed to be Kling,²³⁷ eventually defeated the Scottish club.²³⁸ Staunton named the loser as Dundee Chess Club. Walsh resolved this apparent contradiction by pointing out that ‘Angus’ and ‘Forfarshire’ are interchangeable, and stating that the Angus and Dundee clubs merged in 1848.²³⁹ While that game continued, others proceeded under the auspices of *The Home Circle*. There seems to have been a circle of mostly young players who played private matches amongst themselves. The column published a game between readers in Norwich and Stoke, which in view of the distance was almost certainly by post.²⁴⁰ They and others who later entered its tourney first appear in the paper in 1851. Then came the first evidence of a woman playing correspondence chess.

SIBYL challenges any chess-player, whose chess-playing powers are not much above the average, to play a game by correspondence, and stipulates that any one taking up the gauntlet thus rashly thrown down, shall not, if in danger at any part of the skirmish, summon ‘a council of war’, but shall fight the battle *all through* unaided; and SIBYL, on her part, will promise not to call in any foreign power to her assistance, however great the chances of defeat may be. This stipulation is but fair, as without it, a single champion might be fighting against a host.²⁴¹

She unfortunately cannot be identified, but it is hardly surprising that there was an eager response to this unprecedented opportunity and on 22 November 1851 the column reported that ‘we have received numerous answers to the challenge of SIBYLL [sic], all of which have been forwarded to our fair

²³⁶ *Home Circle*, iii (26 Oct. 1850), p. 272.

²³⁷ Kling is only recorded as playing one other postal match, probably because he was a professional. The *Era*, 19 July 1857, published a drawn game against an unknown amateur, saying it was one of three games in a match. Kling lost one game ‘in recording one of the opening moves’; the columnist Löwenthal said he would publish Kling’s win but apparently never did so.

²³⁸ Mott never divulged the identity of the winner, but Staunton named Kling when the game ended, in *I.L.N.*, xviii (21 June 1851), p. 585, and in *C.P.C.*, xi (1851), pp. 214-5. Peter Walsh, *The Story of the Dundee Chess Club* (Dundee 1984), reprinted the *I.L.N.* notes on pp. 68-9.

²³⁹ Walsh, *Dundee*, p. 1, says the founders of the Dundee Club in 1847 were apparently unaware of the existence of the Angus Club. His account of their subsequent merger, split and re-merger seems confused since the *Home Circle* serialisation of Kling’s game contradicts his dating. This point is discussed further on p. 323 in the case study on Fraser.

²⁴⁰ *Home Circle*, iv (1 Mar. 1851), p. 144. The players were stated to be F. G. R. (Norwich) and R. L. B. (Stoke), i.e. Rainger and Burnard: see Appendix IX.

²⁴¹ *Home Circle*, v (25 Oct. 1851), p. 272.

correspondent'. The 6 December column reported that Sibyl 'felt it would be invidious to make a selection' and so 'left Fate' to decree who her opponent should be. Placing ('after the manner of the ancients') the names of her challengers into an urn, she 'drew forth that of Mr G. B. Fraser, of Dundee'. Fraser (then about twenty years old) became one of the most important figures in early correspondence (and Scottish) chess. Sybil took the black pieces but made the first move. Fraser should have won, but at move thirty-eight, either out of carelessness or chivalry, he committed a blunder, ruining his position, and was checkmated at move fifty-one.

On 14 February, it was said that C. T. Atkins of Weymouth, was 'desirous of playing a game of chess by correspondence. The conditions to be the same as those prescribed in Sibyl's challenge'.²⁴² Other players involved in games organised through the paper were Mott himself (whose game with J. Barclay of Sydenham appeared week by week starting in May), Wormald, and Alfred Kempe, who is frequently mentioned in chess sources of the time although he does not appear to have played in the tournament. He is variously mentioned as being of Jersey, of Exeter, and of University College, London. Evidently Mott and his readers liked correspondence chess, so the next innovative step was a logical progression. Late in 1852, the following 'important announcement' appeared:

It has several times been suggested to us, that a Chess tourney by correspondence should take place amongst a certain number (say sixteen) of the subscribers to the HOME CIRCLE. We are disposed to look favorably [sic] upon the scheme ourselves; but before determining anything in the matter, we shall be glad to receive any suggestions upon the mode of conducting the tourney and the prizes to be played for, that our correspondents may be enabled to offer us.²⁴³

It took several months to organise the details. Rule Four in the rules and regulations, published in early March, made it clear that Staunton's tournament of 1851 was the model.²⁴⁴ Although, soon afterwards, the London Chess Club had

²⁴² *Home Circle*, vi (14 Feb. 1852), p. 110. From 12 Feb. to 10 Dec. 1853, the *Southern Times*, of Weymouth, ran a chess column apparently edited by Atkins, including some postal games. In 1859 he moved to Norwich and was mentioned in Rainger's *Norfolk News* column on 29 Oct.

²⁴³ *Home Circle*, vii (c. 6 Nov. 1852), p. 304; the invitation was repeated on p. 352.

²⁴⁴ See pp. 44-5 on early tournaments. The 1849 Divan tournament (in which C. F. Smith played) itself influenced the format of the 1851 event.

staged for foreign visitors the first chess event played on the all-play-all system,²⁴⁵ it was not well reported (except in *Bell's Life*). So unfortunately the inferior knock-out formula was the one that was remembered and used, not only for this first postal tournament but also for almost all others in the next quarter of a century.²⁴⁶

This was almost certainly the first event of its kind anywhere. At this date, a postal tourney could not be organised without being remarked upon in print: without an announcement in columns or magazines, it could not have obtained any entries. The two major chess columns running before 1853 — *Bell's* and the *Illustrated* — never organised correspondence tourneys, and nor did the *Chronicle* until its revival in the late 1860s. The first time any chess magazine mentioned any postal tourney was when Kling and Horwitz published a game from this one.²⁴⁷ It is extremely unlikely therefore that any such event was organised before the early 1850s, and in the absence of any evidence of rival claimants, *The Home Circle* event has priority.

Perhaps the conditions concerning speed of play and fines for slow play, having been proposed by the players, reflected 'best practice' then current in friendly games or inter-club matches in the mid-century.²⁴⁸ The minutiae of the results and progress of the tourney would take too much space to recount, but the following summarises the course of the event.²⁴⁹ On or around 2 April 1853 (the issue being undated) the pairings for the tourney, decided by lottery, were announced, so this may be regarded as the official start date. The designations of the players below are exactly as printed in the paper: 'Alpha' v 'Willie', Mr Lowe v Mr Frazer,²⁵⁰ Mr V. Green v 'R. L. B.' (Stoke), Mr C. F. Smith v Mr Gilder, 'Beaver' v Mr. Dyson, 'Contentment' v. 'Fred. R' of B, Mr W. N. Auten v. 'Beta', Mr F. G. Rainger v Mr R. B. Wormald. While nothing explicitly insisted on entrants being

²⁴⁵ There was only one prize, a gold cup, and people tended to withdraw once their chance of winning it had gone. Problems with withdrawals often affected postal tournaments too.

²⁴⁶ The fullest account of the 1851 London Chess Club tournament was written by Ken Whyld, in *Quarterly for Chess History*, 8 (2002), pp. 329-38. On the organisation of correspondence tournaments, see Chapter Six.

²⁴⁷ *The New Chess Player*, iv (Aug. 1853), p. 80.

²⁴⁸ For the complete text of the rules and regulations, see Appendix VII, p. 536-8.

²⁴⁹ The full results of the *Home Circle* tournament are listed in Appendix VI a), pp. 479-8-.

²⁵⁰ Actually G. B. Fraser.

male, probably they all were. Some of the pseudonymous players can be identified: 'Beaver' was in fact the real surname of a Birmingham club member. The rule that prize-winners' names had to be revealed meant that 'Alpha' was ultimately stated to be Silas Angas, a well-known Newcastle player. Other identifications involve complicated arguments and yet remain tentative, so discussions of them are relegated to Appendix IX. The significance of the *Home Circle* tournament is increased by the realisation that several of the amateurs involved were either already known to be strong players (Angas and Smith) or later became important figures in the chess world: Rainger, Wormald, and Fraser.

Egan agreed to be umpire to arbitrate any disputes, but none seem to have arisen.²⁵¹ Some players sought advice on etiquette and were told that 'it will be illegal for them to ask or receive advice as to the moves to be adopted from any second person. The games must be fought without any assistance beyond that derivable from books'. The first six results were published in October,²⁵² and the first round was completed while the paper was still being published. The fact that Rainger, a strong Norwich player, was one of the vanquished is indicative both of the strength of the field and of the shortcomings of the knock-out formula for tournaments. The two unfinished pairings were replayed because of draws. Eventually the second round draw was announced in mid-April: 'The struggle has now commenced and we anticipate some interesting games from these players.'²⁵³

Subsequent progress can only be deduced from what Mott wrote about it in *Cassell's Family Paper*. The transfer of the event and its readers was apparently straightforward. At the end of July 1854, the following appeared under 'Answers to our Chess Correspondents'. This was the first mention of the tournament there.

G. A. F. – You are quite correct; the 'Home Circle' has been discontinued for two or three weeks past. It was an excellently conducted periodical, and deserved more support than it appears to have obtained. The games of the 'Home Circle Chess Tourney' will be published in our paper.²⁵⁴

²⁵¹ *Home Circle*, viii (probably 2 Apr. 1853), p. 224.

²⁵² *Home Circle*, ix: 221 (c. 1 Oct. 1853), p. 208.

²⁵³ *Home Circle*, x (1854), p. 224.

²⁵⁴ *Cassell's*, n.s. i (29 July 1854), p. 263.

The tourney was completed, but it took about three years, mostly due to Rule Three, which stipulated that only one game be played. A draw between Smith and Wormald lasted sixty-three moves, necessitating a replay, which Smith won in forty-one moves. When organising tourneys subsequently in the *Family Paper*, Mott required players to play two games, one of which was the primary game and the other only counted if the main game was drawn.²⁵⁵ The other rules seem to have been satisfactory, as Mott used them again. The majority of the games were published in the *Home Circle* or the *Family Paper*, and some appeared elsewhere.

So it was just over two years after the start of the event before the identity of all four semi-finalists was known: 'FAMILY PAPER CHESS TOURNEY... the remaining combatants have been paired by lottery... Alpha plays with G. B. Fraser, Esq. and Beta with C. F. Smith, Esq.'²⁵⁶ Smith won after a replay while Fraser was beaten fairly easily in his semi-final, the round finishing by the end of August 1855. The final may have been delayed for some reason, because although the game only lasted twenty-one moves, the result was not declared until April 1856: 'Family Paper Chess Tourney (late Home Circle Chess Tourney)... the first prize falls to C. F. Smith, Esq., and the second to Silas Angas, Esq.'²⁵⁷

Smith is hardly remembered nowadays and his common surname makes him almost impossible to trace in official records. He vanished from the chess scene by the late 1850s but he was definitely considered in that decade to be one of the most promising young players in England.²⁵⁸ Several games that he played against Bird were published and they seemed to be evenly matched at this time,²⁵⁹ but Bird played in the 1851 tournament and became one of England's leading masters for most of the century. Smith was deprived of his chance for immortality at Birmingham 1858, when he was drawn to play against Morphy in the first round of

²⁵⁵ Delays caused by draws were a perennial problem of knock-out tournaments, and one of the reasons they were largely abandoned by the early 1880s. See pp. 254-5.

²⁵⁶ *Cassell's*, ii (12 May 1855), p. 151.

²⁵⁷ *Cassell's*, iii (19 Apr. 1856), p. 127.

²⁵⁸ The last published game by Smith may be his win against Fraser, published in the *I.L.N.*, xxxv (6 Aug. 1859), p. 140. It was not stated whether this was by correspondence but it is likely in view of the great distance between their residences and the fact that they would have become acquainted during *The Home Circle* tournament.

²⁵⁹ For example, 'An interesting game played between those promising young amateurs, Messrs C. F. Smith and H. I. Bird', won by Smith in thirty moves, in *C.P.C.*, x (July 1849), p. 227.

the tournament; it was all a misunderstanding and the American did not come up from London until later in the week. Ranken remembered Smith in a brief paragraph in the *Chronicle* for January 1879, which reprinted one of his short wins, but Smith's *Home Circle* success was already forgotten:

Mr C. F. Smith was a London player of rare promise, who, unfortunately, died at a very early age. He was a frequent opponent of Mr Bird, who entered the Chess arena at about the same time; and his published games in the *Illustrated London News* and *Chess Player's Chronicle* contain many interesting examples of his two favourite openings, the Evans and King's Knights Gambits, of which he conducted the attack and defence with equal ability.²⁶⁰

5 Concluding points

IT IS hard to estimate how many readers of columns and chess magazines there were. Certainly far more people read about chess than ever joined a club or played tournaments, just as nowadays far more people read about sports than participate in them. Victorian readers included women and children who mostly were excluded from public chess. In the nineteenth century the role of the column was more important than subsequently, because there were fewer sources of information. Chess columns were a global phenomenon — appearing wherever chess was played, especially in Europe and America.

Most columns mentioned above were published in London, but postal chess events were chiefly organised by provincially-based periodicals. This is undoubtedly connected with the fact that their readership was primarily non-metropolitan and it was those people who provided the main constituency for correspondence chess. There were also practical factors. Distribution by rail, essential for a major periodical to achieve a sufficiently large circulation and advertising revenue, required a London base. Publications on that scale had little to gain from sponsoring a postal chess event. On the other hand, the potential circulation increase for small magazines (especially new ones) or local papers, might be appreciable. Titles sold principally by subscription took advantage of

²⁶⁰ *C.P.C.*, n.s. iii (Jan. 1879), p. 6.

postal costs being the same everywhere, and they could probably be printed more cheaply outside London.

National columns could appear in mainstream or 'family' papers, or in sports-oriented titles, in those aimed at special interest groups or they could have an age-specific or gendered target audience. It was, though, mainly the provincial (and later the Irish) columns, and some of the magazines, that organised the correspondence chess competitions discussed in Chapter Six. The press created a 'semi-public sphere' where people could participate, through 'Answers' columns, by contributing problems, and playing in tourneys, either under their real names, or in disguise (rather as in the early years of chess on the internet). The next chapter examines the other crucial element in nineteenth century chess development, the clubs.

4 Chess Clubs and Associations

IN ORDER to understand competitions between chess clubs, the nature of the clubs themselves must first be shown. This chapter is therefore not primarily about correspondence chess. A great numerical increase and qualitative change occurred with clubs during the nineteenth century. With some false starts, organisation at local level gradually broadened out into regional and national associations.

1 The growth of the chess club

IN 1849 the *Quarterly Review* noted the vogue for chess among the middle classes and those aspiring to join them. 'Now there is a club in almost every considerable provincial town', it said, describing a typical one as follows.

The room is well-lighted—there is a good fire—sundry gentlemen of various ages are sipping coffee, with the addition, perhaps, of a cigar. But observe the business-like air of the meeting; our friends mean chess and nothing else. Look at that stout gentleman with very large shoes—he is a merchant, and this his recreation after severe business. Contrast his intense though heavy application of intellect, with the air of nonchalance and assumed superiority on the keener visage of his opponent, a surgeon in small practice...When it is considered that hundreds of meetings such as these take place weekly throughout England... attended by persons filling a respectable place in society, and of good, perhaps superior average attainments—that they are absolutely divorced from gambling and intemperance, and... that they are not only finding supporters in the middle classes, but giving birth to kindred institutions among our intelligent mechanics and artisans... there must be something in Chess not wholly unworthy the notice of our readers.¹

While some historians have traced the origins and development of English associations and urban renewal back through the eighteenth century and beyond,² evidence of chess clubs (even private groups) before the nineteenth century is

¹ 'Chess', *Quarterly Review*, lxxxv (1849), pp. 82-103 (extracts from pp. 82 and 85). A photograph of chess players, taken by Fox-Talbot in the 1840s, reproduced in Christina Hole, *English Sports and Pastimes* (London 1949), illustrates the surgeon and merchant perfectly.

² Especially Clark, *Clubs*, and Peter Borsay, *The English Urban Renaissance* (Oxford 1989).

sparse, especially outside Paris and London,³ with tantalising references to eighteenth century chess clubs in Dublin,⁴ Edinburgh,⁵ and Québec being difficult to substantiate.⁶ Peter Clark has argued that ‘clubs and societies grew up in Britain because of the general decline of the State at both the central and local levels’,⁷ and the voluntary sector moved into areas such as education. Particularly relevant to chess is his observation that in the later nineteenth century ‘striking was the advent of new sporting and hobby clubs’.⁸ Chess clubs were among the earliest of these, being an aspect of the general expansion of provincial associational activity from the 1820s and were rare before that time.

Chess had the advantage of requiring no particular venue, inexpensive equipment, and relatively few enthusiasts in order to make a start. Chess clubs usually had a formal structure, like most voluntary organisations, with a committee, honorary secretary, and annual meeting. Their expansion was partly due to Walker’s encouragement in *Bell’s Life*. In 1844 he advised how to begin one in a populous town: ‘book a room for one evening weekly in a tavern, and start with two or three friends. Then advertise it in the local papers, and you will have a club of 30 members in a month’.⁹ He also advised clubs to circulate their printed rules locally, as a kind of advertisement, and recommended a low subscription

³ Only London’s clubs and coffee house chess resorts are fairly well documented, although Richard Twiss, *Chess* (2 vols, London 1787 & 1789), and John Timbs, *Clubs and Club Life in London* (London 1855 and later) cannot be considered high quality sources. Twiss has nothing about correspondence chess, not even in the second volume of his 1805 *Miscellanies*, which were based on Francis Douce’s scrapbook (researchers should consult Douce’s annotated interleaved set of Twiss at the Bodleian). Bryant Lillywhite’s *London coffee houses* (London 1963) has collected useful information on eighteenth century chess resorts but seems far from complete on the nineteenth; it fails to mention chess in connection with the George & Vulture tavern.

⁴ Joseph C. Walker, ‘Anecdotes of Chess in Ireland’, in Charles Vallancey (ed.), *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicus*, v (1790), pp. 367-8. This put on record a conversation the men had had, no doubt arising from the following information (probably provided by Walker) in Twiss, *Chess*, ii, p. 264: ‘A Chess-club consisting of some of the principal nobility and gentry was formed in Dublin about forty years ago: but, like all private associations, its existence was of short duration’. Walker’s note named Primate Stone in connection with that; it also said that since about 1780 there was currently a ‘feebly-supported’ chess club in Dublin.

⁵ Twiss, *Chess*, ii, p. 265: quoting a letter from Edinburgh saying ‘There was formerly a chess-club here, but of late in general every game has given place to Cards’.

⁶ *I.L.N.*, xxxviii (26 Jan. 1861), p. 80, Staunton saying that the club there was ‘founded by Dr Priestly as far back as 1779’.

⁷ Clark, *Clubs*, p. 489.

⁸ Clark, *Clubs*, p. 475.

⁹ *B.L.L.*, 4 Feb. 1844.

level. He discouraged balloting for membership, although several did this and Edinburgh Chess Club continued to do so until the 1920s.¹⁰ Exclusivity did not necessarily arise from negative motives alone (keeping out social inferiors); members enjoyed being ‘apart together’ as Huizinga put it.¹¹

Not everyone who played postal chess belonged to a club, but for people not excluded by reason of residence, working hours, health, gender or age, clubs became by mid-century the main focus of chess activity. Clubs not only provided regular practice, they also subscribed to chess literature, and became a forum to discuss the game with other enthusiasts, and generally to acquire a ‘chess culture’. Part of that culture was playing the ‘strict game’: a piece touched had to be moved, illegal moves were penalised, and weak moves could not be retracted. The surest sign of health for a club was that members paid subscriptions and attended meetings. The Dublin Chess Club report for the 1894-5 season records an exceptionally good year, ‘upwards of 1,600 games played’.¹² As clubs multiplied, so did their external contacts and gradually their focus changed. Correspondence (and, later, over-the-board) matches, became important to most clubs. In the twentieth century, winning the local league often became the paramount aim and a club’s top players might not participate in internal events at all.

1 a) Counting the chess clubs

THE number of British and Irish chess clubs until the late 1830s was certainly small. What is known of them derives mostly from printed sources, including memories written down later. Newspaper reports and local directories can help, but much activity before the start of the *Bell's* and *I.L.N.* columns probably went unrecorded. Since chess clubs mostly did not own property or require licenses, there are no leases or other legal documents, and very few minute books and such-

¹⁰ The Edinburgh club still possess the ballot apparatus used by its members, similar to that generally used in gentlemen’s clubs to keep members’ votes secret.

¹¹ Huizinga, *Ludens*, p. 12: ‘A play-community generally tends to become permanent even after the game is over... the feeling of being “apart together” in an exceptional situation, of sharing something important, of mutually withdrawing from the rest of the world and rejecting the usual norms, retains its magic beyond the duration of the individual game.’

¹² Dublin Chess Club papers: minutes of the annual general meeting on 6 Nov. 1895.

like have been deposited in archives. The earliest English provincial chess club was probably in Manchester; its printed rules of 1817 survive.¹³ Hardly any manuscript records of chess clubs before the 1850s, and few before the 1880s, survive. An exception is Nottingham, for which there is a book dating from 1842.¹⁴ Edinburgh has the best records by far, including a letter from the newly-formed Montrose chess club, dated 15 December 1825, seeking 'to avail itself of the wisdom and experience of its metropolitan kindred'.

Local history studies have been of limited help, chess players in Sussex and in the Manchester-Cheshire region having done the most research.¹⁵ Only one club each in Ireland and Scotland compiled a printed history although some, including Edinburgh, have placed historical information on websites.¹⁶ Other British clubs at various times produced histories that quote their earliest records,¹⁷ but in several cases earlier club activity in those towns can be traced. Norwich produced a centenary history in 1936,¹⁸ yet in 1835 *Bell's Life* said the Norwich club 'is a

¹³ *Rules of the Manchester Chess Club* (Manchester 1817). Two copies turned up in the late nineteenth century, of which one was deposited at Manchester central reference library, shelfmark 794.1 Ma1. Much of the text of the rules booklet is reproduced in Eric Nowell (ed.), *Chess and Manchester* (Manchester 1990), based in part on earlier research by local players, not all of whom can be identified. The Manchester Chess Club collection is now in the social sciences section of Manchester central library, but some MSS listed in the catalogue appeared to be missing on a visit in May 2008. One that survives is 'A chess chronology relating to Lancashire chess' (Chess Club collection no. 694), which was apparently (judging from loose letters enclosed) compiled in the early 1950s by J. T. Boyd of Southampton (born in Liverpool).

¹⁴ The club at Bromley House Library was founded on 16 October 1829, as shown in MS 675 'Records of Nottingham Chess Club, 1842-1900' at Nottingham University Library special collections. From 1842-4, attendances are recorded and it is clear members were much more interested in chess in the winter. In 1844 they had no summer meetings.

¹⁵ For Manchester, see n13. Brian Denman, *Brighton Chess* (Brighton 1994), available online at www.brightonandhovechessclub.org/c-html2/history2.htm (20 Jan. 2008); Richard Furness, *The Cheshire Hundred (1888-1988): the centenary history of the Cheshire and North Wales Chess Association* (Culcheth 1988). Such privately-published works with short runs tend not to be deposited in copyright libraries.

¹⁶ Arthur Aston Luce, *A History of the Dublin Chess Club* (Dublin 1967); Peter W. Walsh, *The Story of Dundee Chess Club* (Dundee 1984).

¹⁷ Apart from works cited in other footnotes, local chess histories known to us are: L. C. Birch (ed.), *Fifty years of chess at Battersea* (London 1935); A. J. Cox (ed.), *A History of the Buckinghamshire County Chess Association 1932-1982* (High Wycombe? 1982); F. Dickens and G. L. White, *Chess in Bedfordshire* (Leeds 1933); Richard Eales, *Cambridge Chess* (Sutton Coldfield 1978); David Parsons, *History of Chess in Sutton Surrey* (Grimsby 1998); Adrian Thorpe (ed.), *The Bury and West Suffolk Chess Club 1867-1997* (Preston St. Mary 1997, incorporating a facsimile of *Proceedings of the Bury and West Suffolk Chess Club 1867-83*); J[ames] M[anders] Walker, *The history of the Oxford University Chess Club* (Oxford 1885).

¹⁸ P. H. Bannock, *History of the Norfolk & Norwich Chess Club* (Norwich 1936).

society of gentlemen, who meet fortnightly for an evening in each other's houses', probably a common pattern before the 1850s.¹⁹ Liverpool Chess Club was founded at the Lyceum in 1837. Its history, compiled from the club's archives in 1893,²⁰ made no mention of any previous club or of Liverpool's two correspondence matches of the 1820s. There was at least one Liverpool club before 1837 but the evidence is only fragmentary.²¹

Crump's unpublished thesis on recreation in Leicester does not mention chess,²² although local chess players had already produced their own history based on records going back to 1860-77, which also mentions some club activity in the city from about 1845.²³ Meller's study of leisure in Bristol only briefly mentions chess there in the 1870s,²⁴ and the story may be more complicated than even the club's history implied.²⁵ Elijah Williams founded the city's first club in 1829, but continuity must have been lacking until 1843, when *Bell's Life* reported that he was now organising a club in Bristol 'which promises to be permanent', thirty to forty members meeting at Guildhall coffee house on Thursday evenings.²⁶ In 1846 the

¹⁹ *B.L.L.*, 9 Aug. 1835.

²⁰ J. S. Edgar, *Liverpool Chess Club. A short sketch of the club* (Liverpool 1893).

²¹ *B.L.L.*, 22 Mar. 1835. Smith's attempt to form a club in 1817 was mentioned on p. 98 and there was possibly a club in 1825 (see p. 186, n10). A letter in the *Liverpool Mercury* of 8 Oct. 1830 again proposed forming a chess club. An advertisement there on 23 Dec. 1831 said that the Liverpool Subscription Chess Club had been established 'for the purpose of playing the games of Chess, Draughts, Whist, and Boston', and met every evening (except Sundays) from 6-11 at the Cigar Divan, Postoffice-place. Its founder Mr Coopman intended forming an instruction class for chess. This must have been short-lived, for again on 17 Jan. 1834 the *Liverpool Mercury* carried a letter suggesting forming a chess club. Also in *B.L.L.*, 22 Mar. 1835, Walker said there had been a club in which a Dr Brandreth was prominent, but none remained.

²² J. Crump, 'The Amusements of the People: The Provision of Recreation in Leicester 1850-1914' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick 1985).

²³ D. Gould, *Chess in Leicester 1860-1960* (Leicester 1960). There is a copy in the Royal Dutch Library. The Leicester club dates from August 1860; the founders met in the Temperance Hotel on an unspecified day that month. Gould found records from 1860-77. He also said that before the present Leicester club there was another. Although he gave the wrong date, Gould was broadly correct: a Leicester chess club ball was described in *C.P.C.*, vi (Feb. 1845), p. 41.

²⁴ H. E. Meller, *Leisure and the Changing City 1870-1914* (London, Henley & Boston 1976), p. 64. How much she discovered about Bristol chess is unclear. It is unsurprising that there is no chess in J. Barry, 'The Cultural Life of Bristol 1640-1775' (D. Phil. thesis, Oxford 1985). Chess clubs do not seem to have formed outside capitals that early.

²⁵ John Burt, *The Bristol Chess Club* (Bristol 1883). A misprint in Meller's notes dates this 1833. The speech she quotes from p. 3 of Burt is undated, but was probably from the 1840s or 1850s. Williams edited the *Souvenir of the Bristol Chess Club* (London 1845), with 100 games by its members, but Meller does not mention this.

²⁶ *B.L.L.*, 26 Nov. 1843.

Bristol club transferred to the Athenaeum. After Williams went to London, the club decayed until it was reconstituted in 1859 as the Bristol Athenaeum Chess Club. In 1871, they moved again and became the Bristol & Clifton Chess Association.

It is difficult to count chess clubs until the 1880s, when annuals listing them first appeared.²⁷ In the 1820s there were probably about a dozen, of which only three or four survived into the 1840s, but in 1841 Walker stated that there were now more than one hundred chess clubs out of London,²⁸ many of which can be identified from references in the newspapers and *C.P.C.* From the mid-1850s to late-1860s there are signs of decline, probably reversed temporarily by the interest stimulated by Morphy's European visit (1858-9). Some chess club lists appeared in magazines at this time, but as they depended on secretaries sending in details to editors in London, they probably understate the actual numbers of clubs in existence.²⁹ Around 1865 Löwenthal, 'manager of the British Chess Association', sent out forms for clubs to complete with details of their activities and members.³⁰ The 1870s were apparently a period of recovery,³¹ and also saw a great increase in correspondence chess activity. At some point in the decade the 1841 figure was overtaken and by the 1890s it was greatly surpassed. It is inadvisable to be categorical about generalisations because some towns had peculiarities. Brighton, being a popular resort, was certainly unlike northern industrial towns. Denman's study has shown that the old club there (dating from 1842) struggled on through

²⁷ The first was W. R. Bland (ed.), *Chess Club Directory 1880, for England, Wales and the Isle of Man* (London & Derby 1880), which had details of 177 clubs (44 in London), although it lacked Irish and Scottish clubs, which would have added at least ten to that number. Several towns had clubs at an earlier date than those cited by Bland's informants. The 1882 edition listed 187 clubs in England and Wales (with two more proposed), 13 in Scotland, 6 in Ireland, plus 4 chess associations. (I am grateful to Maurice Carter of Dayton, Ohio, for making the 1882 count at the Cleveland Public Library at a time when this edition was unavailable to me.)

²⁸ *B.L.L.*, 25 Apr. 1841.

²⁹ Lists of British chess clubs on the covers of *C.P.C.* for 1856 show a maximum of fifty-five clubs and only thirty-four (but not including London clubs) in 1862. These are mostly well-established clubs, but some clubs known to be in existence are missing.

³⁰ Thomas Long's scrapbook in the possession of Dublin Chess Club contains a blank survey form, which therefore must date from between 1865-71 and, judging from its position in the book, probably from nearer the start of that period. No list based on returns is known.

³¹ The *Westminster Papers*, xi (1 Mar. 1879), p. 229, said there were now nearly thirty local clubs in London, vigorously playing matches against each other. C. H. Leach, *History of the Bradford Chess Club* (Bradford 1953), p. 13, says that club minutes were entered on 21 Feb. 1871 after a six year gap 'and the club was once again on the upward path'.

the 1860s and into the 1870s; what killed it off was the availability from 1874 of a central venue where chess could be played free of charge.³²

The slump in the 1860s, confined to England,³³ requires explanation. Staunton's pronouncements on the decline of British chess at this time are indicative of the effect but his diagnosis of the cause is questionable. The very first issue of *The Chess World* began with an unattractive piece of little-Englandism. It said English chess used to be national and strong, but now had become cosmopolitan and weak. Whereas once:

...the game enjoyed a vitality unprecedented in any other country; individual players of eminence sprang up in all directions throughout the provinces; and no fewer than 140 Chess Clubs were at one time in active operation...from the time when the wholesome national feeling first degenerated into a spurious universalism, we may date the gradual decline of English Chess.³⁴

Staunton claimed that players gave up the game, no new generation arose, club after club was closed and now 'scarcely forty British Chess Societies remain alive, and unhappily many of these exist only in name.'³⁵ *The Chess World* aimed to arrest 'the progress of this lamentable decay.' The reality was that Staunton was acting out his personal vendetta against foreign players who were active in London and writing chess columns — particularly Löwenthal.³⁶ The split in English chess, for which Staunton was largely responsible, itself probably kept many potential members out of the clubs. There must have been deeper reasons. Chess had been novel in the 1840s, and exciting during Morphy's visit, but had now become routine. Life for many people was becoming more comfortable in the 1860s but the processes that brought a new generation of lower-middle class players into chess clubs in the 1870s had not yet worked themselves through.

³² Denman, *Brighton*, pp. 12-15.

³³ By comparison with Ireland (see below) and Wales, where things were just getting going (see pp. 311-15), and probably most other countries where chess was played. The U.S.A. had little chess then, but that was due to the Civil War, and the hiatus in India was due to the Mutiny and its aftermath.

³⁴ *The Chess World*, first issue (Mar. 1865).

³⁵ *ibid.*

³⁶ For example, *The Chess World*, i (Feb. 1866), pp. 375-8 on the 'Pseudo-Management of the British Chess Association', which especially attacks Löwenthal.

1 b) Handicaps and stake money

ONE OF the most striking features of nineteenth century chess literature, to modern eyes, is how many published games were played at 'odds', i.e. the stronger player gave the other some kind of advantage: usually a pawn and often an extra move too. In those days there were few experts, and the theory of chess openings, and strategy in general, was underdeveloped. Without handicaps, the result of many games would be a foregone conclusion, providing little enjoyment for the weaker player or challenge for the stronger. Then, as now, strong players sometimes played inferior opposition in simultaneous displays, but today's option of giving time handicaps was unavailable.³⁷ Nowadays players' numerical ratings make it easier to assign opponents of similar skill in matches and tournaments appropriate to them, but rating systems only originated after World War Two.

Club experts periodically reviewed players' progress and assigned them to 'classes'. This in turn determined what odds members gave or received when playing each other, and provided at least an initial basis for comparison with new opponents. Many clubs organised 'handicap tournaments', played on club nights over the winter period, after which handicaps for the following season would be adjusted. A player who performed better than expected, or was clearly improving, would be promoted. A man's status in the club depended on his 'class' but this had nothing to do with socio-economic class. A 'first class' or 'first-rate' was the top level of amateur; he received odds from nobody, except maybe a champion like Staunton. Very strong players desirous of protecting their reputation sometimes refused to play except at odds. This provided an excuse for losing and concealed the real difference of strength. Players with an inflated opinion of their skill sometimes refused out of pride or ignorance to accept odds, but could be speedily disillusioned in a metropolitan club.

Typically opponents differed by one class, the stronger player conceding 'pawn and move', which meant the weaker player moved first while the opponent

³⁷ Special double chess clocks were first introduced in 1883 (*Oxford Companion*, pp. 68-9) but early models would not long have survived the robust treatment dealt out in speed chess. J. T. Boyd left MS notes on the timing of games, and a drawing of an early clock, in A chess chronology relating to Lancashire chess': Manchester Chess Club collection, ff.141-4.

began without an f-pawn. If they were two classes apart, the pawn was removed and the weaker player would advance both central pawns before Black replied. These traditional odds taught the weaker player to attack, without giving much margin for error, but before a player reached that stage, he had to learn how to defend. A superior player would start minus a knight, and try to overwhelm the novice before he could develop his extra piece. A 'knight class' player was somebody who received those odds from a first class player — but when meeting a third class player the difference was one class, so he would receive pawn and move. There were also various other possibilities; opponents who met regularly might experiment with unusual odds such as the 'exchange' (one player began minus a rook and the opponent minus a bishop or knight). Since few in the 1840s could withstand Staunton unless he conceded odds, he made a careful study of the pawn and two move handicap strategies and also of the different psychology required when offering or receiving various odds. His second book, the *Chess Player's Companion*,³⁸ devoted over one hundred pages to discussing types of handicap.

Odds were rarely given in correspondence games, for two main reasons. The hours available to study the position in depth, the freedom to consult chess literature, and the liberty to move the pieces around in analysis before deciding on a move, all meant that the normal handicap conceded between two players would give the weaker player too great an advantage. Secondly, part of the point of postal chess was to practise the regular openings, used when players of the same class met: especially important for those who normally gave or received odds in club play. Not beginning from the standard position would defeat that purpose. For correspondence play, it was better to seek an opponent at the same level, like 'M.P., a player in the Knight class' whose notice in the *Illustrated* in 1846 found an opponent within two weeks.³⁹ Similar requests appeared there from time to time.

Handicap chess died out only slowly. When the Counties Chess Association held its annual congresses in the 1870s and 1880s, players of various standards would meet level in their own groups but a handicap tournament also gave the

³⁸ Howard Staunton, *Chess Player's Companion* (London 1849), pp. 380-496.

³⁹ Reply to 'Indignans', in *I.L.N.*, viii (16 May 1846), p. 326.

opportunity for a game with more famous opponents.⁴⁰ In the 1890s books were still being published to advise on the best openings to use.⁴¹ The *Year-Book of Chess* for 1907 had, as its very first article, advice on how to play at odds.⁴² In Dublin, the minute books of the Rathmines Chess Club show that as late as 1941 the practice of odds play continued there.⁴³

Odds chess in clubs often involved playing for a small coin, but this was not done to encourage wagers by third parties. The point was to have a good game which each player would have a prospect of winning. A player accepting the right odds should win an equal number of games over a sitting and no money would change hands. The *Quarterly Review* explained:

While games of skill are encouraged, chess must take the lead among them. Of its superiority there can be no more satisfactory proof than the readiness with which it is played for no stake but honour. The shilling or sixpence, which is the regular stake at many clubs, is no contradiction to this rule. It is not staked in order to give an interest in the game, but to compel players to equalise the contest by giving and receiving proper odds.⁴⁴

Originally Walker deplored playing chess for money at all,⁴⁵ but by 1840 he had changed his mind.⁴⁶ Playing for the small stake to enforce the taking of odds was not professionalism; it was connected with the behaviour and status of players. 'It was not the worth of the shilling, but its payment was a tangible acknowledgment of defeat; and when to post it on the mahogany was imperative, the bad player called for odds, and behaved himself to his betters with decency...⁴⁷ As to the shilling stake usually played for in cigar divans we think it is a very slight tax upon bad players'.⁴⁸

⁴⁰ The I.C.A. in the 1880s also included handicap tournaments in its Congresses. The 1889 Irish Championship was, unusually, awarded to the highest first class player in the Handicap.

⁴¹ Baxter Wray, *Chess at odds of pawn and move* (Melbourne and New York, 2nd ed., 1891).

⁴² G. W. Richmond, 'On Odds', in E. A. Michell (ed.), *The Year-Book of Chess*, pp. 1-10.

⁴³ Minute Book No. 8 of the Rathmines Chess Club, covering 9 Dec. 1940 to 12 Oct. 1942.

⁴⁴ *Quarterly Review*, loc. cit., p. 102.

⁴⁵ *B.L.L.*, 26 Mar. 1837 said all playing for money should be prohibited to stop 'shilling sharks'.

⁴⁶ *B.L.L.*, 27 Sept. 1840.

⁴⁷ *B.L.L.*, 5 Apr. 1840.

⁴⁸ *B.L.L.*, 16 Apr. 1843.

Outside London, the stake seems to have been less regular,⁴⁹ or smaller, partly because the abuses Walker complained of were far less likely in a smaller town where players all knew each other and their relative standard. Walker and Staunton were in agreement, as the latter wrote in 1846: 'a small stake is usually played for in all Chess Clubs, it having been found impracticable without some such regulation to induce young players to take proper odds with their superiors.'⁵⁰ He saw a clear distinction regarding divans:

...in places open to any one, [the custom] is calculated to operate most injuriously upon the interests of the game, by encouraging a set of idle and unscrupulous persons to practise Chess solely for the purpose of reaping a profit from unwary visitors.⁵¹

Staunton was probably thinking more of the reputation of the game as a whole than the pockets of those fleeced. Although playing for money in clubs declined, saying exactly when it ended would not be easy. In 1865 it was still in the rules of the St George's Club, whose 140 paying members included Lyttelton and other aristocrats, some MPs, Saburov from the Russian Embassy, the editor Fonblanque, and several leading players. Rule XIV stipulated a shilling stake, but its final clause hints that it was unusual when meeting friends and regular opponents: 'No Member however, shall be obliged to play for a stake, *provided that he intimate his objection to do so before commencing a game.*'⁵²

1 c) Categorising the clubs

CLUBS varied widely in their premises, venues and hours of meeting, the social standing of their membership, and their longevity, but the development of inter-club contests, and ultimately of leagues and county associations, tended towards standardisation by the end of the nineteenth century. Early clubs probably developed from small nuclei meeting privately and, in small towns, must have struggled to achieve the 'critical mass' needed to book a room and announce

⁴⁹ Never in Edinburgh, 1842; optional in Liverpool, 1843.

⁵⁰ *I.L.N.*, ix (10 Oct. 1846), p. 240.

⁵¹ *I.L.N.*, xv (20 Oct. 1849), p. 267.

⁵² Printed 'Rules of the St George's Club' (1865), including the membership list, in Thomas Long's scrapbook, in the possession of the Dublin Chess Club. (Emphasis in the original.)

themselves to the neighbourhood. Some clubs catered for other recreations besides chess, like the Henley Reading, Chess & Music Society.⁵³

The only academic study of nineteenth century chess clubs is Scholten's, mentioned in the Introduction.⁵⁴ His typology distinguished between the Proto-club, Metropolitan club, Gentleman's club, Liberal club, Modern club, the Mutants, the Student chess club, the Village chess club, and Associations. He notes that while commerce and trade were important in the Netherlands, industrialisation in this period had not developed to the same extent as in England or Belgium.⁵⁵ Nevertheless many Dutch chess clubs engaged each other in postal chess, a definite point of resemblance. Scholten also said that in the Netherlands 'the most important factor for the presence of [a] chess-club in a 19th-century town, is the size of the town. Population density does not seem to play any role, but the intensity of the cultural life is important.'⁵⁶ That observation is probably valid for the U.K. too: Montrose's letter to Edinburgh mentioned that they were the second town in Scotland to have a School of Arts. Scholten concluded that a club is:

...an expression of modernisation and civilisation on [the] micro-level, originated during the industrial revolution and in [the] first instance an urban development. The most important motives for its development are the need for identity and security of the citizen, expressing itself in close relations with members of their own circle, and status due to the new roles in associations...During the nineteenth century a club would prove to be a flexible form of organisation [which] could continue to exist under changed social circumstances.⁵⁷

Clear British parallels can be found for most of Scholten's types. His 'proto-clubs' of 1800-40, with probably 'high upper-class membership' and about which little information is available, seem to correspond roughly to what is known of the earliest chess club membership in provincial cities such as Manchester.⁵⁸ He says that 'the permanence of a club' of this type was linked to individuals. By metropolitan clubs he meant those in large cities and characterised by 'high

⁵³ Poster for a Penny Reading in 1864: illustration in Golby & Purdue, *Civilisation*, p. 112.

⁵⁴ Scholten, *Schaakleven*. See p. 13. Points from Scholten are also mentioned on pp. 277, 296 & 351.

⁵⁵ Scholten, *Schaakleven*, section 3.2.1. (pp. 48-9).

⁵⁶ Scholten, *Schaakleven*, p. 475.

⁵⁷ Scholten, *Schaakleven*, p. 475. His translation has been improved; he uses the word 'civilian' throughout but 'citizen' seems appropriate.

⁵⁸ Nowell, *Manchester*, pp.7 -15.

frequency of their meetings, numerous members coming from all social classes and by the presence of some more or less professional players'. He cited London and Berlin, although Germans denied there were professionals there in the nineteenth century. In London, there certainly were some. Scholten believes that in the Netherlands only Rotterdam (between 1860-5) and Amsterdam (1855-62 and another club from 1885 onwards) could be given the 'metropolitan' classification. In his opinion, 'the structural absence of a Metropolitan-club is... one of the main causes why the chess-level in Holland fell behind that in Germany and England'.

His next category, the Gentleman's club (1840-70), was characterised by an 'internal focus', often meetings in members' homes, formal organisation including a ballot, with obligatory attendance ('penalties were common') and sometimes a club servant.⁵⁹ 'An important argument for becoming a member was to make use of the opportunities' he says, which seems to mean primarily business and social contacts but also personal development. This type of club in the Netherlands came into a crisis around 1861, he says, and by 1870 was practically finished. Probably the Bradford Chess Club, founded on 8 November 1853 by fifteen professional men and businessmen, might come into this category, but its exclusivity lasted longer. It had a high subscription of ten shillings and operated a strict ballot.⁶⁰ The serious attitude of the members is indicated by a paragraph from the 1861 annual report:

The committee wishes to entertain the conviction that each member of the club estimates the game of chess above a mere amusement and that the meetings held here from week to week are not for the trifling pastime that fills an idle hour but are conducive to the habitual discipline of the intellect, which none ought to neglect and which none at the present day can neglect with impunity.⁶¹

Scholten's so-called Liberal club (1870-85), characterised by greater freedom of entrance and departure, seems to be linked to political and religious distinctions

⁵⁹ Fines are also mentioned in the records of some English clubs, including Nottingham, although it is not always clear whether they are for non-attendance, swearing of some other misdemeanour. They were a way of boosting club funds as well as maintaining polite sociability.

⁶⁰ Leach, *Bradford*, pp. 5-13; on the ballot, see pp. 8-9. There was also a ten shilling entrance fee. No stakes, drinking, or smoking were permitted at first, and 'a spectator interfering with the game of any party shall be fined one shilling.' Three candidates (one of them 'well known in Bradford and of some standing') were humiliated by rejection in the first twelve months. In 1884 it merged with another club (pp. 18-9).

⁶¹ Quoted in Leach, *Bradford*, p. 9.

peculiar to some towns in the Netherlands. His most interesting observation here is the shortening of meeting times to two and half hours because formal business was not transacted, playing games being the only activity. After 1885, the picture changed completely as chess became a competitive sport and meetings extended again to four hours because serious matches require more time. Then, he says, 'the club became a weapon in the social struggle. This led to a large diversity in clubs, each with their own objectives. These were elite-clubs, labourers clubs, intermediate clubs, chess clubs for ladies, for young people and some Christian clubs'.⁶² These are the ones he labelled 'modern clubs'. In England, by the end of the nineteenth century, one can find parallels for them all, indeed in most cases they probably arose at an earlier date. As for Christian clubs, Hull had, in the late 1870s, no fewer than four chess clubs including a major one at the (Anglican) Church Institute and another at the Catholic Institute.

By the 'mutants', Scholten means clubs that adapted to the new circumstances (primarily, open participation and competitive interaction with other clubs) and so survived into a later period. Thus in Britain, the Edinburgh Chess Club was a successful mutant but the old London Chess Club failed to evolve, becoming by 1850 largely a haven for members of the Stock Exchange. The City of London Chess Club, which coexisted with it in the Square Mile for about seventeen years, went through changes and was still running in the 1930s.⁶³ Contemporary explanations for the failure of the old club, in terms of city workers moving out to the suburbs, may contain an element of truth but cannot explain its rival's success, which was considerable between the 1870s and 1914.

Scholten also mentions 'village' clubs, student clubs and associations. By the latter, he means bodies of a regional nature such as were formed in Britain too (see below). The student club first arose in Dublin (in the 1830s), then in Oxford and Cambridge from the 1840s and 1850s, and much later in other university towns

⁶² Scholten, *Schaakleven*, p. 478.

⁶³ G. A. MacDonnell wrote that the City of London Club was founded on 29 Dec. 1852 by W. G. Howard, but W. N. Potter raised it 'from comparative obscurity to world-wide eminence': *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, xviii (7 Oct. 1882), p. 83. Sergeant, *Century*, pp. 121-2, said the club at first had a very small membership. He cited an article about it in *B.C.M.*, xiii (Jan. 1893) and two letters about it in the February and March issues.

such as Aberystwyth. In England there were also school clubs, which Scholten does not discuss, either through lack of information or because they did not arise in Holland so early. A well-known book said the earliest inter-school correspondence game was played in 1874,⁶⁴ but in fact schools were already starting to play each other by the end of the 1840s. Staunton mentioned chess at Eton, Rugby, Harrow, Winchester, and Shrewsbury schools, 'with some of which we hope ere long to grace our columns'.⁶⁵ An 1849 game won by Shrewsbury against Brighton College is actually the earliest preserved inter-school correspondence game, although the above shows it was by no means necessarily the first to be played.⁶⁶

1 d) Two early small-town clubs in Ireland

BY A 'village club', Scholten means a club in a small town, with a small number of potential members. Sometimes all one learns about them is that they played a correspondence match, e.g. Maryport Athenaeum (in Cumbria),⁶⁷ Penzance, and Wisbech. Such contacts would have been particularly useful for small clubs with few members and remote from main centres of competition. There were at least two such small-town clubs in Ireland before the Famine: Ballinasloe and Armagh. This type of club began to spring up again in the 1880s and 1890s, e.g. Milford (Co. Armagh) and later Westport in Mayo.

An early article on 'Chess Playing in Ireland' said: 'Lord Dunlo, now Lord Clancarty, succeeded in embodying a Chess Club at Ballinasloe, of which his Lordship, a player of respectable, if not first rate force, is the very soul. This Club

⁶⁴ Sergeant, *Century*, p. 163n, no doubt misled by *City of London Chess Magazine*, i, p. 50.

⁶⁵ *I.L.N.*, xv (24 Nov. 1849), p. 347. At Shrewsbury, according to Howard Staunton, *The Great Schools of England* (London, 1st ed. 1865), p. 426, the ancient bailiffs' ordinances directed that the scholars' play was to be 'shooting in the long bow, and chess play, and no other games, unless it be running, wrestling, or leaping, and no game to be above 1 *d* or match over 4*d*.'

⁶⁶ *I.L.N.*, xv (29 Dec. 1849), p. 443. Then in 1851 *B.L.L.* (19 Oct., p. 8) and *The Chess Player*, i (1 Nov 1851), pp. 122-3, both published a game between Wellesley House School (in Twickenham) and King's College School, another following in 1852: *The Chess Player*, iii (1852), pp. 132-3.

⁶⁷ Typical of the carelessness of much popular chess history is that secondary sources sometimes claim that Maryport's match with Inverness (which resulted from an Inverness request for an opponent in *B.L.L.*, 7 June 1840) was the first correspondence match between Scottish clubs. A. R. Davies, *Chess in Cumberland* (Carlisle 1902) identifies Robert Adair as one of Maryport's players. In the 1851 census, Maryport had a population of 6,182: Peter Clark and Jean Hosking, *Population Estimates of English Small Towns 1550-1851* (revised ed., Leicester 1993; first ed. was 1989). A few towns with chess clubs were even smaller.

managed some years since to defeat “The Philidorean”, then at the zenith of its strength’.⁶⁸ This, played in 1839, was the earliest known Irish correspondence match, as confirmed by *Bell’s Life*. Sadly, Walker, the arbiter of what was a publishable game at this time, did not find the moves up to scratch.⁶⁹ This club is not heard of later but the event does suggest that the speed of the post to Dublin may have been no slower than in 1839 than nowadays, since eighty moves went in each direction in ten or eleven months. Dunlo probably used franking privileges to send moves free. Ballinasloe also had one of Ireland’s earliest cricket clubs,⁷⁰ and was considered before the Famine to be ‘one of the most prosperous towns in the county of Galway... a handsome town... singularly neat and clean, owing to the constant solicitude of the noble owner, Viscount Dunlo’.⁷¹

The most enterprising ‘village club’ was that of Armagh, which in the early 1840s organised lectures and played a two-game postal match against Liverpool.⁷² The first game, which they lost, possibly began before the end of 1840, and appeared in the *Chronicle*.⁷³ The Irishmen played better the second time, and achieved a worthy draw after fifty-seven moves and at least fifteen months.⁷⁴

⁶⁸ ‘Chess Playing in Ireland’, *C.P.C.*, iv (1843), p. 147. This was probably written by Charles Forth, or based on information provided by him, as it appeared in *C.P.C.* soon after the Liverpool club dinner which the magazine reported him as attending. Viscount Dunlo was the courtesy title of the heir to the earldom of Clancarty. The man referred to must have been the third earl, William Thomas Le Poer Trench (1803-72) who succeeded on 24 Nov. 1837.

⁶⁹ ‘Match at Chess by Correspondence between the Philidorian [sic] Chess Club of Dublin, and The Chess Club at Ballinasloe’, *B.L.L.*, 5 Jan. 1840. Ballinasloe won one game and drew the other. Walker said these started in Jan. and acknowledged receipt of the games on 1 Dec. 1839 so they were completed before the postal reform. The Philidorean club is discussed on pp. 315-6.

⁷⁰ In 1831, Dunlo had captained a Ballinasloe cricket team that lost twice to Kilkenny. I am grateful to Neal Garnham for this information, which he found in the Marylebone Cricket Club’s copy of James Butler [Earl of Ossory and later Duke of Ormonde], *A short account of the origin of the Kilkenny cricket Club and its proceedings in the years 1830-31* (Dublin 1832), pp. 7-11 (and MSS bound with it). Two local histories of Ballinasloe mention neither the cricket nor the chess: Patrick Kevin Egan, *The parish of Ballinasloe* (Dublin and London 1960); Tadhg Mac Lochlainn, *Ballinasloe, inniu agus indhe* (Galway 1972). The former is written from an extreme Catholic nationalist viewpoint and is very critical of the Le Poer Trench family.

⁷¹ *I.L.N.*, vii (4 Oct. 1845), p. 224. Dunlo had been Lord Clancarty for nearly eight years, but it seems people often referred to him by his old title, his heir still being a young child.

⁷² That was the earliest Irish game featured in Lange, *Correspondenz-Partien* (1872), p. 129, and in the modern collections by Pagni of chess games between clubs.

⁷³ *C.P.C.*, i (1841), p. 149. Whyld (in *Quarterly for Chess History*, viii, pp. 458-9), dates that issue to 3 July 1841. The game was also printed in *B.L.L.*, 22 Aug. 1841.

⁷⁴ *B.L.L.*, 19 Mar. 1843.

Previously, following a challenge issued in July 1840,⁷⁵ they competed by post against Richmond (Surrey) and Glasgow, with 'the best player starting a little independent fight with a player at Chichester'.⁷⁶ The only club member whose name ever appeared in print was George Cochrane, who was chiefly responsible for the course of six lectures on chess run by the club.⁷⁷ The plan for the series was listed in *Bell's Life*, and reports were carried in the *Chronicle* and the *Newry Commercial Telegraph*.⁷⁸ The series was well attended, especially by ladies,⁷⁹ but was halted after the fourth lecture because of the general election,⁸⁰ and does not appear to have resumed, though chess reports continued until 5 October.

More will be said about Irish chess clubs in Chapter Eight, but compared with industrial England, the development was backward until the mid-1880s. It is too easy to blame the Famine for this. The coincidence that two leading players, Forth and Stephens, died in the summer of 1845, probably had as much bearing as the potato on the merging of two clubs into one that year. Underlying the stop-start pattern in Irish chess development in the mid-century was the lack of the industrial base that became the main driver of sports growth in England. Whereas Ireland in the 1840s had one or two mechanics' and literary institutes where chess was played,⁸¹ England had scores of them.⁸² This important factor is considered in the next section.

⁷⁵ *B.L.L.*, 19 July 1840. Walker mentioned with disapproval that the club was teetotal.

⁷⁶ *B.L.L.*, 16 Aug. 1840. George Cochrane's other feats are mentioned on pp. 230-1.

⁷⁷ *B.L.L.*, 4 July 1841; the venue was the Market-House Rooms. This was not an entirely new idea: Newham had given chess lectures in Nottingham (*B.L.L.*, 5 Jan. 1840).

⁷⁸ *Newry Commercial Telegraph*, Sat. 5 June 1841. Reports on the first three lectures appeared in *C.P.C.*, i p. 140 (26 June), pp. 155-6 (3 July), & pp. 185-6 (17 July). Ms Carol Conlin and Ms Lorraine Frazer of the Armagh Robinson Public Library arranged for me to see the Tontine Minute Book (which records bookings for various social and other events, but not chess). Mary McVeigh of the Irish and Local Studies Library pointed me to the *Newry Telegraph*.

⁷⁹ *Newry Telegraph*, 12 June 1841.

⁸⁰ *Newry Telegraph*, 29 June 1841.

⁸¹ Clonmel Mechanics' Institute had chess books in its library but perhaps no class: *Third report of the committee of the Clonmel Mechanics' Institute* (Clonmel 1845).

⁸² Clark, *Clubs*, p. 473, says that the 1851 census enumerated 1,057 literary and scientific societies and Mechanics' Institutes. Hundreds of these probably had some sort of provision for chess, even if no formal club or class.

2 Chess in Mechanics' Institutes and the like

IN 1863, Ernest Falkbeer wrote: 'a chess club formed by mechanics, like that recently established at Berlin, will, if I mistake not, prove for a long time to come an anomaly in England.'⁸³ By that date, chess had in fact been played in mechanics' institutes for about twenty years. It is noteworthy that Scholten only speaks of Dutch 'labourers clubs' and a 'civilising offensive' from about the mid-1880s.⁸⁴ In Britain, apart from the examples given below, one can cite the chess club founded in 1852 by the miners of Wanlockhead in Dumfriesshire.⁸⁵ Chess was likely to be strong in Britain wherever there was a tradition of literacy and mutual improvement among skilled labourers.

Mabel Tylecote traced the history of the movement that followed the foundation of the London Mechanics' Institute in the winter of 1823-4 by a committee including George Birkbeck and Henry Brougham.⁸⁶ Institutes began with an emphasis on libraries, lectures, and classes; they tended to decline after initial enthusiasm for a variety of reasons.⁸⁷ From the 1840s the movement revived somewhat when it was recognised that 'rational' leisure pursuits and social functions complemented instruction. In Ireland the seed largely fell on stony ground. Hudson's classic account 'regretted that neither Literary or Mechanics'

⁸³ *Chess Player's Magazine*, i (1863), p. 131.

⁸⁴ Scholten, *Schaakleven*, section 7.4.6 (pp. 244-8) with an example from The Hague, where (English summary, p. 478): 'the link with educating the labourer is explicitly made'.

⁸⁵ *C.P.C.*, n.s. i (1853), p. 190. Rose, *Intellectual Life*, showed (especially p. 59), that already in the eighteenth century there were working class libraries in lowland Scotland; and the Wanlockhead Miners' Library was founded in 1756.

⁸⁶ Mabel Tylecote, *The mechanics' institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1957), chapter one, especially pp. 18-20. She also contributed the article on the Manchester Mechanics Institution in D. S. L. Cardwell, (ed.), *Artisan to Graduate* (Manchester 1974), pp. 55-86. There were anticipations of the movement in Glasgow and elsewhere. Timothy Claxton, *Hints to Mechanics on Self-Education and Mutual Instruction* (London 1839), describes a Mechanical Institution he started in London in 1817, which embraced 'substantially all the important principles recognized by modern Mechanics' Institutes', but he found little support. In 1820 he went to Russia and in 1826 to the USA, where he helped to establish the Boston Mechanics Institution.

⁸⁷ Classic contemporary discussions of the aims and failures of the institutes include J. W. Hudson, *The History of Adult Education* (London 1851), and the prize essay by James Hole, *An Essay on the History and Management of Literary, Scientific and Mechanics' Institutes* (London 1853). Some historians have pointed to the institutes' many successes, e.g. Edward Royle, 'Mechanics Institutes and the Working Classes, 1840-1860', in *Historical Journal*, xiv (1971), pp. 303-21; and J. Harrison, *Learning* (see Chap. 1, n7).

Institutions have obtained permanent success in Wales or in Ireland. It was not until 1830 that an Mechanics' Institute was formed in the principality and in Ireland no fewer than fifteen Mechanics' Institutions with the advantages (or disadvantages) of government aid, have met with a premature decay.'⁸⁸

As early as 1835, Walker recommended the introduction of the game into the institutes by the donation of some chess sets,⁸⁹ and in 1837 he wrote: 'chess is peculiarly the game for the middle and lower classes' as 'it furnishes more relaxation, at less cost, than any other game whatever'.⁹⁰ By the mid-1840s a few books within a workman's budget were on the market, such as Pinnock's *Catechism of Chess*.⁹¹ Tylecote recorded some 'unexpected difficulties' concerning the popularity of chess in 1840-2 at the Mechanics' Institute in Stalybridge. 'When, in 1846, chess was permitted to be played in the reading-room, the problem appears to have been solved.'

An example of how the dates of chess clubs in Bland's 1880 directory can be misleading is Hanley, near Stoke in the Potteries. The Hanley Chess Club, meeting in the Liberal Club, was only founded in 1878, but much earlier there had been a vigorous club in the mechanics' institute. In 1862 they played a correspondence match against the City Road club of north-east London,⁹² and there had been an earlier club at nearby Burslem, which in 1843 took up a similar challenge that

⁸⁸ Hudson, *Education*, vi; and on p. 236 he listed the institutes and similar bodies of which he was aware in Ireland. Norman McMillan (ed.), *Prometheus's Fire* (Kilkenny 2000) has chapters by J. Cooke and Seamus S. Duffy on the institutes in Dublin and East Ulster respectively. See also S. Duffy, 'The Armagh Mechanics' Institute (1825-31), in *Seanchas Ard Mhacha: journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, xiii (no. 1, 1988), pp. 122-69.

⁸⁹ On 5 July 1835, he wrote: 'We cannot see where the difficulty H speaks of would be in introducing not only Chess into every Literary Institution, but into every Mechanics' Institution throughout the three Kingdoms... Amidst those horribly heavy lectures... by Dr Lardner and other walking cyclopaedias, how pleasant it would be to hear occasionally the words "Check", or "Mate", uttered by the chess-players in the throng.'

⁹⁰ *B.L.L.*, 12 Mar. 1837 and 19 Mar. 1837 in the 'To Correspondents' column.

⁹¹ William Pinnock, *A Catechism of Chess* (London 1840). The 1845 edition cost nine pence for 72 pages of fine print. On 14 Dec. 1845 *Bell's Life* commended it: 'Here is the first book for the Mechanics' Institute, the boy's school, the labourer's cottage.'

⁹² *Era*, 28 Sept. 1862. Hanley advertised for opponents on the cover of the Sept. and Oct. 1860 issues of *C.P.C.* The City Road club (Islington) was apparently a lower-middle class club which, according to a notice in *Cassells*, n.s. ix (14 Dec. 1861), p. 47, met at 6pm on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday evenings at Mr Browning's opposite the Artillery Ground, City Road. Subscription 1 s. 6d. per quarter. Secretary, Mr B. Weaver.

Enfield Chess Club placed in the *Illustrated London News*.⁹³ The Hanley institute (founded 1826 and still going sixty years later) was the most important, 'by virtue of longevity and influence' of the institutes in this area according to R. A. Lowe, who made a special study of institutes and mutual improvement in Staffordshire.⁹⁴ The mechanics' institutes of the Potteries district were 'in every instance, small and relatively exclusive in their membership, failing to rival in size the grander institutions of the other major northern conurbations'.⁹⁵ The clerks who mostly populated such institutes had different aspirations from the artisans, who may have had comparable average income but worked with their hands.⁹⁶ Chess players were found among all the middling groups, but perhaps least among shopkeepers. There was blurring at the edges. Some less well-paid British professionals could be considered lower-middle class, while clerks in sectors like banking and insurance might rise into the middle class proper. Elementary schoolteachers had lower status in Britain than in France.⁹⁷

The debate resulting in the admission of chess to one Lancashire institute may, therefore, be typical of changes taking place around England. At the well-attended fourteenth annual meeting of the Preston Institution, held on Tuesday 4 October 1842,⁹⁸ William Dobson moved 'that the Committee be instructed to

⁹³ The challenge appeared in *I.L.N.*, ii (25 Feb. 1843) and the following week (p. 157): 'Mr J. W. Powell, on behalf of the Burslem Pottery Club, begs to accept the challenge.' Potteries Chess Club won the game, which was published in *I.L.N.*, iv (9 Mar. 1844), p. 152.

⁹⁴ R. A. Lowe, 'The Mechanics Institutes of the Potteries', in *The North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies*, x (1970), pp. 75-82. In 1860-1 the Hanley Institute had a magazine which included 'reports of chess matches at the Institution and chess problems'. See also the same writer's 'Mutual Improvement in the Potteries' in *N. Staffs. Jnl. of Field Studies*, xii (1972), pp. 75-81.

⁹⁵ Lowe, *Potteries*, p. 75.

⁹⁶ This is discussed in some detail in Geoffrey Crossick, *An artisan elite in Victorian society: Kentish London 1840-1880* (London 1978), saying (p. 137) that, in the area he studied, artisans left mechanics institutes because of 'the patronising attitudes of clerks and shop assistants that both irritated them and challenged their self-respect, while management by members of the local social elite constituted a clear threat to independence'.

⁹⁷ Crossick, *Lower Middle Class*, pp. 31-2, says this explains why the National Union of Teachers was the strongest white-collar union. The raising of teachers' status in France followed from legislation of 1882 instituting compulsory primary education and secular state primary schools.

⁹⁸ 'Annual Meeting of the Preston Institution', in *The Preston Chronicle and Lancashire Advertiser*, 8 Oct. 1842. An extract appeared in *C.P.C.*, iii (1842), pp. 399-400. A fuller account of the development of chess in Preston, and the debate at the institute, may be found in T. Harding, 'Policeman on the case: early chess in Lancashire and the *Preston Guardian* chess column, 1879-83' in A. Brown and R. Spalding (eds.), *Entertainment, Leisure and Identities* (Newcastle 2007), pp. 50-65. A slightly different picture emerges from an article in *The Preston*

provide chess-boards and chess-men, for the use of the members'. Chess, he said: 'was a first-rate mental exercise, and its study could not but tend to the accomplishment of those objects, for the attainment of which the Institution had been established.' This was partly a response to declining membership; only a few years earlier, they had 456 members out of a population of at least 55,000.⁹⁹ Some speakers were against, Holden saying 'this was a society for the diffusion of useful knowledge. He did not see of what use chess would be in a society like that' and Dawson opposed the motion 'as he would any form of gaming'.¹⁰⁰ Segar refuted this, saying just because chess was called a game did not mean it had anything to do with gaming for stakes. He regarded the motion 'as a part of the great question, of the civilization and the education of the people'. Segar hoped the day was not far distant when 'all that could tend to ameliorate the condition of mankind' would be admitted within the scope of the Institution. 'He trusted that, ere long, he should see a picture gallery, and a weekly concert held in the society. It was on this ground, rather than on any other, that he supported the introduction of chess.'

In 1856 there were formal chess clubs at mechanics' institutes in Dublin, Leigh (Lancashire), Northampton, Plymouth, Preston, Wakefield, and the Eastern Counties Railway and Stratford Mechanics' Institution, and probably many more.¹⁰¹ Looking back half a century later, the secretary of the Carlisle Chess Club recalled that groups of chess players appeared during the 1840s in the institutes of several leading Cumberland towns. 'The "Old Mechanics" at Workington was the first home of chess there... They were principally resorted to by tradesmen and professional men, and, so we are credibly informed, "by all who had any brains"'.¹⁰² He said public libraries were the death of institutes in his county.

Some institutes continued for decades until support dwindled or (as in London and Manchester) they became absorbed in universities or other further

Chronicle, 21 Jan. 1893, which is based on local knowledge and carries the story forward another decade, but the writer did not mention the *Preston Guardian* column or its editor.

⁹⁹ The Society For The Diffusion Of Useful Knowledge, *Report of the State of Mechanics' Institutions in England* (London 1841). Figures probably relate to membership levels in 1839 or 1840. 102 of the members were mechanics, and fifty-three were under twenty-one years old.

¹⁰⁰ Dawson was 'an operative member of the Institution', meaning he actually was a mechanic. The 1893 article, mentioned above in n98, states that Segar was a barrister, afterwards a judge.

¹⁰¹ Chess club listings on the covers of *C.P.C.* during the year.

¹⁰² Davies, *Cumberland*, p. 1.

educational establishments.¹⁰³ Chess clubs also sometimes met in more leisure-oriented institutions such as the lyceums, and later in the working men's clubs discussed below. Many institutes and clubs included special interest 'sub-clubs' or 'inter-clubs', of which chess clubs were one variety.¹⁰⁴ They were the forerunners of hobby societies seen in the twentieth century. Some clubs were associated with workplaces: the Railway Clearing House at Euston, whose employees were among the aristocracy of clerks, was very active in chess.¹⁰⁵

Among the most active workers' chess clubs in London from the mid-1870s were Bermondsey, the Bedford Institute in Spitalfields, and the Jewish social club in Aldgate. The occupational profile of Jewish workers probably made it atypical.¹⁰⁶ Rule Two said the objects of the institution were 'to afford the Jewish Industrial Classes the means of social intercourse, mutual helpfulness, mental and moral improvement, and rational recreation.'¹⁰⁷ Potter wrote in *Land and Water* that: 'the Bermondsey Chess Club has always stood very high in our estimation. Its

¹⁰³ There were chess classes at the London (where Henry Webber ran it for more than fifteen years) and Manchester institutes. The former became Birkbeck College and the latter evolved into the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology. See Cardwell, *Artisan*, p. 1.

¹⁰⁴ T. G. Ashplant, 'London Working Men's Clubs, 1875-1914', in Eileen & Stephen Yeo (eds.), *Popular Culture and Class Conflict 1590-1914* (Brighton 1981), pp. 241-70, here p. 248. Sub-clubs had many advantages, such as on-site catering and (through sharing rent on premises) availability of chess rooms every day. Sub-club members had rights in the wider association; as Ashplant says, 'they saw themselves as part of the wider body'. Some elite chess clubs were also sub-clubs. A middle-class example was the St. George's Club when it was based at the Polytechnic Institute. Today the Dublin Chess Club is a sub-club of the United Arts Club.

¹⁰⁵ Philip S. Bagwell, *The Railway Clearing House in the British Economy 1842-1922* (London 1968), pp. 150-3, says 'it was something of a privilege to work in the clearing house' rather than a railway company's office. The job was secure but the pay usually less than in banks. The Clearing House Clerks Literary Society (founded 1849) employed a full-time librarian by 1875 and its athletic club was founded in 1858. Locally based railway clerks, however, were on the lower end of the scale, and were often sons of artisans (Crossick, *Lower Middle Class*, p. 36).

¹⁰⁶ The first annual report (1875) of the Jewish Working Men's Club gave the occupations of its members, including Tailors 305 (and ten dressmakers), General dealers 197, Cigar makers 184, Travellers 77, Boot makers 36, Machinists 32, Butchers 31, Cabinet makers 29, Clerks 27, Jewellers and diamond workers 25, cutlers 22, and 100 lesser groupings. J. Jacobs, *Studies in Jewish Statistics: Social, Vital and Anthropometric* (1891), p. 39, cited in J. Marlow, *The Working Men's Club Movement, 1862-1912: a study of the evolution of a working class institution* (Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick 1980), pp. 247-8.

¹⁰⁷ Revised rules (Oct 1887) of the Jewish Working Men's Club and Lad's Institute, in 'Papers of the West Central Jewish Working Mens' Club and Lads' Institute', Southampton Univ. Library Special Collections: MS 152. The West Central was founded 1897 so presumably had modelled its rules on those of the older club. The Lads' Institute was for males aged 13-19; the minimum age for the Men's Club was twenty, except that Rule Five said females aged sixteen and over could be members, and two adult women could be committee members. It is unknown if that was the case in the beginning. For more about Jewish chess, see pp. 310-11.

members owe nothing to social advantages or to the patronage of anyone. Sturdy and independent, what their club is and what they as individual players are they owe to themselves alone'.¹⁰⁸ Their leading player, Thomas Beardsell, perhaps enjoyed some upward mobility thanks to chess: he was the 1871 winner of the London working men's club chess trophy, and by 1874 had been elected a member of the middle-class City of London club.¹⁰⁹ In 1882 he wrote an article in which he emphasised the importance of a good secretary who 'should possess tact, energy, and zeal', but not take 'all the work upon his own shoulders'. Club membership should be open to all classes, he said, with as low a subscription as possible. 'It must not be forgotten that chess is spreading rapidly among the artisan and working classes, many of whom are even now players of tolerable strength'.¹¹⁰

A native of Gravesend, Thilthorpe, won the London working men's club chess trophy in 1875 for the Bedford Institute.¹¹¹ Soon afterwards Thomas Bevan, ex-Mayor of Gravesend, offered £85 to encourage chess (and £15 for draughts) among the working class of both sexes in the Kent parishes of Gravesend, Milton and Northfleet, but the outcome showed the difficulty of promoting chess unless it was done carefully.¹¹² At first rooms were hired where two men gave up many evenings to teach chess, but unfortunately interest fell away over the winter. The eventual tournament, played over Easter 1876, was not well supported and Bevan reduced the prizes on offer.¹¹³ The main reasons for the failure, according to the local paper, were that the definition of working men was unclear, and that older men were allowed to enter, discouraging novices for whom there were no special prizes.

Chess was also frequently played, with or without a formal chess club, in middle-class societies where education and recreation were combined: the literary

¹⁰⁸ *Land and Water*, xxxi (21 May 1871), p. 391, 28 May (p. 409), and 18 June (p. 469).

¹⁰⁹ *The Field*, xlv (17 Oct. 1874), p. 419, shows Beardsell playing in the club's handicap tournament. However he also continued to be a member of the Bermondsey club.

¹¹⁰ Thomas J. Beardsell, 'Club Organization and Management', in W. R. Bland (ed.), *Chess Player's Annual and Club Directory* (2nd ed., London 1882), p. 46-8.

¹¹¹ *The Workmen's Club Journal*, i (4 Sept. 1875), p. 96; *I.L.N.*, lxxvii (23 Oct. 1875), p. 415.

¹¹² *The Field*, xlvi (30 Oct. 1875), p. 493; *Land and Water*, xx (6 Nov. 1875), p. 364; *Working Men's Club and Institute Journal*, i (9 Oct. 1875), p. 120. On 9 Nov., Blackburne came to Gravesend to play a blindfold display against eight men: *City of London Chess Magazine*, ii (1875), p. 323.

¹¹³ *Gravesend and Dartford Reporter*, 25 Mar., 15 and 29 Apr. 1876. The eventual winner of the £12 first prize was Sergeant French of Milton Barracks. Only eighteen entered instead of the hoped-for fifty. There was no mention of the heralded draughts tournament or women's event.

and philosophical institutions and Athenæums. Löwenthal observed in 1871: 'several of our leading provincial towns have maintained two clubs simultaneously, one standing by itself as a pure chess club, the other being connected with an institution devoted to the cultivation of general literature and science'.¹¹⁴ He gave Nottingham as an example of a city where the two chess clubs remained separate but had excellent relations.¹¹⁵ Later in the nineteenth century, and to the present day, public libraries, town halls, and schools also provided premises for chess clubs. They have also been known to meet in private rooms in hotels and public houses. Very few chess clubs ever had their own permanent premises.¹¹⁶

In summary, the period from c. 1837 to 1880 saw the advance of chess playing among lower middle class and working class communities, as the editor of the *Westminster Papers* put it in his farewell article: 'chess has advanced among the poorer classes, but in my judgement has diminished in the higher classes'.¹¹⁷

3 Case study: Lord Lyttelton and the educative role of chess

GEORGE William Lyttelton (1817-76), the fourth Baron Lyttelton of Frankley,¹¹⁸ was one of the few aristocratic patrons of chess in the nineteenth century. In this, as in many things, he was unusual.¹¹⁹ His other recreations were cricket (a family obsession) and billiards.¹²⁰ His home, Hagley Hall, was the centre of the social and intellectual life of Worcestershire as well as 'a second home to all Gladstone's family'.¹²¹ Lyttelton worked in education and fostered the development of the

¹¹⁴ *Land and Water*, xii (9 Dec. 1871), p. 406.

¹¹⁵ The cooperation noted by Löwenthal continued. Sigismund Hamel (a stalwart of the old club) also became president of the Mechanics' Institute club. When they opened a new coffee and chess room in 1882, the mayor Edward Goldschmidt, a member of the senior club, was asked to open it. (Entry of 4 Jan. 1882 in DD/MI/248/1 'Minutes 1875-84 of Nottingham Mechanics Institute') at Notts. Archives. In Oct. 1871 they contributed £2 10s. to the Mechanics' Class and on 9 Mar. 1876 subsidised Zukertort's visit to the institute by £2 (Nottingham record book.)

¹¹⁶ Probably only Edinburgh and Hastings (founded 1882).

¹¹⁷ *Westminster Papers*, xi (Apr. 1879), p. 249.

¹¹⁸ He was also fourth Baron Westcote of Ballymore, Co. Longford, but owned no Irish estate.

¹¹⁹ Some other peers were actively involved in chess clubs or as patrons: Lord Cremorne (see below), Lord Ravensworth in Newcastle, the Earl of Mexborough, and later the Duke of Albany.

¹²⁰ Betty Askwith, *The Lytteltons: a family chronicle* (London 1975), p. 48.

¹²¹ Philip Magnus, *Gladstone: a biography* (London 1954), p. 125. M. R. D. Foot (ed.), *The Gladstone Diaries* (Oxford 1968), shows that Gladstone sometimes played chess with him, e.g.;

Canterbury colony in New Zealand. He knew every significant figure on the British chess scene and was active as a postal player most of his adult life.¹²²

Educated at Eton and Trinity College Cambridge, where he won prizes for classics, Lyttelton seemed destined for an academic career until, at twenty, he inherited his titles. In a double ceremony on 25 July 1839, he and William Ewart Gladstone married the sisters Mary and Catherine Glynne.¹²³ In January 1846 Lyttelton was appointed under-secretary for the colonies, but apparently did not shine in this role.¹²⁴ This ended in July and he held no further ministerial appointments. He may have had chess in mind when writing this:

I would say to young men, work or play, one or the other; understanding both words in a large sense... Either of them is better than sheer idleness & vacuity. Exercise for the mind, of almost any kind, is work; and if it be for an innocent purpose it is not likely to be wrong, if it does not take the place of some duty; for at least it strengthens the muscles of the mind.¹²⁵

Mary did not long survive the birth of their twelfth child, Alfred, in 1857. This blow may have also affected Lyttelton's relationship with Gladstone, who in 1873 refused Lyttelton's request to have his title promoted to an earldom.¹²⁶ Meanwhile, after a visit to New Zealand in 1867-8, the polyphiloprogenitive baron married a widow who bore him three more daughters. From about 1864 the Lytteltons played an annual cricket match with Bromsgrove Boys School and on one occasion the team consisted of Lyttelton, his brothers Spencer and Billy, and all eight sons.¹²⁷

23 Aug. 1839 ('Lytteltons came: ciceronising George.—Chess in evg. '), 22 Aug. 1848 ('Chess with Lyttelton'), also 1 and 2 Aug. 1851.

¹²² His own testimony about this in *Notes and Queries* was cited on p. 50.

¹²³ *Gladstone Diaries*, ii, pp. 616-7. According to Magnus, *Gladstone* (pp. 60-1), both men lost money on the Oak Farm Company formed in an attempt to develop a small estate owned by their brother-in-law, Sir Stephen Glynne.

¹²⁴ For details see *O.D.N.B.*, xxxiv pp. 963-5.

¹²⁵ G. W. Lyttelton, *Address to young men, read at a Literary Institute by Lord Lyttelton* (Tract Committee of SPCK, London). The T.C.D. library copy has a pencilled date 'June? 1876' — but the lecture was probably given a considerable time earlier. Miscellaneous writings were collected in George William Lyttelton, *Ephemera* (Series 1 and 2, London & Edinburgh 1865 & 1872).

¹²⁶ *O.D.N.B.* says he wished to avoid the Lyttelton title being swallowed up by the more senior Cobham title, likely to be inherited from a cousin. This seems a frivolous reason and possibly also Mrs Gladstone blamed Lyttelton for the death of her sister.

¹²⁷ Edith Lyttelton, *Alfred Lyttelton: an account of his life* (London 1917), p. 14. This memoir is more sympathetic to the second Lady Lyttelton than the others, because Alfred was close to his step-mother, but chess is not mentioned. Alfred was captain and wicket keeper of the losing

Lyttelton suffered from melancholy and on 19 April 1876 incurred fatal injuries by throwing himself downstairs at his town-house. His death 'excited the liveliest regrets amongst all classes of chess players'.¹²⁸

Given his educational work in Birmingham,¹²⁹ Lyttelton was probably a regular visitor to its chess club as well as the St. George's in London. During the 1840s, he took up postal play in the form of several private matches, although only two of his opponents are identifiable.¹³⁰ Between 1853-5 he played by post against Wilson Bigland of Leamington, the son of an admiral and considered to be an accomplished player.¹³¹ Lyttelton's regular opponent was Dr James Freeman of Birmingham. Eight postal games between them, played between 1856 and 1876, were published, and they certainly played many more. A letter from Freeman was published shortly after Lyttelton's suicide, which included their last game and said they had been playing by correspondence for twenty years.¹³²

As lord lieutenant of the county, Lyttelton accepted the presidency of the Worcester Chess Club soon after its re-establishment in 1853, and this seems to have been his first public role in chess. He welcomed it as 'tending to promote the study of so intellectual and gentlemanly a game'¹³³ and he is on record as having played for the club in matches. He was a patron of the Stourbridge Institute, only

England cricket team in the original Ashes test match at the Oval (September 1882), but his *O.D.N.B.* profile (xxxiv, pp. 951-3) neglects the cricket.

¹²⁸ *Westminster Papers*, vi (May 1876), p. 3.

¹²⁹ *O.D.N.B.* says Lyttelton became in 1845 principal of Queen's College, Birmingham, and from 1853 first president of the Birmingham and Midland Institute.

¹³⁰ *Era*, 27 July 1856, 7 Nov. and 5 Dec 1858. German chess editor Dr Max Lange listed several private matches between individuals in his collection *Correspondenz-Partien* (Leipzig 1872), pp. 127-8. He included one in 1856 between Lyttelton and Lord Cremorne, which is probably an error since there is no English source for such a match. Lange was probably misled by a misprint in *Schachzeitung*, xi (Berlin 1856), pp. 270-1, which has a correspondence game between Lord Lyttelton and 'Dr Tremon' said to be from the *Era*. This was actually Dr Freeman, mentioned above, but Lange (realising there was nobody called Tremon) probably guessed it was Cremorne. Probably Lyttelton and Cremorne played chess together when in London but there is no independent evidence of Cremorne playing postal chess.

¹³¹ Bigland's story is told in Aspa's memoirs, *B.C.M.*, xvii (1897), pp. 357-62. In 1855 he also played Lyttelton over the board: *Era*, 22 July 1855 (corrected on the 29th). Bigland died later that year.

¹³² *I.L.N.*, lxxviii (6 May 1876), p. 455. The paper had carried a picture and obituary on 29 Apr. Then on 19 Oct. 1878 (lxxviii p. 384), it published a picture of his tomb in Worcester Cathedral, paid for by 'liberal subscription'. A sculpture of Lyttelton lies on top, holding a scroll.

¹³³ *C.P.C.*, n.s. i (1853), p. 62.

two and a half miles from Hagley.¹³⁴ A chess club met there in an upper room and in 1858 played a two-game postal match with a Cambridge university team, which Cambridge won, after a sporting gesture by the losers.¹³⁵

Lyttelton's place in chess history would be minor if he were only a player. Of greater significance was his involvement in the first national chess association. He first presided at Leamington in 1855.¹³⁶ In his speech, revealing a touch of humour, Lyttelton said chess was valuable not only 'because it called for the exercise of constant self-control, not to play more than it was good to do, and because it was an excellent discipline of the mind, and the temper — a discipline, however...of which all its devotees did not avail themselves, when they lost a game.'¹³⁷ He also hoped to see the game practised more in the middle and lower classes and was 'glad also to observe, in the constitution of mechanics' institutions throughout the country, that the game had begun to assume the prominence it deserved'. Time spent on chess might be 'redeemed from worse objects' when it was played by 'those classes who were most tempted by low indulgences in spending their leisure time'. Lyttelton also made some technical remarks on the game, regretting the growing popularity of modern closed openings at the expense of the more enterprising gambit style.

The 1856 meeting was cancelled and Lyttelton missed the 1857 Manchester meeting (when the name The Chess Association was adopted), this being the year of his bereavement from his wife Mary, née Glynne. In August 1858, he was back in

¹³⁴ H. E. Palfrey, *The story of Stourbridge Institute and Social Club 1834-1948* (Stourbridge 1948), says that the original institute and a more successful Working Man's Institution united in March 1857 as The Stourbridge Mechanics and Working Men's Institute. About 10,000 people attended a fund-raising Monster Picnic for the Million at Hagley on 10 Aug. 1857 with trips from all over organised by the Oxford, Worcester and Wolverhampton railway company. This was repeated in later years when parts of the Hall were sometimes opened to visitors. Lyttelton was not a trustee (middle class men undertook that) but became president in 1862 after the local MP, Foley, died.

¹³⁵ *I.L.N.*, xxxii (24 Apr. 1858), p. 426. Cambridge made a blunder due to setting up the position incorrectly, which only became apparent later. Stourbridge, rather than spoil the game, very generously allowed some moves to be retracted

¹³⁶ When it was called the Northern and Midland Counties Association: see the next section, pp. 166-7, for the history of this body. For accounts of the Leamington meeting, see *C.P.C.*, n.s. iii (1855), especially pp. 255-60, and reports soon afterwards in the *Era*, where the suggestion was first made (24 June) to change the name to British Chess Association. The *I.L.N.*, xxvii (5 July 1855), p. 23, also gave considerable space to a few reflections by Staunton, suggested by the views of Lyttelton and other speakers, 'with respect to the social influence of the games of chess'.

¹³⁷ *Era*, 8 July 1855.

the chair in Birmingham on the occasion when Morphy gave an impressive exhibition of blindfold play against eight opponents, who included Lyttelton and Salmon.¹³⁸ Harvey is surely right in his contention that Staunton rearranged his literary commitments to fit in a match with the American champion, only to decide, after losing to Löwenthal in Birmingham, not to play Morphy after all.¹³⁹ As late as 3 October, Löwenthal wrote in the *Era* that Staunton might play. Staunton's public claim that Morphy had not deposited his stakes was known to be untrue.¹⁴⁰ Acrimonious correspondence appeared in the press and, as Harvey has explained, 'on 26 October 1858 Morphy wrote to Lord Lyttelton, giving a full account of his attempts to arrange a match with Staunton, and requesting that his Lordship confirm that Morphy was not to blame for the match not taking place.'¹⁴¹

In Lyttelton's reply, sent from Bodmin on 3 November 1858, he found it hard to understand why 'Mr Staunton gave you every reason to suppose that he would be ready to play the match within no long time' when he was fully aware of his literary commitments.¹⁴² All he could do was maintain an embarrassed neutrality, telling Morphy 'the British Chess Association... is one of recent and rather imperfect organization; its influence is not yet fully established'.¹⁴³ For the next few years he seemed to withdraw, while nominally remaining B.C.A. president.

The Association did not meet in 1859, and its 1860 congress in Cambridge was a failure due to bad local management. Lyttelton was absent from the well-attended September 1861 meeting in Bristol, which revived the association. Plans were made then to hold an international congress in London in 1862 'and to

¹³⁸ Medley, *Congress*, xxviii-xxxi. The fullest eye-witness account of the Birmingham event is that by Löwenthal (winner of the tournament) in the *Era* of 29 Aug. and 5 Sept. 1858. Morphy won six games, lost to Kipping of Manchester and drew with the Birmingham club president, Avery.

¹³⁹ The intricacies of the Morphy-Staunton affair and its reporting are beyond the scope of this thesis. See David Lawson, *Paul Morphy, The Pride and Sorrow of Chess* (New York 1976). Chapters Nine and Eleven of that book document the case for Morphy in detail, and with more objectivity than the account by his secretary, Frederick Milne Edge, *The Exploits and Triumphs in Europe of Paul Morphy the Chess Champion* (New York 1973 [1859]).

¹⁴⁰ *Era*, 17 Oct. 1858: 'Morphy's stake has been waiting for Staunton to meet for a considerable time, lying at Messrs Heywood & Co., the agents of Brown, Shipley & Co. of Liverpool.'

¹⁴¹ Harvey, 'Staunton'.

¹⁴² Harvey, 'Staunton', citing Lawson, *Morphy*, p. 147.

¹⁴³ Lawson probably found Lyttelton's letter in the *Era*, 14 Nov. 1858. It is noteworthy that Lyttelton used the designation British Chess Association, proof that the name was now in common usage although not formally adopted until the 1862 meeting.

consult as to the best means of placing the Chess Association on a more stable and permanent footing'.¹⁴⁴ One significant outcome of that important meeting was that Steinitz came to reside in London for the next twenty-two years. Lyttelton remained B.C.A. president until at least 1872.¹⁴⁵

Perhaps Lyttelton was most effective in his lifelong support for education. *O.D.N.B.* states that 'he formed an early interest in education, promoting night schools and working men's institutes' but it really said nothing about the latter, important, facet of this work.¹⁴⁶ Lyttelton served on the Clarendon and Taunton royal commissions in the 1860s,¹⁴⁷ which respectively investigated the nine great public schools and then 3,000 endowed grammar schools. The latter has been described as 'certainly the most far-reaching educational enquiry ever to have been undertaken'.¹⁴⁸ It is perhaps no coincidence that Staunton wrote about both types of school.¹⁴⁹ From August 1869 Lyttelton was appointed chief of three endowed schools commissioners,¹⁵⁰ which involved him in clashes with Edward Thring, head of Uppingham, who founded the Headmasters' Conference that year as a pressure group to resist interference.¹⁵¹ This job ended after a change of government in 1874. Lyttelton did not necessarily agree with everything that resulted from these commissions. On the second reading of the Public Schools Bill

¹⁴⁴ Medley, *Congress*, xxxvi.

¹⁴⁵ G. MacDonnell, *Knights*, p. 106, says: 'From 1862 to 1872 his lordship rendered valuable services to chess as vice-president, and subsequently president', implying that Lyttelton resigned in 1872 – probably after the incidents mentioned on p. 164 (line 21 and in n181).

¹⁴⁶ *O.D.N.B.*, xxiv, pp. 963-5.

¹⁴⁷ He declined the chairmanship of the second commission; Peter Stansky, 'Lyttelton and Thring: A Study in Nineteenth Century Education', in *Victorian Studies*, v (no. 3, Mar. 1962), pp. 205-223. Stansky called Lyttelton 'a fugitive figure' (p. 208), finding Thring more sympathetic.

¹⁴⁸ Brian Simon, *The Two Nations and the Educational Structure* (London 1964), p. 319.

¹⁴⁹ Staunton, *Great Schools*. His two editions each followed a year after the Clarendon (1864) and Taunton (1868) reports respectively. They are really two quite different books with the same title. In his 1865 introduction, Staunton wrote that his original intention was a 'reprint of some articles on our chief Public Schools, which appeared a few years since in a leading newspaper', but the publication of the Clarendon commission evidence 'rendered modification indispensable'. On p. 21, criticising the state of English education, Staunton wrote that it was 'very much of a chance-medley affair. It has neither unity of object nor of spirit'. These words perhaps reflected Lyttelton's views too.

¹⁵⁰ Simon (*Two Nations*, p. 328) says that this was paid work.

¹⁵¹ Discussed in Stansky, 'Thring'. Compare Brian Simon, *Education and the Labour Movement 1870-1920* (London 1965), pp. 97-108, who argues that Thring and the Headmasters' Conference widened and perpetuated class differences in British education.

in the Lords on 3 April 1865, he said it was not that of the commissioners, he had not seen it until it was printed, and he suggested some alterations.¹⁵²

Stansky's view of Lyttelton as 'convinced that education was primarily an intellectual pursuit, and should concentrate on scholarship',¹⁵³ seems one-sided and cannot account for his views on education for children of all classes and his involvement in adult education.¹⁵⁴ Marlow, in an unpublished thesis, offers the more balanced view that Lyttelton 'combined an abiding belief in the elitist function of education...with a genuine concern for the advancement of the working man'.¹⁵⁵ As important as his commission activity was Lyttelton's association with the former Unitarian minister Henry Solly in connection with the working men's club movement. Such clubs had begun to arise in parts of England in the 1850s and appealed to sectors of the respectable working classes that the mechanics' institutes had failed to attract (or at least to retain). These clubs were more recreational and social than the mechanics' institutes, and the management of the clubs was generally in the hands of the 'aristocrats of labour', although they often needed patronage to help them become financially established.

Solly, supported by Brougham, had the idea of establishing a national body to co-ordinate the clubs and on 14 June 1862 the Working Men's Club and Institute Union (W.M.C.I.U.) was established at a meeting, probably chaired by Lyttelton, in the rooms of the Law Amendment Society, in London.¹⁵⁶ Brougham was president and Lyttelton one of the vice-presidents. It is likely he had already been involved with a local club: a chess magazine in 1860 published two games played between

¹⁵² *The Times*, 4 Apr. 1865, p. 7. This shows Lyttelton believed that different educational systems were appropriate to different classes. Opposition to the bill that followed the Taunton Commission led to the consolidation of the independent public school system in Britain. For a full discussion of the issues involved, see Simon, *Education and Labour*, pp. 97-108.

¹⁵³ Stansky, 'Thring', p. 207.

¹⁵⁴ For example the pamphlet *Thoughts on National Education by Lord Lyttelton* (London 1855), in which he argued for compulsory primary education, subsidised by the State with a parental contribution, and discussed what moral training such schools should give.

¹⁵⁵ J. Marlow, 'The Working Men's Club Movement, 1862-1912: a study of the evolution of a working class institution' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Warwick 1980), p. 222.

¹⁵⁶ B. T. Hall, 'Rev Henry Solly: the harvest of his work' in Henry Solly, *Working Men's Social Clubs and educational institutes* (2nd ed., revised B. T. Hall, 1904), p. 182, www.infed.org/archives/e-texts/solly_clubs_ch1.htm (5 Nov. 2007). Hall retained the parts of Solly's rather disorganised first edition (1867) that he thought of permanent value. Some accounts say Brougham was in the chair but he was now elderly and it seems more plausible that Lyttelton ran what was potentially a difficult first meeting.

the Working Man's Institute Chess Club of Worcester and a chess club in Bristol.¹⁵⁷ Both Solly and Lyttelton saw chess as one of the leisure activities appropriate to the kind of reform they were working towards. In 1860 Solly had written to Rev F. D. Maurice (founder in 1854 of the London Working Men's College) asking whether such a college 'might legitimately... have a room devoted to rational amusements, chess, draughts, readings... by way of attracting and occupying those who have hitherto spent much of their leisure time in the public house?'¹⁵⁸ This would have been in accord with Lyttelton, who once wrote that:

We hear it much debated in these days, concerning the Institutions which, under the various names of mechanics' institutes, literary societies, and so on, are in fact all substantially the same thing, whether the books, lectures, pursuits of the members, should be instructive or amusing; whereas it is very evident that unless they are both, we shall do but little good.¹⁵⁹

Price has described Lyttelton as Solly's 'most faithful supporter',¹⁶⁰ and said the Union gave the working men's club movement 'a national focus and publicity'.¹⁶¹ Lyttelton stated at its first annual meeting that the improvement in manners of the upper classes in the past half-century was 'due entirely to the establishment of numerous clubs which drew gentlemen away from the taverns which it was at one time their fashion to frequent' and that the object of the union was to assist a similar improvement among the working classes.¹⁶² For Lyttelton, the enemy was not drink itself, if taken in moderation, but the pub. It was many years before Solly was persuaded that temperance was a more realistic principle than teetotalism.¹⁶³ The men became good friends despite this and their theological differences,¹⁶⁴ as Solly records in his autobiography.

¹⁵⁷ *C.P.C.*, n.s. ii (1860), pp. 235 & 237.

¹⁵⁸ Quoted in Price, 'Club Movement', p. 121.

¹⁵⁹ Lyttelton, *Ephemera*, Series 1, p. 120.

¹⁶⁰ Price, 'Club Movement', p. 142, n63.

¹⁶¹ Price, 'Club Movement', p. 121, n12.

¹⁶² 'Working Men's Clubs', *The Times*, 13 July 1863, p. 5.

¹⁶³ George Tremlett, *Clubmen: the history of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union* (London 1987), pp. 22-3; Henry Solly, *These Eighty Years, or the story of an unfinished life* (London 1893, 2 vols), ii, p. 298.

¹⁶⁴ Lyttelton was an Anglican. Solly had ceased to be a Unitarian preacher when that church considered his book on atonement was heretical.

He never manifested the slightest sign of prejudice and bigotry towards me; and the only approach he ever made to suggesting I should give up my Nonconformist principles was when, after some years, he wrote saying that if I would come down to Hagley he would mount me 'on a tall horse', and we would ride through Worcestershire together in search of a good Church 'living' for me!¹⁶⁵

At first Solly was the salaried General Secretary of the Union, but he was much better at raising money from dukes than in actually running clubs or keeping the books. After disagreements, he lost that position in 1867, while remaining on the Council; soon afterwards his book on the clubs was written. Lyttelton was on his colonial visit at that critical time and during the late 1860s the movement almost died. The revival and long-term successful development of the Union was mostly due to Solly's successor, the retired Indian civil servant Hodgson Pratt, and the working-class men who won control of the organisation by the mid-1880s.¹⁶⁶

Lyttelton wrote jocularly in one of his reports: 'for thirteen years I have been trying to defend myself from him [Solly] and I have not succeeded. Every morning I expect to receive a letter marked 'immediate', and telling me that I must do something he wants me to do *at once*'.¹⁶⁷ After Lyttelton agreed to a suggestion by Solly to become president of a new body, the Social Working Men's Clubs Association was formed in 1871. Eventually an amalgamation between the two bodies was agreed and the S.W.M.C.A. was dissolved.¹⁶⁸ Hall's history of the Union says that peace was made at the end of 1871, but when Solly departed in early 1873, Lyttelton remained with the Union.¹⁶⁹ Marlow gives the fullest account of the movement's early decades but some details (such as whether George Lyttelton was ever formally president of the W.M.C.I.U.) remain uncertain, both because of missing records,¹⁷⁰ and some confusion among the many Lytteltons.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁵ Solly, *Eighty*, ii, p. 206.

¹⁶⁶ Tremlett, *Clubmen*, especially pp. 34-61. Chapter 5 of Bailey, *Leisure*, also deals with the club movement; especially pp. 122-8 (in 2nd ed.) concern Solly's involvement.

¹⁶⁷ Solly, *Eighty*, ii, p. 438, re the Artizan's Institute (but no year stated).

¹⁶⁸ B. T. Hall, *Our Sixty Years: the story of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union* (London 1922), p. 42, based on his *Our Fifty Years* (London 1912); Solly, *Eighty*, ii, pp. 404-8.

¹⁶⁹ Hall, *Sixty*, p. 3. *O.D.N.B.*, li, pp. 535-7, states that Solly severed his connection finally in 1873 'following disputes about his salary and the sale of alcohol in the clubs'.

¹⁷⁰ Hall said all the minutes of the union from 1863 until 1883 (when J. J. Dent became secretary) were lost so the annual reports were the main basis for his early chapters. Tremlett relied heavily on Hall, saying (*Clubmen*, p. 31) that archives the latter used are now lost too.

Marlow argues that 'little recognition has been given to the educational work of the clubs'; he stresses that the W.M.C.I.U. was a union of clubs *and* institutes, and learning was part of the 'tone'.¹⁷² Solly and Pratt, he continues, shared a view that the working class was divided into artisans and labourers, and they wished to attract both. To win the loyalty of the former, opportunities for self-improvement had to be offered in the clubs, but their advocacy was 'exhortatory rather than programmatic'. Marlow says 'there was no common policy of what was appropriate as forms of rational recreation for the sons of toil'.¹⁷³ He does not mention the aforementioned chess competition the Union ran for its London clubs during the 1870s. This was probably Lyttelton's idea, a similar competition being run in Worcestershire.¹⁷⁴ It is known that he presented at some point 'an artistic trophy' consisting of two bronze statuettes representing Dante and Michelangelo.¹⁷⁵

Before Solly finally left the Union, its council sent out an appeal (with a covering letter also signed by Lyttelton), listing fourteen reasons for supporting it. This included the following revealing statement:

It is the interest of the employers of labour, almost as much as that of the workmen themselves, to promote habits of sobriety, and a disposition towards reasonable and intelligent consideration of all questions affecting labour and capital. The future prosperity of this country, and the stability of its institutions, will largely depend upon the morality and intelligence of its artizans... Few agencies... can be

¹⁷¹ Marlow, 'Club Movement', p. 174, writes about Rev Lyttelton (George William's brother) and at one point may have confused G. W. Lyttelton with his heir. Hall and Tremlett never list Lyttelton as president of the Union (naming nobody for 1871-2) but Simon, *Education and Labour* (p. 74) says that on Brougham's death (in 1868), Lyttelton became president of the Union. Bailey and some chess sources also refer to him as such. Confusion between Solly's various organisations may also be responsible for this.

¹⁷² Marlow, 'Club Movement', p. 470.

¹⁷³ Marlow, 'Club Movement', p. 593.

¹⁷⁴ The Worcestershire Union of Clubs and Institutes was formed on 24 Sept. 1875 with Lyttelton as president: *Workmen's Club Journal*, i (2 Oct. 1875), p. 115. Shortly before his death it began a chess competition with nine entries. These were mostly from the industrialised northern part of the county: the Stourbridge Associated Institute; Dudley Mechanics' Institute; Kidderminster Mechanics' Institute and Kidderminster Workmen's Club; Stourport Literary Institute and Stourport Workmen's Club; Barnard's Green Mechanics' Institute; Upton-on-Severn Workmen's Club; and Tenbury Social Club: *Workmen's Club Journal*, i (6 May 1876), p. 288.

¹⁷⁵ *I.L.N.*, lxxvii (9 Oct. 1875), p. 367, says Lyttelton gave the trophy. The description of it, won outright by the Jewish Club of Aldgate, is in *Land and Water*, xxvii (10 May 1879), p. 387, and *The Workmen's Club Journal* mentioned the chess several times in 1875-7.

compared in efficacy to these social Clubs and Institutes, for effecting these objects.¹⁷⁶

That document apparently supports Price's case that the working men's club movement was 'one of the most successful of the many social reforming institutions and organisations of the Victorian age' whose importance lies partly 'in its consciously designed role as an agency of social control'.¹⁷⁷ The objections to the latter concept were stated on page 8. Price also claimed that the clubs were 'the largest and most successful of all the efforts through which Victorian England set out to ensure an assimilated and acquiescent proletariat'.¹⁷⁸ The patrons of the Union certainly did not say they were doing what Price says they were doing; what they privately thought remains unknowable. When Lord Rosebery took the chair at its 1875 annual meeting, Lyttelton being absent, he spoke of the 'numerous modes of ameliorating the condition of the working classes' but said the W.M.C.I.U. way was different: 'the working men are to be raised by their own efforts, and are not to be patronised, and fostered, and dandled.'¹⁷⁹

A difficulty in assessing Lyttelton's achievement is knowing to what extent he was content merely to be a figurehead in his voluntary work and how much active involvement he had in policy and execution with the various bodies for which he accepted the presidency. The testimony of contemporaries suggests he always took his duties seriously,¹⁸⁰ notwithstanding the occasion on 19 July 1872 when he dozed off in the chair during a B.C.A. lecture by Captain Kennedy about 'The History and Antiquities of Chess'.¹⁸¹ While Lyttelton's ability to bestow financial patronage was more constrained than he might have wished, there seems no doubt

¹⁷⁶ MS appeal in the W.M.C.I.U. Archives, Jan. 1873, quoted in John Taylor, *From self-help to glamour: the working man's club, 1860-1972* (History Workshop Pamphlets Number Seven, Oxford 1972), pp. 2-3. The pamphlet's early chapters have a lot of information about how working men saw and organised the clubs in the early years.

¹⁷⁷ Price, *Clubs*, especially p. 146.

¹⁷⁸ Price, *Clubs*, p. 147.

¹⁷⁹ *Workmen's Club Journal*, i (24 July 1875), p. 65.

¹⁸⁰ 'Through a course of nearly forty years... his time and energy were constantly applied to all the interests — social, moral or religious — either of the general or the local public.' — W. E. Gladstone, 'A Biographical Sketch', originally for the *Manchester Guardian*, reprinted in John F. Mackarness (ed.), *Brief Memorials of Lord Lyttelton* (London 1876), pp. 45-8.

¹⁸¹ *Westminster Papers*, v (Aug. 1872), pp. 50-1. See also pp. 67-8 (Sept.) about a row when the British Chess Association dinner was rescheduled to suit Lyttelton's convenience.

that his interest in chess was both genuine and life-long, and that he probably saw it as a part, if a small part, of his educational vision. While he would have considered all details of administration were best left to the middle-class committee men who actually ran the various clubs and associations of which he was president, nevertheless he was available as an adviser and usually chaired dinners and meetings. Until 1862 at least, Lyttelton took an active interest in chess affairs and many of his games were published. Later, various disputes affecting the Chess Association may have reduced his appetite for involvement just as he was becoming busier with his educational work, and his own worsening mental health seems to account for him withdrawing from all these activities around 1873. That was a period when his work as a schools commissioner was proving a great strain.

Solly testified that the working men's club movement 'had no better friend' than Lyttelton. Whenever he was asked 'to take another opportunity of helping working men to help themselves, he used it with... [a] frank simplicity, untainted with the slightest flavour of condescension or patronage'.¹⁸² This study is best rounded off by another quotation from him, recalling a pleasant afternoon at his Hampstead garden playing chess with Lyttelton.

He was a splendid chess player, and of course it was not so much a *game* for me as a lesson. He carried on games of chess through the post with first-rate players, and once remarked to me that 'chess was the only happiness in his life'.¹⁸³

4 From the club to the association

SOME discussion of national and regional chess associations after Lyttelton's time is required, because there is no satisfactory treatment in secondary sources. This section is necessarily condensed, to avoid digressing too far from the main theme of correspondence chess. Harold Murray believed that the 'squabbles' involving Staunton 'hindered the organization of British chess for a generation... It was left to provincial players to grasp the importance of a national organization, and to

¹⁸² Solly, *Eighty Years*, ii, p. 207.

¹⁸³ Solly, *Eighty Years*, ii, p. 317. See also pp. 466-8 for Solly's reaction to hearing of Lyttelton's death. Of his mental health problems, Lyttelton once confided to him: 'I'm sometimes in such a state that I'm a perfect nuisance to myself, and everybody else.'

take the first steps towards it.’¹⁸⁴ That is partly true. The individualistic nature of chess certainly hindered such moves, but not only Staunton behaved selfishly; so also later did Skipworth. The preconditions for a national organisation arguably did not exist until the 1880s. The best way to structure and finance a body to run tournaments for players of all levels, a British Championship, and international competitions was not understood until there had been several false starts.¹⁸⁵ Meanwhile correspondence chess organisation operated in a vacuum.

Although the Marylebone Cricket Club provided an early example of how to govern a nationwide sport, it was exclusive, undemocratic and dictatorial, so not a good model for chess. Most ruling bodies in Victorian sport faced the problem of codifying the playing rules — they even sometimes actually arose from efforts to do so, in order to define the game at all. The M.C.C. had first to decide about legalising roundarm (between 1828-35), and later overarm bowling, as well as deal with minor issues to help speed the game up.¹⁸⁶ How, when, and why the various football codes arose and diverged is still a contested topic among several historians in Britain. In the 1860s croquet need codification; the All England Club in Wimbledon (founded 1868) tackled that task and later adopted lawn tennis.¹⁸⁷ Since the rules of chess, despite minor anomalies and national differences, were broadly agreed by the 1820s, it did not need this kind of downward pressure.

The Yorkshire Chess Association was the precursor of the body over which Lyttelton presided. Conceived in 1840, its Leeds meeting on 18 January 1841 was the first organised chess gathering, probably in any country, on a level higher than that of a club.¹⁸⁸ It met annually except for 1849, when the meeting was cancelled, and 1851 (because of the London tournament). After it was resolved in 1852 to extend the Y.C.A., the Northern and Midland Counties Association first met in

¹⁸⁴ Murray, *Short History*, p. 83.

¹⁸⁵ Potter, in *Land and Water*, xxxix (10 Jan. 1885), p. 42, took an essentialist view. He said Germans had chess associations, the English had clubs, and the French had neither. He thought it a matter of national character.

¹⁸⁶ Harvey, *Beginnings*, Chap. VI, dealing with various sports, especially p. 127 on cricket.

¹⁸⁷ The *Westminster Papers* had articles on the laws of croquet in volume 4 (1871-2).

¹⁸⁸ Most of the details in this paragraph come from ‘Memoir of the British Chess Association’, in J. Löwenthal & G. W. Medley (eds.), *The Chess Congress of 1862* (London 1864), pp. i-xcvi; here p. ii. Medley was apparently ignorant of the 1850 Leeds meeting, mentioned in *B.L.L.* (26 May 1850) and in *La Régence*, ii (July 1850), pp. 193-203. Later writers made the same oversight.

Manchester on 6 May 1853, while some players also formed a West Yorkshire Association.¹⁸⁹ Meanwhile, Walker advocated a British Chess Society in 1843, with the primary purpose of financing translations of foreign chess books, and also to subsidise visits by foreign masters. Few shared these aims, though it is noteworthy Walker thought women might be members and expected many to enrol.¹⁹⁰

At Liverpool in 1854, it was proposed to broaden the N.M.C.A. into a national body. Subsequent meetings from 1855 (Leamington) up to the early 1870s were discussed in the Lyttelton study. The B.C.A.'s congresses were irregular, its rules draft misguided, its problem tourneys poorly judged, and its publications late. It did organise a British Championship, presenting in 1866 a fifty-guinea gold cup for a tournament series in which both professionals and amateurs could play, but this ended when the cup was won.¹⁹¹ So despite some successes, and the efforts of Medley and Löwenthal, the association never developed as intended. It effectively collapsed during the 1870s around the time of the one and only postal tournament that it organised.¹⁹² The Counties' Chess Association was a rival body that emerged in 1870 from earlier associations in North Yorkshire, Newcastle, and Durham.¹⁹³ Until the mid-1880s it became the main promoter of tournaments for provincial players but lacked a real democratic structure, its main function being to organise these annual meetings in conjunction with local organisers. Its 'provincial champion cup', played for in matches among amateurs, led to some bad feeling.¹⁹⁴

Neither B.C.A. nor C.C.A. were involved in the great London 1883 congress. In 1882 a club, meeting at the Three Cups tavern in London, proposed that an international tournament be held, but Potter wrote that their idea of 'a federation

¹⁸⁹ That was specifically to run local events because the original body had mutated.

¹⁹⁰ *B.L.L.*, 2 July 1843.

¹⁹¹ *B.L.L.*, 16 June 1866: The entry fee for the cup competition was three guineas. The winner (Cecil de Vere ultimately) took the entry fees plus ten guineas and held the cup until the next contest in 1868. It was at this point that Löwenthal became B.C.A. general manager. A second win would keep the cup, so Wisker won it outright in 1872 (Sergeant, *Century*, pp. 158 and 369.)

¹⁹² For the B.C.A. postal tournament, see pp. 244-5.

¹⁹³ Sergeant, *Century*, p. 144 n1, detailed its evolution. The North Yorkshire and Durham C. A., beginning at Redcar in August 1866, became the Yorkshire C. A. in 1868. In 1869 it was proposed to adopt the name Counties Chess Association, which took effect on 1 Aug. 1870 with the Newcastle meeting.

¹⁹⁴ There were some difficulties over the conditions for competing for this, as 'A Lover of Chess' (Thorold) complained in a letter to *Land and Water*, x (15 Oct. 1870), p. 280, with Skipworth replying on 12 Nov.

of chess clubs for the purpose does not strike us as a promising notion. The experience of the past shows that chess clubs will not as clubs unite for any purpose.¹⁹⁵ When the City of London and St George's took up the tournament idea, they excluded its originators from the organising committee. Their attitude was: 'who are the Troicoupians?... Are they not all or nearly all artisans?'¹⁹⁶ Not surprisingly, the latter complained about the disdain with which they were treated, and withdrew their financial offer, leading to further criticism of them.¹⁹⁷

The Sussex County Association, founded on 21 October 1882, was the prototype for county bodies that followed.¹⁹⁸ One of its leaders, clergyman A. M. Deane,¹⁹⁹ suggested a national association should be formed neither by personal membership (like most bodies hitherto) nor by a club federation, but by building intermediate tiers. He advised that: 'If rifle corps are unorganised, then form them into regiments, regiments into battalions, the latter into divisions and so on until you have a national army.'²⁰⁰ He was ignored and the second attempt to establish a British Chess Association followed the lead of *The Field*. On 5 July 1884 it explicitly called for the creation of a body analogous to the M.C.C. and the Jockey Club, to unify the code of rules, to clarify what 'amateur' and 'professional' meant in chess, and to organise an annual congress for both kinds of player. Critical of the Counties Chess Association for excluding professionals, it provoked an immediate reaction from Skipworth, who proposed to 'nationalise' the C.C.A.

The B.C.A.'s governing council first met on 15 December 1884 in order to frame the constitution and choose its initial committee and officers, preparing for a general meeting. Hoffer was secretary and Tennyson later accepted the presidency.²⁰¹ Ignoring Deane's advice, they decided that every club and

¹⁹⁵ *Land and Water*, xxxiv (23 Sept. 1882), pp. 254-5.

¹⁹⁶ G. A. MacDonnell, *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, xviii (18 Nov. 1882), pp. 131, 206, & 223, is the best source for the Troicoupians' side of the story.

¹⁹⁷ Sergeant, *Century*, p. 186, took the elitist side, which up to now has distorted how the great London 1883 tournament is generally remembered.

¹⁹⁸ Denman, *Brighton*, p. 17.

¹⁹⁹ He used the sobriquet 'East Marden' when writing on chess.

²⁰⁰ *Land and Water*, xxxiii (21 Oct. 1882), p. 335.

²⁰¹ Tennyson agreed on condition that he would not have to chair meetings or speak at dinners: G. A. MacDonnell, *Knights*, p. 175. This tends to be borne out by the report in *The Times* (21 Jan. 1885), which shows that at the first general meeting of the association, Sir Robert Peel M.P. (one

association had the right to send a delegate for each ten members, paying a capitation fee, but individuals could also be life members, ordinary members or honorary members. They not only wished to be a sports governing body but also attempted to assume something of the character of an artistic or professional academy. The appointment of figureheads rich in 'symbolic capital', like Tennyson and Ruskin, shows this. Articles 5-8 of the B.C.A. constitution published early in 1885 provided for Master and Fellow of the British Chess Association degrees. Master (a clear attempt to match the Germans) was to be by acclamation for playing only; Fellow was for proficiency in any branch of chess. Voting on nominations was by at least two thirds of the members of the council. The fellowship could have recognised problem composers and perhaps chess writers of distinction who did not qualify by playing strength. This is relevant to the question of whether chess was a field of cultural production in Bourdieu's sense. In the twentieth century FIDE established master titles for composing problems and endgame studies. In 1885, the idea was laughed out of court.²⁰²

If the inclusion of Skipworth on the B.C.A. committee was done in the hope of a merger, it soon became clear that the Lincolnshire rector was a major obstacle to integration. He objected to them organising events in the provinces lest it conflict with the C.C.A. In 1885 the B.C.A. ran its first tournament in London but Skipworth held a bigger one in Hereford, including one master from the continent. In 1886 the B.C.A.'s tournament, again in London, was somewhat larger than the Counties' congress in Nottingham, but the main event of the year was the first world championship match, played in America, Steinitz defeating Zukertort. When the B.C.A. finally moved outside London in 1888 to hold a small international tournament in Bradford, Skipworth cancelled the event he had planned. Following his resignation, one influential chess editor wrote that 'no better evidence is

of the vice-presidents) took the chair. The other vice-presidents were Lord Randolph Churchill and John Ruskin. The poet's active involvement was restricted to his name on a letterhead and the presentation of a prize (a set of his collected works) each year at the B.C.A.'s annual tournament. Like Ruskin, who presented a similar prize, Tennyson's chess was strictly social.

²⁰² *Land and Water*, xxxix (1 Apr. 1885), p. 375 reported that the City of London Club was doubtful about joining the B.C.A. They apparently believed 'the proposal of the council to grant titles and degrees for proficiency in what is only a pastime is considered childish and strongly calculated to make chess and chess players ridiculous'.

needed to prove the soundness of the attack that the association had no existence as such, and that the management of late was conducted simply to suit the convenience of one man only.'²⁰³ Although Skipworth revived the C.C.A. in the 1890s, it had little impact. The B.C.A. last met in 1892,²⁰⁴ but its Newnes Cup for the 'British amateur championship' was played for in 1895 (at the Hastings congress) and in 1897, 1900 and 1902.²⁰⁵

The pattern of successful development, along the lines indicated by Deane, happened despite, rather than because of, the efforts of the B.C.A. and C.C.A. Many English counties followed the lead of Sussex, although sometimes leagues were created first. County or regional bodies had the dual role of organising competitions within their borders and of competing with one another. Although some county associations only arose after the war, the intermediate building blocks of a logical structure were developing. The Cheshire Chess Association was formed in 1888,²⁰⁶ and talks were held with Lancashire clubs in 1890 about starting a league, probably the fourth to be established (after Yorkshire, London and Dublin).²⁰⁷ The first formal match of the Lancashire Chess League Association was played on 10 October 1891, but the Lancashire Chess Association was not established until 1897 because of 'the reluctance of Liverpool Chess Clubs to cooperate with Manchester chess club'.²⁰⁸ The same unwillingness to surrender autonomy was seen when the City of London Club asked to be a founder member of the B.C.F. in 1904 on the same terms as the regional unions and London League, but withdrew when this became unlikely and organised a rival tournament.

²⁰³ *Leeds Mercury*, 2 June 1888. The *Northern Figaro*, 9 June 1888, quoted this and said attacks had become stronger in the last year or two but Skipworth resisted (at the 1887 Stamford meeting) an attempt to make it a real democratic association. The *Bradford Observer* called it 'a private holiday gathering of chess players personally conducted by Mr Skipworth'.

²⁰⁴ Sergeant, *Century*, p. 217.

²⁰⁵ Sergeant, *Century*, pp. 225, 230-1, 238, & 369.

²⁰⁶ Furness, *Cheshire*, p. 1.

²⁰⁷ Lowerson, *Sport*, pp. 95-6, explains the slowness of leagues and tournaments to develop in physical sports in terms of the middle-class not wishing to be forced thereby to mix with social inferiors. They would 'weaken the more easily controlled local networks' which 'had to be forged or reinforced in fluid urban and suburban surroundings where sports clubs played a major role in delineating status and social achievement'. In London, the elite St. George's Club remained aloof in the 1880s from the team matches being played among clubs like Railway Clearing House, Bermondsey, and local clubs. They only played the City of London Chess Club.

²⁰⁸ Nowell, *Manchester*, pp. 69 & 73.

The next tier was added in April 1892 when Leonard P. Rees of Surrey 'undertook the formation of the Southern Counties Chess Union'.²⁰⁹ The match between northern players and the S.C.C.U. involved 212 players in Birmingham on 28 January 1893, an important event in the unifying process.²¹⁰ Chessists from all over the country met, providing a stimulus to the formation of new associations. Inter-county matches became a regular feature, although in the 1880s and 1890s there was much discussion of the appropriate number of players per side because of the different populations of counties. The Midland Counties Chess Association was established in 1897,²¹¹ but the *B.C.F. Year book* says that only when the Northern Counties Chess Union was established by I. M. Brown in 1899 'was it possible to work towards a new national union'.²¹²

The B.C.F. being geographically organised, the interests of correspondence players were not represented until much later, as outlined in the B.C.C.A. study below.²¹³ In Ireland, the county system never developed; provincial unions providing the only intermediate level when the modern Irish Chess Union finally came into being. Most national chess federations were founded in the twentieth century, with only Germany,²¹⁴ the Netherlands,²¹⁵ and Scotland creating lasting

²⁰⁹ *The British Chess Federation 1928 Year book and resumé of the first twenty-five years* (Redhill 1928), p. 27. Some of the pre-war information can also be found in *Ten years of Chess Federation* (London? 1913), of which the Manchester central library holds a copy.

²¹⁰ *The Field*, lxxxi (4 Feb. 1893), p. 163.

²¹¹ Gould, *Leicester*, p. 32; the B.C.F. book just says it was about 1899.

²¹² *B.C.F. Year book* p. 27. Brown was *B.C.M* editor. Later a Western Counties Chess Union was established, since Devon and Sussex, for example, could not easily meet for Saturday matches.

²¹³ The B.C.F. later accepted affiliates including the Scottish Chess Association, the Ulster Chess Union (also affiliated to the Irish Chess Union), the Welsh, and the Braille Chess Associations.

²¹⁴ The Westdeutsche Schachbund (established 1862) co-operated with associations founded for the northern (1868) and central German (1871) regions to create the Deutsche Schachbund (DSB), established in 1877 at Leipzig: *Handbuch* (8th ed. 1916), pp. 117 -8.

²¹⁵ Scholten, *Schaakleven*, p. 480, says the start of a Dutch national association was discussed several times between 1859-69 and the Nederlandsche Schaakbond (precursor of the present Koninklijke Nederlandse Schaakbond) was established in 1873. They also had regional associations. Het Provinciaal Groninger Schaakbond, founded in the north-east in 1877, became Het Noordelijk Schaakbond in 1880 but ceased to exist by the end of the decade. Around 1885 it ran what was probably the first Dutch correspondence tournament: an eight-player round-robin, ongoing at the time its 1886 yearbook was published. I am obliged to Bert Corneth, who discovered this in *Schaakkalender van het Noordelijk Schaakbond voor het jaar 1886* (Leeuwarden 1886). That was several years earlier than the first Dutch correspondence tournament mentioned by Diepstraten. Another source of information Corneth provided on this organisation is Haije Kramer, *Friese Schaakkoningen: 800 jaren schaak in Friesland* (Leeuwarden 1995), published for the 90th anniversary of the Friesian Chess Association.

bodies during the nineteenth century.²¹⁶ Correspondence chess organisations, where they exist, are affiliates to national bodies dealing with chess as a whole, or subcommittees of them, but these arrangements date from after World War Two.

5 Case study: the B.C.C.A. and its precursors

CAÏSSA, the supposed muse of chess,²¹⁷ lent her name to the first specialist association for postal players, the Caïssa Correspondence Club, which was founded at the end of 1870 or early 1871. Its programme was to comprise various kinds of tourneys, matches for the challenge cup, and possibly matches with other clubs.²¹⁸ Its prospectus, signed by Honorary Secretary, C. F. Green of Hertford, shows how players of the day saw the arguments in favour of correspondence chess. It enabled isolated players to keep in practice; beautiful positions could be studied at leisure and with more care, promoting sound play; games should not be spoiled by bad moves made hastily, as in over-the-board chess. Players could analyse variations in detail during games; as a result more perfect chess could be played.

Annual membership cost 10s. 6d., in return for which players were promised 'admission to one prize tourney and the book of selected matches, together with all quarterly reports'. A book of rules (6d. extra) was also mentioned; a copy of this is preserved in the Cleveland Public Library, but it gives little information, being mostly the basic laws of chess.²¹⁹ Fortunately the *Westminster Papers* provided details of the club's activities, and printed some games. Despite having initially only twelve members (rising to fourteen in 1875), the club functioned for at least four years.²²⁰ The ambitious programme of events outlined above probably did not

²¹⁶ The S.C.A. was established in 1884 following unsuccessful attempts in 1867 and 1872: Sergeant, *Century*, p. 149. Neither false start is mentioned in C. W. Pritchett and M. D. Thornton, *Scotland's chess centenary book: SCA 1884-1984* (Edinburgh 1984), but the 1872 attempt at least is confirmed: *Land and Water*, xiii (15 June 1872), p. 403. Pritchett and Thornton do have some useful information on Scottish chess before 1884.

²¹⁷ The name stems from a 1763 poem by Sir William Jones, 'Caïssa, or the game at chess', according to Murray, *History*, p. 793 n26.

²¹⁸ *Land and Water*, xi (21 Jan. 1871), p. 55. The full text is given in Appendix VII, p. 540.

²¹⁹ Caïssa Correspondence Club, *The Laws of Chess and Regulations for Playing* (Hertford 1871).

²²⁰ *Westminster Papers*, iv (Feb. 1872), pp. 171 & 195 (Mar. 1872: two games), v (May 1872), p. 3, and viii (1 June 1875), p. 24.

happen because the club failed to grow. It appears that they ran some kind of continuous tournament, or cycle of contests among the members rather than a knock-out. Named members included W. N. Walker (Scottish Champion in 1890 and 1893), and H. J. Francillon. By 1875, Green had moved to Dundrum Lodge, County Dublin.²²¹ Next, the Albion Corresponding Chess Club began in 1878 and was active at least until 1883.²²² It began with a twenty-four player knock-out tournament consisting mostly of provincial players.²²³ It played some team matches and organised another tournament subsequently, with fifteen players.²²⁴ The first specialist club to have large support was the Pillsbury National Correspondence Chess Association in America, founded in 1896.²²⁵

The British Correspondence Chess Association, established in 1906 and still flourishing today,²²⁶ was the third British specialist club, and the first successful one. By drawing on more sources than the B.C.C.A.'s own historian availed of,²²⁷ this study corrects some details and provides new information about the club's origins and development.²²⁸ Its first minute book, although a valuable source for its early activities, leaves much unsaid. Items in the press in 1906-8 fill some gaps. Between 1907 and the end of 1914, further information and games appeared in the society's own publications, detailed below, most of which have been found

²²¹ On Francillon, see pp. 284-5.

²²² *Land and Water*, xxvi (12 Oct. 1878), p. 46. The same paper observed on 24 Aug. 1878 that 'this would seem to supply a want that has doubtless been experienced by chess players not well able to enter into expensive correspondence competitions.' The Albion Club's entry fee was one shilling and its subscription four shillings.

²²³ *C.P.C.*, n.s. iii (1879), p. 17 gives the round one pairings. On p. 114 is a challenge to clubs, and p. 253 has more news on the club tournament. Its secretary was J. W. Snelgrove, from Heytesbury. Irish members included G. D. Soffe and W. H. S. Monck, both strong Dublin amateurs.

²²⁴ *B.C.M.*, iii (1883), p. 109. For its team matches see p. 209.

²²⁵ Avery, *America*, pp. 11-13.

²²⁶ Not 1907, as was stated in the England article in P. Hegoburu (ed.), *ICCF Gold* (Perth, Scotland 2002), p. 104.

²²⁷ D. J. Rogers, *The Official History of the British Correspondence Chess Association 1906-2006* (London 2006), Chap. 2, pp. 4-6; *B.C.C.A. 1906-1981: The Official History of the First 75 Years* (1982). The new foreword acknowledges corrections provided to the original first chapter.

²²⁸ The late John Allain, then B.C.C.A. President, loaned their first minute book with permission to photograph and quote from it.

although no complete set is available.²²⁹ Organisational decisions are recorded in the minute book but some chess activities from 1908-11 remain mysterious.

Founder member John Paul Murray provided personal testimony about the association's origins.²³⁰ In 1906 he was playing postal games with H. T. Dickinson, when the latter suggested the formation of a 'correspondence chess club'. This led to meetings between them and Francis de Mattos Harding,²³¹ at which they 'drew up rules, etc.' Later W. E. Whetham joined them, forming the first committee. 'My late father (Major A. K. Murray) became our first President. Each of us approached our Chess friends and got them to join, with the result that about June, 1906, the B.C.C.A. came into existence.' That was not the original name. At the first minuted meeting, held on 8 December 1906, a motion (proposed by Dickinson and seconded by Harding) was carried: 'that the Association should henceforth be called the British Correspondence Chess Association'. Also present were J. P. Murray, and two other people whose election to the committee was the first decision recorded: W. Friedland and R. Alexander. Rogers's guess that the B.C.C.A. was originally called the 'British Correspondence Chess Club' is incorrect.²³² The proof is a short paragraph from *Hobbies*:

THE CAPITAL AND COUNTIES CORRESPONDENCE CHESS ASSOCIATION. We have received from the secretary, Mr Harold Dickinson, 21 Fermor-Road, Forest-hill, the rules of a new chess association with the above title, the object being to encourage chess by correspondence. The President is Major A. K. Murray, and full particulars can be had from the secretary by those interested in the Association.²³³

Hobbies, 'a weekly paper for amateurs of both sexes', was a promising recruiting ground because the periodical had run postal chess and draughts tournaments since 1898, the former started by none other than Major Murray. A

²²⁹ The tracing and copying of elusive early B.C.C.A. publications was done between 2004-7 with the assistance of Neil Limbert of the B.C.C.A., librarians in Cleveland and The Hague, and German collector Egbert Meissenburg.

²³⁰ *The British Correspondence Chess Association Magazine*, No. 18 (Oct. 1914), pp. 3-4. Murray's name appears in full on page 5 of the association's first *Year Book*.

²³¹ No relation to the author of this thesis.

²³² Rogers, *B.C.C.A. 1906-2006*, p. 4.

²³³ *Hobbies*, xxii (22 Sept. 1906), p. 602. A similar item appeared on 5 Oct. in the *Western Daily Mercury*. Chess began in *Hobbies* on 1 Dec. 1897, not in 1902 as stated in Whyld, *Columns*.

prominent member in later years, A. F. Battersby, apparently began his postal play with *Hobbies*.²³⁴ Rogers observes that Murray's appointment as president is not minuted, but this had evidently been agreed at the start. The first meeting actually mentioned in the minute book was on 8 September but it only records the names of those present: Dickinson, Harding, Whetham and H. Thompson. By 8 December they must have received a positive response. The minutes say nothing about subscription rates, but they 'decided that competitors in the Association Cup Tournament 1907 shall be divided into sections of not less than five & not more than six' to be drawn by lot. They also decided that 'the B.C.C.A. should challenge some other club or association to a match by correspondence'.

The January 1907 *B.C.M.* referred to correspondence chess, saying that 'an association for promoting this interesting form of chess has recently been started', that it had 'over 100 members already' (an exaggeration) and that the president 'is an old chess editor'. *B.C.M.* stated that: 'this form of chess has been neglected, as far as organisation is concerned; but its rapidly increasing popularity fully justifies this venture, and we wish it every success and long life. We hope the Association will link up with the British Chess Federation'.²³⁵ *The Field* also announced the formation of the B.C.C.A.: 'Entrance fee, 1s.; annual subscription, 3s. 6d. President Major A. K. Murray. For pamphlet of rules apply to the hon. sec. and treasurer.'²³⁶

Committee meetings in early 1907 were held in the suburb of Forest Hill, usually at Murray's Restaurant.²³⁷ The 9 March occasion was the only meeting that the Major definitely attended but he signed the minutes of the December meeting. It was reported in March that no match could be arranged 'owing to the lateness of the season' so this business was postponed to the autumn. The offer of two trophies was discussed, and it was decided to split the offices of Hon. Sec. and Treasurer, which up to now had been held by Dickinson. This suggests increasing workload for the officers and perhaps that Dickinson felt he had 'done his bit'.

²³⁴ *B.C.M.*, lxxv (1955), p. 195. In 1947, Battersby and W. L. Roche produced a book based on correspondence chess games, entitled *Chess for the Rank and File*.

²³⁵ *B.C.M.*, xxvii (Jan. 1907), p. 23. That was a reference to an item on p. 21 about postal matches then in progress between constituent bodies of the B.C.F.; for which see pp. 221-2.

²³⁶ *The Field*, cix (2 Feb. 1907), p. 179.

²³⁷ B.C.C.A. minute book.

Harding became secretary and Whetham the treasurer, with Dickinson a committee member. The subscription was fixed at 5s., but Dickinson's proposal to abolish the entrance fee was 'not supported'.²³⁸

The following meeting, held on 25 May 1907, was probably called because the Major had died, but a new President (veteran chess editor Max J. Meyer) was not appointed until the following October. From the records it is not possible to determine whether Major Murray had much input into the planning and organisation. Rogers exhibits no curiosity about him, but his earlier chess career was certainly relevant. It would be strange indeed if a club of this type were formed by a group of people without previous experience of chess organisation and Archibald K. Murray had a long track record. He possibly gave up the military life fairly early but in 1862, he was the author of an illustrated book on Scottish regiments, which stated that he held a commission in a volunteer regiment.²³⁹

In the 1870s, Murray was one of the most active players in the west of Scotland, his name often being mentioned in the *Glasgow Weekly Herald* column. In 1872 he was named as 'pro. tem' secretary of the proposed Scottish Chess Association which did not materialise then.²⁴⁰ He was on the council of the Glasgow Chess Club from 1873-7 and so may have been involved in its postal match against Dublin (1873-4). Murray is known to have played in several postal chess competitions.²⁴¹ He was honorary secretary of Glasgow Chess Club in 1875 when it organised the annual congress of the Counties Chess Association,²⁴² and he

²³⁸ Dickinson co-edited issues 3 and 4 of the Association's magazine, mentioned below (possibly the first two issues also). In 1910-11 he edited *The British Chess Bulletin* but the paper only lasted four issues, the second of which (Nov. 1910) announced a correspondence chess league.

²³⁹ Archibald K. Murray, *History of the Scottish Regiments in the British Army, with coloured illustrations* (Glasgow 1862). The title page describes him as 'Arch. K. Murray, Esq., Major of the Ninety-seventh Lanarkshire Volunteer Guards'. He should not be confused with the Archibald James Murray who became a general.

²⁴⁰ *Land and Water*, xiv (9 Nov. 1872), p. 317.

²⁴¹ Including Archdall's two tournaments, which are discussed on pp. 252-3. The *Glasgow Weekly Herald* (10 Apr.) reported that Murray had recently visited and played a match with Archdall of Newcastle club, 'one of the finest English provincial players'; Archdall won 3-1 with one draw. On 15 May the same paper published Murray's win against H. Chicken of Carlisle, 'in a correspondence tourney now pending', with notes by Archdall.

²⁴² His name is often mentioned in the *Glasgow Weekly Herald* chess column. The article on 10 Apr. 1875 shows he was secretary by then, but he was probably elected in 1874. The report of the 1877 a.g.m. (2 June) shows he is not on the new committee. The column of 24 Apr. 1875

played in the first international match *England-Scotland* (for amateurs only), held on that occasion.²⁴³

The English census of 1881 shows Murray had moved to Lambeth and was pursuing a career as ‘editor and advertising agent’. He was forty-six (indicating he was born in 1834 or 1835) and his aforementioned son was then seventeen.²⁴⁴ Later the Major must have revived his interest in chess. Despite the absence of a byline, the proof of his involvement in *Hobbies* is twofold: *Womanhood* named him as the *Hobbies* organiser in 1901,²⁴⁵ and later *Hobbies* had a short obituary:

Readers of this page in past years will regret to hear of the death of Major Archibald K. Murray who was at one time a regular contributor to our chess columns. The deceased gentleman, who at the time of his death was in his seventy-third year, was the eldest son of the late Bailie Murray, of Glasgow.²⁴⁶

New clubs must recruit members. Rogers states that for this purpose a leaflet may have been inserted in chess magazines in 1906 listing the advantages of playing correspondence chess ‘and deploring the lack of a society to encourage it’. Evidence for this statement is lacking. Possibly Rogers misread the minutes of the 25 May 1907 meeting, which include the following:

Mr Platt moved that in order to familiarise the Chess Public with the work of the Association, the Hon. Sec. be requested to find out the cost of printing several thousand leaflets & also the cost of inserting same loosely in the *British Chess Magazine* and *Chess Amateur* — the cost to be submitted to the next meeting and if not prohibitive, this plan to be approved & carried out.²⁴⁷

The fact that they were discussing the idea in 1907 in these terms implies that no such project was carried out in 1906. Although the motion was carried and officers agreed to see if it was practicable, the minutes of subsequent meetings (27

includes a game Murray lost in London to the great chess master Zukertort, employing the opening 1 e4 e5 2 h4, about which Zukertort commented: ‘unusual and certainly not advisable’.

²⁴³ Some contemporaries observed that this should be regarded as an inter-provincial rather than international match since Scotland, with local advantage, were at full strength and won 5-4 with one draw. The results are in the *Glasgow Weekly Herald*, 14 Aug. 1875.

²⁴⁴ 1881 census of England; in 1891 he is an ‘author’ and in 1901 gives his occupation as ‘literary’.

²⁴⁵ *Womanhood*, v (Apr. 1901), p. 364.

²⁴⁶ *Hobbies*, xxiv (25 June 1907), p. 266. It is not clear at what point somebody else took over from Murray at *Hobbies*. See Appendix VI, pp. 517-20, for details on the *Hobbies* series.

²⁴⁷ B.C.C.A. minute book.

July and later) do not mention the matter. Either it was prohibitively expensive, or magazines were unwilling to accept inserts; the matter was evidently dropped without formal discussion. Later meetings instead discussed announcing the B.C.C.A.'s activities in more papers and they did succeed in having references inserted in ten national and provincial columns by December, thanks to the efforts of J. P. Murray.²⁴⁸ Particularly important was the *Illustrated London News*, which stated: 'If any of our readers should wish to join the British Correspondence Chess Association, full particulars may be obtained from the Hon. Sec.' — Harding, with an address in Newquay, Cornwall.²⁴⁹ During 1907, Edinburgh Ladies' Chess Club asked to join the association *en bloc* but instead, at the proposal of Clara Millar of the Manchester Ladies Chess Club, an arrangement was agreed whereby if five or more members of 'any recognised chess club' wished to join, the rate would be reduced, the money to be forwarded by the secretaries of their clubs.²⁵⁰

The B.C.C.A. has issued two main types of publication: yearbooks and a magazine.²⁵¹ In May 1907, the question was raised of producing a printed publication to inform country members of the club's activities and to include some games. This was the genesis of the first *Year Book*, issued probably in August,²⁵² including a balance sheet showing receipts of £16 7s. 6d. and expenditure of £14. 2s. 7d., balance in hand at 31 July of £2 4s. 11d. The *Year Book* lists seventeen London members and forty-three 'provincial members', together with the rules and a report of the association's first year. It also included eight games played in B.C.C.A. events, two of them with notes by grandmaster Blackburne, for which he was probably paid.²⁵³ One was a win by Millar against the retired Major-General Bengough, who was later knighted and became the association's third president

²⁴⁸ Minutes of the meetings held on 6 Oct. and 5 Dec. 1907.

²⁴⁹ *I.L.N.*, cxxxi (30 Nov. 1907), p. 814.

²⁵⁰ Minutes of the 5 Dec. 1907 meeting. For five members of a club joining the fee was 4s. instead of 5s. per person, or 3s. 6d. each for ten or more.

²⁵¹ In the late 1940s-early 1950s, there were also result sheets, a few of which survive.

²⁵² The minutes of the committee meeting held on 27 July 2007 show that they agreed to print 200 copies at £4 7 s. 6d., the printer's quotation for 100 copies being £3 17 s. 6d.

²⁵³ It is not clear how much, but the minutes of meeting of 16 Oct. 1907 mention his terms were from 2s. 6d. to 5s. a game, depending on its length.

after Meyer resigned in 1910.²⁵⁴ Yearbooks appeared annually from 1925-39 and resumed in 1944.²⁵⁵ It is unclear from the minutes whether an edition for 1908 appeared but press notices show there is at least one missing:

We have received the *Year-Book of the British Correspondence Chess Association for 1909*, which reports a satisfactory condition of things, both as to numbers and finance. Mr G. L. Brooks has won the annual competition, and Mr C. Platt has played the most brilliant game. Copies of the book and further particulars can be obtained from the hon. sec.²⁵⁶

The *British Correspondence Chess Association Magazine* began in late 1909; issue four in September 1910 remarks that the first year of publication has been completed. Unfortunately no copies of the first two issues are available. Numbers 3 and 4 (April and September 1910) are known, but issues 5-7 are also missing. From issue 8 (June 1911) onwards, the set is complete. It appears from these that there is a slight error in the early list of champions in the association's history.²⁵⁷ In post-war conditions, it was too expensive to produce a magazine regularly, but there was one magazine in 1922, two in 1923, and special issues appeared in January 1925, June 1927, and June 1931. Instead, in January 1921 the association began an arrangement to provide monthly reports to *British Chess Magazine*.

Apart from running tournaments, the B.C.C.A. began to play matches. The last page of the 1907 *Year Book* lists a programme for 1907-8; the first, 'to begin shortly', was against the Braille Chess Club, Torquay. Matches were due to start in October against the London and Edinburgh Ladies' Chess Clubs. On 1 December 1907, they began their first international match, against the Pillsbury Association, over fifty-one boards, which the Americans eventually won;²⁵⁸ this was only the second postal match between British and American teams. Unfortunately, there is

²⁵⁴ Minutes of a.g.m. held on 15 Oct. 1910. Bengough was a career soldier with a distinguished career; see Appendix IX. His death notice was in *The Times*, 1 Apr. 1922, p. 1. After he died, the B.C.C.A. offered the presidency to Bonar Law, who declined, probably because of ill health, but it is doubtful whether Bonar Law was ever a B.C.C.A. member.

²⁵⁵ The 1939 *Yearbook* actually appeared in Jan. 1940.

²⁵⁶ *I.L.N.*, cxxxv (11 Sept. 1909), p. 384. Also *The Weekly Irish Times* (same date) reported receiving a copy: 'neatly well got-up booklet. Eight annotated games, match results, rules and list of officers are given, besides a very satisfactory balance-sheet.'

²⁵⁷ See Appendix VI, p. 527. Either a competition is missing or two winners are in reverse order.

²⁵⁸ Avery, *America*, p. 15. The first issue of Dickinson's *Bulletin* (Oct. 1910) refers to the match 'in which the British players have fared somewhat badly'.

no information on results from the British side, because of the missing *Year Book* and magazines, and the Pillsbury practically ceased to exist in 1909, as Avery shows.²⁵⁹ There is much more information about the match against the readers of *The Four-Leaved Shamrock*, played from 1 January to the end of August 1908, the *Shamrock* team winning 11½-8½.²⁶⁰ In a 1909 re-match, both teams were stronger and the B.C.C.A. lost again, by 9-15 with one game unfinished.²⁶¹ The Irish also won a third match in 1913-14.²⁶²

After the sudden death in 1911 of Harding, who had been an energetic secretary although a 'permanent invalid',²⁶³ they sought a replacement 'of ample leisure with unlimited patience'. Nobody fitted this bill and the work had to be divided between three people. No wonder membership remained fairly static in the early years. The March 1914 magazine listed fifty-five members, but this was corrected in the following issue. Seven new members, but the death of G. S. Carr, a strong player who joined in March, made a revised total of sixty-one at the outbreak of war: an increase of just one in seven years; the peak had probably been seventy-two members. The novelty was wearing off and correspondence chess for many of its practitioners was perhaps, like many a hobby, beginning to seem routine. The March editorial showed a desire to be something more, possibly hinting at international challenges, which the war was to thwart:

We are not, of course, merely seeking an increase in membership. That in itself would scarcely be a worthy ambition. Indeed, the only gain from that alone would be more labour for the Secretaries. But we are rather seeking developments in more than one direction, for the sake of Chess interests... We have simply been treading the same path... With an accession of numbers and especially an accession of chess-playing strength such as we have recently experienced, we can provide more attractive programmes, and issue more ambitious challenges to the world...²⁶⁴

²⁵⁹ Avery, *America*, p. 15.

²⁶⁰ *Weekly Irish Times*, 5 Sept. 1908, and *The Four-Leaved Shamrock*, xix (Autumn 1908), p. 3.

²⁶¹ *F.L.S.* 23 (Autumn 1909), p. 3. The last result, *Joyce v. Bland*, was not found.

²⁶² *The British Correspondence Chess Association Magazine*, 17 (Mar. 1914), pp. 10-11. Issue 20 (Dec. 1915), p. 14, reported that it had proved impossible to organise such matches in wartime.

²⁶³ Death notice in *B.C.C.A. Magazine*, 8 (June 1911), p. 68.

²⁶⁴ *British Correspondence Chess Association Magazine*, No. 7 (Mar. 1914), p. 4.

The association did not become involved in international competition until late in the 1920s. Although it did eventually become an important correspondence chess club, it was not at first evident that this would be the case. Yet there were always some determined members to keep it going through difficult times. Rogers has chronicled its later history, but Avery's claim that 'the B.C.C.A. went on hiatus in 1920, so its existence is not continuous' should be refuted.²⁶⁵ It is true that after 1915 there is nothing in the minute book until October 1922, except for the following entry dated December 1916: 'No meeting was held owing to military engagements of officers but the books were sent by post & audited by the Games Secretary Mr Hawkins as in previous years.'²⁶⁶ Nevertheless at least one issue of its magazine was published in every year from 1909-23 except 1921, and from then until June 1957 monthly *B.C.M.* reports appeared instead, providing proof of continuing competitions and membership structure, even if the committee did not record any meetings.²⁶⁷ After World War II, the Association's membership grew to over a thousand, although there were at least three rival correspondence clubs, making it possible to re-launch *The B.C.C.A. Magazine* in 1949. Re-titled *Correspondence Chess* in 1954, it is still published. Eventually in December 1962 the B.C.C.A. became just the largest affiliate of the British Postal Chess Federation, an umbrella body responsible for running national teams and championships.

6 Conclusions

SPEAKING at a conference in NUI Maynooth in May 2008, Peter Clark developed some of his earlier ideas, making several points relevant to this study.²⁶⁸ Societies had life-cycles of growth, competition (for fashionability and funds), and decline. Next, Clark saw size differences (definitely evident in chess) and also the activity or passivity of membership varied.

²⁶⁵ Avery, *America*, p. 15.

²⁶⁶ Minute Book of the B.C.C.A.

²⁶⁷ The first *B.C.M.* article appeared in Jan. 1921.

²⁶⁸ What follows in this paragraph is based on the writer's notes made when listening to Professor Clark's as yet unpublished paper, 'Voluntary Associations in Comparative Perspective' at the Associational Culture Conference. Its proceedings are likely to be published eventually.

Chess clubs, which indeed varied greatly in size, appeared first in port cities and regional capitals, although by the end of the century they could be found in English towns everywhere. This matches Clark's observation that nearly all secular associations were urban, partly because migrants were an important stimulus for associational growth, and that England was ahead of continental countries — though here Scholten's study might be relevant to Clark's view of the Netherlands. The majority of members just wanted to play the game and only became interested in organisation and decision-making at times of crisis. On competition between clubs, one could argue that (as with other sports clubs) this might actually have stimulated growth of membership and activity, leading to the development of cups and leagues. Political and religious factors, which may have been important for other types of club, did not affect chess, except perhaps locally in trivial ways. A few towns had chess sections in their Liberal or Conservative clubs. Usually, even in Ireland, chess was neutral ground. Finally, as Chapter Three showed, Clark's observation that the press 'provided the oxygen of publicity for associations in all periods' is true for chess also. Local papers gave notice of where clubs met and reported on inter-club events.

Early chess clubs possibly arose from people finding they had the game in common when they met in other sociable contexts. Clubs meeting in public venues were, like their private precursors, at first inward-looking and convivial, but soon became predominantly concerned with the game itself, as the *Quarterly Review* noted. Later they became interested in competing with each other, the subject of the next chapter. Women were almost invariably excluded, an issue to be discussed in Chapter Seven; social exclusion, where it occurred (as in Bradford), generally led to a new club being established, and eventually a merger or friendly rivalry.

Chess had to fit in with the diurnal cycle, which changed as lighting and transport improved, and also with a seasonal cycle. A pattern of recreation time for the better-off seemed to be business in the morning, probably with an early start (because there was no 'summer time' in the nineteenth century), followed by club sociability from lunchtime, then home before dark (at least in summer, when chess was much less played). Some clubs opened for chess all day, others in the afternoons. In London the St James's Chess Club met in the evenings, as members

worked all day; they shared premises with the St George's, which had daytime play. Late journeys home were more manageable in London than elsewhere, but street lighting, policing, and better transport made city evenings safer in general. The pattern changed again as the middle classes became centrifugal: by the late 1880s there was often a choice between joining a central club near one's workplace or a club near home. Suburban railways and tramways, and local rail journeys between nearby towns, made evening league play possible in the late nineteenth century, leaving Saturday afternoons free for longer-distance matches or other interests.

Chess had it in common with many other sports that lasting associations only became established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the full development of the process took some more decades. The B.C.C.A. study shows how postal players became independent of the structures formed to run over-the-board competition. The next chapter, dealing with competitions between clubs and between associations, traces the change in the nature of the postal matches played from the *London-Edinburgh* type of contest to modern forms of team competition.

5 Inter-club and Team Matches

THE previous chapter discussed clubs and associations and mentioned some early Irish matches, in preparation for a more detailed discussion now of how they competed with one another. Originally inter-club matches were always consultation games played by correspondence, following the prototype seen in Chapter Two. This format gradually went out of favour and was replaced by matches where players met individual opponents.

1 How consultation matches worked

The chess-parties at the Hon. Francis H. Egerton's which so much interested the amateurs of that game at Paris, were, in their manner, entirely new, inasmuch as they were played by two separate Committees, consisting each of several persons, and not by single persons only, sitting over the same board opposite to each other. Hence, each Committee had an opportunity of conferring, privately and in secret, amongst its several members, of reasoning upon the moves, and of talking over and combining the whole plan, arrangement, and system of their game.¹

CONSULTATION matches were popular in Victorian chess clubs. This detailed description about the games Francis Egerton hosted while he was interned in Paris during the Napoleonic Wars provided a template for how to organise them.² Teams discussed the game in separate rooms, then wrote down the chosen move. A runner brought it to an umpire, who communicated it to the other side. Or a neutral messenger could suffice. Consultation chess had the advantage of involving many club members during an evening. Those who suggested weak moves could learn by being shown their mistake. The games also provided amusement for spectators eavesdropping on the discussions.

¹ 'The Chess Parties at the Hon. Francis Egerton's', in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxvii pt.2 (1807), p. 605. Egerton was later the eighth Earl of Bridgewater. Deschappelles was one of the captains.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, loc. cit. Deschappelles ('Monsieur Guillaume Le Bréton'), was one of the captains. Ten or twelve such parties were held, with three games played each night.

It was an easy step from this to a correspondence match. In *Chess Studies*, Walker grouped consultation and correspondence games in one chapter,³ not only because all postal games he included were played by committees, but also because in each case moves were chosen after a detailed examination of the possibilities. This tended to a cautious style of play,⁴ on the assumption that any flaws in speculative moves, which might succeed in a rapid game against an individual player, were likely to be exposed when there were several opponents. Yet lively situations did sometimes arise in early correspondence matches.

As with *Edinburgh-London*, each club nominated a committee to conduct the games; the identity of its members was usually divulged at the start. Smaller committees meant consistent strategy and a greater prospect of success, but could also mean no quorum and hence a delay. The Franklin Chess Club of Philadelphia and New York Chess Club agreed for their match in 1886 that 'no regular committee was to be appointed, and any move was to be decided upon by the majority of members present at the time.'⁵ Democratic voting made mistakes more likely, especially if the best players were absent on a crucial day. In a recent match, played by email between Hastings Chess Club and a New Zealand club, the latter adopted the traditional committee principle while the Sussex players voted on moves. Both games ended in a draw but Hastings's chances were spoiled on one occasion because a small majority selected weak moves.⁶ In the American case, New York went wrong at move ten in their game with White:

But for the peculiar conditions under which the match was played, it would be quite unintelligible that any consulting party of average strength should have adopted such a blundering move, which was already condemned in the earliest analysis written by Dr. Fleissig and Zukertort, about 1870.⁷

³ This has caused some confusion, it being uncertain whether a game on page 74 between two groups of Leeds players was played at the club or not.

⁴ There were exceptions, such as Hamburg's ninth move against Breslau in 1840, of which it was observed: 'It is not a rare thing, in matches by correspondence, thus to behold a committee made up of cool and calculating men, suddenly suffer themselves to be carried away by an inexplicable vertigo': *Jaenisch's Chess Preceptor*, tr. G. Walker (London 1847), p. 275.

⁵ William Steinitz, *International Chess Magazine*, ii (1886), p. 310.

⁶ Email from Brian Denman of Sussex, Sept. 2007.

⁷ *International Chess Magazine*, loc. cit.

2 Early matches before the postal reform

THE early *Edinburgh-London* publicity inspired some copycat contests. Liverpool gentlemen first played Leeds and then Manchester; and matches were also played abroad. Much about these and contests later in the century may be only of interest to chess players, but all known matches up to 1830 will be mentioned here. It is conceivable that more were played but never published. Detailed results and corrections of previous findings about these matches are in Appendix III.

Previous writers failed to discover much about the 1825 Leeds match except that the *Yorkshire Gazette* stated it lasted about three months, that ‘the odds from time to time have undergone great fluctuations’ (implying betting on the outcome), and printed the final position of the pieces.⁸ Various papers copied the *Leeds Intelligencer* announcement of the Leeds victory.⁹ Reports that Liverpool Chess Club played the match were denied, *Bell’s Life* reprinting a correction about its members ‘having taken no part whatever in the game, either collectively or individually’.¹⁰ The *Kaleidoscope* alone published the moves, along with an extended account of a dispute only hinted at elsewhere.¹¹ The game score was submitted by a correspondent identified as ‘X.Y.Z.’, complaining of the arrogance of their opponents. Play was feeble compared with Edinburgh’s match. Liverpool started well but spoiled the game with a blunder at move twenty-two and eventually lost in forty-seven moves. In reply to their challenge to a second game:

They received an insulting letter... assigning as their reason, that ‘unless a game is well contested there is no pleasure in playing; and we think another would be uninteresting to us’... having seen the letter in which the Leeds amateurs decline accepting the challenge, I should advise, that, whenever they have occasion again to hold a correspondence, they would appoint a *gentleman* to conduct it.¹²

⁸ *Yorkshire Gazette*, 10 Sept. 1825, p. 2, c. 3, but they did not originate the story. *The Times* of the same day had an abbreviated version, citing ‘evening paper’, which was probably the account in the *London Courier* of 9 Sept., and possibly an unidentified paper had the story before them.

⁹ The Leeds victory was briefly reported in several papers, e.g. *Leeds Intelligencer*, 13 Oct. 1825 (not 15 Oct. as stated by Bassi); *Leeds Mercury*, and *The Times*, 15 Oct. 1825.

¹⁰ *Bell’s Life in London*, 30 Oct. 1825, quoting an unidentified ‘Liverpool Paper’. This is indirect evidence that there was a chess club in Liverpool then.

¹¹ *The Kaleidoscope*, vi (no. 276, 11 Oct. 1825), pp. 116-7.

¹² *ibid.*

Such ill-tempered exchanges about matches were fortunately rare. The 'War of the Roses' continued when 'A.B.C.' of Leeds wrote that the refusal of a second game was not due to Leeds fearing a reversal of fortune, but because:

Whenever, in the course of the last game, the Liverpool amateurs had, or thought they had, obtained any advantage, they never failed to send the most insulting proposals, which were always rejected, because the Leeds amateurs had no wish to make of the game a gambling concern. When, at last, it was evident, even to the Liverpool amateurs, that they had lost the game, they very *generously* offered to give it up as a drawn game. This *liberal* offer being also declined, they gave it up as lost; but, lest their adversaries should rejoice too much at their victory, they stated it, as their opinion, that the Leeds amateurs had not, in the course of the game, made a single good move...¹³

Comparing the Liverpool amateurs to bad-tempered children, the Leeds man concluded by assuring 'X.Y.Z.' that whenever they had occasion to hold another correspondence 'they will always do it, as in the case of which he complains, in terms suited to those whom they address'. On 22 November, 'X.Y.Z.' admitted that Liverpool had made 'offers of betting guineas to pounds', but only twice, and that in response to an enquiry from Leeds about odds. The draw offer was made because the Leeds secretary had written that 'he and his colleagues were heartily tired of the game, and wished it brought to a conclusion, "one way or other".' 'X.Y.Z.' said that the last assertion about their behaviour was a 'mere fabrication'. Meanwhile, the *Kaleidoscope* published the opening moves of new games between individuals identifying themselves as 'Mungo', 'Spero' and 'Blanco' while 'Sancho' and 'Amateur' declared themselves willing to play over-the-board games with 'Mungo', but declined to play correspondence games because of the likely long duration of such contests.¹⁴ The latter's preference for correspondence play appeared to be connected with a desire to keep his identity secret, an inhibition which of course negated any hope of forming a chess club.

¹³ *Kaleidoscope*, vi (no. 280, 8 Nov. 1825), p. 148. Publication of this letter tends to suggest that neither Egerton Smith nor his Whig friends were personally involved on the Liverpool side.

¹⁴ *Kaleidoscope*, 15 & 22 & 29 Nov., 6 & 13. Dec. 1825. It was even suggested that they play in separate rooms: 'I propose that we meet when there are sure to be two rooms at liberty, and *Mungo* can make his moves through the medium of a note, or on a slip of paper'. 'Sancho Panza' even suggested *Mungo* 'might, if he preferred it, use some disguise at our meeting'.

Manchester offered to play Liverpool instead.¹⁵ This was the first match published while in progress — in the *Manchester Guardian*, then a weekly.¹⁶ These games were long forgotten: Bledow and Walker failed to include them in their collections. In 1931, after they were rediscovered, *B.C.M.* published Manchester's win but omitted the other (a draw) because they misunderstood the notation and thought the printed score unintelligible.¹⁷ There were in fact only a few minor misprints. The game has been reconstructed but is only now published correctly.¹⁸

Amsterdam played the earliest continental matches, winning 2-0 against Rotterdam in 1824,¹⁹ and then beating Antwerp 2-0 in 1827-9. There were several matches in Prussia, starting with *Berlin v. Breslau*, 1829-33. German matches were usually conducted by printing the moves in newspapers that also circulated in the other city. The first match outside Europe involved British and Indian players: Madras beating Hyderabad 2-0 in 1828. The principals on the winning side were James Cochrane, of the Madras Civil Service, and Ghulam Kassim.²⁰ A booklet was published with the Hyderabad games and analyses of a King's Gambit variation now known as the Ghulam Kassim Gambit, although the gambit did not arise in the match.²¹ The booklet does not say exactly when the match was played, but the

¹⁵ *Manchester Guardian*, 26 Nov. 1825.

¹⁶ The *Manchester Guardian* reports appeared on the following dates: 31 Dec. 1825; 7, 14, 21 & 28 Jan 1826; 4 & 18 Feb; 4 & 18 Mar; 1, 15 & 29 Apr. 1826. Then the *Kaleidoscope*, 23 May 1826, published a challenge from 'Dr Dedimus Dunderhead' to 'an open and personal contest, for the obvious reasons of avoiding the tediousness and delay occasioned by any other form of warfare'.

¹⁷ *B.C.M.*, li (1931), p. 314.

¹⁸ See Game 7 in Appendix VIII, p. 559. Bassi (article 9) in *Mail Chess*, iv (no. 38, Feb. 1949), p. 315, published this correctly except for Black's 46th move. He thanked J. T. Boyd of Southampton for assistance, but Boyd's chronology (MS, ref 694 in the Manchester Club Collection) amended that move. The correction matches the *Manchester Guardian*. Boyd's MS also says that the match was conducted by three gentlemen on each side, not said to be connected with clubs, but there seems no clear primary source for the former statement.

¹⁹ See p. 56, n18, about that match.

²⁰ He was a weaker player than his cousin John Cochrane, who started London's match with Edinburgh, but was not involved on this occasion. Lewis mistakenly named John Cochrane when submitting the games to Staunton: *C.P.C.*, i (1841), p. 33; the correction appeared on p. 73.

²¹ *Analysis of the Muzio Gambit, and Match of Two Games at Chess, played between Madras and Hyderabad, with Remarks by Ghulam Kassim of Madras who had the Chief Direction of the Madras Games, and James Cochrane Esq. of the Madras Civil Service* (Madras 1829). The games are on pp. 41-8. Staunton wrote in *I.L.N.*, ix (4 July 1846), p. 3, that 'a copy of Ghulam Kassim's work on chess is rare now. We doubt your obtaining one in England.' The National Library of Ireland has one, autographed: 'Robert Travers' with some writing in an Indian script and then: 'This little work is for the exclusive benefit of Ghulam Kassim'.

1829 publication date in itself provides a limit to when it ended. The chief Hyderabad player, Shah Sahib, died after making the seventeenth move in the first game and the sixteenth move in the second game, causing all bets (amounting to upwards of 10,000 rupees) to be cancelled.²²

India had been the cradle of chess, and many native players who came into contact with westerners found it easy to adapt to the faster European form of the game. *B.C.M.* wrote in 1960 that 'the Indian Defences have no connection at all with India' but that was an overstatement.²³ The term 'Indian' can validly be applied to openings where a player's strategy is to attack the centre of the board from the flank rather than occupying it with pawns in the classical European way.²⁴ The openings in this match show the cultural cross-currents between Europeans and Indians.²⁵ Madras employed the Bishop's Opening, as advocated by Philidor, but Hyderabad started the other game by advancing their king's knight's pawn one square: 1 g3 in the modern notation. 'Many of the Indian players commence their Game in this way', wrote Kassim, no doubt because in eastern chess, similar to the Arabic and mediæval games, the double advance of a pawn was not permitted. Later there were many more Indian correspondence matches.²⁶

1834 saw a chess revival in England. Labourdonnais played McDonnell, the first *Bell's Life* articles appeared, and the *Paris-Westminster* postal match began (see below). Also Doncaster commenced a two-game postal match with Leeds on 14 March; they won the first game on 11 November and eventually the second game on 17 March 1835 'after a severe contest'.²⁷ Walker wrote that Newcastle then

²² 'Notices to correspondents', *C.P.C.*, i (1841), p. 73, naming the players.

²³ D. J. Morgan, 'Quotes and Queries' #832, in *B.C.M.*, lxxx (Jan. 1960), p.21.

²⁴ Some 'Indian systems' were seen in Indian chess but not all.

²⁵ As does the book by Trevangadacharya Shastree, *Essays on Chess adapted to the European mode of play: consisting principally of positions or critical situations calculated to improve the learner and exercise the Memory* (Bombay 1814, 'translated from the original Sanscrit'). Both Indians and Europeans subscribed.

²⁶ *C.P.C.*, vi (Feb. 1845), p. 52: a correspondent from India mentions 'Several games have of late been played by correspondence here.' After the Mutiny, postal matches eventually resumed.

²⁷ *Bristol Mercury*, *Caledonian Mercury*, and *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 28 Mar. 1835; *Freeman's Journal*, 30 Mar. 1835. The moves of the games have not come to light, indicating low quality. *B.L.L.* mentioned the match on 15 Feb. & 14 June 1835. They named the people involved as Muff, Cadman and Wilkinson for Leeds; Morey and Pearson for Doncaster.

challenged Doncaster,²⁸ but no evidence of any such match was found. He said a chess club in Yarmouth wanted to play a correspondence match with Norwich, but no more was heard of this.²⁹ By the end of the decade Yarmouth had started a two-game match with Lynn, which had some chess players although not a formal club; those games, still in progress in 1841, were apparently not preserved.³⁰

In 1837 Samuel Newham, one of the strongest provincial players before 1850, placed a challenge in *Bell's Life*, for Nottingham to play a correspondence match with any U.K. club except London and Edinburgh.³¹ Cambridge accepted and was defeated, by early February 1838, although 'the Cambridge gentlemen struggled gallantly to the last, and the greatest good feeling mutually prevailed throughout the contest.'³² A curious episode followed, as London Chess Club received a challenge from 'Lieutenant Charles de Tanisch' on behalf of St Petersburg: surely a misprint for Jänisch, one of the two famous Russian players of that period.³³ London wisely declined on the grounds of distance. Disappointed, Petersburg challenged Paris, who accepted. Paris sent their first move, but never received a reply, and as Walker put it, the match ended 'in smoke'.³⁴

In 1838 the Leeds club had a dinner to close their first season at which Muff, the president, spoke about the history of the two former chess clubs in the city, each of which lasted only a few years. 'At that period, however, the number of Chess players in this neighbourhood was but limited, and there was little of that enthusiasm in favour of this truly scientific game which exists at the present day.'³⁵ In December they started a match of two games with Liverpool, of which there is an account by Reginald Brown, a Leeds chessist.³⁶ Play must have been faster than

²⁸ *B.L.L.*, 14 June 1835.

²⁹ *B.L.L.*, 2 Aug. 1835.

³⁰ *B.L.L.*, 2 Aug. 1840 & 30 May 1841. 'Lynn' was presumably King's Lynn in Norfolk.

³¹ *B.L.L.*, 1 Jan. 1837.

³² *B.L.L.*, 11 Feb. 1838 and the games were published the following week (also giving the start date as April 1837).

³³ *B.L.L.*, 18 Mar. 1838. (Major) Carl Friedrich von Jaenisch (1813-72), was later the author of a book on the chess openings (published in French). He came to London for the 1851 tournament but arrived too late to participate.

³⁴ *B.L.L.* 27 May, 8 July & 9 Sept. 1838, and finally 13 Jan. 1839.

³⁵ *B.L.L.*, 13 May 1838. The discontinuities before and after the 1835 Doncaster match are unclear.

³⁶ Brown, *Chess Problems*, pp. 107-112.

the leisurely time limit of twenty-one days per move; Liverpool resigned Game 1 on 21 October and Game 2 on 10 November 1839. A return match started eight days later, but in the meantime, Brown notes, the ranks of the Liverpool club had been strengthened by the 'important accession' of economist Augustus Mongredien.³⁷

This time only fourteen days (still very generous by later standards) was allowed per move. 'The struggle was severe' said Brown, but again Leeds was successful, this time conceding a draw in one of the two games. Liverpool resigned a game on 5 November 1840 and the match ended on 21 January 1841 with agreement that the last game should be considered drawn. So this match for the most part was played under the new postal regulations and would have been much cheaper for the clubs to conduct than the previous ones. Walker, the umpire, blamed the Lancastrians for slow play: 'Moves kept so very long are ruinous to the interest one would otherwise take in similar contests.'³⁸ Liverpool, to modern eyes, had a clear advantage when they agreed a draw in the game that they needed to win in order to square the match — but it could have taken another year, as Brown said. If there was no prize or money at stake, and none is mentioned in the primary sources, then the resignation of the match is easier to understand.

By the early 1850s the pattern for such matches had become well established. Occasionally there was only one game, but normally two games were contested simultaneously to cancel out the advantage of first move. There might be provision for a third game if the clubs won a game apiece, or there were two draws, but this was rare. Occasionally matches were left unfinished, or the result never published. Disputes were sometimes referred for arbitration to Staunton or Walker. Maryport's second match, in 1841, was suspended, after their opponents, Norwich, tried to impose a penalty for an illegal move by Maryport, 'one of several'. Staunton found in Norwich's favour.³⁹ He warned that apathy frequently sets in during such matches unless there was something to play for.

³⁷ Mongredien was a major figure in British chess for many years, and in 1859 was the last opponent whom Paul Morphy defeated before returning to America.

³⁸ *B.L.L.*, 27 Sept. 1840.

³⁹ *C.P.C.*, ii (1841-2), pp. 107-8, 124, & 141.

After the first novelty of meeting, in committee, to decide upon the moves has flown, the task of carrying on the contest is felt by the majority concerned to be a very irksome one, and is therefore willingly delegated to other and less efficient members, or gone through with a degree of carelessness and apathy equally fatal to a satisfactory termination... The present is the third instance submitted for our decision within the last ten days, where, in matches by correspondence, disputes having arisen, the games have been prematurely abandoned; and in each case, the result appears attributable to the same cause, namely, *the want of a good stake*.⁴⁰

The *Glasgow-Newcastle* match of 1849-50 bears out this view. The Scots, having already lost one game, dragged out the other by slow play, and by requests to retract moves, until Staunton lost sympathy with them.⁴¹ Both sides had their say but Newcastle's allegation that the Glaswegians lost interest because there was no stake has the ring of truth about it. By contrast, there was considerable local interest and intense betting on a match of 1846 in Trinidad, probably because of the rivalry between Anglophone and Francophone communities on the island.⁴²

3 Matches between individuals and clubs

ONE cannot always make a clear distinction between games played by a genuine committee and those played by one person. Matches sometimes began as communal efforts but were completed by one member.⁴³ *Bell's Life* said some of the Armagh postal games were played by the club and others by George Cochrane solo, and he may have finished the second Liverpool game solo as there is no other evidence of an Armagh club in 1842. Sometimes matches were arranged between an individual master and consulting opponents. In 1839 Walker hoped 'to be favoured, when the contest is terminated, with the games now playing by correspondence by some skilful Bristol amateurs and the Hon. Sec. of the Westminster Chess Club'; club funds probably footed the postage bill at both

⁴⁰ *C.P.C.*, ii (1841-2), pp. 107-8. Italics and spelling as in the original.

⁴¹ *I.L.N.*, xvi (25 May 1850), p. 371, & 1 June 1850 (p. 387); *C.P.C.* (1850), pp. 175-6, 179 & 210-214.

⁴² *B.L.L.*, 17 Jan. 1847. The Anglophones won 2-0. The games can only be partially reconstructed from the microfilm of the *Port of Spain Gazette* for 1846 at the British Newspaper Library because several issues are missing. Reports appeared between 18 Aug. & 1 Dec. 1846. An earlier correspondence match in Trinidad was reported on 9, 16 & 26 June, 10 & 31 July.

⁴³ For example, see the quotation from Fraser on p. 324.

ends.⁴⁴ Burt later named Henderson, Withers and Williams as the Bristol players.⁴⁵ Staunton is also reputed to have played postal chess for money, but he probably regarded the stake as a tuition fee.⁴⁶

In 1893-4, Steinitz (in New York) played two telegraph games with Liverpool,⁴⁷ probably for a fee. He scored a win and a draw; the match was adjourned during his championship match against Lasker. Around 1898 Steinitz played Liverpool again but his biographer's claim that he played a match against Dublin Chess Club, arranged by Horace Plunkett, is incorrect.⁴⁸ The club's papers show that: 'The Hon Secretary was instructed to inform Mr Plunkett that the club would not undertake a correspondence game with Steinitz on account of the great time that would be necessary.'⁴⁹ Steinitz was not the only professional to augment his income by correspondence play, though this was more customary in America.⁵⁰ In 1906, reports appeared that Edinburgh would play against Emanuel Lasker, the agreed openings to be the Queen's Gambit Declined and the Guiooco Piano.⁵¹ The club minute book is silent about this. Lasker had offered in his magazine to play correspondence games, and comment on them, for a fee,⁵² but it is doubtful whether he actually started many, or completed any.

⁴⁴ *B.L.L.*, 22 Sept. 1839. The secretary then was Staunton. He was mentioned as Westminster club secretary in *B.L.L.*, 31 Dec. 1837 and again on 24 June and 16 Dec. 1838. These games have often been dated 1840-1 or later, but the drawn game first appeared in *B.L.L.*, 1 Mar. 1840, and the other game (which Staunton won) in the *Court Gazette*, 31 Oct. 1840, p. 711.

⁴⁵ Burt, *Bristol*, p. 2. Staunton, in the *Court Gazette*, 31 Oct. and 7 Nov. 1840, said that his second Bristol opponent was H--n [Henderson], not naming Withers. It is possible that Williams was consulting with Henderson in one game and with Withers in the other.

⁴⁶ Charles Tomlinson, 'Chess Resorts, No. 1. — Simpson's', in *B.C.M.*, xi (Feb. 1891), pp. 46-54; here p. 50: 'He also played correspondence games for a stake, and I thought it somewhat unreasonable when the members of a provincial club complained to me bitterly that Staunton asked for the money as soon as he obtained what he called a winning position.'

⁴⁷ *I.L.N.*, cv (10 Nov. 1894), p. 598, has the game Steinitz won. See also *Chess-Monthly*, xvi (Sept. 1894). His match with Huntingdon Chess Club, U.S.A., is in the *International Chess Magazine*, iii (April 1887), pp. 119-21, and he also played postal games against American amateurs.

⁴⁸ Landsberger, *Steinitz*, p. 373, says that in Oct. 1898, when Steinitz returned from a Vienna tournament, he announced he would play professionally by correspondence and give lessons on chess. Landsberger says the Liverpool match, of two games, was already in progress. Only one game has been found and he wrongly thought the Dublin match was on. Some secondary sources give 1897, 1899 and 1900 for the second Liverpool match so 1897-9 is probably right.

⁴⁹ Dublin Chess Club committee meeting minute book, 5 Oct. 1898.

⁵⁰ In the mid-twentieth century, Fine and Reshevsky often played amateurs by post for money.

⁵¹ *Falkirk Herald*, 24 Jan 1906, repeated in *B.C.M.*, xxvi (1906), p. 68.

⁵² Edinburgh had probably responded to a paragraph in *The Field*, cvi (21 Oct. 1905), p. 714.

4 Postal reform and over the board play

THE question arises of when clubs began to compete with one another over-the-board, and why it did not happen sooner? Until the 1860s, it was rare for a chess team to travel, although individual players certainly visited clubs in other towns when on business. Two clubs first met face to face in 1838. Doncaster and Wakefield played at a neutral venue, Kempsall, over two days, using Egerton's system, with the representatives of each club in separate rooms. A friendly dinner was enjoyed in between two games, Wakefield winning one and drawing the other. The early moves of both long-drawn-out affairs were published.⁵³

Before the great expansion of English railways, from about 1841, one could not speedily go from A to B in comfort and safety, and even into the 1850s these factors continued to operate. Yet the cricketers of St. George's Club, New York travelled over a thousand miles to beat Toronto in a match played on 4 September 1840.⁵⁴ The social nature of the holiday was an attraction but the expense and logistics must have been formidable. Chess players were perhaps less wealthy and less enterprising, or could less spare the time from their business than the New Yorkers, but also they had a good alternative. Cricket cannot be played by post.

Rowland Hill's campaign for a fundamental change in the economics of mail led to Acts of Parliament in 1839 and 1840.⁵⁵ The new arrangements were phased in with a standard fourpenny rate for pre-paid letters (except in towns that already had a penny post), replacing the old pay-by-distance system on 5 December 1839. The universal penny post came into force on 10 January 1840. The Penny Black stamp went on sale on 1 May and could be used for the first time on 6 May 1840. The huge cost reduction and greater simplicity of prepaid post led to a brief explosion of correspondence chess activity, as Walker testified.⁵⁶

⁵³ *B.L.L.*, 9 Sep. 1838.

⁵⁴ *B.L.L.*, 25 Oct. 1840.

⁵⁵ 2 & 3 Victoriae c. 52; 3 & 4 Victoriae c. 96. For Hill's career, the comprehensive source is Gavin Fryer, *The reform of the Post Office in the Victorian era* (London 2000; 2 vols). Also A. D. Smith, *The Development of Rates of Postage* (London 1917); Henry Warburton Hill, *Rowland Hill and the Fight for Penny Post* (London 1940); Allam, *Postal reform*, cited in Chap. Two.

⁵⁶ *B.L.L.*, 1 Mar. 1840. It was possible, but unusual, to prepay post before 1840.

Eventually, the novelty wore off and the expansion of the railway network facilitated over the board meetings, but for another decade or more, inter-club matches were almost invariably played by post. A little-known exception is the series of matches in 1844 between the Mechanics' Institute chess clubs of Maidstone and Rochester, about ten miles apart in Kent, who met both by post and in person.⁵⁷ The *Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser* of 25 June 1844 printed their first postal game, played from 16 January to 20 June and won by Maidstone. In the second game Rochester obtained revenge. Maidstone offered to play a third and deciding game; the paper said it had started but the result is unknown. During the postal games, the second report said they had two matches:

...at the Blue Bell Inn, half-way between the two towns, between eight players from each club. The Maidstone club won a majority of games at the first meeting, but at the second the tables were turned, and the Rochester gentlemen carried off the palm. These contests have tended much to increase the skill of the players.⁵⁸

The main reason clubs gave for not engaging in new correspondence matches, after trying one or two, was their protracted nature, and Mongredien expressed some frustration over this. At Liverpool's January 1842 annual dinner, he challenged British provincial or Irish clubs to meet them, six a side, for eighteen games 'at some place about half way between their respective residences, or as may be otherwise arranged.'⁵⁹ They had no takers. Manchester players, their nearest likely opponents, were not well organised just then and Yorkshire clubs either feared the strength of Liverpool or thought the journey to meet them unattractive.

Only in April 1855 did the first *Manchester-Liverpool* match take place, nine a side, at the Union Hall, Liverpool.⁶⁰ Staunton explicitly stated that it was 'not to be conducted by correspondence but by personal competition over the chess

⁵⁷ The Maidstone Mechanics Institute was relaunched in 1836 but 'soon became an organisation of and for the middle class' according to Peter Clark and Lyn Murfin, *The History of Maidstone: the making of a modern country town* (Stroud 1995), p. 191.

⁵⁸ *Maidstone Journal*, 19 Nov. 1844. I am grateful to Adrian Harvey for supplying this reference. Rochester is also referred to as 'Chatham' so the workers may have been in the naval dockyard. These were possibly the first reported inter-club matches where each player had an individual opponent, but the newspaper is not clear on that point.

⁵⁹ Edgar, *Liverpool*, p. 14. The challenge appeared in *C.P.C.*, ii (1842), p. 223.

⁶⁰ Nowell, *Manchester*, p. 26; *Birmingham Mercury*, 28 Apr. 1855.

board',⁶¹ which tends to confirm that postal play was still the norm for inter-club matches. Two or three games were played on most boards, Manchester winning 12½-6½.⁶² Further such matches followed in November and in February 1856,⁶³ but they reverted to the consultation system for the telegraph match on 28-29 March 1856.⁶⁴ Only twenty-eight moves each were made in eight hours. The wire would have been better occupied playing several games simultaneously, as they did in 1859 and 1860. These clubs did not meet over-the-board again until 1862.⁶⁵

5 International club matches

INTER-CLUB consultation matches within the U.K. were too numerous to discuss in detail, now that the principle has been explained, and because Pagni has published on many of them already. Details of results and sources are given in the appendices, including several matches unknown to him and some corrections to his findings. International matches between clubs require more special attention.

5 a) The *Paris-Westminster* match of 1834-6

THE match between the Paris and Westminster clubs began in February 1834. Although it lasted more than two years, the result was predictable early in 1835.⁶⁶ The second echelon of players in each city conducted it. Walker, primarily, faced Pierre C. F. de Saint-Amant, Boncourt, Aaron Alexandre, whose idea it probably was,⁶⁷ and Chamouillet.⁶⁸ In the game where London moved first, the French

⁶¹ *I.L.N.*, xxvi (28 Apr. 1855), p. 403.

⁶² Until late in the nineteenth century, new games were often started until time ran out, so anything from one to three would be played in matches. There were complaints that this distorted results as weaker or mis-matched players tended to finish quicker. In the *Oxford-Cambridge* matches, per board were limited to two in 1878 and to one in 1893: Sergeant, *Century*, pp. 297 and 300.

⁶³ Nowell, *Manchester*, p. 26.

⁶⁴ *Manchester Guardian*, 29 Mar. 1856, *I.L.N.*, xxviii (5 Apr.), p. 347, and the *Era*, 6 Apr. 1856.

⁶⁵ Nowell, *Manchester*, pp. 27-9.

⁶⁶ It should be noted that the Westminster Club was not the same as the London club that played Edinburgh. At various times there were several Westminster Chess Clubs; this was the first.

⁶⁷ Bruno Bassi (14) in *Mail Chess*, v (No. 4, Aug. 1951), p. 5; citing Van Oppen's obituary of Alexandre in *Schachzeitung* (Berlin 1851), p. 8. That says the French club at this time was based in Alexandre's home.

answered 1 e4 by 1 e6, a defence then known as ‘the king’s pawn one’ but which as a result of this occasion gradually came to be called the French Defence. Even without their stars, the French comfortably won both games. Many years later Walker blamed Lewis and wrote that McDonnell ‘took no part in the match’ although the Ulsterman did offer one piece of advice when it was too late.⁶⁹ There may be some doubt about whether Walker can be trusted as a critic of Lewis, his rival as a chess author in the 1830s. An anonymous booklet about the match, usually attributed to Walker, complains bitterly (without naming anybody) that the committee appointed to run the match failed to do so, and that little interest was taken at the Westminster club whereas the Parisians studied the games closely.⁷⁰

The title page bears the date 1837 but the printer, Sherwin, advertised it on 11 December 1836 in *Bell’s Life* as being by ‘an amateur’; the following week a review appeared there. ‘The writer speaks his mind freely as to the cause of the match being lost, and we should be glad to be informed of his name. We have heard the authorship assigned to two or three individuals, who are, we beli[e]ve, innocent of the matter.’⁷¹ That seems a disingenuous attempt to distance Walker from the publication. Its tone is similar to comments made during the match in *Bell’s Life*, which on 1 March 1835 gave the current positions and said that ‘we believe that, on both sides, they would be glad to hasten the end of it, if possible.’ By 8 November Westminster had resigned one game. Next week, however, *Bell’s* stated that both clubs had formally ceased to exist! In fact:

The Paris Club was broken up a year since, though their best players still meet in committee, and conduct the match. The Westminster Chess Club has been just converted into the Westminster Chess Subscription Rooms, and their very last act as a Club was very properly to put aside the fifty pounds stake to await the event of the match...⁷²

⁶⁸ L. C. M. de la Bourdonnais, ‘Un Défi par correspondance’, in *Le Palamède*, i (1836), p. 14, written while the second game was still in progress.

⁶⁹ *Westminster Papers*, x, pp. 40 (July 1877) & p. 55 (Aug. 1877).

⁷⁰ *Chess. The Match by correspondence recently played by the Chess Clubs of Paris and Westminster* (London 1837). The text is available (with the moves in modern notation) in Harding, *Write*, pp. 52-8.

⁷¹ *B.L.L.*, 18 Dec. 1836.

⁷² *B.L.L.*, ‘To Correspondents’, 15 Nov. 1835.

At this point metropolitan chess was at its lowest ebb for many years, so far as strong players were concerned. McDonnell had died in September, Lewis had retired from play and the Staunton generation, who were to supplant the French in the 1840s, had yet to arise. The club had become a commercial enterprise, run for profit by Huttman. In March 1836, he reorganised the Westminster Club, with no house dinner. Billiards was banished and those old members who left when it was admitted were invited to rejoin.⁷³ In October they moved once more and the forlorn struggle with Paris, which had re-formed its own club some months earlier, was finally abandoned.⁷⁴ Early in 1841, when the Westminster had finally collapsed and shortly before the St George's Club was revived at the Polytechnic Institution, Cavendish Square,⁷⁵ a newly-formed Parisian club requested a 'match by correspondence with the British metropolitans for a couple of thousand francs'. Nothing came of this challenge, either because London was unready or because the French never formalised it. Walker reported that:

To the disgrace of London this challenge will fall to the ground, as our players are wandering the streets like Noah's dove, seeking a resting place. They will not, of course, pitch their tent in smoke-shops or public-houses; but ask nothing beyond one large room, well west, with a ballot... Never was moment so opportune for starting a Metropolitan club, as a match with Paris would give it such overwhelming éclat, and draw in the first class of our aristocracy as subscribers; merely to take a part in the war between the capitals.⁷⁶

5 b) The matches with Amsterdam

THE most important inter-city contest of the mid-century was *London-Amsterdam*, which actually consisted of two separate matches between 1848-52, rather than one as is often stated.⁷⁷ The challenge from the Philidor Chess Club of Amsterdam to the 'Principal Chess Club, London', recognised London's superiority

⁷³ *B.L.L.*, 27 Mar. 1836.

⁷⁴ *B.L.L.*, 'To Correspondents', 16 Oct. 1836.

⁷⁵ *B.L.L.*, 11 Apr. 1841 shows the St. George's at the Polytechnic.

⁷⁶ *B.L.L.*, 28 Feb. 1841.

⁷⁷ This time it was the old London Chess Club that took up the gauntlet. The first Dutch history of chess, Antonius van der Linde's *Het Schaakspel in Nederland* (Utrecht 1875), p. 158, said that the stake was 1,200 guilders for the first to win two games ('Inleg: 1200 guilder voor 2 winstpartijen'), but this is contradicted by the English evidence.

but said they hoped to 'derive some benefit from the skill and ingenuity of English players' in a match of either one or two games, and asked what stake London wished to play for if they were agreeable.⁷⁸ Next week Staunton announced London had accepted, proposing a stake of 100 guineas. Horwitz would be the chief London player: 'assisted by two able coadjutors, Messrs Slous and Perigal or Walker and Perigal... The match... is in very good hands and, with proper care and industry on the part of those engaged, we have not much apprehension of the result.'⁷⁹ As the value of the guinea was twenty-one shillings, London was proposing £105.⁸⁰ The Dutch preferred a cheaper chess lesson and £50 (about 210 Dutch florins) was agreed as the stake,⁸¹ although several contemporary sources continued to mention the higher sum.

An ingenious method was employed to decide who should have first move, since there was to be only one game. London sent two sealed envelopes, in one of which was written their first move and the other giving Amsterdam first move. The Dutch club had to open one and play accordingly, returning the other unopened to London.⁸² Moves were published regularly in the *Illustrated* until Amsterdam finally resigned in January 1850. Staunton once wrote: 'the committee for conducting the match by correspondence with Amsterdam are quite at liberty to take the advice of any member of the London Chess Club,'⁸³ but probably he took no part in it. He was not a member of that club and, in one of his later books, his first rule for correspondence play stated that 'the two parties should always agree

⁷⁸ *I.L.N.*, xii (15 Jan. 1848), p. 30.

⁷⁹ *I.L.N.*, xii (22 Jan. 1848), p. 40. Staunton repeated this information in *C.P.C.*, ix (1848), p. 29.

⁸⁰ Diepstraten, *Correspondentieschaak*, p. 54, miscalculated and said £150; he at least was aware that the later games were in a different match. On the basis that he estimated £150 was then equivalent to 600 Dutch florins, adjusting the amount to the correct stake value would have meant the Amsterdam club, when they lost, paying 420 Dutch florins (plus postage costs). The finally agreed stake was half that, much less than the 1,200 stated by Van der Linde, above.

⁸¹ *C.P.C.* ix (1848), p. 61; Diepstraten agrees this was the finally agreed stake. The booklet *Schaakstrijd tusschen het Amsterdamsche Genootschap Philidor en dat te London. Amsterdam heeft wit, London zwart* (Amsterdam 1849) chiefly consists of diagrams and says nothing about the match conditions.

⁸² *B.L.L.* (12 Mar. 1848), says that London offered Amsterdam the move, but the Dutch 'requested London to draw lots for it, naming some one to draw for Amsterdam'. Walker then describes the procedure that was actually adopted to settle the matter.

⁸³ *I.L.N.*, xii (29 Jan. 1848), p. 49.

beforehand in writing as to the persons who are to take part in the contest'.⁸⁴ Unlike the Edinburgh match, London 'very prudently avoided the two great errors of their predecessors — one of which consisted in their appointing too numerous a committee, and the other in agreeing to play more than one game at a time.' The committee was Slous, Horwitz, G. Medley, Walker, and Perigal; 'three only of these gentlemen... took any active part in the conduct of the match', but Staunton did not say which three.⁸⁵ Diepstraten says the leader of the Amsterdam players was Maarten van 't Kruis.⁸⁶ A return match, with different players on the London side and for a new stake, was played in 1850-1 on the same terms.⁸⁷ Amsterdam drew the first game, which was then replayed, starting in July 1851 and lasting sixteen months until the Dutch resigned.⁸⁸ Horwitz was probably recalled for that and his reports appeared at intervals in *The Chess Player*. This was the last time the old London club played correspondence chess.

5 c) The London-Vienna match

IT WAS the City of London Club (founded 1852) that defeated Vienna in 1872-4, the most important postal match of the century in terms of the quality of the players on each side. It was now one of the two elite clubs in the metropolis, the other being the St George's in the West End.⁸⁹ Challenging Vienna to a friendly match was a way of announcing to the world that the City considered itself the leading British club. *The Field* later recalled that:

⁸⁴ Howard Staunton, *Chess Praxis: a supplement to the Chess Player's Handbook* (London 1860), p. 36. His Rule VII said that 'if either party in a game by correspondence accept the assistance of any player not originally engaged to take part in the contest, that party shall forfeit the game', but this was a matter of honour as discovery and enforcement of this rule is practically unenforceable.

⁸⁵ *C.P.C.*, xi (1850), pp. 43-4.

⁸⁶ Diepstraten, *Correspondentieschaak*, pp. 66-7, but see also n90.

⁸⁷ The start and terms are briefly reported in *I.L.N.*, xvi (9 Mar. 1850), p. 163.

⁸⁸ The London players in the second game were Daniel Harrwitz, Mongredien and Greenaway, possibly with Perigal and G. Medley. The Amsterdam players initially were M. Coopman, F. Hancock and M. van 't Kruis, while in the final game, they were Coopman, H. Cloos, H. L. Hoogland, F. G. Hijmans and van 't Kruijs. These names are mostly taken from Diepstraten, but according to the Dutch chess historian Fred van Vliet, van 't Kruis should be van 't Kruys or van 't Kruijs, and the player whom Diepstraten named as Hijmans was F. G. Hijmans (1828-?).

⁸⁹ The most detailed account of the early years of the City of London Chess Club is to be found in Sergeant, *Century*, pp. 121-33.

Löwenthal... proposed... that a challenge should be sent to the Vienna Schachgesellschaft, which was reputed to be the strongest Continental chess club... This motion was enthusiastically received and unanimously adopted... The Viennese promptly replied with the counter-challenge that the match should be played for £100 a side—a proposition which was ultimately accepted...⁹⁰

Details were settled and by 8 June the match began,⁹¹ but there was an immediate adjournment, because of a British tournament; also the terms provided for a break of two months in summer 1873 during the Vienna chess congress. The playing time was therefore about fifteen months. Moves were transmitted by telegraph, with confirmation letters. The match finally ended in March 1874, Vienna resigning one game and offering a draw in the other. London accepted although they were close to winning that too. 'Package deals' were common in two-game matches, saving effort and expense, eliminating any risk, and minimising the loser's shame. London's victory was due almost entirely to two men, although in theory each club had a larger committee. *The Field* explains:

Six players were to be elected... the signature of any two, countersigned by the secretary of the club to which they belonged, to be binding... The City Club elected originally Messrs Blackburne, Horwitz, Löwenthal, Potter, Steinitz, and Wisker as their council; while the conductors of the match on the Viennese side consisted of Herren Berger, Czank, Fleissig, Gelbfuhs, Kolisch, and Meitner. The match had, however, not progressed very far when... Messrs Löwenthal and Wisker early declared that they could not regularly attend, on account of professional engagements. Mr Horwitz had to resign on account of a serious illness, and Mr Blackburne had to leave London... By general consent the remaining two players, Messrs Potter and Steinitz, were soon entrusted with the chief work of analysing the games, and those gentlemen may be considered even solely responsible for the conduct of the match after the 14th move.⁹²

The match has many points of technical interest, connected with the chess openings, tactics and psychology involved. The standard of play was higher than in most nineteenth-century correspondence games. London adopted a policy of playing for a win in both games, choosing unusual opening variations that entered

⁹⁰ *The Field*, xliii (4 Apr. 1874), pp. 334-5; here p. 334. The detailed conditions were in *Land and Water*, xiii (8 June 1872), p. 382. The early moves were in the *I.L.N.*, lxi (7 Sept. 1872), p. 239.

⁹¹ The day the *Field* and *I.L.N.* announced the start.

⁹² *The Field*, xliii (4 Apr. 1874), pp. 334-5; here, p. 335. Detailed reports also appeared in the *City of London Chess Magazine*, i (1874), where Steinitz and Potter analysed the games afterwards.

new territory as quickly as possible. They thus nullified any advantage the Viennese might have had in reference works, those in German being generally superior throughout the nineteenth century. Steinitz dominated the London committee from the start; the openings selected were certainly not part of Blackburne's repertoire.⁹³ Both Löwenthal and Horwitz, respected analysts but long past their heyday as players, probably supported Steinitz's choices. Potter was Steinitz's acolyte, and his contribution is hard to assess.

It was to London's benefit that Vienna's strongest player, Kolisch, had largely forsaken chess for a financial career. Most importantly, the withdrawal of two thirds of the London committee at an early stage created the same formula that had worked for Edinburgh in 1824-8: one outstanding player (with assistance) free to take his own decisions and pursue a consistent policy without having to argue his case against rivals who might wish to steer the games in a different direction. Wisker recognised this. 'It by no means follows that these unavoidable secessions did the London cause any harm. On the contrary, the withdrawal of four cooks probably accounts for the very superior broth produced by the remaining two.'⁹⁴

This contest remains an anomaly in the history of correspondence chess, not only because a future world champion was involved but also because he received some money for doing so. The facts came to light more than a year afterwards, during a row that split the City of London Club. This began as a disagreement over whether they should open a West End branch or not. At a meeting on 11 November 1875, a majority voted that honorary members should no longer have a say in the club's management, and a motion to allow them to convert to ordinary members without a ballot was defeated. Several then resigned, including Steinitz, who

⁹³ With White, London opened 1 c4, which had rarely been played since Staunton's heyday and on which very little analysis had been published. Vienna defended well until a miscalculation at move 21, after which London established a clear advantage and eventually won. With Black they chose a very sharp counter-attack, forcing the Viennese to sacrifice a pawn, so accepting a difficult defence but again escaping from known paths at an early stage. Steinitz had prepared an improvement on previous play at move nine and Vienna did not counter this satisfactorily.

⁹⁴ Wisker's column in *Land and Water*, xvii (11 Apr. 1874), p. 283.

pointed out that the honorary members provided various services gratuitously and hinted that they could afford the subscription of five shillings a year.⁹⁵

Steinitz then unwisely wrote that the club held 'a considerable surplus, derived solely from the match between London and Vienna, which was got up by private subscriptions amongst the wealthier members, without the slightest risk to the funds of the club.'⁹⁶ This implied he had not received any financial benefit, but the club secretary wrote in to point out that of the £50 won from Vienna, about £30 remained after the deduction of match expenses, and the club committee resolved 'that the said £30 be divided between the two principal players who had conducted the London games, and in accordance therewith, Messrs Potter and Steinitz each received £15.'⁹⁷ The editor apologised to the club and Steinitz wrote a convoluted retraction in which he admitted that he had received the money, but he pointed out that he had not exactly been overpaid.⁹⁸

5 d) Later international consultation matches

OTHER clubs now played international matches; these were a new stimulus. In 1879 Glasgow challenged Copenhagen but picked a time when Danish chess was flourishing. Glasgow secretary John Crum wrote at the end of the year offering to resign one game if Copenhagen would accept a draw in the other, but the Danes ignored previous gentlemanly precedents such as *London-Vienna*. As they insisted on continuing, Glasgow resigned both games.⁹⁹

When submarine cables made intercontinental matches possible, various systems were devised to convert chess notation to concise forms complying with

⁹⁵ *The Field*, xlvi (20 Nov. 1875), p. 567. According to Steinitz, a motion that honorary members should have the option of converting to ordinary members without submitting themselves to another ballot was rejected. A clear picture of the club crisis is not easy to gain because Potter in *The City of London Chess Magazine*, ii, pp. 324-6 naturally glossed over some points in his report of the meeting.

⁹⁶ *The Field*, xlvi (20 Nov. 1875), p. 567.

⁹⁷ *The Field*, xlvi (11 Dec. 1875), p. 656.

⁹⁸ *ibid.* The row over the match surplus is relevant to Steinitz's eventual resignation from *The Field* (see p. 115) as it must have harmed relations between him and the paper.

⁹⁹ Scottish papers reported the match but the best account is in the *Nordisk Skaktidende*. The correspondence was in the issue of Dec. 1879, pp. 276-7. The games were analysed in detail in Jan. 1880, pp. 2-5, & Feb.-Mar. 1880, pp. 25-36. A Cardiff club started a match with Stockholm according to *The Field*, lxiii (23 Feb. 1884), p. 261, but it was never mentioned again.

regulations stipulating how telegrams were composed.¹⁰⁰ Robert Steel, a Liverpuddlian with Indian business connections, arranged a match between Liverpool and Calcutta in 1880-1, Liverpool easily winning one game and drawing the other. There is nothing new to say about this; Forster exhaustively quoted the primary sources in his biography of Burn, the leader of Liverpool's committee.¹⁰¹

On 4 June 1881, D. M. Martinez of Philadelphia offered to contribute \$100 towards the expenses of a two-game cable match along similar lines between that city and the St George's Club.¹⁰² The Londoners proposed a £100 stake but playing for money was unacceptable to the Quakers of Philadelphia. The American press 'generally pursued the train of argument that... Steinitz and Zukertort, who were distinctly challenged to take part in the contest, were bound to play merely for the chess reputation of the Philadelphians'. On 10 December, Steinitz reported that the match would not take place: 'the two hemispheres must now agree to differ on the question of cardinal virtue whether a chess match should be played for a stake or not.'¹⁰³ Yorkshire expert Freeborough wrote that 'in chess, high stakes lead to dull games' and 'it is fair to presume that the St. George's men would not insist on a heavy stake if they thought there was a prospect of their having to pay it.'¹⁰⁴

The last major consultation match was also by telegraph. The patronage of newspaper magnate, George Newnes, made the British Chess Club a rich and

¹⁰⁰ Standage, *Internet*, pp. 103-110, discusses the changing restrictions on what telegraph matches could contain, especially for international messages. There were issues to do with cost (using codes enabled messages to be much briefer), secrecy (commercial users wanted to use ciphers to protect their information; governments feared of espionage), and accuracy (operators were more likely to transmit words than gibberish without making mistakes). These restrictions sometimes prevented the use of numeric notations for telegraph chess matches and meant that a code devised for one match might not be allowable a few years later.

¹⁰¹ Forster, *Burn*, pp. 149-51 and 158-61; on p. 151 he explains the Rutherford code used for that match. The Gringmuth code, devised for the *London v St Petersburg* match of 1886-7 is still used: see *Oxford Companion* (1st ed., pp. 134-5). Later, TCD professor Thomas Alexander published a pamphlet, *A simple chess notation, giving the moves of the pieces by two letters and the moves of the pawns by a numeral and letter, together with code words for telegraphing the moves* (Dublin 1896). The system was mentioned in the *Dublin Evening Mail* on 4 Feb. 1897, but it is unknown if anyone ever used it.

¹⁰² *The Field*, lvii (25 June 1881), p. 887. Steinitz and Zukertort would hardly collaborate, but conceivably they could each have taken charge of one of the games.

¹⁰³ Both quotations in the paragraph are from *The Field*, lviii (10 Dec. 1881), p. 858. G. A. MacDonnell, *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, xvi (26 Nov. 1881), p. 251, complained of 'a good deal of bad logic, and I regret to add, of bad feeling' caused by this affair. He thought the right thing was to play for a trophy and for the clubs to remunerate their own professionals.

¹⁰⁴ *Hull Packet and East Riding Times*, 23 Sept. 1881.

adventurous society, which went to Paris to play the first international over-the-board club match, against the Cercle des Echecs on 29 May 1885, before losing the correspondence match to St Petersburg in 1886-7.¹⁰⁵ St Petersburg won easily,¹⁰⁶ being led by the most formidable correspondence chess master of the nineteenth century, Chigorin, a professional player and chess writer.¹⁰⁷

Edinburgh looked to the continent for their opponents, winning 1½-½ against Rome (1903-4), by the same margin against Munich (1906-8),¹⁰⁸ and drawing 1-1 with the Circolo Scachistico Torniese of Turin (1911-12).¹⁰⁹ Another international match was between the City of London Club and Messina (whose club included some Englishmen) in 1906-8. London won 2-0; three weeks later, an earthquake demolished the Sicilian town and some of the participants in the match were killed.¹¹⁰ A curiosity in 1876 was a match between Europeans in two Chinese ports.¹¹¹ Having noted these exceptions, the London-Vienna match of 1872-4 can be seen to close the era in which a consultation correspondence match could be seen as involving the honour and chess supremacy of one city, or even one nation, over another. It was the last (maybe also the first) occasion when a full-time professional was involved in a British club committee for such a match. Until representative international team matches began in the twentieth century, national chess reputation came to depend more on the performances of individual champions in the increasingly frequent master tournaments and on the ability of countries to organise them.

¹⁰⁵ Sergeant, *Century*, p. 203.

¹⁰⁶ Having won one game, the Russians settled for a draw in the other although they probably could have won it. Steinitz's *International Chess Magazine*, iv (1888), pp. 45-6 and 87-8; *B.C.M.*, vii (1887) p. 470, and viii (1888), pp. 50-5.

¹⁰⁷ Mikhail Ivanovich Chigorin (1850-1908), whose surname in the nineteenth century was often transliterated 'Tschigorin'. Among the world's top ten players by this date, he soon defeated the world champion, Steinitz 2-0 in a correspondence telegraph match (1890-1). Initially the British Club's captain for the Petersburg match was veteran master Henry Bird, but the burden mostly fell on David Yarnton Mills, later Scottish champion. Wordsworth Donisthorpe was also on the committee and played in the match against Paris too. Leading players from other London clubs were not involved.

¹⁰⁸ Edinburgh Chess Club minute book and *B.C.M.*, xxviii (1908), pp. 124-5.

¹⁰⁹ Edinburgh minute book.

¹¹⁰ *The Field*, cxiii (16 Jan. 1909), p. 84.

¹¹¹ *Shanghai v. Che-Foo*, in the *Celestial Empire*, 17 June 1876. Che-Foo is now known as Kantai.

6 The change to team matches

IN THE 1870s, a new type of inter-club correspondence contest was first seen: the team match with individual opponents. This format had become increasingly the norm for over-the-board inter-club contests from the 1850s, but not for postal matches. A team correspondence match was possibly played in the U.S.A. in 1866, but the evidence is unclear.¹¹² In 1847 Dundee challenged Edinburgh to play a correspondence match of ‘not less than ten games’. They should probably been more explicit. The large number of games (unheard of in a consultation match) looks like a proposal for members of each club to be paired individually, but perhaps Edinburgh misunderstood:

The meeting directed our secy. to intimate, that they had uniformly and repeatedly declined similar proposals from other clubs, since the match in which they were so many years engaged with the London club, & that they are not disposed to accept any similar challenge.¹¹³

Dundee and Edinburgh did eventually play a correspondence match — but not until 1862, and then it was of the traditional, consultation, variety.¹¹⁴ The earliest documented postal team match on the individual opponent system was the seven-a-side contest between the Oxford University Chess Club and the Cambridge Staunton Club, during 1871, followed by a five-a-side match in 1872. Oxford won the first and Cambridge the second.¹¹⁵ Both postal matches are documented in an early history of the Oxford University club and in the *Illustrated London News*.¹¹⁶

Over the years, Cambridge clubs played many more correspondence matches than Oxford and it is not always possible to tell from the primary sources exactly

¹¹² The *Weekly Northern Whig* of 1 Sept. 1866 reported on a three-game match between New York and Kingston, U.S.A., naming the three individuals on each side (one of whom, O’Farrell, was a regular correspondent of the *Whig*) but does not indicate with certainty who played which game, and so is inconclusive. The match lasted six months and New York won 3-0.

¹¹³ Edinburgh Chess Club minute book, 16 May 1847.

¹¹⁴ The *Dundee v Edinburgh* match is discussed on p. 324; see also Appendix VIII, pp. 575-6.

¹¹⁵ See Appendix V, p. 452, for the detailed results.

¹¹⁶ J. M. Walker, *Oxford University Chess Club*. Staunton never gave full results but mentioned the contest in *I.L.N.*, lix (29 July 1871), p. 99 with games following; likewise, and the second match had an interim report in *I.L.N.*, lxi (6 July 1872), p. 22, and games followed.

which club or people were involved.¹¹⁷ The earliest varsity matches were on the consultation basis, between the Hermes Club of Oxford and Trinity College Cambridge,¹¹⁸ Oxford winning in 1847-8,¹¹⁹ and Cambridge obtaining revenge in 1855.¹²⁰ The first time, there was a brother on each side and that is probably how the match came to be arranged.¹²¹ Apparently the Cambridge University club (not Trinity) also wished to play the Hermes in 1851 but for want of time the challenge was declined.¹²² Neither match was truly representative of the universities, at least on the light blue side, because the dons claimed rights to the name of Cambridge University Chess Club. When undergraduate chess there revived around 1870, largely thanks to John de Soyres of Caius College,¹²³ they used the name Staunton Club, but negotiations with the senior members resulted in them being able to change the name in time for the first match held in London on 28 March 1873.¹²⁴ The Staunton club also played a consultation postal match against Exeter Literary Society in 1871.¹²⁵

An unimpeachable source corroborates Winston Churchill's claim that his father was instrumental in reviving the Oxford club, although he was not sufficiently skilful to be selected against Cambridge. Ranken wrote that around

¹¹⁷ The complicated story of early Cambridge chess was researched many years ago by Bertram Goulding Brown, and published in some articles: Philip W. Sergeant & Brown, 'Early Oxford and Cambridge Chess' in *British Chess Magazine Chess Annual 1916*; Brown, 'The Critical Period of Cambridge Chess', in *B.C.M.*, xxxvii (Sept. 1917), pp. 265-273, and 'Early Oxford and Cambridge Chess: a Sequel', in *B.C.M.*, lii (1932), pp. 431-5.

¹¹⁸ Established 24 Feb. 1847, according to *Rules of the Oxford Hermes Chess Club* (Oxford 1855), in the Bodleian, which also holds *Rules of the Oxford University Chess Club; with a list of the members & officers of the club from its foundation* (Oxford 1873). No games except chess were allowed and no smoking. Oxford University CC 1873-1928 (shelfmark 38472 b1) consists of papers from a later date. Falconer Madan, 'Collections relating to chess. twentieth century' (MSS Eng. Misc. d. 258-9) has notes of his speech at the golden jubilee dinner of the varsity matches.

¹¹⁹ *C.P.C.*, ix (1848), pp. 164-5.

¹²⁰ *I.L.N.*, xxvi (12 May 1855), p. 459, & xxvii (15 Dec. 1855), p. 699; *C.P.C.*, n.s. iv (1856), pp. 26-29.

¹²¹ Brown (1917) says on p. 266 that the Hermes issued the challenge, stipulating that both games should begin 1 e4 e5. One of the Oxford players was R. B. Brien.

¹²² 'Sketches of our Provincial Chess Clubs and Their Notabilities', in *C.P.C.*, n.s. i (1853), p. 60. This was probably written by Löwenthal.

¹²³ John de Soyres (1849-1905), also played in the first two over-the-board varsity chess matches, 1873 and 1874: *I.L.N.*, lxii (5 Apr. 1873), p. 330, and lxiv (4 Apr. 1874), p. 331. See Appendix IX for details on him and the other players.

¹²⁴ The annual over-the-board match series began in 1873.

¹²⁵ The *Weekly Mail* (of Cardiff), 18 Nov. 1871, shows Exeter winning one game (compare *LLN.*, lix, 2 Sept. 1871, p. 211). Cambridge won the other: *The Field*, lxxvii (29 Nov 1873), p. 571.

1868, Lord Randolph Churchill (an undergraduate at Merton) suggested to him the re-establishment of the club.¹²⁶ Oxford decided on 13 February 1871 to challenge Cambridge,¹²⁷ which they did through the medium of *The Cambridge Chronicle*. Cambridge declined because the Oxford Club 'was composed of young undergraduate members.'¹²⁸ Soon after this snub, Oxford must have made contact with De Soyres as the correspondence match had begun by March and continued during the vacations. Five games concluded by the end of June, but one of forty-eight moves and 'fertile in difficult situations', took ninety-six days.

Nothing is said about why they preferred to play on an individual basis. Probably they were unaware that they were creating a precedent. Terms only lasted eight weeks, so playing separate games through the vacation, when students would be at home, made sense. This reversed the system used in the *Hermes-Trinity* matches, when the club committees probably met only in term-time. After the first over-the-board match in 1873, the Oxford student newspaper reported that the event, 'proved as had been foreseen, a more satisfactory way than playing by correspondence'. Apparently some games in the 1872 match, commenced in the spring, were still unfinished at the end of the long vacation (i.e. early October).¹²⁹

It was several more years before postal team matches with individual opponents became frequent. In 1872-4, Nottingham Chess Club played a two-game match with Derby, with individual pairings, arising from a Nottingham club soiree in late October 1872 at which Fred Thompson and another Derby player called Harrison were guests.¹³⁰ Both Nottingham players were successful and the club

¹²⁶ *The Field*, lxxviii (19 Dec. 1891), p. 946. The Oxford club history says the first meeting was held in Ranken's house on 23 April 1869. Churchill's game with Steinitz was played on 17 May 1870.

¹²⁷ Ranken having left Oxford, the new President was E. W. B. Nicholson, later Bodley's Librarian (1882-1912). Nicholson and his successor Madan (1912-9) both played against Cambridge in 1873. On their bad relations, see Sir Edmund Craster, *History of the Bodleian Library 1845-1945* (Oxford 1981), p. 157; *O.D.N.B.* xxxvi, pp. 56-7 (Madan), and xl, pp. 809-11 (Nicholson).

¹²⁸ Cambridge minute book for 1 Mar. 1871, cited in Sergeant, *Century*, p. 291.

¹²⁹ 'The Chess Club', in *The Oxford Undergraduates Journal*, 24 Apr. 1873, p. 5 (probably written by Falconer Madan, whose papers refer to it.) It also said of the 1873 match in London: 'Let no one be misled by the fancy portraits of the *Illustrated London News*, which assign a patriarchal appearance to the majority of both sides'. Compare *I.L.N.*, lxii (5 Apr. 1873), p. 330.

¹³⁰ *Land and Water*, xiv (26 Oct. 1872), pp. 284-5. The two visitors each had one opponent.

presented its president, Hamel, with a commemorative booklet of the games.¹³¹ A similar booklet was compiled about the 1874-6 Nottingham versus Ipswich match, although there is no indication of which individuals were involved; curiously, it was presented before the second game ended.¹³²

In most early cases of postal matches on the individual opponent basis, the reason seems to have been, as with the universities, that teams were formed of people who did not live in the same place and so could not consult. In 1879 the Albion Chess Club won 4½-3½ in a match against the Chichester Club, 'eight combatants being on each side, who are paired according to strength'.¹³³ In 1881 the Albion won a re-match over nine boards.¹³⁴ However, it was not until the mid-1880s that matches like this became the norm rather than the exception. The 1870s also saw an increased frequency of consultation club matches, perhaps only because the level of chess activity in general and the number of clubs was higher now. When Littlehampton Chess Club proposed an inter-club correspondence competition in 1875, it received no support.¹³⁵ Ten years later, it was no different. When the second B.C.A. was formed, Potter asked how to attract provincial clubs to join the association? He suggested the council 'offer small prizes, not for tournaments, but for matches between so many pairs of clubs of about equal strength, and these matches could, with regard to the majority of provincial chess clubs, be conducted by correspondence.'¹³⁶ It did not happen.

7 Case study: Battle at long range, *U.K. v U.S.A.*, 1877-81

THE almost forgotten first inter-continental chess match, between the United Kingdom and the United States of America, was a pioneering event in sporting and

¹³¹ Nottingham Chess Club, *Match by Correspondence between Nottingham & Derby, commenced November 12 1872. Concluded May 28 1874* (John G. White Collection in Ohio). This consists of press cuttings pasted into a scrapbook; the one mentioned in the next note is the same.

¹³² 'Match by correspondence between Nottingham & Ipswich', in Nottinghamshire County Archive: DD/MI/271/1. The match was drawn 1-1.

¹³³ *C.P.C.*, n.s. iii (1879), p. 253, and n.s. iv (1880), p. 182, has the final result.

¹³⁴ *B.C.M.*, i (1881), p. 392.

¹³⁵ *CPQC*, iv (1874-5), pp. 344 and 377.

¹³⁶ *Land and Water*, xxxix (14 Feb. 1885), pp. 165-6.

cultural history.¹³⁷ It was one of the earliest sporting contests between transatlantic teams.¹³⁸ The International Postal Card Tourney, as it was originally called,¹³⁹ involved twenty-eight British men, each playing four simultaneous chess games with American opponents. Although there was no official result, detective work has largely established the facts and sixty of the 112 games played in the event (and several fragments) have been found.

Sporting contacts and postal agreements are both examples of early international co-operation. As early as 1847, Elihu Burritt travelled to England to campaign for transatlantic penny postage.¹⁴⁰ The modern global postal system was established a few years before the Postcard Match. In 1874, representatives of twenty-two states agreed the postal convention in Bern, Switzerland, which led to the formation of the Universal Postal Union in 1875, but the main Anglo-American agreements date from 1868-9.¹⁴¹ Post Office archives in London contain no formal US-U.K. agreement about postcards, so it is likely they followed the usual principle, that postage on cards was half the minimum charge for a letter. As of 1 January 1869, the cheapest letter rate from Britain to the U.S.A. was reduced to three pence. So the initial transatlantic postcard rate was probably a penny-halfpenny, but possibly even only a penny.¹⁴²

With infrastructure now in place, chess players wanted to try it out. In the 1870s, international sporting contacts were informal by today's standards. This was long before national associations took control of arranging matches. The first

¹³⁷ Avery, *America*, had one paragraph on p. 3, but he dated it 1878 and said it was played by cable.

¹³⁸ A cricket team from Philadelphia travelled to England in 1874 and also demonstrated baseball. In 1877 the first official cricket test match England v Australia was played but there had been earlier cricket tours between the continents (in both directions).

¹³⁹ The term 'postal-card' seems to have given way to the modern 'postcard' in the late 1870s. Strictly speaking this was a match, so henceforth it is referred to as the 'Postcard Match'.

¹⁴⁰ On Burritt, see Robinson, *Post* pp. 394-8, and Staff, *Penny Post*, pp. 105-25. His dream briefly became reality in 1908: 'Postal Agreement with Great Britain' in *The American Journal of International Law*, ii:4 (Oct. 1908), pp. 849-53.

¹⁴¹ 'Agreements between the U.K. and the U.S.A. 1844-1879': Post 46/56, at the British Postal Museum and Archive. The file includes proclamations, arising from the main agreement, which announced the reduction in various postage rates from 1 January 1869. Multilateral talks began in the 1860s but the Franco-Prussian War delayed agreements. The decision-making process of the U.P.U. was discussed in Cromwell A. Riches, *Majority Rule in International Organization* (Baltimore 1940), pp. 60-76.

¹⁴² Postcards sent by G. B. Fraser in Scotland to J. G. White in the U.S.A. in 1887 and 1893 show the pre-printed stamp was then only one penny: John G. White Collection in Cleveland, Ohio.

postcard match was *Canada v. U.S.A.*, twenty-nine a side, starting in December 1875. Canada took an early lead, but many players went silent in losing positions and no official scoreline was ever announced. The *American Chess Journal* claimed a 22-11 win for the U.S.A.; so about twenty-five results were unreported.¹⁴³

The American captain for the new match was John Belden, of the *Hartford Weekly Times* in Connecticut, who was elected Vice-President of the American Problem and Chess Association at a chess editors' convention at the Café International, New York, on 19-20 July 1877.¹⁴⁴ The British captain was Hugh Bryan of Ayr, who began writing on chess in 1874 in the *Glasgow News of the Week*, where he organised some postal chess events.¹⁴⁵ Belden and Bryan began exchanging copies of their columns early in 1877. Then on 17 May the *Hartford* column announced the challenge: 'America against Great Britain. International Chess Contest. A Battle at Long Range'.¹⁴⁶ The editors sought readers willing to play four simultaneous games (two with White and two with Black) against transatlantic opponents. They possibly also made direct contact with strong amateurs who had postal chess experience. There was no question of professionals being invited. America originally had sixteen players but by the end of June, Bryan had already found twenty-eight. It only took Belden further two or three further weeks to complete his team, nine of whom had played against Canada. The speed suggests that the event was attractive to players. If anything, it was arranged too hastily: the British team was missing some regular postal players who perhaps did not hear of it soon enough.

The new *Chronicle* editor, Ranken, was on the British team. He quoted Belden's optimistic belief that the length of time it would take to decide a contest of this description was 'by no means an insuperable barrier.'¹⁴⁷ The *Westminster Papers* noted the start of the event, saying that while it could not be seen as a full

¹⁴³ Cited in Zehr & MacDonald, *Canada*, pp. 33-5.

¹⁴⁴ *The Field*, 1 (11 Aug. 1877), p. 177.

¹⁴⁵ The *News of the Week* began organising postal chess events on 8 May 1875. On 16 Sept. 1876 it announced an informal match between readers north and south of the Tweed. There was a Belfast player on the 'Scottish' team and McArthur (who was Scots) played for 'England'.

¹⁴⁶ *Hartford Weekly Times*, 27 Jan. 1877 & 17 May 1877.

¹⁴⁷ *C.P.C.*, n.s. i (July 1877), p. 162. Ranken was quoting from Belden's column in the *Hartford Weekly Times*, 17 May 1877.

test of the relative strength of British and American chess, it was still a worthwhile exercise. ‘The best players of the two nations are conspicuously absent. Nevertheless, the lists promise to be fairly representative of the amateur strength of America and England, and should result in an interesting contest.’¹⁴⁸ On 11 August 1877, Bryan quoted Belden’s call: ‘We sincerely hope that every man on this side at least will do his best to win, and not permit carelessness to jeopardise the result.’ To which Bryan added: British players are expected ‘to do their duty’.¹⁴⁹ To speed up play, the British players proposed opening sequences, leading to level positions according to the chess theory books; their opponents could then choose where to vary the play.

All four U.K. countries were represented. There were three Scotsmen, two Belfast men, one Dubliner, and one Welshman. Many of the fifty-six participants lived in quite remote places, while some chess centres in both countries were unrepresented. For example, there was nobody from Philadelphia,¹⁵⁰ and only one player each from suburbs of Edinburgh, London and Glasgow, although Bryan was writing in a Glasgow paper. Several English industrial cities where chess was much played went unrepresented: no team members lived in Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool or Manchester. This is partly explained by the fact that urban players had more opportunities for over-the-board competition. By the mid-1870s most towns had at least one chess club, whereas postal chess was a way for relatively isolated provincials to find opponents of their standard.

The distribution also partly reflects where the event received advance publicity. New York State had been well represented against Canada. While New England provided about half the American team, the wide distribution of the other half may reflect a response to the slogan ‘Go West, Young Man!’¹⁵¹ Even Wyoming, not yet a state, contributed a player and there were mini-clusters around Detroit and Milwaukee. The largest English cluster was at Hull, which was too far from

¹⁴⁸ *Westminster Papers*, x (May 1877), p37.

¹⁴⁹ *News of the Week*, 11 Aug. 1877.

¹⁵⁰ A Philadelphia player in the Canada match did not enter this time. The start-list of that match appeared in *American Chess Journal*, June 1876, p. 20.

¹⁵¹ ‘Go West, young man, and grow up with the country’ was the title of an 1851 editorial by John B. L. Soule in the *Terre Haute Express*, but is often misattributed to Horace Greeley.

West Riding chess centres to allow over-the-board matches without an overnight stay. The only player in Lancashire moved there from Hull during the match and the N.C.O.s of the Royal Sussex Regiment depot at Chichester (three of whom played) were in contact with him.¹⁵² The absence of Tynesiders could be connected to the failure of the *Newcastle Courant* to mention the event.

There was no official board order, as team matches invariably have nowadays. This avoided offending anyone; it also would have been impossible to establish an accurate list in the absence of any rating system. Players entering were asked to give an indication of experience. Bryan privately sent Belden his opinion of strength,¹⁵³ and it was left to the American captain to allocate his players to appropriate opponents. A similar system had been used in the Canadian match. On published lists, the British players were arranged in alphabetical order, and the boards were not officially numbered. Some of the strongest American players were among the late additions.¹⁵⁴ Eugene Delmar (a late entry) was well-established as a leading American player over the board and Max Judd was also a competitor in several major events.¹⁵⁵ So it was very creditable that Brewer and Coates of England managed to win games against these opponents.

Belden paired the only woman in the contest, forty-year-old Ellen Gilbert, the wife of a Hartford builder, with George Gossip, an American-born journalist and chess writer long resident in England, who had won a small postal chess tournament a few years earlier.¹⁵⁶ Hallock, editor of the *American Chess Journal*, thought Gilbert 'slightly overmatched' and said that the number two American, Judd, should have played Gossip,¹⁵⁷ but Belden perhaps saw publicity advantages

¹⁵² This was the chess editor J. T. Palmer, whose tourneys are discussed on pp. 247-9.

¹⁵³ *News of the Week*, 7 July 1877.

¹⁵⁴ Delmar's opponent, H. Brewer of Bournemouth, must have been near the top of Bryan's list, and he won one of the three games that are known (losing two). Their fourth game is one of two results that were still unknown when the fullest list of results was published.

¹⁵⁵ Maximilian Judkiewicz was Jewish. Born in Krakow on 27 Dec. 1851, he changed his name on naturalisation. He became a successful businessman in Toledo, Ohio, and was U.S. consul-general in Vienna from 1893-7.

¹⁵⁶ G. H. D. Gossip, *The chess-player's manual* (London 1875) was a massive tome containing a large selection of illustrative games, but it was not exclusively an openings work and its reliability was much questioned in reviews. The *C.P.C.* tournament that Gossip won is mentioned on pp. 245-6.

¹⁵⁷ *The American Chess Journal* (Hannibal, Missouri), ii, p. 39.

in backing his friend against the best-known player on the opposing team. Against Canada, she had won both her games and was often referred to as The Queen of Chess.¹⁵⁸ Gilbert, a physician's daughter from Leverett, Massachusetts, had come to Hartford as a teacher.¹⁵⁹ In the new match, there was to be a prize for the longest announced checkmate. In one game she claimed it in twenty-one moves and in another, mate in thirty-five, though Jacob Frech of Washington actually surpassed that by announcing a win in forty-three moves.¹⁶⁰ Nevertheless, Gilbert created a sensation by winning all her games in spectacular style and she was presented with a gold watch.¹⁶¹ As a result of such feats, people looking for early sporting achievements by women have rediscovered Gilbert. Perhaps because of eyesight problems, mentioned in obituaries, she rested on her laurels after this match. Gossip accepted defeat sportingly, acknowledging he had been outplayed in three games and only blundered in one of them.¹⁶²

Players had two clear days, after the receipt of a postcard, to consider their four moves before replying on the third day. If a player fell seriously ill, or moved to another country, completed games were to count but the rest would be void. Molson, of Belfast, suffered a fatal accident early in the match. Hime of New Orleans died from yellow fever after losing one game. Eight mini-matches finished within two years; some were abandoned. In others, the result was eventually reported as four draws, which in some cases may mean the players agreed to stop because of health or business pressures or frustration with the post. One American was prepared for the 'long haul'. Francis Brenzinger, a New York chess club stalwart, had played a game against his brother in Baden, Germany, which lasted

¹⁵⁸ *Hartford Daily Courant*, 17 Mar. 1877. I am grateful to Ms Bonnie Linck, of the Connecticut State Library, for facilitating my research into the Hartford newspapers.

¹⁵⁹ Obituary in *The Hartford Daily Times*, 14 Feb. 1900. She died on 12 Feb. 1900.

¹⁶⁰ The *Gilbert v Gossip* games were widely published, the ones with the long mate announcements were annotated by Steinitz in *The Field* on 8 and 29 Nov. 1879. The other games were in the *I.L.N.* of 29 June 1878 and *C.P.C.*, N.S. iv (July 1880), p. 155.

¹⁶¹ *Hartford Weekly Times*, 25 Mar 1880.

¹⁶² 'There was only one out of the three games in which I ever had any advantage, and that I threw away by sending anticipated moves too far ahead. But in the other three I have been fairly beaten at all points, although I exerted myself to the utmost' — *Hartford Weekly Times*, 25 Dec. 1879.

from 1859 to 1875.¹⁶³ Also in 1864 he began play against Alfred Hug of Mannheim, a more rapid game that Brenzinger wrapped up during 1870.¹⁶⁴ Yet only one of his games in the match seems to have been completed.

There was considerable interest in the *U.K.-U.S.A.* match for the first year or two. When the *News of the Week* closed at the end of 1877, Bryan's column transferred to the *Glasgow Evening News and Star*. In April 1878 the *Ayr Argus and Express* column began, a good source about the match until early 1880. The opening moves of many games appeared in columns on both sides of the Atlantic and even in Australia, until some people objected that only completed games ought to be published. This is why in several cases only fragments of games have survived. Even photographs were collected. The *Illustrated London News* received a copy of a montage published by Mr J. N. Walker, of Ayr, with each square of the chessboard 'filled with the portrait of a chessplayer more or less known to fame', most of them being amateurs engaged in the match.¹⁶⁵ Unfortunately the *Illustrated* did not publish it and maybe no examples survived.¹⁶⁶

Problems began after one year. The *Evening News and Star* chess column ended abruptly, because of the death on 17 June, of Bryan's only son, aged 16 months.¹⁶⁷ It is unclear how much involvement Bryan had in the match after that. One source says that he 'fell into ill-health and no-one took his place'.¹⁶⁸ The American captain had problems too. Belden fell out with his colleagues Bull (of the *Detroit Free Press*) and Peiler (of the *Hartford Sunday Globe*).¹⁶⁹ Peiler apparently agreed his games drawn; Bull's were taken over by Belden after seventeen moves.

¹⁶³ *The Field*, xlv (24 Apr. 1875), p. 399. *The Gentleman's Journal*, iv (Oct. 1871 supplement), p. 283 to F. E. B. (Brooklyn): 'We shall be pleased... to receive one of the five games which you have played by correspondence since 1859 with your brother, Dr K. B., in Baden, Germany...'

¹⁶⁴ *The Field*, xxxvi (20 Aug. 1870), p. 170.

¹⁶⁵ *I.L.N.*, lxxiii (12 Oct. 1878), p. 355.

¹⁶⁶ There were no photographs in the *Ayr Argus and Express*.

¹⁶⁷ *Argus and Express*, 22 June 1878, death notices on p8, c6. The word following 'only' is not clear on the microfilm, and was possibly 'child' not 'son'. In a sad coincidence, Belden's only child also died in infancy, in 1884, and his health collapsed soon after, according to his obituary in the *Hartford Daily Times* of 14 May 1886.

¹⁶⁸ *Irish Sportsman*, 19 Apr. 1884.

¹⁶⁹ The *Globe* copied from Bull's column a Detroit game played on 10 Feb. 1878 under the headline 'The first game of chess played by telephone', Peiler casting discredit on the Hartford phone game that Belden stated was the first. In fact they were all wrong: see below, p. 219.

The original idea was for chess masters to adjudicate unfinished games after two years. At mid-1879, when play was supposed to halt, the *Argus* reported fifty-three games finished: seven were drawn, the British team had won twenty-one and the Americans twenty-four. Some were cancelled, leaving fifty-two to be decided.

The games have been conducted quietly, and no dispute has marred the match... The leader of the American team has been asked to... divide these games among five American umpires, who will give their opinion upon them, and send them to the *Hartford Times* office, with the verdict. The games will then, if the suggestion be adopted, be mailed to this country... If confirmed, well and good; if not, then those games that there may be a difference of opinion upon will be re-examined, or some arrangement made respecting them. We have no doubt that the match will be terminated in the same good manner in which it was begun and carried on.¹⁷⁰

Unfortunately this did not happen. Belden wrote that 'some of the American players are opposed to having the unfinished games left out for arbitration'.¹⁷¹ The outcome was that the match dragged on for two years more, and interest collapsed. Yet the *Argus* was right about the lack of disputes. If anything, players were too lenient with opponents. Having won two games against John Romeyn of New York, one of them in only eight moves, William Nash accepted his opponent's plea of ill health and agreed draws in the other games. Stanley Monck of T.C.D. and Frech in Washington had no problems, scoring two wins each within two years. Monck later contributed an account of the event to the *Irish Sportsman*.¹⁷²

It is not surprising things went awry with such an ambitious and experimental event. No arbiter had been appointed to rule on claims under Rule Five, governing breakdown of communication; the organisers should have learned the lesson from the Canadian match. Because claims against defaulting players were not enforced, it is hard to determine a fair result. Sergeant-Major McArthur complained that his opponent stopped answering in all four games in April 1879. The *New York Clipper* eventually claimed America won most of the prizes but

¹⁷⁰ *C.P.C.*, n.s. iii (Sept. 1879), p. 208, quoting the *Argus and Express*, 16 Aug. 1879.

¹⁷¹ *Hartford Weekly Times*, 11 Sep. 1879.

¹⁷² *Irish Sportsman*, 19 April 1884; games by Monck from the match also appeared in the columns of 12 Apr., 24 May & 16 Aug. On Monck, a scholar of Trinity whose attempts to become a professor were unsuccessful, see R. B. McDowell and D. A. Webb, *Trinity College Dublin 1592-1952: An academic history* (Cambridge 1982), p. 259.

some in Britain disagreed. A result list published by Belden in January 1881 was incomplete and inaccurate.¹⁷³

Nash, one of England's main postal chess organisers, wrote to everyone he could locate, and produced a different list.¹⁷⁴ He claimed a win for Britain and Ireland in the match by 36 wins to 32, the other games either being drawn or having no known result. He was unable to contact Brewer and O'Brien who had moved house. While Nash's list provides some results unavailable in other British sources, he overlooked one of Delmar's published wins, and he should, following the rules, have declared three of Hime's games void.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, Nash asked strong players to adjudicate unfinished games, and some of those judgments are incorrect.¹⁷⁶ There was a particularly awkward case where Lunt of Kansas made clerical errors in two games just before ceasing to write; one of these would have lost his queen immediately. His opponent, Sergeant Scott, generously suggested continuing with a better move for his opponent but Scott's proposed reply would have turned a strong position for him into a loss. It was now September 1880 and he never heard from Lunt again. A mitigating circumstance was that Lunt's wife died during the match, though he did not stop playing then.¹⁷⁷ His silence may have been due to embarrassment at the situation. Having been offered the chance of saving his queen, a gentleman could hardly take advantage of Scott's careless reply to win the game next move!

Belden reprinted Nash's article without comment. However, the correct U.K. total, counting strictly only those games actually finished and ignoring ones where a player died or went silent, is thirty wins against thirty-two for America. On today's rules, where the games of silent players would be awarded to their

¹⁷³ *Hartford Weekly Times*, 20 Jan. 1881. For example, Belden gave all of Hime's games as draws and he omitted Delmar and some other players.

¹⁷⁴ *C.P.C.*, journal series, v (29 Nov. 1881), pp. 577-8.

¹⁷⁵ Nash wrote, in *C.P.C.*, loc. cit., that he had sent the unfinished games to G. B. Fraser, 'who decided that the probable result was—Palmer 2, Hime 1, and this decision I have adopted.' On the other hand he 'omitted to give the British team credit for games they could legally have claimed in consequence of the default of their opponents, except in those cases where I consider a winning superiority had already been obtained.'

¹⁷⁶ Nash considered that J. T. Palmer stood better in two unfinished games against Boothby and 'at least an even game' in the other, so counted 2½ points for the U.K. A fair adjudication would have been 1½ each.

¹⁷⁷ *Hartford Weekly Times*, 24 Apr. 1879.

opponents, the British would win all McArthur's games and some others, thus scoring a heavy but unsatisfactory victory. The table on page 454 in the appendices shows the best reconstruction of the result that the sources allow.

Chess, requiring an aggregation of individual performances for a collective result, has never been an ideal team game. Correspondence team events, especially large-scale ones of this kind, require captains to be active. Later matches repeated some of the organisational mistakes of this one. It took the more formal organisational structures of the later twentieth century to conduct such events efficiently to an agreed result. Nevertheless, the Postcard Match had positive features. To most participants, what probably mattered was their individual contest. There was not much room on the cards for personal messages, yet some of those involved seem to have enjoyed the chance to communicate with strangers from beyond their shores. Friendly relations were seen as more important than scoring points. Seventy-five years before airmail drastically cut postal transit times, the post was often surprisingly reliable and quick, not always true in the late twentieth century. The event was too protracted to sustain interest for some players, yet others did their best to finish. When Ranken and Berry finished their match, a game of seventy-seven moves not ending until 1881, they continued their friendly rivalry and contested, in total, eleven games over about seven years, Ranken winning 6-2 with three draws.¹⁷⁸

Chess contacts between Europe and America were strong from the 1840s. Rather than speak in vague terms of a common culture or heritage, one can identify two common factors — language and notation— that made British and Irish players look thousands of miles west rather than hundreds of miles east. Although a match against France or Germany might have proceeded more quickly, differences in notation, especially, would have made communication difficult, whereas what united the Anglophones was stronger than the ocean dividing them.

¹⁷⁸ *Irish Sportsman*, 24 May 1884.

8 Games by telephone and radio

TELEPHONE chess does involve distance between opponents and a means of transmission, so could be considered a type of correspondence chess. In practice, however, telephone games (like single-session telegraph matches) had more resemblance to over-the-board chess, in that limited time was available for the selection of moves and chess literature could not be consulted during play. The telephone does not lend itself to postal-style chess, but it has been used for friendly games and for matches where neutral umpires and runners keep a record. This short section is therefore included for the sake of completeness.

Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone in America in 1876 and the earliest phone chess was played there. Early in 1878, the *Derbyshire Advertiser* republished a game played in Hartford, Connecticut, which Belden and Fred Thompson believed was the first by telephone,¹⁷⁹ and Thompson arranged with a friend to play the first European phone game at Belper.¹⁸⁰ In fact a New York paper had already published a telephone game played 'in the vicinity of New York' about three months previous to the Hartford game.¹⁸¹ All these games were experiments over short distances rather than serious contests. The next telephone game in Britain was played between Chichester club members and some Brighton players, the former travelling to Littlehampton by train in order to use the instrument. It ended in a draw after two sessions on 6 and 13 February 1880; another match was played between them in November.¹⁸² The telephone was used for two high-profile matches between the British Chess Club and the Liverpool Chess Club, in each case two consultation games being played on the same day with different (strong)

¹⁷⁹ *Derbyshire Advertiser* 25/1/1878, from the *Hartford Times*, 3 Jan. 1878; that game had been played over a private line the previous week.

¹⁸⁰ *Derbyshire Advertiser*, 1 Feb 1878. The *Oxford Companion* (2nd ed., p. 416) said the Belper game was the earliest documented telephone game.

¹⁸¹ *CPC*, 5th series (Feb. 1878), p. 45, referred to the real first game printed in the *Turf, Field and Farm*, but did not state the date of publication, which was 5 Oct. 1877 according to an image provided by American chess collector Andy Ansel.

¹⁸² The first game was in both the *Brighton Herald*, 21 Feb. 1880, and *Land and Water*, xxix (28 Feb. 1880), p. 193. The other, which Brighton won, was played on 12 Nov., but completed by post. It first appeared in the *Brighton Herald*, 11 Dec. 1880. I am grateful to Brian Denman for emailing information from the Brighton reports on both the matches with Chichester.

players involved in each game. The first match was played on 12 December 1891,¹⁸³ and the other twelve months later.¹⁸⁴

Informal correspondence chess was also played at sea, as with a game played in 1853 by means of naval signals between the ships *Barham* and *Wellesley*, sailing homeward from Calcutta. It 'was probably the first game ever conducted under such circumstances' but Staunton declined on quality grounds to print it. In 1898, *The Field* did publish a game between the officers of *HMS Arrogant* and *Mars*, played by signal in the Channel Fleet.¹⁸⁵ Radio games were a variant on cable and telephone chess. About August 1902, an unfinished game was played on the Atlantic between the *S.S. Philadelphia* and the *S.S. Campania*.¹⁸⁶ Then on 16 January 1903 the *Philadelphia* was involved in what was possibly the first complete game by radio between ships, terminated rather abruptly by a blunder by the players on the *S.S. Lucania*, on Black's twelfth move.¹⁸⁷ Such matches alleviated the tedium of voyages but were not competitive correspondence chess.

9 Later postal team matches, official and unofficial

THE associations formed in the 1880s quickly arranged matches with one another. As more local bodies were founded, such contests multiplied. However, there were also unofficial matches and it is not always straightforward to draw a distinction.

9 a) Official matches between associations

SUSSEX played Ireland in 1885-6 with fourteen a side (including a women's board), both teams being possibly the strongest available; Ireland won 7½-6½. All of the games in this match were published. When Ireland met Scotland in 1886-7,

¹⁸³ Reported extensively in *The Field*, lxxviii (19 Dec. 1891), p. 946. Liverpool won 1½-½, Burn playing in the drawn game: see Forster, *Burn*, pp. 418-9.

¹⁸⁴ Liverpool won the second match (played on 17 Dec 1892, not 1893 as given by Pagni) by the same score. *The Field*, lxxx (24 Dec. 1882), pp. 982-3, has the original report.

¹⁸⁵ *ILN*, xxii (11 June 1853) p. 475 & xxiii (23 July 1853) p. 43; *The Field*, xci (28 May 1898), p. 799.

¹⁸⁶ *The Chess Chronicle*, xviii (25 June 1902), pp. 276-7 has a good text report; the moves are in *Womanhood*, viii (Aug. 1902) p. 210, taken from the *Brooklyn Eagle*.

¹⁸⁷ *Weekly Irish Times*, 31 Jan. 1903 (first report) and 21 Feb. 1903 (game score). The game had appeared previously in the *Times Democrat* of New Orleans.

forty-seven boards were originally announced, rising to sixty-three, although some games were not actually played. This was the only official match played between the two countries before the First World War. Scotland won easily,¹⁸⁸ partly because of the Irish Chess Association split, discussed in Chapter Eight.¹⁸⁹ Peake, the new Irish secretary, wanted to involve as many players as possible, including several inexperienced members of the newly-founded Limerick club. The third and last official match played by the I.C.A. was in 1888 against Yorkshire, who won 14-12 (two games per board).¹⁹⁰ Sussex and Yorkshire played several matches against each other.¹⁹¹ The 1886 match was 10-10 tie;¹⁹² Yorkshire won the 1887 match 19-11 against apparently weak opposition; there was a 6-6 tie in the 1890 match,¹⁹³ the fourth, and last, in the series was won 8-4 by Sussex in 1894.¹⁹⁴ Over-the-board matches with neighbouring counties were also starting to be played.

Team correspondence matches were popular in the early 1900s. In the 1900-1 season, a match was arranged between the North and South of England, repeating the over-the-board matches of 1893 and 1894, but now with official regional unions to pick the teams. The South won the fifty-a-side match, with two games per board, by 57-43.¹⁹⁵ Both teams were strong, with several amateurs of international standard. Another match in 1902-3 had 126 players on each side with best game prizes offered,¹⁹⁶ and the South won 138-114.¹⁹⁷ The B.C.F. organised

¹⁸⁸ Peake (*Irish Chess Chronicle*, 15 June 1887, p. 90) said 128 players were involved in the match. There is some doubt about the exact result because of withdrawals and discrepancies.

¹⁸⁹ See p. 318.

¹⁹⁰ The result is in the *Sheffield Weekly Independent*, 19 Jan. 1889.

¹⁹¹ Brian Denman supplied some of the information in Appendix V (pp. 456-7 & 460) about the *Sussex-Yorkshire* matches, mostly verified later in the *Leeds Mercury* and Sussex publications. Some matches were described in Sussex as being versus West Yorkshire, but the Leeds paper said the Yorkshire Chess Association ran external events.

¹⁹² The final report was in the *Southern Weekly News*, 30 Oct. 1886.

¹⁹³ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 15 Jan. 1891.

¹⁹⁴ *Southern Counties Chess Journal*, Feb. 1895.

¹⁹⁵ The regulations appeared in *B.C.M.*, xx (1900), pp. 411-12. Results were published in *B.C.M.*, xxi (1901), pp. 162 & 209; see Appendix V, pp. 468-9. Play started on 8 Oct. 1900 and H. E. Atkins, then British Amateur Champion, adjudicated games left unfinished at 15 Apr. 1901.

¹⁹⁶ *B.C.M.*, xxii (1902), p. 435. Team lists were exchanged on 26 Sept. Two prizes of 10s. 6d each were offered by Walter Harris (Kent) for the best game on either side. A member of City of London Club offered *Theory and Practice of Chess* by Salvioli for the better of these two games. No game was to be published before it was completed.

¹⁹⁷ *B.C.M.*, xxiii (1903), pp. 342-5, gave the result of every game.

sixty-a-side inter-unit matches, with the winners and losers playing off the following season. The London Chess League beat the Midland union 32-26 (two games were annulled) and the North beat the South 37-23. The final began on 17 December 1906, after the Northern Union agreed to a reduction to fifty boards, the London secretary having had difficulty filling its team.¹⁹⁸ The N.C.C.U. beat the L.C.L. 32½-17½ while the S.C.C.U. came third by beating M.C.C.U. 37-23. This competition was not repeated because the London League and Midland Union declined to raise teams,¹⁹⁹ but as most counties formed associations, inter-county matches were organised more frequently.²⁰⁰ The S.C.C.U. soon began a knock-out series of matches over successive seasons, with at least eleven counties involved;²⁰¹ this was particularly popular with the remote counties like Devon and Cornwall.

British and American teams contested a series of matches by cable.²⁰² These were all played in real time, in one or two sessions; sometimes Americans who happened to be in London even met their opponents over the board. These were strictly speaking inter-club matches but increasingly took on the character of battles between full-strength national sides. The first was on 9 March 1895 between the Manhattan and British Chess Clubs; the Brooklyn Club arranged the 1896 match. Except for a break in 1904-6, these continued annually until the City of London Club won the Newnes trophy by a third successive victory in 1911.²⁰³ On 31 May 1897 the House of Commons and the House of Representatives played by

¹⁹⁸ *B.C.M.*, xxvii (Jan. 1907), p. 21, giving the breakdown of northern players by county: Yorkshire 21, Lancashire 14, Durham 6, Cumberland 5, Northumberland 2, Cheshire 1, and Lincolnshire 1. It also said the Midland v Southern match had been proceeding 'for some weeks past'. In view of that, the 1905 dating of the start of the competition as given in the British Chess Federation's *10 years of chess federation, 1904-13*, p. 10, is preferable to the 1906 given in *The British Chess Federation 1928 Year book and resumé of the first twenty-five years* (Redhill 1928), pp. 38-9, although the match scores are taken from the latter.

¹⁹⁹ *BCF 1928 Year book*, pp. 38-9.

²⁰⁰ *B.C.M.* for 1902 shows Kent playing both Devon and Yorkshire, for example, and other match lists appear in the magazine in this decade. Soon such matches became routine and results would only be published in local papers.

²⁰¹ *Ten Years of Federation*, p. 11. County match reports often appeared in columns, notably the *Plymouth Western Daily Mercury*.

²⁰² Anthony J. Gillam (ed), *Cable matches 1895-1901: Great Britain versus America* (Nottingham 1997) and *Cable matches 1902-1911: Great Britain versus America* (Nottingham 1997), based on the contemporary reports in *The Field* and elsewhere.

²⁰³ *I.L.N.*, cxxxviii (29 Apr. 1911), p. 640.

cable; the top two Commons players were Plunkett and John Howard Parnell. There were also several student matches: Oxbridge versus the Ivy League.²⁰⁴

9 b) Later Irish matches and unofficial matches

A match by correspondence between teams captained by Mrs T. B. Rowland, Kingstown, and Mr Philip Dancer, Cornwall, with 102 players on each side, was started recently. We have seen the contest described as an international match, England v. Ireland, but as the three English unions have no official knowledge of it, we think the gratuitously conferred dignity is hardly warranted.²⁰⁵

THIS quotation suggests that now that regional democratic bodies had been established, some considered they alone should be responsible for arranging team correspondence events, as they were for over-the-board contests. As there was no longer an official body in Ireland, the players would have been deprived of matches had that view prevailed. Since most Irish players read either Mrs Rowland's columns or those of her Belfast colleagues, the teams that they arranged in the 1890s and 1900s probably included all the strongest Irish players who were interested. The same could not be said of the opposition. *B.C.M.* doubtless did not like the idea that Ireland might later claim to beat 'England' when the latter was really a team assembled by provincial editors.

The Rowlands first organised a *Belfast v. Dublin* match in 1890-1, won by Dublin 26½-23½.²⁰⁶ Plans for a second one over 100 boards became a *North v. South of Ireland* match, which the South won 52-48 in 1891-2.²⁰⁷ Next came *Ireland v. the West of England*, 1892-3 over 100 boards.²⁰⁸ After that the Rowlands concentrated on their tournaments, discussed in Chapter Six, until the match intended to mark the coronation of King Edward VII in 1902. Due to the illness of Dancer, it only began in 1903. The qualification was that 'players must be

²⁰⁴ Sergeant, *Century*, pp. 366-8 lists all results of the matches played between 1899 and 1910, and the 1924 match. Future world champion J. R. Capablanca (while at Columbia) played top board for the US universities in 1907 but only drew his game.

²⁰⁵ *B.C.M.*, xxxiii (1903), p. 113.

²⁰⁶ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 19 Feb. 1891.

²⁰⁷ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 27 Aug. & 1 Sept. 1892. See Appendix V for details on these matches.

²⁰⁸ W. S. Branch of the *Cheltenham Examiner* captained the English team, which included some Welsh players. Ireland won but different papers gave slightly different results.

natives of the country they represent; present residence immaterial.’²⁰⁹ Eventually there were 111 boards. Some people had more than one opponent, which would not occur in a modern representative match, but it happens sometimes in friendly matches to accommodate all who wish to play. A small ‘Ireland-England’ match was played in 1905-6 but in this case it is not clear who recruited the England side.

Many of the correspondence team matches played before the First World War were still organised informally by newspaper columnists. In 1901, the British Chess Company offered prizes of chess goods for matches played between the readers of various papers. These were sent to the successful editor, whose winning readers played off for the prizes. Several matches resulted from this promotional offer. Illustrating the range of publications that had chess columns in which correspondence chess was organised, some of the earliest were *Leeds Mercury v. Leisure Hour*,²¹⁰ *Kingstown Society v. Oldham Chronicle*,²¹¹ *Kingstown Society v. Hobbies*, and *Dublin Evening Mail v. Morning Post*. In 1902 the readers of the *Belfast News-Letter* played the *Cork Weekly News*. Most participants must have been average club players, but among those involved were future British champion, George Alan Thomas, and future Irish champion, John J. O’Hanlon. Mrs Rowland’s later matches with English teams, such as *Devon-Ireland* 1908 and *Yorkshire-Ireland* 1908-9, might be considered as ‘semi-official’ since the opponents were county associations, or other recognised bodies such as the B.C.C.A. Other matches included *Connaught-Leinster* 1905-6 and 1909 (players representing the province of their birth), and *North v. South of Ireland* in 1910-11, repeated in later years. Sometimes she distinguished between ‘Ireland’ matches (only for natives or residents) and matches on behalf of *The Four-Leaved Shamrock*, in which any of her readers could participate.

²⁰⁹ *Kingstown Society*, Jan. 1903, p. 21. On the Irish team was Reginald Saunderson, an aristocratic Irish murderer detained in Broadmoor (a secure mental hospital) after being found insane at his trial in 1895, and he also played other correspondence chess events while there. Mrs Rowland recalled this in *Shamrock*, 34-5 (June 1911), p. 5. On the Saunderson case, see *The Irish Times*, 11 Dec. 1894, and *The Times*, 31 Jan. 1895, p.9.

²¹⁰ One of the players was H. Brewer, who had played in the U.S.A. match twenty years earlier.

²¹¹ The *Oldham Chronicle* then ran a small tournament in 1903-4 (information from Alan Smith).

9 c) The matches with Bohemia and post-war developments

WHEN Charles Blanshard took over the *Western Daily Mercury* column, he arranged two matches with Czech chess editor, Stanislav Trcala (1878-1920). These were the only occasions before 1946 in which British teams played by post against continental opposition.²¹² They cannot be considered official, although several strong amateurs competed. In each match, players had two games against their opponents. In the first one, two Englishmen each met more than one opponent, and in the second match one Czech player did so. The first match started in 1905. Games unfinished at 1 January 1907 were adjudicated. Both sides agreed that England had won but there were discrepancies in the scores: 23-21 seems correct. Several Czech masters entered the second match, and their best player (with three opponents) scored 6-0, helping them to win 23½-16½. There were no 'big guns' on the English side, although the chess editor of the *Times Literary Supplement* and several other county-strength amateurs and experienced postal players participated.²¹³ Afterwards, Blanshard announced a match with Sweden but it does not appear to have started.²¹⁴

After 1918, matches were organised by specialist correspondence chess clubs and by some columns, including a paper called the *Sunday Referee* which did not have chess until 1922. A new formula was devised to enable a national inter-county competition to be completed in one winter season. In the Counties and District Correspondence Chess Championship, each player on a team met one opposite number from a different county so that, depending on the numbers of entries and boards, there were two or three games between each pair of counties, and the total points were aggregated. This was so popular that it became enlarged to several divisions (with promotion and relegation) and is still played today. Since it only involved playing one game each winter, many players represented their counties annually though they did not enter postal tournaments.

²¹² Possibly these were the only occasions until after World War Two. For the results, see Appendix V, pp. 472-4. For British involvement in individual tournaments abroad, see pp. 266-8.

²¹³ Information from the *Western Daily Mercury* at numerous dates during the period of these matches, checked against Ševeček & Kalendovský, *Historie*, pp. 20-1.

²¹⁴ *Western Daily Mercury*, 29 Jan. & 18 June 1909. There was no sign in late 1909 of the proposed Anglo-Swedish match starting.

In 1936, the Correspondence Chess League of America began a giant match against a British team comprised of players recruited by W. Ritson Morry of the B.C.C.A., with help from numerous organisers including the *Referee* and B. H. Wood's new magazine *Chess*.²¹⁵ In the summer of 1938, Wood announced: 'The 1,000-a-side U.S.A. v Great Britain correspondence chess match will go through to a finish. No Adjudications! About 400 games have been finished and England lead by twelve.'²¹⁶ It was still unfinished at the outbreak of war and, according to Avery, 'at the end of 1942, all postal play between America and other nations was halted for the duration', thus leaving this match without result.²¹⁷

Following the formation of FIDE (1924), postal players from continental countries wanted a similar organisation for correspondence chess. A meeting on 15 August 1928 formally constituted the Internationaler Correspondenz-Schachbund (I.C.S.B.), whose president Erich von Freienhagen had already started some tournaments a few months earlier.²¹⁸ A split at the end of 1928 led to the creation of the successful Internationaler Fernschachbund, I.F.S.B. That body ran tournaments until 1939, including what were in effect European Postal Championships; many masters and distinguished players competed, including the French artist Duchamp. The I.F.S.B. also organised the first international team tournament (preliminaries 1935-7, final 1937-9), published *Fernschach* magazine, and was planning a Correspondence World Championship when war broke out.

This all happened virtually without participation by British or Irish players. The I.F.S.B. invited Britain to affiliate but this was seen as a plot. At the B.C.C.A. annual general meeting held on 15 October 1930, Major Jones read their letter 'in which they were attempting to control our association'. It was agreed that 'we

²¹⁵ Avery, *America*, p. 68, says the match began in 1935 but *Chess*, i, (no. 3. 14 Nov. 1935 and no. 6, 14 Feb. 1936), pp. 119 and 233, shows the start was delayed by the CCLA having problems filling their team and eventually a few Americans played two opponents. See also *BCCA Year Book 1935*, pp. 13 and 15, and *BCCA Year Book 1936*, p. 14, which says the match 'began in the spring and was expected to last 2½ years'.

²¹⁶ *Chess*, iii (14 July 1938), p. 383.

²¹⁷ Avery, *America*, pp. 67-8.

²¹⁸ Erik Larsson, 'International CC in the pioneering year of 1928', in *Chess Mail*, ii (Oct. 1998), pp. 15-19. Larsson was on the IFSB board 1938-9 and became the most important person for the revival of international correspondence chess immediately after the Second World War. At this point British and Irish players did become involved.

should not have any dealings with the German assn. & that our resolution be put before the executive of the B.C.F.’²¹⁹ Later in the 1930s, both Professor Abonyi of Hungary and I.F.S.B. secretary Hans-Werner von Massow wrote to English magazines trying to attract entries,²²⁰ but only one player (Nightingale from Reading) ever contested an important I.F.S.B. tournament. This attitude seems to parallel what happened in soccer, where FIFA was established in 1904 but England did not join until after World War Two. Holt has noted ‘at heart the English felt football was their property and were disinclined to cooperate with foreigners’.²²¹ They could hardly claim to have invented chess, and were involved in the first moves to create an international chess federation (which failed in 1914 but bore fruit in 1923-4), but in correspondence chess there was clear evidence of insularity.

10 Conclusion

CORRESPONDENCE chess matches of the *London versus Edinburgh* type were the primary inter-club interaction until the 1870s but were gradually replaced by matches where each player had an individual opponent, and as communications improved, fewer matches of either kind were played by post. After *London v. Vienna*, correspondence chess became — what for the most part it always had been — an arena for the amateur player, whether novice or expert, and to some extent a training ground for the masters of the future. From the mid-1850s, and especially from 1870, the scope for players to become involved in competitive events as individuals, rather than as committee members, was greatly increased. In the second half of the nineteenth century, committee matches were greatly exceeded in number and variety by individual contests, which form the next subject.

²¹⁹ B.C.C.A. minute book.

²²⁰ *B.C.M.*, lvii (Jan. 1937), p. 8; *Chess*, iv (14 Oct. 1938), pp. 57-9.

²²¹ Holt, *British*, p. 273.

6 Correspondence Competitions for Individuals

HAVING examined consultation matches (in which the individual's effort was subsumed in that of the club) and team matches, where one could win but the team lose, or vice versa, competitions for individuals require analysis. These, especially postal tourneys, have been almost ignored in previous histories of chess. To avoid drowning in detail, the majority of the information about actual events, except the earliest and most important ones, is presented in the appendices.

1 The private match

FRIENDLY games and private matches were the oldest type of chess contest. No organisational structure was needed; any stakes or conditions were easily agreed. Before the press facilitated such matches, opponents must have been acquainted somehow. Private correspondence matches were usually for nominal stakes, or none at all. The loser might have to pay the postage expenses,¹ or to send his photographic likeness to the winner.² Seconds were not required. The following is unusually specific about the terms and class of opponent required:

Any Amateur, of not more than two years' Chess-standing, desirous of a Game by Correspondence, may hear of a competitor by addressing "Scholasticus, 27, King-William street, Charing-cross". The stake to be an Ivory Set of the Staunton Chess-Men. A member of a University, or of some public school, will be preferred.³

Advanced players often agreed to play out particular positions by post. Hoffer wrote in 1903 that: 'the best means of testing an opening is not a contest over the board, but a match by correspondence, when both players have ample time to analyse and to evolve the very best variations for both sides.'⁴ Walker included in his *New Treatise on Chess* the start of a correspondence game between

¹ *Reynolds's Miscellany*, xxvi (13 Apr. 1861), p. 271, not an isolated instance of this.

² *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*, n.s. ix (30 Nov. 1861), p. 15.

³ *I.L.N.*, xv (22 Dec. 1849), p. 411.

⁴ *The Field*, cii (22 Aug. 1903), p. 335; also *I.L.N.*, lxxviii (18 June 1882), p. 614: 'games by correspondence are frequently commenced at known positions in favourite openings'.

the author and a friend, which ‘arose out of a wish to examine whether the different great authorities... were right in their decision, as to the merit of this particular line of defence’.⁵ In 1846, G. Waller of Dublin offered ‘to play the attack in the Evans’s gambit, by correspondence, against any amateur who has faith in the acknowledged defences to that beautiful début.’⁶ This was a precursor of twentieth century ‘thematic’ tournaments where a particular opening variation is compulsory.⁷ In 1902 De Soyres proposed offering prizes for test games in particular openings between leading professional masters, but nothing came of that impractical suggestion.⁸

The earliest known private match was discovered in 1939. *B.C.M.* reported on a manuscript apparently seen by the magazine’s editor: ‘Particulars of a game at chess, played by E. Houlston Junr., 65 Paternoster Row, London, & G. Houlston, Wellington, Salop, E. H. Junr playing black & H. H. playing White. The game commencing Novr 20th, 1828. The moves are communicated by notes in H. & Son’s parcels.’⁹ Even the dates of sending each move were published. The editor, Golombek, did not state where he found this MS. If genuine, that was the earliest known game between individuals in Britain, but the lack of a primary source requires one to maintain a degree of scepticism.¹⁰

Only particularly interesting private games were likely to be published. The 1840 match between Harry Wilson of Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight, and Samuel Newham of Nottingham was different. They were two of the leading provincial players and their contest had been mooted for some time, following a general challenge issued by Wilson in 1837.¹¹ Both were country members of the

⁵ Walker, *New Treatise* (London 1832), pp. 42-5. In this edition the opponent was said to be ‘W. B***, Esq.’ but the 2nd ed (1833), p. 76 said ‘Wm. Bone’. After White’s thirteenth move, several variations are given without indicating what was the actual continuation in the game.

⁶ *I.L.N.*, viii (16 May 1846), p. 326. Waller wrote on the Evans Gambit in *C.P.C.*, vii (Nov. 1846), pp. 351-3. His name is still associated with a variation of the Evans.

⁷ An early example was the 1903-4 Rice Gambit international correspondence tournament organised by *Le Monde Illustré*, in which W. T. Pierce was one of nine competitors.

⁸ *B.C.M.*, xxii (1902), p. 265.

⁹ *B.C.M.*, lix (1939), pp. 151-2.

¹⁰ Searches in *The Times Digital Archive* reveal advertisements proving there was indeed a firm Houlston & Son (in the publishing or printing line of business) in Wellington, Shropshire, in the 1820s, and that by 1829 they had a London office. So a hoax seems highly improbable.

¹¹ *B.L.L.*, 20 and 27 Aug, 3, 10, and 17 Sept. 1837.

Westminster Club, but it proved difficult to arrange a mutually convenient date.¹² They now agreed to play by mail. Both games were drawn: the first in twenty-eight moves, the second in fifty-three, which probably took almost a year to complete.¹³ The outcome of Staunton's 1840-1 postal match against Rev Horatio Bolton (1793-1873), a grandson of Lord Nelson, remains a mystery.¹⁴ Apart from the Bristol match,¹⁵ his only other acknowledged correspondence game was against a female contributor: 'a very slight skirmish, played by letter between the accomplished "Stella", of problem-composing celebrity, and Mr Staunton.'¹⁶ Löwenthal also played postal matches, possibly for money.¹⁷

James Pierce wrote that 'Staunton... would have been astonished to find that nowadays several players carry on simultaneously five or six games without any difficulty.'¹⁸ In that he was mistaken, although the multiplicity of games conducted by George Cochrane was probably atypical until the 1880s. Besides the Armagh club matches, he had a 'little independent fight with a player at Chichester',¹⁹ and at least one game against a Glasgow opponent in 1841-2.²⁰ When he attended the 1845 Liverpool Club dinner, a toastmaster called him:

¹² *B.L.L.*, 3 Mar. 1839 says there was still 'no certain date' for the match.

¹³ The exact start date is unknown but *B.L.L.*, 23 Feb. 1840, said it was in progress. The same article issued a Nottingham challenge to provincial clubs saying that Newham would 'take no part whatever in the projected match on the part of the Nottingham Club, either direct or indirect, by word, deed or even look.' This would apply to the ensuing match with Huddersfield. The first Newham-Wilson game to finish was published in *B.L.L.* on 4 Oct. 1840 and the other on 29 Nov. 1840. *C.P.C.*, iii (1842), p. 135 reprinted both.

¹⁴ The *New Court Gazette*, 8 Aug. 1840, p. 516 says the match 'has already commenced. When the games are fairly advanced we shall doubtless receive the moves, and they shall be duly forwarded.' It was mentioned again on 14 Nov. but in *C.P.C.*, i (8 May 1841), p. 24, the match was said to be still unfinished.

¹⁵ See pp. 192-3.

¹⁶ *I.L.N.*, xxviii (26 Jan. 1856), p. 99. On Stella, see p. 282 n63. This was no doubt a friendly game. Staunton never published or referred to any professional games of the type referred to by Tomlinson: see p. 193, n46.

¹⁷ Löwenthal wrote to 'Fr (Liverpool)' on 23 Apr. 1854 in the *Era*: 'What terms do you propose for the game by correspondence?' His games with the strong Manchester amateur D. F. Ralli (whom he also met over the board) were possibly friendlies: he often visited Manchester.

¹⁸ James Pierce, 'Correspondence Tourney Games', in *B.C.M.*, v (1885), pp. 78-80.

¹⁹ *B.L.L.*, 16 Aug. 1840. That was possibly the game against an anonymous opponent from the south of England which *B.L.L.* published on 4 July 1841 (and which appeared with annotations in the *Newry Commercial Telegraph* of 15 July 1841).

²⁰ *C.P.C.*, ii (1841-2), pp. 259-60.

...the first correspondent in the whole world as regarded chess; for though Mr Cochrane was not an actual player at the board with those with whom he had fought, he had simultaneously carried on twenty-one games by correspondence, and a man with a greater enthusiasm for chess did not exist on the face of the earth.²¹

In the 1860s, Peter Jones of Dublin played Kempe,²² and G. J. Glen of Belfast contested three matches (totalling at least twelve games) with W. H. Hawkes of London.²³ Numerous games were played between 'Mr W of South Wales' and Thomas Long from 1864-7, although the Irishman won almost every one of them with great ease.²⁴ Long played other matches too.²⁵ The first-rate amateur Edmund Thorold entered only one postal tourney but met at least three rivals in matches. In 1871-2 Lord Randolph Churchill played at least two correspondence games with Lord Ravensworth, a patron of chess in the north-east.²⁶ Ravensworth initially conceded pawn and two moves, and agreed a draw because he was going abroad.²⁷ Churchill lost the second game in 1872, but must have been improving as he received reduced odds.²⁸ By 1874 he was playing Ravensworth level.²⁹ While British players from the 1870s nearly always could enter a tournament; for colonials, matches were necessary. London-born Henry Charlick (1845-1916), of Adelaide, played several, totalling at least fifty games

²¹ *C.P.C.*, vi (Feb. 1845), pp. 60-1. The speaker was Tindal Atkinson and the dinner was held on Friday 14 Feb. 1845 at the Adelphi Hotel. Cochrane responded that he was 'perfectly checkmated by the torrent of eloquence'. He had missed Liverpool's 1843 dinner, at which the Vice-President proposed a toast to him, saying: 'Last year this gentleman was playing twelve games by correspondence and he had since increased the number to twenty-three...' *C.P.C.*, iv (1843), pp. 121-6. Since these reports appeared in Staunton's magazine, he evidently did know about it. The last reference found to Cochrane was in *C.P.C.*, n.s. iii (1855), pp. 128-9, losing a correspondence game to Dr Bell of Edinburgh.

²² *The Field*, xxi (11 Apr. 1863), p. 336; *I.L.N.*, xliii (25 July 1863), p. 99; *Chess Player's Magazine*, i (1864), p. 60 (Kempe, mentioned on p. 125, was now in London); *Weekly Northern Whig*, 17 June 1865. Kempe had White in three of these so there may have been other ones.

²³ *Weekly Northern Whig*, 19 Sep. 1863 and many other dates up to 18 Nov. 1865.

²⁴ These were published at various dates in those years in the *Whig*; Mr W drew one game. Two of Long's wins also appeared in *The Chess Player's Magazine*.

²⁵ *Rathmines School Magazine*, Dec. 1872, p. 6, and some more appeared later.

²⁶ Henry Thomas Liddell (1797-1878), Baron Ravensworth (created earl in 1874), uncle of Lewis Carroll's Alice: Cokayne's *Complete Peerage*, iv, p. 746.

²⁷ *Land and Water*, xi (6 May 1871), p. 327.

²⁸ *Land and Water*, xiii (16 Mar. 1872), p.183. A person's character will out when playing chess; some of his play here was good, until a fatal mistake at move eighteen, which was too aggressive and miscalculated, like his later politics.

²⁹ *Chess Player's Quarterly Chronicle*, iv (Dec. 1874), pp. 172-3.

against his South Australian rival, John Mann.³⁰ Charlick previously played with both Alfred Holloway (a Bristol emigrant) and Charles Benbow, a Birmingham man now in Wellington, New Zealand, where he became the local chess editor.³¹ Also, in 1888, *B.C.M.* reported:

A correspondence game which has lasted already five years is being played between a Mr Filkenstein, of Newark, [NJ] and his cousin in Australia. Mr Filkenstein sends his moves *via* Europe and the Suez Canal in rather less time than his opponent sends his moves via the Pacific Ocean and San Francisco.³²

2 Case study: the *Blackmore v Fedden* match

THE British Library holds eleven letters dating from 1873-4 written by Richard Doddrige Blackmore to the industrialist Nelson Fedden,³³ some of which include chess moves made in their two-game private correspondence match. This is possibly the unique example of such letters surviving; they also reveal Blackmore's character and his network of contacts. In 1873, the novelist was possibly at the height of his fame, *Lorna Doone* having become a great popular success after republication in single-volume format.³⁴ He was now writing *Alice Lorraine* as a serial for *Blackwood's* and running his (unprofitable) horticulture business in Teddington, Surrey.³⁵ There is no indication either in the letters or Blackmore's biographies of how they had met; Fedden's letters are not extant. Both games were published soon after they ended; Blackmore drew one, a significant achievement for him.

³⁰ Several of the *Charlick v. Mann* games appeared in *Chess-Monthly*, vi (1884-5), pp. 108-14.

³¹ *The Field*, lv (17 Jan. 1879), p. 71; obituaries in *B.C.M.*, xxviii (1908), pp. 211 and 284.

³² *B.C.M.*, viii (Dec. 1888), p. 471. This form of chess had advantages in the Antipodes and the first Correspondence World Champion, Cecil Purdy (in 1953), was Australian. Tim Harding (ed.), *The Games of the World Correspondence Chess Championships I-X* (London 1987).

³³ In the 1881 and 1891 censuses Fedden was managing director of a glass bottle works.

³⁴ R. D. Blackmore, *Lorna Doone: a romance of Exmoor* (London, 3 vols., 1869 [1-vol. ed. 1870]).

³⁵ On the market gardening, see Ronald Webber, *R.D. Blackmore, author and horticulturalist of Teddington* (Twickenham 1980). Called to the bar, Blackmore had suffered health problems (apparently epilepsy) and was advised to take up an outdoor occupation. After trying teaching, a legacy enabled him to set up in business. See also Waldo Hilary Dunn, *R. D. Blackmore, The Author of 'Lorna Doone': a biography* (London 1956), pp. 73-5 and 78; Charlotte Mitchell, *O.D.N.B.*, vi (Oxford 2004), pp. 3-6.

Fedden 'in his prime was quite in the front rank of English amateur chess',³⁶ and 1873 was not far off that prime. In 1872 he had played a two-game match by post with Ranken, each man winning a game.³⁷ Chess magazine obituaries are unforthcoming about Fedden's career and family. In the 1860s he was the leading Welsh player and the 1871 census shows him in Cardiff, an 'iron founder and engineer employing 16 men and 8 boys'. By 1873 he was in Bristol, where he later became club president. The letters, donated by the Fedden family, are dated between 17 February 1873 and 30 July 1874; the games were played between 6 August and 17 December 1873.³⁸ The opening sentence of the first letter indicates contact after a long interval, apparently in response to one from Fedden on literary matters: 'It is always a pleasure to me to hear from you, although I am thoroughly conscious that you vastly over-rate my works and powers.' Blackmore had been interested in chess since his Oxford days (1843-7),³⁹ and now writes:

In chess I can have no chance with you. You c^d give me a knight, I am almost sure. The 2 games you sent have been played over... I w^d gladly see some more. Do you know "the great little man", to wit Steinitz? He comes sometimes to see me. I love the game, but am not sound. I cannot concentrate my attention enough upon it. And if I c^d, it w^d not avail.⁴⁰

The next known letter is one of 18 June which his biographer, Prof. Waldo Dunn probably obtained privately.⁴¹ It probably included something on chess but

³⁶ Fedden obituary in *B.C.M.*, xxxv (June 1915), p. 210.

³⁷ *I.L.N.*, lxii (11 Jan. and 8 Mar. 1873), pp. 47 and 235. *The Chess World*, i (1865), p. 29, said Fedden was starting a correspondence match with Mr Gocher 'the well-known amateur of Ipswich'; no more is known about this. In 1869 Fedden played a postal match with Thorold; the games were published in the *Western Mail* (Cardiff) on 1 Jan. 1870; they each won one game.

³⁸ British Library Add 43688 (three letters, ff. 168-71) and Add 44919 (eight letters, ff. 51-63); to read them in sequence, both volumes should be called up. Dunn's book has 'Margaret'; the BL has 'Marguerite'. It is unclear if they were the same person.

³⁹ *D.N.B.*, xxii (Supplement, London 1909), has Blackmore on pp. 207-10; p. 207 says he was known as 'a skilful chess-player' at Oxford. His article in *O.D.N.B.* does not mention chess, but it was discussed in A. R. B. Thomas, *R.D. Blackmore of Blundell's School* (Tiverton 1984). Thomas, a strong chess-player, was master at the school attended by both Blackmore and his fictional hero John Ridd, but he does not mention the Fedden match or details found only in the British Library manuscripts.

⁴⁰ Blackmore to Fedden, 17 Feb. 1873 (Add 43688, f. 169).

⁴¹ Dunn, *Blackmore*, quoting from the 18 June letter on pp. 96 and 128. That letter could not be traced to an archive. I am obliged to Gayle Richardson of the Huntington Library, California, and Jane Baxter of Richmond Local Studies Library, Surrey, for answering queries on holdings, but neither library holds correspondence between Blackmore and chess players.

Dunn did not say. Then in August Blackmore apologised for not writing sooner. He enquired about Steinitz's progress in the current Vienna international tournament because 'I take no paper containing Chess-deeds'. Blackmore then asked:

Shall we have a game by the ½d cards? I have an old spare set of men; who might stand statu quo.- So if you like the idea, 2 games might go on together, a with knight given, ß without odds. I can not always answer for sending by return of post, but w^d try to be punctual. My garden is a jungle of weeds: a tiger might live there unsuspected, if he had the sense to hold his tongue...⁴²

Blackmore suggested that Fedden concede him a knight, but evidently he was persuaded to play level. Blackmore's fourth moves in both games can be seen in the next letter (or fragment).⁴³ The 1 October letter shows them more advanced, and comments on a visit from Blackmore's nieces and the sadness of sending children to boarding school.⁴⁴ Chess moves follow; one of Fedden's next moves was added in pencil, presumably when preparing his reply. The next surviving letter is of 26 November; Fedden has now won a game but a move in the other is included. Blackmore describes a visit from one of his chess-playing friends and signs himself 'your vanquished and captive, R.D.B.'⁴⁵ The 17 December letter, brings the match, but not the correspondence, to a close, as Blackmore accepts 'your magnanimous proposal to draw Game A, & the more because any slip on my part w^d still be fatal.... As you kindly say of yourself, there will be also to me a sad hiatus of the ½ pennies.'⁴⁶ This letter mentions some literary matters, chance encounters and chess-playing acquaintances. The prolixity and digressions in his writings, noted

⁴² Blackmore to Fedden, 6 Aug. 1873 (Add 43688, ff. 170-1). The quotation alludes to the 'In Statu Quo' sets marketed by Jaques specifically for postal players, to retain the position of games in progress. One was needed for each game and whenever a new move arrived, players updated it, and then copied the position to their main set for analysis, saving the trouble of playing through the moves from the beginning. Staunton claimed that 'for conducting games of this description with comfort, it is indispensably necessary to use this ingenious novelty': *I.L.N.*, xxx (14 Feb. 1857), p. 148. He did not state the price but probably they were not cheap: see n160.

⁴³ Blackmore to Fedden, 14 Aug. 1873 (Add 44919, f. 51).

⁴⁴ Blackmore to Fedden, 1 Oct. 1873 (Add 44919, ff. 52-3). The letter includes a reference to a 'doctor', who was Dr Günther of Hampton Wick, one of Blackmore's regular opponents.

⁴⁵ Blackmore to Fedden, 26 Nov. 1873 (Add 44919, ff. 54-55).

⁴⁶ Blackmore to Fedden, 17 Dec. 1873 (Add 44919, f. 56). Fedden had queen and pawn against queen, which in practice is very hard to win against correct defence (and would not be attempted in a friendly). The British Library does not hold postcards; presumably either Fedden did not keep them or his family thought the British Museum would not be interested in them.

by critic Malcolm Elwin, add charm to the letters.⁴⁷ When Blackmore writes again, he says that Steinitz was his guest and has sent him a proof article:

Do you object to the appearance of your name in “The Field” as the master combatant in game A? If so, please write at once, that it may be stopped, for Steinitz on X^{mas} day — when I drew a game with him! — asked me for my copy; but I did not think that he w^d find it worth printing, therefore I did not apply to you about it.⁴⁸

The game, with players identified, duly appeared in *The Field* three days later, Steinitz commenting that ‘the greater portion of this delicate ending game [sic] is remarkably well played by both parties.’⁴⁹ Blackmore’s comments did not reach Steinitz in time for the copy to be changed. He observed to Fedden on 2 February 1874 that two of the mistakes the future world champion attributed to ‘miscalculation’ were really down to ‘inadvertency’.⁵⁰ Blackmore had missed the issue of the *Illustrated* in which the other game appeared; on being sent this by Fedden, he observed that ‘Staunton does not seem to have troubled himself with much analysis.’⁵¹ That letter announced that ‘I am going to signalise my election to the City [of London] Chess Club — as every Briton is bound to do — by a dinner, a very small one truly — how I wish you c^d be there to enlarge it.’

Blackmore also discusses family matters and work. His new novel ‘begins in *Maga* of March. Chequered pleasures must be rare[r], but not, I hope, the tidings of them.’ On 14 February he reports on the dinner, at which Potter was present, and afterwards the party went to the club-room where Blackmore ‘had the honour of playing with the president, Mr Gastineau’. Thereafter, writing the novel must have consumed Blackmore’s time; he ended by saying ‘I am much hurried now, & c^d ill afford the loss of yesterday.’ The next letter, of 27 June, makes arrangements for a visit the following Tuesday by Fedden and his wife. The last one, a month later, refers to the weather, difficulties with the novel (Blackwood granted a month’s leave), his enthusiasm for Hardy (he requests Fedden ‘to read & advise upon *Far From The Madding Crowd*), and naturally chess was not forgotten.

⁴⁷ Malcolm Elwin, *Victorian Wallflowers* (London 1934), p. 16.

⁴⁸ Blackmore to Fedden, 28 Jan. 1874 (Add 44919, ff. 58-9).

⁴⁹ *The Field*, xliii (31 Jan. 1874), p. 114.

⁵⁰ Blackmore to Fedden, 2 Feb. 1874 (Add 43688, ff. 172-3).

⁵¹ *I.L.N.*, lxiv (10 Jan. 1874), p. 43; Blackmore to Fedden, 14 Feb. 1874 (Add 44919, f. 61).

The only thing I do at all well is chess. I think you must have improved my play... With my wife's kind remembrances. Behold me in your mind's eye. Yours most truly, R. D. B.⁵²

Blackmore's probable last reference to Fedden was in a letter on 3 December 1892 to Francis Armstrong: 'Mr Fedden is a very strong chess-player... If you can hold your own with him, you must be very good. I never play or scarcely ever.'⁵³

3 The knock-out tourney

A DEMAND for competition more formal than the private match emerged by the early 1850s. Tourneys offered players the chance of measuring themselves against new opponents and perhaps winning a prize or attaining the kudos of a published victory. The rest of this chapter will discuss the evolution of correspondence tourneys, illustrated by examples of events where innovations were introduced, and some discoveries about individual players. Competition results and most information on the players can be found in the appendices.

3a) The Birmingham and Cassell's tournaments

UNTIL the mid-1870s, all postal tournaments used the knock-out system, but after the early 1880s that method was only chosen in special circumstances.⁵⁴ While the second round of the *Home Circle* tourney was in progress,⁵⁵ a round one loser, T. H. Lowe, began a new tourney under the auspices of the *Birmingham Mercury*.⁵⁶ Of the sixteen contestants (separated into two 'divisions', with the intention that the winners would play off), six had played in the earlier event: Auten, Fraser,

⁵² Blackmore to Fedden, 30 July 1874 (Add 44919. f. 63).

⁵³ Dunn, *Blackmore*, p. 175.

⁵⁴ The boxing term 'knock-out' was actually rarely if ever used in the nineteenth century; circumlocutions such as 'the pairing and putting-out system' were preferred.

⁵⁵ See pp. 125-8.

⁵⁶ The *Birmingham Mercury* chess column began on 4 March 1854 and, with interruptions, was still running at the end of 1856. The identification of the editor depends on cross-checking, in particular a game that appeared in both that column and Mott's. On the latter occasion (*Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*, n.s. 1, p. 207, in Feb. 1858), the notes, which are identical, are credited to 'the late T. H. Lowe, Esq.' The information in Whyld's *Columns* is incorrect. Although this paper was a weekly, the title *Birmingham Weekly Mercury* belongs to an entirely different newspaper at a later date.

Gilder, Rainger, 'R.L.B.', and Wormald. An important modification to Mott's rules aimed to avoid delays:

Each pair of antagonists shall play two games simultaneously—say the first game A, and second B. Should A win, B of course does not count; but in case of A being drawn, B will decide the contest. As a matter of course, the player having first move in A will have it in B.⁵⁷

By July 1856, twelve entrants had been eliminated and the final divisional pairings were announced: *Wormald v Sigma* and *Auten v A.E.* (Manchester): 'According to the rules of the tourney, these players may extend their play to the first *two* won games.'⁵⁸ The strong player Ralli had resigned to Auten after thirty-seven moves 'on account of a prolonged absence on the Continent.'⁵⁹ There is no information after that, so it is unknown whether the Birmingham tournament was completed.⁶⁰ It was not the last time a column ended, leaving its tourneys unfinished. When a column ended, so did the motivation for the event, unless the remaining players continued it for their own satisfaction.

Mott was the only columnist to run events continuously over a long period in mid-century and even so the information about them is incomplete. Starting in the summer of 1856, immediately after the *Home Circle* tourney ended, he began a tourney for thirty-two players in *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*. When this reached the final, in 1859, he began a second, and in 1860 a third, in two stages: eight pairings commencing play in February and another eight in October. Another periodical running at least one correspondence tournament, around 1860-2, was the *Parlor Journal*, but the British Library lacks the relevant issues; references to it were found in another paper.⁶¹

⁵⁷ *Birmingham Mercury*, 9 Sept. 1854. Modern players see it as fairer that each player should have one game with White, and this view was already being taken in some tournaments of the 1870s.

⁵⁸ *Birmingham Mercury*, 26 July 1856. 'Sigma' is unknown but the *Era* chess column named 'Eformopolous' on 12 Mar. and 'Eumorphopoulo' on 16 Apr. 1854. Alan Smith found shipping merchant A. Eumorfopoulo in the *Manchester Mercantile & Manufacturing Annual Directory* for 1854-55, p. 127, and he can be found in the 1851 census. See Appendix IX for more details.

⁵⁹ *Birmingham Mercury*, 19 Apr. 1856. Ralli played in the first match between the Manchester and Liverpool clubs and was strong enough to win some games against Löwenthal without receiving odds. Perhaps he never returned to England. See Appendix IX.

⁶⁰ The *Birmingham Mercury* in 1857-8 had no chess column. The paper closed in March 1858.

⁶¹ *Norfolk News* 7 Dec. 1860, 6 July 1861, and 8 Feb. 1862.

Mott's most ambitious competition began in 1863 when 128 players commenced a tourney which had it been completed (which seems unlikely) would have required seven rounds. This was the largest field for any postal tourney before 1914 and maybe until after 1945. Even more astonishing is that: 'many more subscribers than we can at present accommodate have applied to be included in the Tourney.'⁶² This clearly indicates a great increase of interest in playing by post. Some participants may have been schoolboys. An article in Dickens's magazine *All the Year Round* commented that 'boys now-a-days take in their monthly and weekly magazines, correspond with the editor, answer riddles and rebuses, contribute puzzles, and engage in chess tournaments by correspondence.'⁶³

Reconstructing *Cassell's* events is difficult because of Mott's erratic reports. He identified some players only by initials or nicknames, and was inconsistent in his publication of pairings, results and games.⁶⁴ Sometimes he printed full details but silence followed; contradictions and clear mistakes in his statements complicate the detective work. Probably he had underestimated the accurate record-keeping required. In his 128-player tournament, one first-round winner did not advance, while both players from another pairing did!⁶⁵ In 1865, when his fifth and final tourney began, Mott stopped publishing results from the big tournament and only gave news of the latest one, which in turn was never reported in the last few months of the column. When *Cassell's* closed in March 1867, they stated that Mott would continue the events from his home address, but he was in bad health.⁶⁶

Only in his very first tournament did Mott actually name the prize-winners: James White of Lowick won after forty-two months.⁶⁷ More information was found in a book profiling many columnists and problem composers who were active in 1897. This stated that White won a *Cassell's* tournament of thirty-two players

⁶² *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*, xiii (25 Apr. 1863), p. 351.

⁶³ 'Bouncing Boys', in *All the Year Round*, 5 Aug. 1865, p. 38.

⁶⁴ For more details of the *Cassell's* tourneys, see Appendix VI a), p. 480-3.

⁶⁵ The winner of the minor game in *J. G. Scott v. P. King* was re-paired, but Scott ultimately lost the principal game and King then also progressed, while the result of *Daisy v. J. B. Smith* was overlooked and neither played round two.

⁶⁶ He possibly had a stroke in 1867. The 1871 census shows he was superannuated from the civil service and suffered from 'congestion of brain affecting sight', and his death certificate (Wandsworth, 25 Mar. 1875) refers to 'softening of brain 8 years'.

⁶⁷ *Cassell's*, n.s. v (18 Feb. 1860), p. 191.

which took six years to complete, and in which his opponents included Rainger and Kempe, 'players then acknowledged amateurs of strength'.⁶⁸ This does not tally with the first *Cassell's* tourney (Kempe did not play), but does match the second one. There White did indeed beat them. Mott named the semi-finalists as White, Kempe, Holloway, and Harvey, who turns out to be the person often named as 'F. H. of Torre'.⁶⁹ He never explicitly named the winner but published games enable a partial reconstruction of this tournament too and it turns out that White won it. He lost in round one of the third tourney, probably because he was still engaged in the others, and was beaten in round four of the giant event.

It is impossible to reconstruct the later rounds of the last three *Cassell's* tournaments, but Appendix VI shows what has been discovered and indicates some of the problems encountered. In the 128-player event, for example, results ceased to be published in the autumn of 1865; one semi-finalist and four quarter-finalists were known, but some players were only playing round two. It cannot be said that Mott failed, because even completing two thirty-two player tourneys was a considerable achievement. Most knock-out events that were completed had only eight or sixteen players. He may have finished his third event, and made more progress with the others than the published results indicate. Mott printed over 130 games and his tourneys provided a valuable service, introducing about 200 players to postal chess. Among those who played in at least one were John Wisker, winner of the B.C.A. Challenge Cup in 1870,⁷⁰ Frederick Womersley, one of the organisers of the Hastings 1895 international tournament, and Charles Gumpel, whose chess 'automaton' Mephisto was a successful venture in the late 1870s.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Gittins, *Bouquet*, p. 117 et seq. White, a teacher, was one of the most important individuals in Victorian correspondence chess. After being briefly chess editor on some magazines, he ran the *Leeds Mercury Weekend Supplement* column from 1879-1905, running some small tourneys. He was named (in the *Norfolk News*, 18 Apr. 1860) as being on the Berwick committee for their match with Newcastle, and was possibly involved when they played Edinburgh (1860-2).

⁶⁹ *Cassells*, n.s. x (20 Sept. 1862), p. 271. Torre Abbey is an historic site in Torquay and the *Cassell's* column once (13 Apr. 1861, p. 335) described the player as 'F. H., Torquay'. The conclusive proof is that the *Norfolk News* on 16 May 1863 published another *Cassell's* tournament game by 'Mr F. Harvey (Torre)' and elsewhere references to 'F. H. of Torre' and 'Harvey' correspond.

⁷⁰ Wisker was briefly a member of the London committee against Vienna (see pp. 201-2).

⁷¹ Womersley was later murdered: *B.C.M.*, xxxi (1911), p. 375; Edward Winter, 'Chessplayer Shot Dead in Hastings', www.chesshistory.com/winter/extra/womersley.html (3 Aug. 2006). For a poster advertising Mephisto, see *Companion*, pp. 211-12.

3b) Abortive tournaments and the debut of Blackburne

IN 1860 F. W. Himing proposed that *Reynolds's Miscellany* run a tourney. 'I would suggest that the entrance money should be 3s. each, and that the prizes should be chess-boards and men, or works upon chess.'⁷² It was more convenient, though, to offer money than heavy books or sets; cash prizes rarely amounted to more than a refund of the entry fee and postage expenses, except perhaps for the first prize-winner, so this was hardly professionalism. The paper mentioned Himing's idea several times but never announced an entry fee.⁷³ As late as 3 December 1864 they said: 'The tourney is in progress; if you desire to enter, you should do so at once.' Pairings and results were never published, and although the *Miscellany* sometimes published postal games, and requests for opponents, there is no solid proof it actually ran a tourney.

Abortive tourneys like this — heralded but not begun, or which soon vanished — were all too frequent. On 22 April 1855, Löwenthal announced one for eight or sixteen players; the high entrance fee of one guinea may be the reason he received little response. Next week he informed a reader that 'the gentleman you name will not play in the *Era* Chess Tournament; nor indeed will any professional be allowed to enter the lists;⁷⁴ amateurs alone will be permitted to play,' but probably Löwenthal did not receive even eight entries as he dropped the idea.⁷⁵

Pardon's short-lived *London Journal* column provides new evidence for the start of the career of Joseph Blackburne, Britain's strongest native chess player

⁷² *Reynolds's Miscellany*, xxv (3 Nov. 1860), p. 302.

⁷³ On 15 Dec. 1860, the editor said they would start as soon as they had sixteen entries. 'The rules shall shortly appear' (9 Feb. 1861); William Elgey's name was placed on the list for the tourney (18 May), but on 1 June 1861 the entry fee had not yet been fixed, a detail normally announced early. Would-be entrants were requested several times to send their names on a stamped addressed envelope. On 10 May 1862 (xxviii, p. 327), it was said there would be four prizes, the list to close shortly. The idea was revived by W. Woodward in a letter Reynolds published in July 1863 (xxxi, p. 47), without any mention of previous efforts to arrange such an event.

⁷⁴ Terms like 'enter the lists', 'challenge', 'champion', and 'tourney' were often used in Victorian chess contexts, probably due to the revival of interest in chivalry following the publication in 1819 of Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*. Gradually 'enter' just came to mean submitting one's name or paying the entry fee, and a 'list' became only a schedule of those who entered. The derivation of 'draw' in sporting contexts requires more investigation; it is perhaps related to withdrawing the stakes when there was no result. Harold Murray wrote about this question to W. S. Branch (loose cuttings from the *Cheltenham Chronicle* found in *Murray c.6* at the Bodleian).

⁷⁵ The last reference was on 6 May.

before the First World War.⁷⁶ Pardon announced that ‘arrangements are being made for a *London Journal* Chess Tournament.’⁷⁷ On 2 April 1859, it was stated to be ‘for *the improvement of amateurs*’; professionals were barred.⁷⁸ On 11 June Pardon wrote: ‘The *thirty-two* players have been paired, and will at once commence the contest... *Three* candidates over the *thirty-two* have paid in their stakes. We therefore propose to increase their number to *sixteen*, and to give a *third* prize, if our friends will come to our assistance.’⁷⁹

It is generally held that Blackburne (1841-1924),⁸⁰ who turned professional around 1867, only took up chess in 1860 or 1861. In *Mr Blackburne’s Games at Chess*, he said his first blindfold simultaneous exhibition was in 1862 ‘when I was only nineteen, and had played chess for a few months only’.⁸¹ It seems more probable that he would misremember the year than get his age wrong. Blackburne, who already had a reputation as a strong draughts player, probably became interested in chess as a result of the publicity surrounding Morphy’s visit to Europe in 1858-9. The proof of his taking up chess not later than the summer of 1859 (when he was not yet eighteen) is the following: ‘J. H. BLACKBURNE will join the Tourney for the third prize, for which his stake has been entered. He will oblige us with his address.’⁸²

The competition Blackburne entered probably never began. As of 25 June, Pardon had twenty-four entries, so he proposed to expand it to thirty-two players on the same lines as the first, but only if names came in immediately as ‘we do not wish to extend the match over too long a period.’⁸³ A few games in the first

⁷⁶ Pardon and the *London Journal* are discussed on pp. 211-12.

⁷⁷ *London Journal*, 5 Feb. 1859 and later.

⁷⁸ *London Journal*, xxix (22 Apr. 1859), p. 190. Emphasis as in the original in these quotations.

⁷⁹ Pairings and later results were never published, but must have been communicated privately to the players with the names and addresses of their opponents. Three games appeared in Pardon’s column in *The Review* and another, possibly from the same event, in *Captain Crawley’s Handy Book of Games for Gentlemen* (London 1860), pp. 229-30. All the players involved also played in the *Cassell’s* tournaments mentioned below.

⁸⁰ In 1963 *B.C.M.* obtained a certified copy of Blackburne’s birth certificate showing he was born on 10 Dec. 1841 and not 1842 as sometimes stated. See *B.C.M.*, lxxxiii (June 1963), pp. 180-1 and July 1963, p. 219. *BCM*, xlv (Oct. 1924), p. 393, mistakenly said he learned the moves in 1860.

⁸¹ P. Anderson Graham (ed.), *Mr Blackburne’s Games at Chess* (London 1899), p. 214.

⁸² *London Journal*, xxix (18 June 1859), p. 366.

⁸³ *London Journal*, xxx (16 July 1859), p. 14.

tournament had already finished — but the next week's column was the last in the *London Journal* and nothing was said there of correspondence chess.⁸⁴ Nevertheless it is significant that at least fifty-six *Journal* readers had responded fairly quickly to the announcement of correspondence tourneys.

3c) Knock-out tournaments of later years

THE loss of *Cassell's* was not easily replaced. Various smaller and specialised periodicals later ran correspondence tournaments, but nobody did it again in a national weekly until *Bow Bells* began organising them in 1874. In the case of the *Gentleman's Journal and Youth's Miscellany*, Pardon was overall editor and he hired H. F. L. Meyer, later chess editor of the *Boy's Own Paper*. The *Gentleman's Journal* appears to have been aimed at people in their twenties who had not yet married and so had leisure time for games. Unusually, it had both weekly parts (with short chess and draughts columns) and a monthly 'recreational supplement' with considerably more space for both games. The names of some new players whose names were better known later in the century can be found there. Others had begun with *Cassell's* and now had somewhere new to continue their interest in playing by post. The *Gentleman's Journal* chess tournaments were chaotic,⁸⁵ but it was possibly the first periodical to run successful postal draughts tournaments.⁸⁶

The tournaments in Brett's *Young Men of Great Britain* were more important but again, though some games and results were published, it is impossible to reconstruct them or to know (with one exception) who won them if they were completed. They began when the very first 'Captain Crawley' column

⁸⁴ *London Journal*, xxx (23 July 1859), p. 30.

⁸⁵ At least two tourneys began, the first with thirty-two players in 1870, including Mary Rudge, James White and some others well known later. Many players dropped out and it was reconstituted at least once with substitute players, and there is almost no information on the one that began in 1872. Correspondence games were published in *The Gentleman's Journal*, i (1 June 1870), p. 548, and ii (1 Aug. 1870), p. 64 and some later occasions, but several of these were apparently not in their tourneys.

⁸⁶ Draughts games, on average, finish in fewer moves so its postal tournaments progress faster and the moves can be printed in more compact notation. The *Gentleman's Journal supplement* for Christmas 1871, pp. 372-3, shows their first tourney results and forty-four games in a tabular format, which would have been hard to do for chess. This format was repeated for later events.

announced a postal chess tournament for sixteen or thirty-two players.⁸⁷ Within a few weeks there were over sixty enquiries; two tournaments were started, one with thirty-two and the other with sixteen players. Some readers were excluded as they 'evidently lack the requisite knowledge of Chess to hope for any chance of success'.⁸⁸ Pairings were done geographically to give opponents living nearby the chance to meet in person if they preferred. It was soon announced that Brett would present a chessboard and men to the winners of each tournament, the third of which was likely to start soon. Then Löwenthal took over from Pardon. He warned that players were expected to send in results and game scores; he also reminded readers that the entry fee was one shilling. The third tournament eventually started on 13 October 1868 with sixteen players, including some from the earlier events.⁸⁹ Benbow won one of the *Y.M.G.B.* tournaments.⁹⁰

A fourth tournament was then announced in 1870, to include Charles James Lambert (later a strong player from Exeter) and Burn of Liverpool, who became one of the very strongest English masters before the First World War.⁹¹ Probably this never started, through insufficient entries. The column gradually petered out in volume six. It would have been very interesting had Burn played; the fact that his biographer, Forster, never discovered any games is a strong indication that it did not happen. Burn was later involved in several correspondence chess matches but never in a tournament.⁹² Readers of the re-issue who tried to enter the magazine's chess tourney, played years earlier, would have been disappointed.

The *Irish Sportsman and Farmer* briefly ran a chess column for a few months in 1870-1, edited by James Alexander Rynd, who at eighteen years of age had won the national tournament in the 1865 Dublin Chess Congress.⁹³ Pairings

⁸⁷ *Young Men of Great Britain*, i (Mar. 1868), p. 100.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*, p. 228.

⁸⁹ *YMGB*, ii, p. 580.

⁹⁰ *Land and Water*, xi (11 Feb. 1871), pp. 113-4.

⁹¹ *Young Men of Great Britain*, v (1870); the announcement was on p.30. A list of entrants was on p. 206 (1 May 1870) but further appeals for entries followed.

⁹² Forster, *Burn*, found no postal tournaments.

⁹³ *Westminster Papers*, iii (Nov. 1870), p. 106 named Rynd as the editor of the column about to start and Dublin club minutes confirm this. A. A. Luce, *A History of the Dublin Chess Club* (Dublin 1967), pp. 5-6, said that 'our first secretary' undertook to start the column but Long had resigned the post on 16 Nov. 1869. The statement in the 1870 minutes that 'the Hon Secy has

for the sixteen-player *Sportsman* knockout tournament, the first Irish postal tourney, were drawn by lot at the City and County of Dublin Chess Club on Saturday 28 January 1871 and the draw was printed in one of the last columns.⁹⁴ Perhaps because most of the entrants were club members or knew each other, it was possible to continue even without publicity. Games were occasionally published in Irish columns of the 1880s and while a definitive reconstruction is impossible, George Barry probably won it.⁹⁵ The sad story of publications that ceased after starting tournaments was repeated with the *Household Chess Magazine*,⁹⁶ Sutherland's *Edinburgh Magazine*,⁹⁷ the *Recreationist*, and Chatto's tourneys discussed below. The fragmentary information available shows that some middle-ranking amateurs of the future were cutting their teeth in these events.

The British Chess Association tournament of 1873-5 foreshadows events of the future, when official organisations ran tournaments, but it did not receive much publicity. The initial announcement, terms of entry and rules of play were probably circulated through chess clubs. One novel feature was that the players met their opponents in two-game matches, both with White and Black.⁹⁸ This event was part of the B.C.A.'s final burst of activity, which ended with the final illness and death of Löwenthal, probably its organiser.⁹⁹ Nevertheless it was a strong tournament, in which many of the leading amateurs of the day competed. It is possible to reconstruct its course, though a full schedule of results never

taken upon himself the editorship of a Chess Column (shortly to appear in the *Irish Sportsman and Farmer*)' therefore refers to Rynd, who was Long's successor in that office.

⁹⁴ *Irish Sportsman and Farmer*, 4 Feb. 1871, p. 13.

⁹⁵ See Appendix VI, pp. 485-6. George Barry's name is often seen in *John Lawrence's Handbook of Cricket in Ireland* (Dublin 1865-6 and other editions). See also Gerard Siggins & James Fitzgerald, *Ireland's 100 Cricket Greats* (Dublin 2006), pp. 15-6, and G. Siggins, *Green Days: Cricket in Ireland 1792-2005* (Dublin 2005).

⁹⁶ Published for three issues only in Manchester in 1867 by 'Toz' (T. H. Hopwood) with assistance from Blackburne. Its tournament probably never began, but see p. 284.

⁹⁷ *The Edinburgh Magazine, Monthly Journal of Instructive and Amusing Literature*. Edited by Alexander E. Sutherland (2 vols, July 1872-July 1873): a rarity, not to be confused with other periodicals of a similar title. It has not been possible to determine whether the British Library's holding is complete or not. The chess column was yet another by James White.

⁹⁸ Instead of the same player starting both games, as in the *Mercury* and *Cassell's* events.

⁹⁹ *Land and Water*, xv (14 June 1873), p. 437, printed a start announcement, and later the pairings, most results of round one and the round two pairings (xvi, 8 Nov. 1873, p. 385), and the game *Thorold v Beckett* appeared on 15 Nov. (p. 411). Then Löwenthal gave up the column 'owing to protracted and most severe indisposition' (27 Dec. 1873, pp. 530-1). Otherwise there probably would have been full reports throughout the event.

appeared and only some games were published.¹⁰⁰ The event was a triumph for Ranken, whose defeated opponents included Thorold and Dublin graduate Bernard Fisher (his Malvern neighbour, so they may have played over the board).

The *Chess Player's Quarterly Chronicle* was the first chess magazine to organise correspondence tournaments, albeit on a small scale. It only published information irregularly.¹⁰¹ The first one, in 1870, was 'for the sake of testing some particular openings, which have not yet been sufficiently analysed'. Some prize money was available and *C.P.C.* called for 'eight strong British chess clubs and eight or sixteen strong British amateurs' to come forward,¹⁰² but only four clubs and twelve individuals were paired, in two separate knock-out events, the latter requiring a bye.¹⁰³ The players had to begin the main game with an opening sequence stipulated by the editor, Skipworth; a second game with unrestricted openings was played simultaneously in case the main game was drawn. Bristol beat Birmingham and Sheffield beat Newcastle; then Sheffield beat Bristol in the final, thus winning a £5 5s. set of ivory chessmen and a £2 2s. board.

Thomas Bourn of Clifton, who had won private postal matches in 1868 against the leading Dublin players Barry and Rynd, was announced as winner of the individuals' event in 1873, taking the two-guinea prize.¹⁰⁴ That year, two knock-out groups of eight started (without opening restrictions) and another followed in 1874; these were run by Rev J. H. Ellis of Bath.¹⁰⁵ Several well-known provincial amateurs entered, but not the very strongest ones. Journalist George Gossip won the first; this was the success on which he later prided himself and used to promote his books. E. Walker of Cheltenham, runner-up in 1870-3, won

¹⁰⁰ Apart from the references in the previous note, the main sources for the B.C.A. tournament's progress and games are: *C.P.C.*, iv (June 1875), pp. 274-6; *I.L.N.*, lxv (21 Nov. 1874), p. 499 (both *Thorold v Ranken* games); *I.L.N.*, lxvi (17 Apr. 1875), p. 379 (both *Ranken v Fisher* games); *I.L.N.*, lxvii (31 July 1875), p. 119 (the final result and both *Ranken v Young* games); *The Field*, liv (27 Dec. 1879), p. 868: *Fisher v Minchin*.

¹⁰¹ See Appendix VI a), pp. 485-7 for the results, so far as it has been possible to reconstruct them.

¹⁰² The first competition was announced in *C.P.C.*, quarterly series ii (Feb. 1870), pp. 28-9. See also pp. 61, 88-9, 107-9, 126, 161, 215-7, 237, 257, 263-8, 298-9, and 321-4 in this volume.

¹⁰³ *The Field*, xxxv (16 Apr. 1870), p. 347, said fourteen players had so far entered, but the magazine said (June 1870, p. 89) that twelve were playing, and that while a fifth club (Bradford) had entered 'unfortunately there was no antagonist'.

¹⁰⁴ *C.P.C.*, quarterly series, iii (supplement to the Aug. 1873 number).

¹⁰⁵ *C.P.C.*, quarterly series, iv (Feb. 1875), p. 220, names Ellis. Later he edited *Chess Sparks, or Short and Bright Games of Chess* (London 1895).

the second tourney, and Rev Thomas Hewan Archdall, an 1867 T.C.D. graduate (whom Gossip had beaten in the first event), won the third.¹⁰⁶

James Chatto, Cambridge University captain in the 1878 match against Oxford, was consistently the least successful of chess editors and postal tournament organisers. Of his *Amateur Chess Magazine* (1872-4), which organised chess and draughts postal tournaments, the *Westminster Papers* remarked that the second number 'has disappointed the very moderate expectations engendered by the first'.¹⁰⁷ Whether these events were completed is doubtful. In 1874-5, as a Cambridge freshman, he started a correspondence tournament in *Lads of the Village*,¹⁰⁸ which five members of the 35th (Royal Sussex) Regiment of Foot entered.¹⁰⁹ Probably this event was not finished either. The *London and Brighton Magazine* (a sixpenny monthly) was to start a chess column in 1876, with a sixty-four player postal tournament, but it was cancelled when the magazine closed.¹¹⁰ Chatto entered the first *Bow Bells* tournament in 1874, as did several others who later played in the Postcard Match, but lost his first round game on time.¹¹¹ He was nevertheless quite a strong player and won the only game that has survived of his four against America. While a curate at Redcar, he began a column and tournament in the *Royal Exchange and Weekly Journal of Social Topics*, an upmarket buy-and-sell and what's-on magazine. This was possibly part of a late attempt to attract new readership or re-position the journal in the market. The *Royal Exchange* event was probably the first time a married

¹⁰⁶ *A Catalogue of the Graduates of the University of Dublin*, ii (Dublin 1896), p. 6.

¹⁰⁷ *Westminster Papers*, v (Aug 1872), p. 51.

¹⁰⁸ *City of London Chess Magazine*, ii (1875), p. 71. This magazine later referred to Chatto as 'an old worker in Caïssa's orchard' but he was barely twenty-one. The British Library's holdings of *Lads of the Village* (just a few early numbers) include some chess but do not mention a correspondence tournament. According to the *Waterloo Directory*, no more issues were published, but they were presumably going by the London holdings and it seems there must have been further issues that do not survive. See also Appendix IX on Chatto.

¹⁰⁹ The regiment, which had a strong chess tradition among its non-commissioned officers, was then in Ireland: *News of the Week* (Glasgow), 20 & 27 Mar. 1875 and other dates; *Land and Water*, xix (6 Mar. 1875), p. 193; *City of London Chess Magazine*, ii (1875), pp. 35-6.

¹¹⁰ *Glasgow Weekly Herald* 1 Jan. 1876; *Amateur World*, ii (Apr. 1876), p. 28.

¹¹¹ *Bow Bells*, xxvii (no. 684, Aug. 1877) p. 239, gave the results to date of its thirty-two player tourney, eventually won by W. J. Brown after a six-game final. Chatto, McArthur, Molson, J. T. Palmer, Stevens, and Waight all played against America. Some other contestants had competed in Cassells' tourneys. A second *Bow Bells* tourney began in Sept. 1877, a third in 1882, and a last one in 1890 was unfinished when the column closed at the end of the year. See Appendix VI.

couple (from Clifton) entered a postal chess tournament.¹¹² Chatto soon relinquished that column,¹¹³ but in the 1880s he tried his hand at chess editing again, in the *Norwich Mercury* from 15 February 1888 to the end of 1889, during which he actually managed to complete two tournaments. The first had eight players but the second had only four entrants, two of whom withdrew.

The last important organiser of correspondence tournaments to prefer the knock-out format was his successor on the *Royal Exchange*, James Thomas Palmer. He was only taught chess in 1874 by 'a Sheffield working man, a few years before he joined the police'.¹¹⁴ On moving to Hull, Palmer became secretary of one of its chess clubs and in January 1876 started a chess column in the *Amateur World* (a small monthly), which he conducted until the magazine closed in May 1878.¹¹⁵ Palmer completed three eight-player tournaments during that time, mostly involving local chessists.¹¹⁶ When Palmer took over, a substitution occurred, probably because he thought he should not be both player and organiser; another man completed his games. When the *Royal Exchange* failed, in December 1879, Palmer had just begun a new tournament, with sixteen players. By now he was in Lancashire and transferred the competition to the *Preston Guardian*. By contrast with many of his predecessors in the organisation of correspondence tournaments through periodicals, Palmer appears to have communicated with his players, fellow columnists and readers efficiently and brought the events with which he was involved to a proper, and publicly recorded, conclusion. These management and communication skills were no doubt of value in his career as a policeman and may

¹¹² Mr and Mrs G. M. Welch. In the 1880s, Mr and Mrs Arthur Smith of Brighton played several events, but different ones, because otherwise (all-play-all tournaments now being the norm), they would have had to play against each other.

¹¹³ Venn, *Alumni Cantab*, ii, p. 19, showing that Chatto was ordained deacon in 1874, priest 1879, was curate of Coatham 1878-81 and assistant master of Coatham High School, 1878-81. Venn also lists his various church appointments. Philip Sergeant's father used to play chess with Chatto: see *Century*, p. 146 n1 for his personal recollection.

¹¹⁴ *Chess Amateur*, xv (1920-1), p. 174, stating that he was still alive, aged 67.

¹¹⁵ For more details on Palmer, see T. Harding. 'Policeman on the case: early chess in Lancashire and the *Preston Guardian* chess column, 1879-83' in A. Brown and R. Spalding (eds.), *Entertainment, Leisure and Identities* (Newcastle 2007). After writing that, a set of *Amateur World* was located in Cleveland, Ohio; the British Library has only the (chess-less) first issue.

¹¹⁶ After Palmer's departure, J. Crake ran a small tournament in his column, which began in the *Hull Miscellany* and soon transferred to the *Hull Bellman*. See Appendix VI, p. 489.

explain why he subsequently rose to the rank of Superintendent.¹¹⁷ The final of the tournament featured two major figures in Victorian provincial chess. Sergeant-Major McArthur won it,¹¹⁸ defeating the still improving Joseph Blake of Southampton, one of the most consistently successful English postal players before 1914. Palmer started a consolation tournament for first-round losers in tandem with the later rounds of the main event; this was an innovation. Players knocked out of the principal event competed for a prize of 7s. 6d.

As that competition drew to a close, a new one was announced, with an entrance fee of 2s. 6d., 'chiefly organised with the intention of bringing players (many of whom are only known to each other by name) into direct communication with one another, and of affording a pleasant means of rivalry.'¹¹⁹ The draw was made at the Preston club and then pairings and rules were published on 4 May 1881, with play to commence on or before the 18^h. The field of thirty-two was the strongest yet seen in a British postal tournament. It included many who became well known in amateur chess later, and two strong players who died young: Inspector Peter Shenele of the Metropolitan Police,¹²⁰ and the tournament winner, Arthur Towle Marriott of Nottingham. Of the five opponents he defeated, two were themselves winners of important postal tournaments and one of Marriott's wins appeared in the *I.L.N.*¹²¹ A year later he was dead at the age of twenty-five, 'one of the most gifted of our young chessplayers... had already won distinction, and promised to attain the highest honours in our little world of chess.'¹²² A consolation tournament began in late 1881, and by May 1883, W. H. S. Monck

¹¹⁷ Promotions were probably the reason for ending the Preston column and later moving to Rochdale. *Chess Amateur* (loc. cit.), noted that he was involved in the Berry murder case in Liverpool (concerning the first woman to be hanged at Walton jail) and that he was a colleague in the Lancashire police of Superintendent Isaac Bryning, from Blackburn.

¹¹⁸ William McArthur was a Scot who was central to chess activities in the Royal Sussex Regiment. He composed problems and played in many postal events. Around 1876 they were posted to the depot in Chichester. Later he became President of the Sussex Chess Association until his untimely death and a McArthur Cup is still played for in the county. I am grateful to Brian Denman, with whom I have exchanged information about McArthur by email.

¹¹⁹ *Preston Guardian*, 9 Mar. 1881.

¹²⁰ There is little information on Shenele at the National Archives, Kew: MEPO4/488. He was from Devon, where he was a copper miner before joining the police.

¹²¹ *I.L.N.*, lxxxiii (29 Dec. 1883), p. 646, described as 'Mr B v Mr M' from the *Preston Guardian* tournament, with notes by Marriott. 'Mr B' was J. N. Broughton of Warminster.

¹²² *I.L.N.*, lxxxv (6 Dec. 1884), p. 566.

from Dublin was playing Young for first prize. This was apparently not completed before the column ended: in all the events Palmer ran, this is the only result that he failed to publish. On 3 October 1883 he wrote that ‘we regret that business engagements render it absolutely compulsory for us to resign our post at once’.

Although the format never died out entirely, the era of knock-out correspondence tournaments practically came to a close with the end of Palmer’s series. Exceptions were cases where the intention was to attract the maximum entry from people unused to postal play, who might be deterred by the thought of having to play several games. The first postal event organised by the S.C.A., within a year of its foundation, might be considered the first Scottish Correspondence Championship although it was not called that at the time. It began in January 1885 and concluded around July 1887. Most players were from major urban centres but J. Mackenzie of Islay in the Hebrides won his first round. Considering that a settled lifestyle is usually more conducive to success at correspondence chess, it is noteworthy that the winner John D. Chambers, when submitting a win from this event for publication, said: ‘a curious feature in this game is that Black, being a “Knight of the Road”, sent his move from 44 different places.’¹²³ The second S.C.A. tournament was held on the all-play-all principle.

Knock-out tourneys were occasionally organised in the twentieth century. The first Irish Correspondence Championship (1908-12), like the first Scottish one and for similar reasons, used this method.¹²⁴ Various postal chess clubs after the First World War organised them as subsidiary events for members. The last correspondence tournament on this principle before the First World War was run from 1908-10 in the Bolton weekly *Cricket and Football Field*. The editor, F. Baird, gave an economic argument, not seen elsewhere, for rejecting the system of dividing players into groups, with their entry fees making up the prize fund. ‘I would condemn the group system, because it does not study the pockets of the players,’ he wrote. He calculated the players’ costs in playing six games as amounting to 10s. in postage and 1s. entry fee, with a first prize of 10s., while four

¹²³ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 1 Sept. 1887.

¹²⁴ See p. 306 for the start of the Irish Correspondence Chess Championship.

players in the group ‘get nothing although they spend the same as the winners’.¹²⁵ No Victorian editor wrote in these terms, so this could be a sign of changing times, but most players even in the twentieth century probably had no expectation of making money from correspondence chess, or even of recouping the expense of their hobby. Baird also had an awkward number of entries (twenty-two), but the ultimate winner was a strong player: A. W. Daniel of Bridgend.

4 Transition to a new tournament format

BETWEEN 1875-83, a fundamental change occurred in the way that postal tournaments were run. The knock-out format, already superseded for over-the-board tournaments in 1862, was largely abandoned by the early 1880s, to be replaced by the round-robin, in which each player played at least one game against every other competitor.¹²⁶ That time-lag suggests that either the knock-out had advantages in the context of postal play which some players and organisers were reluctant to abandon, or that the round-robin had special drawbacks for correspondence play, or both. There were also several variations on the round-robin format, which were tried by the end of the nineteenth century. Before comparing the pros and cons of the format in detail, some events of the transitional period will be examined.

No correspondence chess tournaments were played anywhere except in the U.K. until the mid-1870s. Then an American magazine editor carried out the first experiment, not only with the all-play-all tournament but moreover with the simultaneous start of all games and double pairings, i.e. each player met every opponent twice, with White and with Black. John K. Hanshew (1847-79), editor of the *Maryland Chess Review*, probably had no idea how innovative he was being, when he announced his tournament rules at the end of 1874.¹²⁷ Starting all games together should mean a tournament finishes much quicker than a knock-out or staggered start round-robin could do, but it means players are very busy until

¹²⁵ *Cricket and Football Field*, 14 Mar. 1908.

¹²⁶ Appendix IV, respectively listing the known knock-out and all-play-all tournaments, shows how relatively short was the period when both types of event were played in significant numbers.

¹²⁷ Hanshew's magazine was published in Frederick, Maryland, and ran for two years only, 1874-5.

some of their games finish. Double pairings even out any disadvantage over the first move without increasing the cost (if both games end together), but they doubled the workload. It meant that two moves instead of one had to be selected in a limited time before the reply card could be despatched. Nowadays double pairings, also the rule in the early French correspondence tournaments, are used only in 'thematic tournaments' with a small number of opponents, testing a particular opening, as this cancels out any unsoundness of the specified variation by the fact that there is one chance to defend and one chance to attack with each opponent.

This was not the last time Americans made innovations in chess organisation, but it is unknown whether the first English organisers of all-play-all tournaments, whose efforts are discussed below, knew of Hanshew's tournament. In fact he first announced a 'Postal Card Tourney' in July 1874 but his plan was too ambitious. He wanted at least ten players to play four games against each other,¹²⁸ the most that could be practically conducted on one postcard. After receiving only five entries, he decided to reduce the number of games to two against each opponent.¹²⁹ He announced play would start on 5 January 1875 and this spurred a late surge, bringing the total number of players up to eleven.¹³⁰ Two withdrew during the course of 1875 but many games appeared in the magazine. Hanshew's failing health caused him to cease publication at the end of the second volume before the tournament had ended. No official result was published.¹³¹

In England, the switch from knock-out to all-play-all tournaments took place during some busy years in which both systems coexisted. The advantages of the new one became apparent to players, while organisers of knock-out tournaments either adapted or gave up running them.¹³² This switch is even more marked than that, mentioned in the last chapter, between the consultation club

¹²⁸ *Maryland Chess Review*, i (July 1874), p. 290.

¹²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 416.

¹³⁰ The tournament is also noteworthy for the participation of Theophilus Thompson, the son of a slave, who was probably the earliest African-American to have some successes as a player and problemist; Neil Brennen researched his career: 'The Caged Bird: The Story of T. A. Thompson', www.correspondencechess.com/campbell/articles/a060315.htm (25 Mar. 2006).

¹³¹ *Brentano's Chess Monthly*, i (1881-2), pp. 624-6, profiled problem composer William Shinkman of Grand Rapids, Michigan, who was possibly the winner. In mid-1875 Hanshew said he had not heard from the player, but several Shinkman wins appeared later.

¹³² Chatto and White both adapted.

matches (which did continue to some extent) and the team matches. With individual tournaments, the change took less than a decade. Thereafter what had seemed the right and obvious way to run an event was rarely seen, while the new paradigm, the round-robin, became the way people expected tournaments to be run. The only surprise is perhaps that it did not happen sooner because the last major knock-out played 'over-the-board' was probably in Birmingham in 1858; by 1862 the B.C.A. had changed to the all-play-all system.

Two strong players living in the provinces, Archdall and Nash, organised the earliest English round-robin correspondence tournaments. Neither wrote on chess; any announcements, results and games appeared sporadically in other people's columns and magazines. Their motivation was apparently to run events in which they could compete with strong opponents. Nash lived in a small country town,¹³³ which only seems to have had one other active player, so he pursued his interest in the game through correspondence play and chess problems for over twenty years. Archdall briefly lived in Bath and Liverpool, which must have improved his chess,¹³⁴ but by the mid-1870s he was vicar of Tanfield, Co. Durham, and a leading member of the Newcastle and Gateshead Chess Club. Although Irish, he played (and won) his game for England against Scotland in 1875.

Around 1875-6 he organised a little-documented knock-out tourney with sixteen players, won by another Newcastle player, Peart, who beat Nash in the final.¹³⁵ Archdall then announced his all-play-all postal tournament, the first in Europe. The conditions do not appear to have been widely publicised although they were published in the *Glasgow Weekly Herald* on 2 September 1876. The main players interested in postal chess formed a network of contacts to some extent (though not as strong as in later years). Archdall apparently hoped for twenty-one entrants, but eventually there were seventeen, each paying a guinea

¹³³ Nash was mentioned on pp. 216-17. St Neots, then in Huntingdonshire, is now in Cambridgeshire. His obituary (*St Neots Advertiser, Hunts. and Beds. News* 31 Mar. 1922) says he was first a clerk and then a publican/hotelier, eventually taking a guest-house in Hastings. Census records show he was still at St Neot's in 1901 but he had stopped running tournaments by then; maybe his new younger wife had something to do with that.

¹³⁴ He is on the membership list in Edgar, *Liverpool*, p. 39. While there he won a postal match in tandem with Burn against Thorold, included in Forster's biography of Burn, pp. 66-7.

¹³⁵ *Westminster Papers*, ix (May 1876), p. 77.

entry fee. Competitors played five games simultaneously until they had all met, draws counting half to each player. The event was decided in about eighteen months: John Crum of Glasgow, the *Chronicle* Problem Editor, won the £10 silver cup without losing a single game.¹³⁶ No complete result list was published as Archdall provided little information to chess editors. William Mitcheson, of the *Newcastle Courant*, complained about correspondence tournament organisers who tried to claim the games as their property.¹³⁷ From those games published in the *Chronicle* and the *Courant*, the following are known to have played: Skipworth (Lincolnshire), R. W. Johnson (Lancaster), Brewer (Bournemouth), McArthur (Chichester), W. L. Biggs (London), Murray (Glasgow), John Copping and William Nash (both St Neots), Matthew Procter and Francis Woodmass (Tyneside).

Nash also began with a knock-out tourney (won by Archdall) before changing to the new format.¹³⁸ Nash's all-play-all was fairly representative of the strength of provincial chess. It was run 'on the plan of Mr Archdall's late tourney', with four games to be played simultaneously, and twenty-one starters.¹³⁹ They included Monck, Gossip and other experienced amateurs, ten of whom were playing against the United States. The event took a long time to complete; both Archdall and Bryning withdrew quite early. Although the final crosstable was not published, the prizewinners are known. Skipworth was first and Ranken second.¹⁴⁰

Nash continued as an organiser until about 1888 but information on his events is fragmentary. Appendix VI explains what can be deduced from the sources but, to summarise, he ran seven all-play-all tournaments. The second began near the end of 1879; this time Skipworth did not enter and Ranken won it.¹⁴¹ The others apparently commenced at intervals of about eighteen months, so there was

¹³⁶ *C.P.C.*, n.s. ii (June 1878), p 138.

¹³⁷ *Newcastle Courant*, 18 Aug. 1876. Mitcheson was a veteran of the *Birmingham* tournament. See Appendix VII, pp. 542-3, for the rules of Archdall's and Nash's tournaments.

¹³⁸ The games of Nash's final are in *I.L.N.*, lxxi (24 Nov. 1877), p. 511, corrected on 8 Dec., p. 558. For more details on this event, see Appendix VI, pp. 488-9.

¹³⁹ *C.P.C.*, n.s. i (Dec. 1877), p. 284. The first prize was a silver cup, worth £10.

¹⁴⁰ Some partial crosstables appeared in *C.P.C.* while the event was in progress. The final prize information appeared in the very first *B.C.M.* (Jan. 1881), p.5. See also Appendix VI, pp. 505-8.

¹⁴¹ John Hilbert's online article, 'The Reverend Charles Edward Ranken and Mid-Victorian Correspondence Chess', www.correspondencechess.com/campbell/articles/a051110.htm (10 Nov. 2005), mentioned the B.C.A. tournament, but did not say Ranken won it. That article also suffers from several other omissions.

some overlap. Cambridge maths tutor William Gunston won the third (1881-3?), F. Budden (Bournemouth) and William Timbrell Pierce the fourth (1882-5), Horace Cheshire, of Hastings, the fifth (1884-6), and Mills the sixth (1885-7). Nash's seventh and last all-play-all tournament, probably begun in 1887, was not quite finished at the last report in May 1888. John Russell, of Glasgow, was leading from Exeter solicitor Charles James Lambert with Monck lying third.

What were the benefits and drawbacks of the two formats, and what delayed the shift in postal chess? Apart from simplicity, the obvious advantage of the knock-out format in sport is that a dramatic finish is guaranteed when publicity is required, but that is irrelevant in correspondence chess. The key point in favour of knock-outs for postal play was that the withdrawal (or death) of a competitor did not cause great problems — although the organiser might have some work to establish the facts if no formal resignation was submitted. If a player did not finish his games, it was the same as if he had just lost normally. Apart from inertia, this is probably the principal reason why that formula continued much longer in postal chess. Other advantages of knock-outs for correspondence tourneys were that losers were soon eliminated (so novices were more likely to participate) and that winners could be paired for a new round without delay.

The two principal objections to knock-outs are unfairness and inefficiency. Knock-outs are still the principal mode of competition in many sports (tennis and snooker, for example) while others use it only for certain events, the most famous being the F. A. Cup for English soccer. Modern knock-outs, however, almost always involve a seeded draw based on rankings, which reduces the unfairness in that players of proven proficiency are protected from meeting each other in early rounds. In nineteenth century chess, there was no objective measure by which seeding, and a balanced draw, could have been arranged.¹⁴²

Despite its practical advantages for organisers, the knock-out system is unfair to players for a number of reasons.¹⁴³ The main problem is that a single mistake

¹⁴² The knock-out system was revived for a few professional chess events, but is unpopular with the players unless they are paid well because the penalty for one mistake (elimination) is so high.

¹⁴³ Charles L. Dodgson argued this mathematically in *Lawn tennis tournaments: the true method of assigning prizes* (London 1883). His concern was that runners-up were unfairly determined; his alternative was not a round-robin but was similar to the *repechage* now used in some sports.

can be extremely costly; there is no chance of redemption against other opponents. Under the all-play-all system, a defeated player may recover by scoring more heavily than the rival against the rest. In chess, where transitivity rarely operates unless there is a great disparity in skill, the problem is not just whether the runner-up deserves second prize; it can be uncertain that the winner is the best player. For reasons of psychology, style or opening preferences, player A may generally beat B, B beat C and C beat A. So, unless one of them is greatly the superior of the others, the accident of how they are paired can be decisive in a knock-out.

Among the minor advantages of all-play-all tournaments is that a multiplicity of prizes can be determined fairly, as long as ties are settled in some way. Large fields can mean a more generous prize fund too: this is another reason why all-play-all tournaments replaced knock-outs. Several had as many as six prizes, so the majority of players maintained their interest almost to the end. Moreover, knock-outs ideally require the number of entrants to be a power of two (to avoid byes); this delayed the start of many events. Round-robins can accommodate any number of entries — preferably odd (equalising colours) — so firm dates can be set for receipt of entries and start of play. Thus they also had advantages for organisers. The round-robin's biggest advantage was that it avoided the major inefficiency of knock-outs in correspondence chess: the drawn pairings which necessitated replays and slowed the progress of events. In an all-play-all tournament, players who draw just split the point. Ultimately this, together with a willingness (indeed perhaps an eagerness in most cases) to play more games at the same time, led both organisers and players to prefer the round-robin.

The tyranny of railway time affected chess as it did other spheres of activity. People were becoming busier and very slow play came to be deplored. Time controls were resisted at first in over-the-board chess, some arguing that the quality of play would suffer,¹⁴⁴ but first sandglasses were introduced and then special clocks were invented to measure each player's time consumption

¹⁴⁴ Staunton wrote that good players, 'as a general rule', consumed 'much more time in playing a game than inferior ones'. Match chess was much slower than casual chess. In his Paris match with Saint-Amant the duration of each game, and most of the moves, was recorded: 'the last game occupied fourteen hours'. *I.L.N.*, xv (10 Nov. 1849), p. 315.

independently. Correspondence chess, too, became tedious if opponents' moves did not arrive promptly, turning tourneys into endurance tests.

Organisers of many pre-1914 postal tournaments employed the 'round' system. Contestants began with about four opponents and started new games either whenever one finished, or at intervals of about four months. This staggered start was responsible for some very long-drawn-out events, since everybody had to meet everyone else eventually. Often those who began poorly declined to meet the remainder of their opponents. Such withdrawals raised the issue of how to score their games. The options, none completely satisfactory, were: to cancel the score of someone who withdrew, to award wins to the opponents (the usual method), to count unplayed games as draws (a failed experiment in *B.C.M.*'s 1882-3 tourney), or to use the percentage system as in Fraser's 'U.K. International'.¹⁴⁵

Starting all games simultaneously would have greatly speeded up progress but players could hardly cope with several postcards arriving on one day, because of the fixed time limit, which the round system minimised. Rules usually required a reply to be posted within forty-eight or seventy-two hours of receiving an opponent's move, with little leeway: Sundays and holidays not counting. So playing numerous games simultaneously was impractical for most people. To start all games at once, either fields must be divided (not tried until the mid-1890s), entries severely limited, or time-limits relaxed. In correspondence chess, there was eventually a change in the twentieth century from rigid limits per move to allocating a player twenty or thirty days for each set of ten moves, with unused time carried forward, by analogy with the clocks used in over-the-board chess. Whatever the system, one of the more onerous duties of a tournament controller was to rule on contested claims that an opponent had exceeded the limit. Occasionally the verdict was 'not guilty' as moves did go astray. One postcard despatched in a Yorkshire tournament on 13 September 1907 from Scarborough was not delivered to an opponent in Leeds (less than 70km distant) until 16 January 1909 — and bore the postmarks of both towns to prove it.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁵ Explained on pp. 329-30 in connection with the discussion of Fraser's tournament.

¹⁴⁶ *B.C.M.*, xxix (1909), p. 104. This writer has had similar experiences.

5 Correspondence chess as a life-style choice

IN AN article describing how to run a postal tournament,¹⁴⁷ James Pierce said that correspondence games 'ought to make one's play more accurate and far-seeing' and were also suitable for people living in villages, or in poor health, 'or who find the strain and excitement too much for the over-strung nerves and who are thus put to considerable disadvantage with hardier opponents'.¹⁴⁸ This not only omits some categories of players for whom correspondence play was then the only option — the blind,¹⁴⁹ women and children,¹⁵⁰ the incarcerated, the mentally ill,¹⁵¹ — but also underestimates its appeal to many who had the option of club play but preferred the postal game. Some late-Victorian chessists played fifty, a hundred, or more postal games in their careers, many of which were published. Several were involved in two or more tournaments at the same time. It should not be supposed that they chose postal play because they were unsuccessful over the board. On the contrary, *B.C.M.* observed in 1891 that Lambert 'shares with Blake the reputation of being one of the strongest correspondence players in the country, and his experience in this kind of play makes him a dangerous enemy over the board'.¹⁵²

The composition of fields, and announcements of vacancies for new competitions, suggest that when Nash, Pierce, Rowland, or Fraser organised a new tourney, they asked the 'usual suspects' first if they wished to enter. The extent to which correspondence chess became a lifestyle choice can be seen by the long careers of some experts: R. W. Johnson from 1876-1902, Lambert from 1871-1902, Nash from at least 1871-89, W. T. Pierce from 1865-1921, Dr Ronald Cadell

¹⁴⁷ He included a chart on how to do the pairings. Rhoda Bowles later gave *Womanhood* readers some insights into the organiser's view of events: see Harding (ed.), *Write*, pp. 73-7.

¹⁴⁸ James Pierce, 'Correspondence Tourney Games', in *B.C.M.*, v (1885), pp. 78-80.

¹⁴⁹ There are numerous examples of blind or partially-sighted players achieving a high degree of skill at chess, and participating in correspondence events with the clerical assistance of sighted relatives. See for example, the obituary of T.C.D. graduate Henry Millard, runner-up in the 1882 *B.C.M.* correspondence tourney, in *B.C.M.*, xi (July 1891), pp. 337-40.

¹⁵⁰ Women's involvement in correspondence chess is discussed in Chap. Seven. It is usually hard to discover whether participants in correspondence events were children.

¹⁵¹ In 1883-4, Cambridge University Chess Club played a postal game with 'some gentlemen, patients in Bethlehem Hospital'. It was published in *The Field*, lxiii (10 May 1884), p. 659. In the twentieth century some people in mental hospitals and prisons played in correspondence matches and tournaments.

¹⁵² *B.C.M.*, xi (Sept. 1891), p. 404.

Macdonald from 1896-1937, and Gunston from 1879-1933. (The last two were still winning championships in the 1930s.) Others like Blake and Russell were intensively involved for a decade or more, or returned to correspondence chess after a long interval. Cheshire, who was active from about 1882 to the early 1900s, entered a postal tournament again in 1918. Regular players would almost always have had a game or two in progress, to ponder over during evenings or long journeys. Experienced postal players were necessarily well organised, to avoid clerical errors. When Monck (the most assiduous Irish competitor, constantly involved in postal play from 1877-1913) was profiled in the *Dublin Evening Mail*, the reader was invited into his study:

Observe the method and taste with which everything in it has been selected and arranged... the magazines, pamphlets, slips and manuscript of chess down to the chess boards and men, and pocket and *statu quo* 'wherewithals of the game' — ay, and the postcards, and diagrams, and game records, which betoken our subject's devotion to correspondence play and analysis.¹⁵³

They used many types of chess set. Sets are really a collectors' topic, but are mentioned briefly from the practical player's point of view.¹⁵⁴

Ivory chessmen were costly,¹⁵⁵ while wooden sets could be either luxurious or utilitarian. A skilled turner could make a wooden set; gutta-percha was an even cheaper material.¹⁵⁶ Chessists probably owned a good wooden or ivory set for play

¹⁵³ *Dublin Evening Mail* chess column, 20 Feb. 1890, under the heading 'Diorama'.

¹⁵⁴ Chapter 10 of Murray's *History* deals with chessboards and chessmen, and there are several modern illustrated books, of unknown reliability. This is really a specialist subject and the material culture of indoor games in the nineteenth century requires more research in general. One sees, for example, advertisements for dining tables convertible to billiard tables so that smaller middle-class homes could accommodate the game.

¹⁵⁵ An 1819 invoice from 'E. C. Edlin, Turner to His Majesty, N. 39 New Bond Street' shows Lord Henry Bentinck paid £17 s. 0d. for a backgammon table and dice boxes, £2 2 s. 0d. for ivory backgammon men, £1 10 s. 0d. for ivory chessmen, and 7 s. 6d. for a chessboard, worth in all about £400 stg today: 'Bill from Edlin for chess sets etc.'; PwH/2313 at University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections.

¹⁵⁶ Gutta-percha, mass-produced for cable insulation, was also used for golf balls. Charles Hancock's 'Gutta-Percha patent No. VI' (12 Jan. 1846) specifically mentions chess-men as an application. Online searches for 'gutta-percha AND chess' at Google Books found this in *Iron: an Illustrated Weekly Journal for Iron and Steel Manufacturers*, v (no 45, 1846), pp. 138-140. Further references to it actually being used include the *American Agriculturist*, vii (1848), p. 240, *The Annals of Horticulture* (1849), p. 74 and there were several other 'hits'.

at home,¹⁵⁷ but would employ smaller sets for retaining the positions between moves, and for analysis when travelling. Advertisements show some examples. The 'Handy' pocket chess board, with a leather board and xylonite men in a leather wallet, 'invaluable to travellers, problemists' &c.', 6 inches by 4¼ inches, cost 5s.¹⁵⁸ An officer posted to India needed something more substantial: 'the registered royal cabinet of games', £5 5s. from Toulmin & Gale of Cornhill.¹⁵⁹ Roget's 'Economic Chess-Board', made of cardboard, suitable for train journeys, and marketed by De la Rue at 2s. 6d,¹⁶⁰ was much cheaper than the 'In Statu Quo' mentioned above, and there were cheaper options too.¹⁶¹

Once games started, the procedure was to keep a record of moves and posting dates in a notebook. The opponent was sent a letter or postcard, confirming his last move and adding the reply. The incoming letters or cards would be retained to the end of a competition in case of disputes. Another method, popular in the twentieth century, was to send a score-sheet or scorecard back and forth, adding the latest move. This reduced the clerical work, and created a new product for stationers catering to chess players,¹⁶² but ran the risk of loss in the post or tampering by an unscrupulous opponent. Until the 1890s standard postcards were compulsory, but specialised correspondence cards were used for international play in the twentieth century. Some ephemeral chess stationery survives, such as notebooks for recording games and items for problem composers. Thomas Long's 1865 scrapbook includes some examples like a diagram blank, in red ink, supplied by

¹⁵⁷ Ivory sets were for special occasions, prizes, and gifts; they had practical disadvantages. Walker advised that 'wooden men are decidedly superior to ivory, as they neither chip nor change colour': *B.L.L.*, 23 Apr. 1843.

¹⁵⁸ Advertisement (probably from the 1890s) in the John Johnson collection, Bodleian Library.

¹⁵⁹ *The India List Civil and Military* (London, July 1881). The advertisement pictures the cabinet open, with chess and backgammon pieces visible.

¹⁶⁰ *I.L.N.*, viii (18 Apr. 1846), p. 250. Half a crown (2s. 6d. = 12½ p.) was equivalent to £8.31 in 2006 on the retail price index, so this was an accessory for middle class players. The credit for inventing it goes to Peter Mark Roget (of the *Thesaurus*) who composed chess problems: *D.N.B.*, xvii, pp. 149-151; *O.D.N.B.*, xlvi, pp. 596-9; there is more about chess in the older dictionary.

¹⁶¹ See n42. Morgan's advertisements in *C.P.C.* show the cheapest In Statu Quo model cost £1 10s. in 1895, equivalent to £119.05 in 2006; the original price is unknown. There were various prices for different versions with bone or ivory men, 9 or 13 inch boards.

¹⁶² These cards, folded in three, had spaces for the players' names and addresses which (in conjunction with window envelopes) saved rewriting. The Post Office disliked this system for a number of reasons, one of which was the opportunity to reuse an unfranked stamp.

Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper,¹⁶³ and score-sheets with 'Mr' printed by the space for the name, showing gender bias in clubs. Printers might send samples to chess editors to obtain their recommendation, as in 1850:

...a highly clever invention termed 'The Family Friend', procurable of all booksellers, and giving the means of noting down chess problems with singular facility. It consist of a number of blank chess board diagrams, with a quantity of each description of chess-men printed on sheets; to be simply cut off and stuck on the squares of the board, being prepared with an adhesive gum like postage stamps.¹⁶⁴

In 1852 Houlston & Stoneman sold 'excellent diagrams, with adhesive men';¹⁶⁵ in 1876 De La Rue produced a similar item.¹⁶⁶ Editors sometimes told contributors that 'your adhesive pieces have not adhered'.¹⁶⁷ The alternative was handwriting on diagram blanks, or to buy an inepad, rubber diagram printer and chess type, which Morgan was selling in 1880.¹⁶⁸ Chess players essentially had no other options until computers revolutionised chess printing in the 1980s.

Reports in chess columns show that clerical errors spoiled several postal games. Chess notation made the game possible in the first place, but chessists might mistakenly send to an opponent a move different from the one they wrote in their notebook. They might read the incoming move incorrectly and so analyse the wrong position; that could also happen if the cat knocked a pawn off the board and it was replaced on the wrong square. Another danger, when playing several opponents, was sending to one the move intended for another. A short story by James Pierce amusingly illustrated the consequences of mixing up envelopes: a lost game and a broken heart.¹⁶⁹ The most common type of clerical error was to

¹⁶³ Scrapbook in the possession of Dublin Chess Club. Blank chessboard diagrams were used for recording the position of unfinished games or to send composed problems into chess editors.

¹⁶⁴ *B.L.L.*, 17 Mar. 1850,

¹⁶⁵ *B.L.L.*, 28 Mar. 1852. They cost 6d. per packet and on 11 Apr. Walker clarified that each packet contained '24 vacant diagrams and nearly 600 adhesive pieces'.

¹⁶⁶ *I.L.N.*, lxxix (2 Sept. 1876), p. 231. De la Rue, security printers, also had an exclusive contract with the Post Office for manufacturing the postcards used by correspondence players.

¹⁶⁷ *I.L.N.*, lxxxvii (18 July 1885), p. 55; similar complaints in *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*, n.s. vi (2 June 1859), p. 15, and *Reynolds's Miscellany*, xxviii (1861-2), p. 157.

¹⁶⁸ *Leeds Mercury*, 17 Apr. 1880. Later the *I.L.N.*, xciv (2 Feb. 1889), p. 150, recommended 'Richford's Rubber Chess Printer'.

¹⁶⁹ James Pierce, 'My correspondence game and how it ended', in J. & W. T. Pierce, *Pierce Gambit, chess papers and problems* (London 1888), reprinted in T. Harding (ed.), *The Write Move* (Dublin 2005), pp. 116-118. A different version appeared first in *B.C.M.*, iii (1883), pp. 13-16.

write an ambiguous move, as when two knights could move to the same square and which one was unspecified. Under most nineteenth century rules, the opponent could choose whichever interpretation was more favourable to him. The sender of an illegal move (as happened in *Edinburgh-London Game 4*), might be obliged to move that piece elsewhere or be forced to move the king, which could cause instant defeat. In general, penalties for transgressions were harsher in the nineteenth century than the twentieth, just as penalties for crime were more severe. Nowadays an illegal or ambiguous move would normally incur only a time penalty, allowing the offender to make a sensible move. Despite such hazards, a German champion called correspondence chess ‘ideal chess’.¹⁷⁰

6 Principal all-play-all tourneys up to 1914

IN 1882, the *British Chess Magazine*, faced with intense competition in its second year, sponsored a tournament organised by Ranken. Although rapidly over-subscribed, its importance was minor because they limited entries to the first twelve players who replied. The *Brighton Guardian* tourney, announced in August 1882, aimed to be a major event, with several special prizes for the best game in various openings. This attracted an entry of fifteen, of whom two withdrew and one died. Several experienced amateurs remained in the field and the victory of Russell, ahead of Blake and Monck, meant he had taken two first prizes and a second prize in three years. Apart from these and Nash’s series, strong players could enter the events run by James Pierce in the *English Mechanic*, starting in 1882.¹⁷¹ In the 1890s the principal organisers were the Rowlands and Fraser, who are discussed in case studies in Chapters Seven and Eight respectively.¹⁷² In the 1900s there was a multiplicity of organisers.

¹⁷⁰ Dr Eduard Dyckhoff, ‘Correspondence Chess – The Ideal Chess’, translated by Kevin Gorby, in Harding (ed.), *Write*, pp. 31-2. Dyckhoff, whose postal chess career began in the late 1890s and continued to his death in 1949, was one of the leaders of the I.F.S.B. mentioned on pp. 226-7.

¹⁷¹ There were too many round-robin correspondence tournaments to discuss them all here; see Appendix VI for further information (pp. 494-533).

¹⁷² See pp. 298-308 & 322-32 respectively. See also Appendix VI for results, where available.

The limited space for chess in the *Mechanic* was principally devoted to problems. Pierce provided minimal information about his tournaments, some being better documented than others. Russell won the first, which had twelve players. F. A. Vincent won the second, in 1884-5, with twelve wins and three draws.¹⁷³ The third, beginning in October 1885 and won by Lambert, was the first in England to follow the *Maryland Review* pattern, everybody playing each other twice. Subsequent *English Mechanic* tournaments were similarly run, but other British organisers did not copy Pierce. His fourth tourney (1887-9) had only twelve players, including a woman, but a special prize was offered for the best result with a gambit invented by the Pierce brothers.¹⁷⁴ Lambert shared first with Balson of Derby. In the fifth tournament (1890-2), again with twelve players, only the prize-winners' scores were printed.¹⁷⁵ James Pierce died just as that event ended and the next was due to begin. His brother ran it and, unusually for these events, the final cross-table was printed in 1894, showing the strong London amateur Arthur Tietjen as winner.¹⁷⁶

In the 1890s there was an apparent slump in correspondence tournament activity, except for the Rowland and Fraser events. One reason was possibly revealed in a letter from 'Country Chess-Player' published in 1891 in *B.C.M.*, which complained that 'many chess-players are prevented from joining in these encounters by the inordinate length of time they occupy, as at present constituted. Now why should not someone start a *short* correspondence tourney, to extend – say over the five or six winter months?' He proposed that entries be limited to six, all games to start simultaneously, and with a fast time-limit. Correspondence play, 'though interesting in the winter becomes an irksome annoyance in the summer.'¹⁷⁷ Although this suggestion appears not to have met a positive response, George Bellingham ran a small tourney in the *Dudley Herald* in 1894 and Dr Hunt ran at least one in *Brighton Society* from 1896, including Gunston and some other strong

¹⁷³ *English Mechanic*, xli (31 July 1885), on cover v (facing p. 486). There is a mystery about Vincent: see p. 290. For details on the *English Mechanic* events, see Appendix VI, pp. 511-13.

¹⁷⁴ The final result of this event has not yet been ascertained.

¹⁷⁵ *English Mechanic*, lv (11 Mar. 1892), p. 69. W. T. Pierce and Yorkshire player Tom Gedney Hart shared first with Monck winning third prize. There were six prizes in all.

¹⁷⁶ *English Mechanic*, lix (22 June 1894), p. 421. See Appendix VI, p. 513 for the table.

¹⁷⁷ *B.C.M.*, xi (Jan. 1891), p. 18.

players. The Kitchin Memorial Correspondence tourney was inaugurated in 1901 as an annual event.¹⁷⁸ Limited to eight Yorkshire players, it was contested each winter until at least 1924; winners could not re-enter for several years.¹⁷⁹

Hobbies began the revival of English tournaments in 1898.¹⁸⁰ After a small first tourney, Major Murray ran annual competitions from 1898-9 to 1906-7 and in some seasons there was a Championship composed of the previous year's winners. Cheshire was champion in 1902.¹⁸¹ In the peak years 1901-2 and 1902-3 there were over a hundred players, involved in divisions of six to eight, some playing more than one division simultaneously. Entries markedly fell from 1904 and after Murray's death there were only a few minor tourneys up to 1910.

Rhoda Bowles of *Womanhood* employed the principle of the two-stage tournament (preliminaries and final), pioneered in North America in the Continental Tournament (1894-8). Unlike the more vague *Hobbies* arrangements, her seven-player sections explicitly formed one competition. The winners of each section contested a final the following year, simultaneously with the preliminary sections of a new cycle. Soon after the first *Womanhood* tournament was announced in 1901, the decision was taken to admit men. The *Womanhood* tournaments attracted more strong players than those of *Hobbies*, its being a better magazine probably having something to do with that.¹⁸² Mrs Bowles ran six tournaments. Gunston won the first two in strong fields that included, among others, Scottish champion Dr Macdonald (his great rival in post-war years) and the future British champion George Thomas. The third was a little weaker. The fourth, with fifteen preliminary sections (most beginning in April 1904 but two in July) attracted the largest entry of any tournament in the period under discussion, apart

¹⁷⁸ In memory of Charles Stuart Kitchin (d. 1900). *B.C.M.*, xxi (1901), pp. 97 et. seq. 215, 456, & 460-461.

¹⁷⁹ *B.C.M.*, xl (1920), p. 41, said 'three or four years'. Maybe the rule had changed. J. Bland of Bradford, who won the £8 prize for the 1914 event, was the first double winner; *B.C.M.*, xxxv (1915), p. 80 said he was now debarred for entering for the next seven years.

¹⁸⁰ The *Hobbies* tournaments, at least initially, were run by Major Archibald Murray (see pp. 174-7) and the *Womanhood* chess editor, Mrs Rhoda Bowles (see p. 283 n67), had been the main organiser of the 1897 Ladies International tournament.

¹⁸¹ For details on the *Hobbies* tourneys, see Appendix VI, pp. 517-20.

¹⁸² *Womanhood* was a quality monthly of interest to progressive middle-class women. *Hobbies* was a weekly that perhaps appealed most to teenagers and young males. See also p. 341.

from Mott's giant knock-out. There were two eight-player finals in 1905, the winners of which played off for the first prize, F. J. Elwell becoming the ultimate champion. *Womanhood* events are well documented except the last final, which was still in progress when the magazine closed in 1907.

There were already signs of decline as the B.C.C.A. and other competitions were now running. In 1906 there was an attempt to start a British national correspondence championship but it was unofficial and received little support. The British Chess Company had been functioning since the 1890s, selling chess sets, other chess goods and publishing codes of rules.¹⁸³ Towards the end of 1905, it issued a prospectus announcing its new chess magazine, the *Chess Amateur*, with correspondence events to be arranged on a regional basis.¹⁸⁴ The idea was to attract both inexperienced players, who had little chance of being selected for match teams, and stronger players for 'urban district, county, and larger area correspondence championships'.

The latter plan became more ambitious because the first number of the *Chess Amateur* announced a £10 'prize competition 'for the Championship of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland', beginning with preliminary contests for the championship of each county ('London being in this class'), Wales including Monmouthshire, Ireland, and Scotland.¹⁸⁵ Winners of preliminary tournaments were then declared champions of their region and had to accept up to three challenges. The idea was misconceived: one point of postal play was to compete with distant opponents — not the same people regularly met in clubs and local leagues. Also this initiative had no support from the B.C.F., S.C.A., or regional bodies. Some local champions were announced, the first being James MacLoughlin of Blackpool who became *Chess Amateur* Correspondence Champion for

¹⁸³ The company's office was at 54 Wedmore Street in north London but the magazine and correspondence events were run from Stroud, Gloucestershire. It first published its rulebook, *The British Chess Code*, in 1894. The British Chess Company's main line of business was selling chess sets. It appears never to have been incorporated as a limited company; so it should not be confused with the British Chess Club Company, which was. The chess column of the *Cork Weekly News*, begun by a local player in 1901, seems between 1904-6 to have been largely contributed by the company; in 1907 Mrs Rowland took it over.

¹⁸⁴ British Chess Company, *Prospectus of the British Chess Correspondence Tourney* (London 1905). This said the magazine would start on 1 Jan. 1906 but it actually began in Oct. 1906.

¹⁸⁵ *Chess Amateur*, i, p. 27.

Lancashire in April 1908.¹⁸⁶ The championship idea was gradually dropped, although they continued running correspondence competitions, even during the war. There was still a Chess Amateur Correspondence League in 1935, five years after the *Amateur* closed.¹⁸⁷ Only in 1918 did the B.C.F. begin what became the British national championship.¹⁸⁸ Hitherto, correspondence chess championships were not entirely unknown but did not become annual events, except in Ireland.¹⁸⁹

Magazines organising tournaments usually did so either to attract subscribers or to retain them when facing a challenge from a new competitor. *British Chess Magazine* answered *The Chess Amateur* by running the last big correspondence tournament before the First World War.¹⁹⁰ Its ninety-eight competitors, divided into fourteen sections, included some of the strongest amateurs from England, Wales and Ireland; surprisingly, no Scots entered. The round system was used, even for the preliminaries when it was hardly warranted since players only had six games apiece. This event highlighted one problem with the preliminary-final system in the days before ratings. As with the *Womanhood* tournaments, the organisers appear to have adopted an anti-seeding system, placing most of the known strong players in the first two groups, probably on the assumption that experts would not want to spend several months trouncing weak opposition. This did mean, however, that several strong contenders were eliminated at this stage. The future British champion Frederick Dewhurst Yates withdrew early in the final, leaving the way clear for the correspondence chess specialists. B.C.C.A. members took the top two prizes after Rev Evan Griffiths beat Gunston well, relegating him to third place; the runner-up was barrister Hon Victor Parnell.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ *Chess Amateur*, ii p. 287. H. G. Cole, living in Cork, won a championship group and 'elected to defend the *Chess Amateur* Correspondence Championship for Ireland' (*Chess Amateur*, iv, Oct. 1909, p. 30), although Mrs Rowland's Irish championship event was well under way by that time. Cole was a strong English player who also for a time was a civil servant in Newry.

¹⁸⁷ *Chess*, i (14 Nov. 1935), p. 119.

¹⁸⁸ Announced in *B.C.M.*, xxxvii (1917), pp. 287 & 359, with play to start on 1 Jan. 1918.

¹⁸⁹ Austro-Hungary held a major national correspondence tournament from 1893-7, won in a tie by future grandmasters Charousek and Maroczy, but it was not repeated.

¹⁹⁰ For details see Tim Harding, 'Correspondence chess: *BCM* tournaments 1882-83 and 1908-12', in *Quarterly for Chess History* 12 (nominally Winter 2004, but really 2006), pp. 199-325.

¹⁹¹ For Griffiths, see p. 314. Hon Victor Alexander Lionel Dawson Parnell (1852-1936) was a second cousin of the Avondale Parnells. (See Appendix IX for more on these people.)

Although the outbreak of war in August 1914 did not completely halt postal chess, activity was drastically reduced, in marked contradistinction to what happened in the Second World War when the numbers playing postal chess increased and two new correspondence clubs were formed. A planned match between the North and South of Ireland in 1914 was scaled down: the *Belfast News-Letter* being agreeable to 'captaining a team of 12 "veterans" who can stay at home without shame and without being condemned to the petticoat that should be worn by all able-bodied men who do not volunteer for Lord Kitchener's army'.¹⁹² Later, probably just because it seemed so bizarre, *B.C.M.* published an announcement that the Palermo magazine *L'Ego degli Scacchi* would definitely start its second international correspondence tournament in January 1916!¹⁹³

British participation in continental events was minimal, but there were not many of them. In 1884 *La Stratégie* organised its second tourney, open to players in Europe and North Africa. Alnod Studd, a member of *B.C.M.*'s editorial board, entered but he was primarily a problemist and withdrew after losing most of his games. Kenneth Rynd, son of the Irish champion, entered their fourth tournament (September 1886) but did not start; he was only twelve at the time!¹⁹⁴ In 1891 the Moscow paper *Chachetnitsa* announced an international tournament, but it probably never started.¹⁹⁵ The most significant British success in international correspondence events before World War Two was Blake's second prize in the giant second international tournament of *Le Monde Illustré*, 1889-93; he had to conduct two games each against twenty-four opponents. The winner was Austrian chess master Johann Berger. Lambert also had a respectable result, and when *La Stratégie* resumed running international postal tournaments from 1898, he was runner-up in tourney-11 (1898-1900) and tourney-13 (1899-1901), before winning

¹⁹² *Cork Weekly News* 12 Sept. 1914. The match was played: see Appendix V, p. 478.

¹⁹³ *B.C.M.*, xxxv (Dec. 1915), p. 424.

¹⁹⁴ He was born on 9 Oct. 1873: copy of the birth certificate.

¹⁹⁵ *B.C.M.*, xi (Oct. 1891), p. 446 announced that the entry fee was ten paper roubles. Russian colleague Sergey Grodzensky answered a query about this in 2004; he emailed: 'I am not sure, but it seems to me the tournament did not take place.'

tourney-14 (1900-02). Two expatriates also competed,¹⁹⁶ while the other English-based entrants in these events were Rev Dr R. O. Davies, the *Ipswich Journal* chess editor,¹⁹⁷ and Charles Platt from Carlisle, a very active player for many years, but at this stage a novice who scored zero.

There were several reasons for the low British entry in continental events.¹⁹⁸ Except for anti-German feeling post-war, xenophobia should not be exaggerated; it was more a case of 'fog in Channel: continent isolated'.¹⁹⁹ Only subscribers to *La Stratégie* could enter their tourneys and most British players would not learn of continental events in time.²⁰⁰ The notoriously poor modern language teaching in English schools was probably a factor, a smattering of French probably being more common than knowledge of German.²⁰¹ Slower post was possibly an additional factor in deterring Irish entries: cards would take at least an extra day each way. Notation was the biggest barrier. French columns still used descriptive notation but German-speakers used algebraic, totally unfamiliar to most British players. These factors explain why hardly any continental events other than French ones received British entries. The fundamental point was that so much postal chess was being organised domestically that few saw any point in looking abroad.

A few British players possibly met overseas opponents through the language Esperanto devised by L. L. Zamenhof in 1887. In 1904 *B.C.M.* mentioned chess articles in the magazine *Lingvo Internacio* and stated that 'correspondence games are now in progress between chess players of different nationalities'.²⁰² A Chess Club was formed during the Esperanto Congress at Geneva in 1906, and pairings

¹⁹⁶ E. N. R. Harvey, who lived in Genoa, and Frédéric Audap, who was British vice-consul in Arcachon, France: *La Stratégie*, xxxi (1898), p. 178. I am grateful to Eric Ruch for answering a query about the *La Stratégie* tourneys. Crosstables may be found in Appendix VI, pp. 528-31.

¹⁹⁷ *Ipswich Journal*, 5 Nov. 1898, has a postal game he won against Major Murray of *Hobbies*.

¹⁹⁸ It has not been possible to check many German language sources but one never reads of British participation in *B.C.M.* or *The Field*.

¹⁹⁹ A famous but probably mythical British newspaper headline.

²⁰⁰ The 1903-4 tournament sponsored by Prince Dadian of Mingrelia and organised by Karl Baumgartl of Karlsbad, was not mentioned in *The Field* or *B.C.M.* until it was well under way.

²⁰¹ Although Staunton once filled almost five pages with an article in French by St-Amant: *C.P.C.*, v (May 1844), pp. 151-5, 'despairing of doing justice to this unique production in a translation'.

²⁰² *B.C.M.*, xxxiv (Jan. 1904), pp. 12-13. The article was by John Ellis of Keighley, Hon. Sec. of the British Esperanto Society.

made for international play,²⁰³ but apparently this body did not last long. Blanshard, organiser of the Anglo-Bohemia matches, contributed articles in Esperanto to the short-lived *Chess Review* in 1907. A Liverpool chess columnist wrote that the Anglo-Bohemian matches were between the Esperantists of the two countries, but Blanshard denied this, saying he had conducted no correspondence in Esperanto. 'Others may have been more fortunate.'²⁰⁴ More details about Esperanto chess activities may be found online.²⁰⁵

7 Conclusion: from the collective to the individual

THE involvement of the individual in correspondence chess went through various phases. Before 1824, there is no evidence for postal chess in the U.K. at all, and very little except by clubs until 1840. Yet the common assumption that the cost of pre-reform postage ruled out games between individuals is perhaps not correct. The cheap local post in many towns means there could have been more games like *Walker v. Bone* that were just never made public, but it would be difficult to find proof, except for indirect evidence like Penn's maxim.²⁰⁶ In 1840, there was immediately great interest in trying out the novelty of long-distance penny post, but no formal competition emerged until the tournaments of the 1850s and 1860s. In this period there was really only one enthusiastic and committed organiser, Henry Mott. His events were played out against a background of greater literacy and social stability, increasing leisure, and rapidly improving communications.

After *Cassells*, postal tournaments became fragmented between a larger number of smaller circulation periodicals. In the 1870s, the growth in popularity of postal play and the introduction of new types of events (borrowed from over-the-board play), was undoubtedly connected with three specific factors in addition to

²⁰³ *B.C.M.*, xxxvi (Oct. 1906), p. 391.

²⁰⁴ *Western Daily Mercury*, 8 May 1908.

²⁰⁵ Another Esperanto chess league, founded in Czechoslovakia in 1958, organised correspondence events and still exists: www.autodidactproject.org/my/games-espo.html and www.uea.org/info/angle/an_ghisdatigo.html (16 Sep. 2007). See also E. Winter, 'International Language', www.chesshistory.com/winter/extra/esperanto.html (2003), downloaded on 16 Sept. 2007, for more on Esperanto chess up to 1935.

²⁰⁶ Quoted on p. 26.

rising prosperity in general. The first, crucial for correspondence chess, was the introduction of the postcard: either the expense of the hobby was halved or for the same money one could play twice as many opponents. Secondly, the resurgence of chess clubs and chess magazines, after the somewhat fallow period of the mid-1860s, brought far more people into the game. The third factor was the emergence of a new generation of people interested in organising matches and tournaments.

The 1870s and 1880s, as noted at the end of the previous chapter, saw the emphasis of inter-club competition shift to games between individual opponents, a format which by now had almost entirely superseded consultation play in clubs.²⁰⁷ In the Victorian period and its Edwardian postscript, changes in chess (including correspondence chess) took advantage of and mirrored changes in society. While the declining cost of postage was undeniably a factor in the trend from collective to individual activity, probably more significant was a shift in mentalities: increasingly, players investing time and mental effort in postal chess competitions wanted to reap a personal reward. Individualistic ideas of Smilesian self-help appealed most to the lower-middle class, from whose growing ranks the majority of chessists were now drawn.

As tournaments became organised more frequently, efforts were made to improve the method of organisation. The early experimental round-robins had been unsatisfactory, but players and organisers rarely returned to the knock-out format. Gradually time rules became more flexible and smaller tournaments were organised in the 1900s for less experienced players or those who just wanted a few games with less competitive stress. The idea of a national correspondence championship, however, was slow to emerge, and only a few players were interested in competing overseas.

²⁰⁷ The Liverpool-London telephone matches of the early 1890s are the only obvious exception.

7 Women and Chess

ELITE women down the centuries played chess, but much of this activity has been hidden from history, just like female involvement in cultural production and other sports.¹ Recognition of women as chess players is more apparent in painting,² while some critics have detected metaphors in representations of women playing chess in Victorian fiction.³ Mary Rimmer noted that ‘the apparent validation of female power in chess does not extend very far, and certainly the half-humorous respect granted the power of the queen piece has never extended to respect for women as chess players’.⁴ This chapter primarily presents new evidence for the development of women’s chess in Britain and Ireland, but also considers some theoretical issues. Very little has been published on the subject except in chess magazines. John Graham’s book, now overtaken by events, was under-researched and came out late.⁵ *Chess Bitch*, written by a leading American player for popular consumption, does not cover the nineteenth century.⁶

¹ Chess is not mentioned in Catriona M. Parratt, *More than Mere Amusement – Working Class Women’s Leisure in England, 1750-1914* (Boston 2001). More surprisingly, her study of sport in the magazine *Womanhood* does not mention its prominent chess column: ‘Athletic “Womanhood”: Exploring Sources for Female Sport in Victorian and Edwardian England’, in *Journal of Sport History*, xvi (no. 2, Summer 1989), pp. 140-157. Nor does she discuss chess in her article ‘Making Leisure Work: Women’s Rational Recreation in Late Victorian and Edwardian England’, in *Journal of Sport History*, xxvi (no. 3, Fall 1999), pp. 471-487.

² A Victorian example is Karl Herpfer’s 1883 canvas *Check-mate!*; see the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, xix (28 Apr. 1883), p. 172, with a caption on pp. 154-5.

³ Thomas Hardy, *A Pair of Blue Eyes* (London 1975 [1872]), pp. 74-7, pp. 179-185, discussed, for example, in Jane Thomas, *Thomas Hardy, Femininity and Dissent: Reassessing the Minor Novels* (Basingstoke 1999), p. 76. Critics have also noted chess in Anne Brontë, *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* (New York 1849; first ed, London, 3 vols. 1848), Chap. 33, and other works.

⁴ Mary Rimmer, ‘Gender in *A Pair of Blue Eyes*’, in Margaret R. Higonnet, (ed.), *The Sense of Sex: Feminist Perspectives on Hardy* (Urbana and Chicago 1993), pp. 203-20, here p. 207.

⁵ John Graham, *Women in Chess: Players of the Modern Age* (Jefferson NC & London 1987). This appeared just as the Polgars were making their breakthrough, but writing apparently ended in 1983. His chapter on pre-twentieth century chess relies mostly on literary sources, and makes poor use of Jacqueline Levy’s ‘Women in Chess: Mid-nineteenth – early twentieth century’, in *B.C.M.*, ci (Sept. 1981), pp. 402-5. I am grateful to the author of that article (now Prof. Jacqueline Eales) for supplying her unpublished conference paper cited in note 9.

⁶ Jennifer Shahade, *Chess Bitch: Women in the ultimate intellectual sport* (Los Angeles 2005). Apart from its controversial title, this book has also been criticised for refusing to admit that there may be some genuine biological factors in female underperformance.

1 The fight against prejudice

Not the stern contest on the chequer'd field...
 Not there, O lady! is thy mission found...
 But thou shouldst walk the consecrated ground
 Of home, and make that home a paradise...⁷

THERE may be reasons of size and strength why women might be disadvantaged in physical sports when competing directly with men — but not in all, and not in mental contests. François Poulain de la Barre (1647-1723) anticipated ideas of the Enlightenment and later feminist campaigns in three treatises from the 1670s, notably *De l'Égalité des deux sexes* (Paris 1676), where he wrote: 'Of all prejudices, there is not any to be observed, more proper for this design, than that which men commonly conceive of the inequality of the two Sexes.' He is best remembered now for his aphorism 'the mind has no sex' (*l'Esprit na point de Sexe*), arguing that women are as capable as men in intellectual and other pursuits, where 'the only condition of efficient participation in a given art is the mastery of the rules governing it'.⁸ As English historian and chess player Jacqueline Eales has put it in an unpublished paper: 'Chess then, might provide a good test of whether there are intellectual differences between men and women.'⁹

Until recently there was a popular belief that women's chess skill would always be inferior to that of men. This prejudice was based on comparing the peak performances of the sexes — an unfair contrast, since even in the twentieth century far more men were playing competitively. From the reality that, almost always until the 1980s, the strongest females were only on a level with minor masters, many drew the invalid conclusion that there was a real difference in potential, and

⁷ 'Sonnet on the Proposal for a Ladies' Tournament', in Tomlinson, *Annual for 1856*, p. 200.

⁸ Siep Stuurman, 'Social Cartesianism: François Poulain de la Barre and the Origins of the Enlightenment', in *Jnl. of the History of Ideas*, lviii (no. 4, 1997), pp. 617-640, especially p. 625. He cites Poulain, *Égalité*, p. 169, available in translation, e.g. A. Daniel Frankforter and Paul J. Morman (eds.), *The equality of the two sexes* (Lewiston NY 1989). The first English version, *The woman as good as the man: or, the equality of both sexes* (London 1677), is in EEBO.

⁹ Jacqueline Eales, 'Women & Chess from N. P. Gerbanyevskaya to Judit Polgar, 1860-1990' (unpublished conference paper, 2006). Mrs Eales is Professor of Early Modern History at Canterbury Christ Church University and a sister of chess grandmaster Raymond Keene. As Jacqueline Levy, she wrote the pioneering *B.C.M.* article referred to in n5.

sought explanations for this. When the first book of chess problems by a woman was published in 1883, the *Chess Player's Chronicle* revealed typical attitudes:

Notwithstanding the strong arguments in favour of the equality of man and woman intellectually, yet whenever they both aim at a certain accomplishment, work to arrive at the same results, or strive for the same objects, the attainments of man are always greater, the work superior, and results more satisfactory than those of the opposite sex. It is invariably so in Chess, and perhaps the only reason that can be assigned is that women, as a class, are not (in a sense) educated to a sufficiently high standard to compete with men.¹⁰

Joan Burstyn has carefully distinguished between the types of argument used by Victorian opponents of women's education, how they were deployed, and the reasons why: to support such paternalistic attitudes, protect men's position in the professional workplace, and to defend an ideal of womanhood that became increasingly unsustainable.¹¹ A general education is not essential for chess excellence. It is hard to see how Latin and Greek gave men an advantage, but mathematical or logical training probably is helpful, so the anonymous reviewer was perhaps not completely misguided. More common explanations offered for gender disparity in chess performance drew on biology, while some psychologists later suggested Oedipal interpretations of why men should have a stronger motivation for chess performance: checkmating the king was a sublimation of the desire to kill the father. Ernest Jones, Sigmund Freud's biographer, expounded this conjecture in 1930.¹² Most recently, many theorists have debated whether there are genuine differences between female and male brains that could lead to different aptitudes.¹³ It would be premature to speculate on the outcome of such

¹⁰ *C.P.C.*, journal series vii (22 Aug. 1883), p. 123, reviewing Frideswide F. Beechey, *Chess Blossoms* (Matlock Bath 1883). For more on Beechey and that book, see below, especially pp. 300-01.

¹¹ Joan N. Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood* (London 1980).

¹² Ernest Jones, 'The Problem of Paul Morphy: a contribution to the psycho-analysis of chess', in *The International Journal of Psycho-analysis*, xii (Jan. 1931), pp. 1-23, but read before the British Psycho-Analytical Society on 19 Nov. 1930. This theory gained wider currency after it was repeated and developed by Reuben Fine, *The psychology of the chess player* (New York 1967). Fine was one of the world's top five players in 1938 but gave up the game to become a Freudian analyst. See also Kenneth Mark Colby, 'Gentlemen, The Queen', in *The Psychoanalytic Review*, xl (no. 2, Apr. 1953), pp. 144-8.

¹³ There is a wealth of material on this topic on the internet and in print, easily found by googling terms like 'female brain', but in the present context there seems little point in pursuing the matter further, for the reason stated in the final sentence of the paragraph.

research, especially as future generations may judge any conclusions in the same light that previous 'scientific' assumptions about sex differentiation are seen today.

Feminist interest in chess was sparked by the achievements of the three Polgar sisters from Hungary since the 1980s. They showed that, with the right training and opportunities, women could defeat male professionals. In 1996 the youngest, Judit Polgar, became the first woman to break into the world top ten in the FIDE rating system.¹⁴ As role models, the Polgars have inspired greater female participation, both numerically and in terms of high performance level, worldwide. They reinforced the case of those who always argued that male domination of chess in the past was the result of social restrictions, cultural conditioning, and the lack of opportunities for women to compete on equal terms with men.

Sports historians have discussed gender issues. Jennifer Hargreaves expressed succinctly what may now be called the accepted view on the question of women and sport in the nineteenth century: 'The Victorians maximized cultural differences between the sexes and used biological explanations to justify them'.¹⁵ She says biology was used firstly to construct social ideas about gender and secondly to defend inequalities, but Hargreaves always emphasizes the body, rarely mentioning intellectual differences that Victorians often supposed to exist, and she does not discuss the argument that 'the mind has no sex'.

It is widely recognised that Victorians believed indulgence in physical sports could be harmful to women. Women playing chess against men did not have to break any taboos relating to dress or physical contact but they still had to contend with the view that mental exertion was unwise for them. Carroll Smith-Rosenberg and Charles Rosenberg have shown that some people even argued that intellectual activity could be harmful to girls' health, especially their capacity to produce healthy offspring: 'a young woman... who consumed her vital force in intellectual activities was necessarily diverting these energies from the achievement of true

¹⁴ *B.C.M.*, cxvi (Feb. 1996), p.84.

¹⁵ Jennifer Hargreaves, *Sporting Females: Critical issues in the history and sociology of women's sports* (London and New York 1994), p. 143. Some of the points she and the more recent writers cited discuss were already raised in the chapter on 'Education and Sex' in Burstyn, *Ideal*, but in relation to education rather than sport. That chapter can also be found as an article in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, cxvii (No. 2, 10 Apr. 1973), pp. 79-89.

womanhood'.¹⁶ This belief stemmed from three 'scientific' principles that are nowadays considered disproved: firstly, the idea that acquired characteristics were inherited; secondly, that humans had a finite amount of 'vital force', which therefore needed to be directed wisely; and thirdly, that women's reproductive and nervous systems were connected in a way that men's were not.¹⁷ In a subsequent article, Vertinsky illuminated how this misguided view of gender differences arose, and came to be widely accepted — not so much despite, as because of, the very limited evidence for it.¹⁸ Smith-Rosenberg and Rosenberg quote revealing passages from Victorian writers such as Edward H. Clarke's *Sex in Education* (Boston 1873) and Thomas A. Emmett, *The Principles and Practice of Gynecology* (Philadelphia 1879) to show that such views were widespread.¹⁹ In America, where more nineteenth century women than in Britain were inclined to challenge their traditional role, and where more daughters of successful families were likely to be studying seriously in school, 'many physicians were concerned that education was a major factor' in bringing about what was seen as a physical deterioration of American womanhood by comparison with their British and European sisters.²⁰

These 'scientific' arguments perhaps made little impact except on doctors, jealous of entry to their profession. The tide was already turning in women's favour, for example the Married Women's Property Acts (1882 and 1893). In fact this quite late anti-feminist crusade was probably a reaction to the growing trend towards emancipation. Burstyn explains that opponents to social change 'jettison their arguments not their beliefs'.²¹ After Mill's famous article, those in whose

¹⁶ Carroll Smith-Rosenberg and Charles Rosenberg, 'The Female Animal: Medical and Biological Views of Women and their Role in Nineteenth-century America', in J. A. Mangan and Roberta J. Park (eds.), *From "Fair Sex" to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Era* (London 1987), pp. 13-37; here p. 19.

¹⁷ Paul Atkinson, 'Fitness, Feminism and Schooling', in Sara Delamont & Lorna Duffin (eds.), *The nineteenth-century woman* (London 1978), pp. 92-133; especially p. 102: 'Man's impulses were subject to the control of his will, in women the reproductive organs were pre-eminent...'

¹⁸ Patricia Vertinsky, 'The Social Construction of the Gendered Body: Exercise and the Exercise of Power', in *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, xi (no. 2, Aug. 1994), pp. 147-171.

¹⁹ A lecture by Clarke formed the basis of Henry Maudsley's controversial article, 'Sex in Mind and in Education', in the *Fortnightly Review*, n.s. xv (1874), pp. 466-83. Without citing Poullain de la Barre or countering his arguments, he asserted that 'there is sex in mind as distinctly as there is sex in body'. Dr Elizabeth Garrett Anderson replied, in the same volume, on pp. 582-94.

²⁰ Smith-Rosenberg and Rosenberg, 'Female Animal', p. 19.

²¹ Burstyn, *Ideal*, p. 170.

interest it was to continue the subjection of women sought new justifications.²² The ‘medical’ argument, publicly voiced at this time, expressed what was probably a long-held latent belief of many men.²³ There was no need to rebut De la Barre’s ‘the mind has no sex’ argument; indeed, like Maudsley, they ignored it. They could say that women *might* in theory be able to study, do intellectual work, or play expert chess, but it was *unhealthy* for them to attempt to do so, and could even lead to a ‘degeneration’ of the race. Gradually, pioneers in women’s education also modified and challenged the prevailing view that sport was bad for girls,²⁴ but the new ‘scientific’ ideology reinforcing ancient prejudices was slow to be overturned.

2 Some early female chess-players

ART AND literature show that elite women played chess in many mediæval societies, and that they played with men as well as with each other.²⁵ ‘Chess skills were then linked to social class rather than gender and women were depicted as equal to men in literary representations of over the board play,’ says Eales. When the queen became the strongest piece on the board, the interest of Mary Queen of Scots and Elizabeth I in the game was well known, but any connection between the rule-changes and historical persons is almost certainly fanciful.

In the eighteenth century, which saw (it has been argued) an acceleration of the separation of British social activity into public and private spheres, women were still playing chess, although largely confined to the latter.²⁶ In Ireland,

²² John Stuart Mill, *The subjection of women* (London 1869), is widely available in various editions and online, e.g. at www.constitution.org/jsm/women.htm (24 June 2008).

²³ ‘Clarke and Maudsley were not presenting new ideas; they merely publicized the new scientific evidence for prejudices which had existed throughout the century.’ — Elaine and English Showalter, ‘Victorian Women and Menstruation’, in Martha Vicinus (ed.), *Suffer and be still: Women in the Victorian age* (London 1980 [1972]), pp. 38-44, here p.43.

²⁴ Jeremy Crump, ‘Athletics’, in Mason (ed.), *Sport in Britain*, pp. 44-77, here p. 59; and p. 60, the 1921 ‘conference of the Medical Officers of Schools Association rejected the view that athletics and gymnastics were bad for the health of girls’.

²⁵ Strutt, *Sports*, xlvi-lix: ‘the ladies also frequently joined with the men in such pastimes...’ Recent histories of mediæval chess are Adams, *Power play* (cited on p. 41, n177) and Marilyn Yalom, *Birth of the Chess Queen* (London 2004). They do not cover topics in this thesis.

²⁶ There are over a hundred references to chess in ‘British and Irish Women’s Letters and Diaries’ at www.alexanderstreet2.com/bwldlive/ (20 Mar. 2008). Writers included Frances Burney, Maria Josepha Holroyd Stanley (who beat a general, 1797), Maria Edgeworth, Jane Austen,

around 1740, protestant singlewoman Letitia Bushe was a player.²⁷ In 1777, the time when Parsloe's chess club was most fashionable, several women subscribed to the French edition of Philidor's book.²⁸ One member was Caroline Howe,²⁹ whose games in 1774-5 with Benjamin Franklin were partly a cover for her brother Earl (Richard) Howe's attempts to avoid an American war.³⁰ In 1793 the *Sporting Magazine* reported that Philidor (playing simultaneously and blindfold) had lost a game at Parsloe's to 'Madame D'Eon',³¹ a person about whose gender there was much speculation until his death. Thereafter, it was many decades before Englishmen allowed women to join their chess clubs, although there was briefly a Penelope club for women only, in south London, probably for grass widows who preferred chess to spinning.³² In general, this writer agrees with Eales that:

The issue of admittance to clubs is a critical one. Over the board play in clubs or in tournaments is essential if a player is to progress in strength. This was perhaps even truer in the 19th century when the known theory about chess openings, middle game play and endgames was in its infancy and chess knowledge could not be gleaned from technical publications and computers in the way that it can today.³³

Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin Shelley, Jane Carlyle, George Eliot ('my letter-writing is, like my chess playing, unpremeditated and quite at random'), and Lady Gregory.

²⁷ Sean Connolly, 'A Woman's Life in mid-eighteenth century Ireland: the case of Letitia Bushe', in *The Historical Journal*, xliii (no. 2, June 2000), pp. 433-451; here p. 437.

²⁸ Philidor, *Analyse du jeu des échecs; nouvelle édition, considérablement augmentée* (London 1777: in ECCO). There are listed, on the first page of subscribers alone, the Dowager Electrix of Saxony, Duchess of Argyle, Mrs Aislabie, the Duchess of Bedford, the Duchess of Buccleugh, Lady Di Beauclerc, Viscountess Beauchamp, La Baronne de Berlepsh, Hon Mrs Bouverie, and Miss Sophia Bristow: nearly 25% of those named, but the overall percentage is lower. Those subscribers who were members of the chess club were marked with an asterisk.

²⁹ Actually Miss (Caroline) Howe, but 'called Mrs Howe according to the usage of that century': Carl Van Doren, *Benjamin Franklin* (London 1939), pp. 495-7, 503-7. On Franklin and chess, see also Ralph K. Hagedorn, *Benjamin Franklin and Chess in early America; A review of the literature* (Philadelphia 1958), especially pp. 32-5.

³⁰ The chess with Howe apparently continued in early 1875 until Franklin left London.

³¹ *Sporting Magazine*, ii (Apr. 1793), p. 8, saying that 'a very gay and numerous assemblage of ladies and gentlemen of fashion were present'.

³² *I.L.N.*, xi (27 Nov. 1847), p. 346; Staunton wrote: 'The establishment of a Ladies' Chess Club, is, indeed, an event in the history of the game, and one of the most pleasing evidences of the progress this fine intellectual discipline is making in society.' See also 4 Dec. (p. 371). In 1864 there was briefly a women's chess club with twelve members in Germantown, Philadelphia: *I.L.N.*, xlv (27 Feb. 1864), p. 219, Staunton quoting an American news report.

³³ Eales, 'Polgar'. Rimmer's paper, cited above, attributes female disadvantage to 'the rise of the tournament circuit and the professional player' but in this she was misled by her source, Graham, op. cit. That was certainly a factor in the twentieth century but at the period the novel is set, it is the club that made the difference.

Peter Clark noted that while societies of which women could be members were by no means unknown in Georgian England, females faced several obstacles in being involved, and forming clubs exclusively for women was even more difficult. 'Power usually rested with men', he says, and one reason was the legal impediments preventing women from signing legal documents or being responsible for their own accounts.³⁴ When they were not completely excluded, or restricted to honorary capacities, they could play an active role, for example in debating societies. Clark says that these usually met in assembly rooms. Some women's clubs met in private rooms; females were generally excluded from the many clubs meeting in public houses. Further details of the Penelope club are lacking, but most likely it met in a private house and had no formal constitution. Club membership usually involved making regular payments and women's financial resources were usually more limited than men's, in addition to which they faced potential antipathy from men. Clark concludes that 'the main advance in female participation in voluntary societies came after 1800', within public subscription organisations. This project found that women's involvement in chess clubs until the 1870s was virtually nil. Scholten mentions the attempt to form a women's chess club in the Netherlands in 1864, but it was 1897 before the first successful clubs were established there, with a rapid development after that.³⁵

For men, the chess club could be a sanctuary of quiet and rationality after a day's work, where the aroma of tobacco replaced the odours of street or factory, and it was also a sanctuary from women and children. The 1840s were the decade when chess became gendered; as clubs prospered and women were excluded, so they became relatively de-skilled while men obtained regular practice and learned to play the game more scientifically. Elfride, in Hardy's *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, achieves a local reputation for skill against some men but a club player defeats her. An 1843 review of a chess book highlighted the difference:

³⁴ Clark, *Clubs*, pp. 198-204.

³⁵ Scholten, *Schaakleven*, p. 248, found a short-lived ladies' chess club in The Hague in 1864: compare *B.C.M.*, cxxvi (Feb. 2006), p. 106. The late Max Euwe (former world chess champion) told Levy that there were women's clubs briefly in the Netherlands in 1847; this requires verification. Perhaps he had the date wrong. The earliest years when German clubs admitted women as members were 1885, 1886, and 1888, according to *B.C.M.*, cxxvi (Aug. 2006), p. 442.

It is curious that there has not yet appeared any *first-rate* female players, while, in the second case (i.e. of *good* chess-players) there are more of the gentler and better sex than men! Woman usually plays chess with comparative rapidity. They make their calculations without delay, and appear to arrive at their conclusion with very little trouble.³⁶

Queen Victoria herself played chess, and probably did so earlier than the occasion usually stated to be her debut. Lord Broughton's memoirs stated that she first learned chess when the Belgian royals paid a visit to Windsor Castle early in her reign, and several chess columns retold this story.³⁷ According to Walker, however, Victoria played chess with her mother before her accession,³⁸ and the ivory chess set at Windsor was 'frequently put in requisition by the Ladies of the Court'.³⁹ Probably, surrounded by Melbourne and Palmerston eager to advise, she just pretended not to know the moves — and it was another woman who defeated her 'committee'. Marie Louise, first Queen of the Belgians and a daughter of King Louis Philippe, was apparently an experienced player, since the references in *Bell's Life in London* to the 'Princess Belgioso' were almost certainly to her. She 'used to play in public in the Paris Chess Club with M. de la Bourdonnais. She was a very fine player'.⁴⁰ The acknowledged fact that royalty played the game may have encouraged middle-class women to take it up, even if it was well known that Prince Albert preferred a variant called 'double chess' or 'vierchess'.

Bell's Life also reveals male attitudes towards women players in the 1840s. Following some queries about chess from ladies such as Clarissa and Beverley, the question was posed: 'Do you think it would answer to open a morning-class at

³⁶ *Court and lady's magazine, monthly critic and museum* (Dec. 1843), pp. 11-12, reviewing an edition of *A new guide to chess* by Henry Wood (first published 1834). The reviewer also said that chess must be played reflectively, without precipitation.

³⁷ John Cam Hobhouse, *Recollections of a Long Life by Lord Broughton, with additional extracts from his private diaries*, edited by his daughter Lady [Charlotte] Dorchester (6 vols, London 1911), v, pp. 100 and 236. The Queen apparently persuaded Hobhouse to gain proxy revenge for her at chess against 'Miss Cocks, one of her household'.

³⁸ *B.L.L.*, 16 July 1837: 'Both the Queen Victoria and her mother, the Duchess of Kent, are very partial to chess, and have been accustomed to play it frequently at Kensington.'

³⁹ *B.L.L.*, 16 Aug 1835.

⁴⁰ *B.L.L.*, 27 Oct. 1844. Paul Clement provided information and a picture of the Belgian queen, and there are several letters from her in Queen Victoria's correspondence.

Hanover Square Rooms to teach ladies exclusively Chess?', but Walker said no.⁴¹ Later in the same year: 'We never yet heard of a lady a first-class player, and would as soon believe in the sea serpent of America. Chess is too difficult to square with the leisure of the fair sex.'⁴² Similarly, the ideal that woman should be 'the angel in the house' underlies the sonnet quoted on page 271. Yet in 1797 Erasmus Darwin had thought it a good idea to teach girls chess, and his illegitimate daughters presumably did so in their school based on his curriculum.⁴³

Walker's attitude to female chess seemed to soften in 1844, perhaps because he was receiving numerous enquiries from women. 'We know of no general treatise on chess by a lady; but that is no reason why you should not write one,' and the enquirer was advised to translate a foreign classic.⁴⁴ Helena was advised to improve her game by 'practice, and the study of chess games which have really been conducted by players of acknowledged force.'⁴⁵ Women could read about chess in the press and later some wrote chess books. *The ABC of chess by a lady*, evidently aimed at a female readership, went through numerous editions from 1860. The preface, signed 'H.I.C.', includes the following:

I should like to see in my own country men and women of all classes play chess, as is done in many villages in Germany. I am convinced that the study of chess strengthens the mental powers; and I am quite sure that as it becomes popular, the morals of the people will take higher rank.⁴⁶

Louisa Lawford's *Every Girl's Book* recommended chess as an 'entertaining amusement for recreations in home circles'.⁴⁷ The book was aimed at young readers 'for the express purpose of supplying a want long felt in England, though amply provided for in France'. She had taken advantage of a long residence abroad

⁴¹ *B.L.L.*, 9 Mar. 1843.

⁴² *B.L.L.*, 9 July 1843, and another dismissive comment appeared on 22 Oct.

⁴³ Erasmus Darwin, *A Plan for the conduct of female education in boarding schools* (Derby 1797; facsimile reprint, Otley 2001), section XXIX. The introduction details how the text came to be written. See also *O.D.N.B.*, xv, pp. 202-8.

⁴⁴ *B.L.L.*, 17 Mar. 1844.

⁴⁵ *B.L.L.*, 21 Apr. 1844.

⁴⁶ Attributed to H. I. Cooke, *The ABC of chess, by a lady* (9th ed, ca. 1868; Betts's bibliography believed the first edition to be c. 1860).

⁴⁷ Louisa Lawford, *Every Girl's Book: A Compendium of entertaining amusements for recreations in home circles* (London 1860). Chess was covered on pp. 126-8.

to compile a collection of what were called there '*Jeux de Société*'. Her book was not entirely about games, the final section being on 'Ladies Work', such as embroidery, and lacker-work (sic) but not knitting and crochet which are 'too well known'. Lawford included draughts and dominoes but omitted whist and backgammon. Her grasp of the rules of some games was rudimentary.⁴⁸

Although they could not join chess clubs at the mid-century, women were invited on special occasions. Amongst the company at the Berkshire and Reading Chess Club soiree in March 1851 'were several ladies; and their skill in playing excited considerable attention'; the accompanying illustration shows several players wearing bonnets.⁴⁹ *Bell's Life* reported on a Nottingham chess club ball in 1839, with several hundred visitors at the Exchange Assembly Rooms: 'such a galaxy of beauty never looked before on chess boards'. One woman was quoted as saying that balls were 'so much more sociable than those nasty public dinners, because, though the men can *dine*, they cannot *dance* without us!'⁵⁰ This does not prove that Nottingham ladies played chess.

Jane Carlyle's letters and the diaries of Lambeth Sunday school teacher Henrietta Thornhill illustrate women's social chess. When Carlyle was staying with the Bullers, at Troston Rectory in Suffolk, during the 1830s, she wrote to her husband: 'We drove as usual in the evening, and also as usual played the game at chess — "decidedly improper", but I could not very well refuse.'⁵¹ Clearly some clergymen saw nothing wrong with playing chess on a Sunday once the day's preaching was done. On another Sunday evening, Mr Buller 'only walks the horse, from principle!... after this conscientious exercising, the game at chess!'⁵²

⁴⁸ She gave an outdated version of the promotion rule, saying the pawn could only be replaced by a piece that has already been captured; nor did she mention en passant or castling. Concerning the hundred-square Polish draughts, which she said 'is by now the most fashionable', she failed to mention backward captures by ordinary men or the long-range swoop of the king (queen).

⁴⁹ *I.L.N.*, xviii (1851), pp. 195-6.

⁵⁰ *B.L.L.*, 6 Jan. 1839.

⁵¹ J. W. Carlyle, *Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle* (ed. J. A. Froude, 1883), i, p. 165. Thomas Carlyle said Charles Buller (father of the MP) was deaf and, was, 'above all, fond of chess, in which game he rarely found his superior.' So he valued the chance to have a testing game with Mrs Carlyle. Later, he could have joined the ranks of rural rectors playing by post.

⁵² Carlyle, *ibid*, p. 174. This and the cited online database have more references to her chess.

In the 1860s, Thornhill regularly played chess, and she also enjoyed whist, billiards, and the increasingly popular croquet in the summer. There are several references to chess in her 1868 diary.⁵³ She invariably recorded the results of her various contests: ‘Campbell Russell came in the evening. I had two games at Chess with him. He won the first and I the second’.⁵⁴ In 1869 she visited her Scottish relatives, who included Sarah Elizabeth Siddons Mair, and chess was mentioned again.⁵⁵ For Thornhill the game was just one of several pastimes enjoyed among friends, but for her cousin it was emblematic of women’s capacity for intellectual equality with men. Mair believed that ‘chess, like curling, is a truly democratic game... Its disciplinary power, its subtle beauty, its age-long heredity, its chivalrous nature, all combine to elevate the character and enrich our mental life.’⁵⁶ Chess became part, albeit a small one, of her ultimately successful lifelong project for female education and the suffrage. Mair (1846-1941) was the driving force behind female cultural life in Edinburgh for six decades, presiding over a literary review, a famous debating society, and eventually the Edinburgh Ladies Chess Club,⁵⁷ and was one of the first recipients of the title Dame.⁵⁸ She once said ‘all *nice* men play chess; every girl should see to it that the man she marries is a chess player,’⁵⁹ but she never did marry.

⁵³ Diaries of Henrietta Thornhill (born 1847): Diary - ref. IV/81/5 - date:1868. At Lambeth Archives Dept., Minet Library.

⁵⁴ Thornhill diary, 24 Jan. 1868. Early in the diary is a sketch of a woman, perhaps herself, playing chess with a man.

⁵⁵ Thornhill and Mair were descended from the actress Sarah Siddons; for more on Mair, see below. Thornhill’s parents had been killed in the Indian Mutiny. She was eventually married in 1881, to Charles Pearson Downe. On the Thornhills, see Barbara Kerr, *The Dispossessed: an aspect of Victorian social history* (London 1974); chess and the Scottish visit are mentioned on pp. 112 and 145-6. The book is extensively based on Thornhill’s papers but the 1868 diary appears to have come to light only recently, which is why it was chosen for this research.

⁵⁶ President’s speech at the 21st birthday party of the Edinburgh Ladies’ Chess Club, 19 Oct. 1925: E.L. C. C. Misc Papers, 1925-54, [C67231] at the Edinburgh Central Library.

⁵⁷ Originally it was founded as the Victorian Chess Club by Miss Stella V. Malcolm, with twelve founder members including S. E. S. Mair, as a branch of the Victorian Club, a ladies’ club. In 1906 it became independent in new premises. The peak membership was 94 in 1930. Edinburgh Ladies Chess Club Misc Papers, 1925-54, at Edinburgh Central Library [C67231].

⁵⁸ *O.D.N.B.*, xxxvi, pp. 186-7; Lettice Milne Rae, *Ladies in debate: being a history of the Ladies’ Edinburgh Debating Society 1865-1935* (Edinburgh & London 1936). On the literary magazine, see Kate Kelman, ‘“Self Culture”: The Educative Reading Pursuits of the Ladies of Edinburgh 1865-1885’, in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 36 (no. 1, Spring 2003), pp. 59-75.

⁵⁹ ‘In memoriam’ booklet, in the Edinburgh Ladies’ Chess Club Misc. Papers [C67231].

Most Victorian women's chess was played in the drawing room or among the family, and not being public, remained undocumented.⁶⁰ One of Blackmore's letters to Fedden mentions 'my cousin, the chess-player, Mrs Blundell (formerly of Newport)', whose husband was a clergyman near Abergavenny: 'She is a very sharp shrewd hand; but of course you would beat her easily'.⁶¹ The first Lady Lyttelton gave up chess in 1841 because she could beat her husband. The family historian found a letter from her to Mrs Gladstone, saying she has 'now got to beat G at chess so I will give up playing as I do not like to see him annoyed... do not comment on this'.⁶² Later, playing in clubs, Lyttelton's chess certainly improved.

Yet women did have two ways to compete outside their immediate circle: chess problems, and correspondence play (discussed in the next section). At least one woman regularly submitted problems to Staunton,⁶³ and in *The Home Circle* Sybil played her pioneering correspondence game.⁶⁴ Julia Short, unknown as a player, frequently solved problems in the *Illustrated*, *The Field* and elsewhere, between 1879 and 1899. These examples reiterate what was said in Chapter Three, that reading the prints was how one kept informed about developments in one's interests and pastimes. Many general periodicals and some particularly of interest to women carried chess articles.⁶⁵ A few women even edited columns. The second

⁶⁰ The *Gateshead and County of Durham Observer*, 15 Mar. 1851, published a 'spirited little game played between two ladies', Miss C — and Mrs —. I am grateful to Adrian Harvey for the reference; as he says, it is 'of some significance as it must represent one of the earliest games contested between two women to ever find itself in print'.

⁶¹ R. D. Blackmore to Nelson Fedden, 6 Aug. 1873, BL Add 43688.

⁶² Askwith, *Lytteltons*, p. 90. An enquiry to Hagley brought a reply from a Cobham amanuensis that there were no other chess references in the family papers; it was not possible to gain access.

⁶³ Staunton published several problems and games by a person initially styled 'Judy' and later 'Stella'; she has never been identified. A suggestion that a man (Rev H. Bolton) was hiding behind this name was probably mischievous (*Era*, 3 Apr. 1859). She was persuaded to change her cognomen to Stella (the title of one her chess problems) because in some circles 'Judy' had a pejorative sense, even perhaps meant a prostitute. Games by Judy were in *C.P.C.*, xii (1851), pp. 147-8, 262-3, and 333-4, and in 1853, pp. 107-8, where her opponent 'Lady B' was possibly the wife of Sir John Blunden. Problems and other references to Judy are in *I.L.N.*, 1850-2. The contributions by Stella start in the *C.P.C.* in 1852 (xiii, p. 351, problem 40: 'By "Stella", *ci devant* "Judy" '). Stella appears in the *I.L.N.* in 1853 and she is last heard of offering problems in 1867.

⁶⁴ See pp. 124-5.

⁶⁵ A column, begun in the *Pictorial Times* in 1845, transferred to the *Lady's Newspaper* when the titles merged on 15 January 1848, and this continued until October 1851. The chess editor is unknown. To judge from the first six months in 1848, no women's chess was reported in the column but women did send in queries. The *Ladies' Treasury* then had a long-running column conducted by men, starting on 1 Feb. 1876 (not 1874 as stated in Whyld, *Columns*, p. 237).

wife of Isidor Gunsberg, née Miriam Clarke, began hers in the *Lady's Pictorial* on 18 May 1895 with profiles of several leading women players. It ceased abruptly in mid-1897 (just after the first Ladies' International tournament in London), apparently because Mrs Gunsberg was dying.⁶⁶ Mrs Rowland's many writings are discussed below while another important female chess editor and organiser, Mrs Bowles of *Womanhood*, wrote a monthly column from 1899-1907.⁶⁷ Many women had access to public libraries, some of which had special reading rooms for them, as a recent study showed.⁶⁸ The most popular women's journals, the *Queen* and *Gentlewoman*, did not have chess columns, but several others appearing in the list of the twenty most popular titles in the study did feature chess at least sometimes: *Girl's Own Paper*, *Lady's Pictorial*, *Leisure Hour*, and of course the *I.L.N.*

3 Women start to compete at chess

Chess players are often heard discussing the question whether ladies are endowed with the special mental qualities necessary to make chess players of the first rank. The question is on a par with similar curiosity which has at various times been manifested by our critics in regard to nearly every occupation or mental attribute at which in the past men were wont to excel... Women have all the necessary qualifications to make good chess players, but merely lack the practice and experience.⁶⁹

FINDING early female correspondence players often requires interpretation of the evidence because of the concealment of identities through the use of initials, pseudonyms, or even male identities. Early in 1859, the following notice appeared in two chess columns: 'Amazon is desirous of playing a game of chess by correspondence with any player of tolerable strength. Address Amazon, Post

⁶⁶ The last column appeared on 14 Aug. 1897 and Miriam Gunsberg died on 8 Sept. 1897, her death certificate recording cause of death as 'phthisis 1 year'. Isidor Gunsberg soon remarried, and his third wife, née Agnes Ramage, played in one of the *Womanhood* tournaments.

⁶⁷ For the important *Womanhood* tournaments, see pp. 263-4. Mrs Bowles was one of the committee of the London Ladies' Chess Club and principal organiser of the 1897 Ladies' International. She was profiled in *B.C.M.*, xx (1900), pp. 56-9. Her husband, an active club player, taught her when an illness affected her eyesight and it was feared she would go blind.

⁶⁸ Chris Baggs, ' "In the Separate Reading Room for Ladies Are Provided Those Publications Specially Interesting to Them"; Ladies' Reading Rooms and British Public Libraries 1850-1914', in *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 38 (no. 3, Fall 2005), pp. 280-307.

⁶⁹ Miriam Gunsberg, 'The Standard of Play Among Ladies', *Lady's Pictorial*, 5 Oct. 1895, p. 551.

Office, Shelton, Bedfordshire.⁷⁰ Anyone reading that and knowing their classics would surely assume the challenger was a woman. Maybe there was no response, as two weeks later a challenge was printed using a different cognomen but the same address. In 1861, *Reynolds* stated that ‘Mary P---y is desirous of playing a game of chess by correspondence with any lady subscriber to the *Miscellany*. Address, care of The Editor.’ Mary P---y was listed as a solver of all four recent problems in the paper. Most interesting of all is the case of the *Household Chess Magazine* which said in 1865: ‘We see no objection to ladies entering the tournament by correspondence, but should recommend them to use the name of some male relative (a father or brother), unless her opponent is a lady also.’⁷¹

Commenting on this, Levy thought the editor ‘seems to have been blissfully unaware that his advice to Isabella would have been rather difficult to carry out!’⁷² Yet surely many women had an accommodating father or brother at the same address, although wives (whatever name they used) might have had difficulty explaining why they were conducting a correspondence with a strange man. That was perhaps the greatest obstacle, but at least one woman (c. 1872-5) certainly did exactly what was suggested, and there may have been many more. A *Westminster Papers* report about the Caïssa correspondence club stated that ‘Miss Francillon, of London, is at the top of the score list, with three won games, and none lost or drawn’.⁷³ As H. J. Francillon, she also played in the 1873 British Chess Association postal tournament. The surname being unusual, the family is traceable. Her father was a judge who died quite young; her elder brother Robert Edward Francillon was a barrister turned novelist who gave some particulars about his family in a published memoir, although chess was not mentioned.⁷⁴ The 1851 English census records show the family in Cheltenham; her name was really Edith and H. J.

⁷⁰ *Cassells Illustrated Family Paper*, n.s. iii (12 Feb. 1859), p. 175, and similar wording in *Reynolds’s Miscellany*, xxii (5 Mar. 1859), p. 150.

⁷¹ *Household Chess Magazine*, issue 2 (Mar. 1865), p. 32.

⁷² Levy, ‘Women’, p. 402.

⁷³ *Westminster Papers*, viii (1 June 1875), p. 24.

⁷⁴ R. E. Francillon, *Mid-Victorian Memories* (London 1914) mentions a sister once. What Edith Francillon did afterwards is unknown, except that in the 1901 census she was a spinster in St Mary’s, Gloucester, niece of the head of the household, age 57, ‘living on own means’.

Francillon was really her other brother, Henry (a solicitor according to a later census), with whom she probably lived, using his initials for correspondence.

Before her, some women had already entered Mott's tournaments. 'Daisy' was already mentioned,⁷⁵ but others were almost certainly hiding behind less obvious disguises. Mary Rudge of Leominster, Herefordshire, played under own name in the first *Gentleman's Journal* tournament (1870-1) and later in other tournaments, with her elder sister Emily sometimes entering too.⁷⁶ They probably had both entered the big *Cassells* tournament of 1863. The strongest evidence comes from James White, who defeated 'Vesuvius' in a game he reprinted in 1884, saying his opponent was 'believed to be one of the Rudge sisters'. So he knew their address from that date and he kept in touch with them when they entered his *Recreationist* tourneys. The only doubt he can have had was which of them was his opponent or were the family playing in consultation.⁷⁷

Mary Rudge was the first Englishwoman to play the game competitively to a high standard and over a long period of years, although in the 1870s she would have been no match for the American champion, Ellen Gilbert,⁷⁸ and wisely declined to play a postal match with her in 1874.⁷⁹ Rudge, although never of master strength, was able to beat most male club players (even several at the same time); the zenith of her career was first prize in the first Ladies' international tournament in London, 1897. An article about her by a Bristolian, John Richards, in a local history journal during 2005,⁸⁰ uncovered many little-known facts about

⁷⁵ See p. 238, n65.

⁷⁶ In all there were four Rudge sisters, of whom the eldest (the only one who married) and second sister do not seem to have played public chess. Emily's name was listed for the first *Gentleman's Journal* tournament (*G.J. supplement* for Jan. 1870, p. 70) but she did not actually play.

⁷⁷ The game was in *Cassells* on 5 Mar. 1864 and was reprinted in the *Leeds Mercury*, 13 Sept. 1884. As both 'Vesuvius' and 'Snowdon' played in the tournament, and Mott's reports mixed them up, they were almost certainly at the same address. Probably one was Emily and the other Mary, but their father, Dr Henry Rudge, may have been involved.

⁷⁸ See pp. 213-4. Gilbert was not the only female postal player in America: Miss Phoebe Himrod of Waterford, Pennsylvania, completed the *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette* tourney, 1882-5.

⁷⁹ *The Field*, xlv (19 Dec. 1874), p. 648, quoting the *New York Spirit of the Times; the Westminster Papers*, vii (Jan. 1875), p. 174, said the match was being mooted in America and the men should put up a trophy. *Land and Water*, xix (2 Jan. 1875), p. 18, said 'Miss Rudge, we believe, objects to a correspondence match as being too slow', and the match never happened.

⁸⁰ John Richards, 'Mary Rudge: Bristol's world chess champion', in *The Regional Historian* 13 (Spring/Summer 2005), pp. 33-7, at <http://humanities.uwe.ac.uk/Regionhistory/rhissue13.pdf> (1 Jan. 2007). Richards did well in tracing the financial problems of a genteel singlewoman.

her life and career, but missed some sources.⁸¹ Richards failed to note the role played by postal chess in her career, or the early success of Emily Rudge, who died in 1873 at the age of thirty-four.⁸² Mary herself wrote that she cultivated her talent for chess 'more by practice over the board than book study; by correspondence games, matches friendly and otherwise'.⁸³

After the deaths of Emily and her father (in 1874), she moved with her other unmarried sister Caroline (41) to Clifton, where their brother was a clergyman.⁸⁴ She then became the main beneficiary of the local chess club's 1872 decision to admit women as associate members.⁸⁵ Growing in skill, partly through odds matches with local star Edmund Thorold, she had various minor successes as her skill grew. By the time she won the Ladies' Challenge Cup in Cambridge in 1890, her play had clearly matured. As early as 1878, she won a prize in the Counties Chess Association second class at Grantham, Potter observing:

Gentlemen who, at some trouble and inconvenience, besides much expense to themselves, go to a distant town to take part in a chess competition, cannot afford to throw away their chances by yielding to any feeling of misplaced gallantry. If a lady, in the exercise of her undoubted right, chooses to enter herself as a competitor, she must look to it that she will have to match her brain and nerves against those of her opponents; nor expect any mercy, for none will be shown. But if, after all, she come out one of the victors, then even the vanquished, whose hopes she has disappointed, will, if they be gentlemen, offer her their hearty congratulations.⁸⁶

Thus, from the late 1860s, a small minority of identifiable women appear in Britain as public competitors. Development was steady but slow from the 1870s up to 1904, when the inclusion of a British Ladies' Championship at the first B.C.F. Congress accorded them full recognition. The first suggestion to organise a chess tourney exclusively for women, with a gallery set aside for them, was in 1855, at the

⁸¹ For example, Richards discovered she was born on 6 Feb. 1842, not 1845 as usually stated.

⁸² *Amateur Chess Magazine*, i (Nov. 1873), p. 75. On the tournament Emily won, see p. 287. Emily & Mary Rudge and a Miss Flintoff of Newcastle-upon-Tyne played in postal tournaments organised by that magazine. More women were on its subscriber list in the Nov. 1872 issue.

⁸³ M. Rudge, 'How I won the international ladies' tournament', in the *Westminster Budget*, 3 Sept. 1897, p. 27. The *Westminster Budget* was a Newnes publication, edited by Hulda Friederichs, author of *The Life of Sir George Newnes, Bart.* (London 1911). It had a chess column.

⁸⁴ Richards, 'Rudge'.

⁸⁵ Burt, *Bristol*, p. 18.

⁸⁶ *Land and Water*, xxv (12 Jan. 1878), p. 46.

Leamington Congress, but did not materialise.⁸⁷ In 1866 a ladies' prize was announced for the North Yorkshire chess meeting at Redcar; this was declared to be a novelty.⁸⁸ Miss Thorold won,⁸⁹ while Mrs Dixon and Mrs Seaton were among those named as 'actively engaged in the proceedings'. This may have been the first women-only tournament, but it is unclear whether they only played each other or also against some of the men.⁹⁰ In 1868 at York, 'in the third class were Mrs Redperth, Miss Felgate, Miss Robinson, Mr F. Newton, and Miss Leybourne'. Newton won a Staunton chess set and Felgate second prize.⁹¹ At the Counties Chess Association 1872 meeting in Malvern, 'an exceedingly interesting joust took place in the third-class tourney, inasmuch as it was contested by ladies only. The combatants were Miss Fisher, Mrs Kempson, and Miss Emily Rudge, and the last-named lady carried off the prize.'⁹² Other women (but not Mary) were mentioned as attending social events at the festival.

It is possible that not Bristol but neighbouring Bath was the first chess club to admit women. As early as 1866 the city was noted for its female players: there were six among Löwenthal's opponents at his display.⁹³ In 1867 the *Bath Express* mentions the annual soiree of the club with at least eight ladies present, especially

⁸⁷ *C.P.C.*, n.s. iii (1855), pp. 237 and 260.

⁸⁸ *LL.N.*, xlix (7 July 1866), p. 23. The entry fee to the association was 10s. 6d. The event was badly timed because it clashed with 'the agricultural show and the grand review at York' and 'there were some shortcomings in the arrangements' because of the inexperience of the organisers.

⁸⁹ Eliza Mary Thorold (1835-1904) was a sister of the leading amateur Edmund Thorold; they were originally from Yorkshire. She is possibly the woman next to Staunton in the front row of the photograph of Redcar chess-players, in Roger Taylor and Edward Wakeling (eds.), *Lewis Carroll, photographer: the Princeton University Library albums* (Princeton 2002), p. 205. (This book also has on p. 54 an 1859 photograph of sisters playing chess in a rectory garden. Carroll experts say he probably did not take the Redcar photograph, although he was there.) Eliza Thorold won third prize in the 1897 London ladies' international. Until Mrs Fagan and Lady Thomas returned to England in the 1890s, she was the most active and successful female player in Britain after Mary Rudge. It is not on record whether they competed privately with each other, whether by post or when Eliza Thorold visited Edmund in Bath, but it seems likely.

⁹⁰ *LL.N.*, xlix (18 Aug. 1866), p. 171. At the 1867 meeting, there was a Mrs Fetch of York, but Staunton's report in *LL.N.*, li (9 Nov. 1867), p. 523, does not say what part she played in the proceedings. Mr Fetch is not known as a chess player.

⁹¹ *The Field*, xxxii (15 Aug. 1868), p. 138, has 'Filgate'; *LL.N.*, liii (22 Aug. 1858), p. 187, and *C.P.C.* (Nov. 1868) have 'Felgate'.

⁹² *Land and Water*, xvii (17 Aug. 1872), p. 105. Mrs Kempson was the wife of a Birmingham wine merchant who was a leading member of that city's club; Miss Fisher was probably related to Bernard W. Fisher, the Malvern expert.

⁹³ *Era*, 25 Mar. 1867; he names Miss Watson, Miss Kilvert, Miss Marlowe, Mrs Saunders, Miss Peppin, and Miss Headland.

Miss Watson, 'a lady well known in Bath chess circles for her high attainments', but it is unstated whether they were actually club members.⁹⁴ In 1871, at least two *Bath v. Bristol* matches featured women on each side, playing against men.⁹⁵ These were exceptional; more typical was the City and County of Dublin Chess Club which, in 1867, received a letter enquiring whether ladies could be admitted to the club as members.⁹⁶ The committee decided that 'as it would be an innovation to admit lady members to a chess club, and as the Club was so recently established, it would be better to decide the question in the negative.' A resolution was then passed, 'that the word person in Rule 4 be interpreted as meaning gentlemen only.' At its 1907 annual meeting, after an 'interesting debate', members resolved that 'ladies be admitted to the privileges and membership of the Dublin Chess Club... on condition that they retire from the Club rooms not later than 5.30pm each playing day.'⁹⁷

Chris Rojek considers that too much feminist work on leisure has concentrated on working class women, seeing after the 1860s 'the clear and undeniable contraction of male authority in the bourgeois household'.⁹⁸ As a consequence of this, 'few types of male public space in early capitalism were protected more exhaustively and fiercely from female entry and participation than sport'.⁹⁹ Male resistance to women joining chess clubs might have such a basis too. Potter wrote that 'the chessplayers of London are the slaves of Misogyny and

⁹⁴ *Chess Player's Magazine*, n.s. iii (Mar. 1867), pp. 72-3, quoting the *Bath Express*, 2 Feb. 1867. Miss Watson appears many times later (e.g. *C.P.C.* 1877, p. 232), but it is not certain whether this is the same woman who played in the 1897 London international. Miss Kilvert was mentioned again; the others named were different from the 1866 report.

⁹⁵ *Land and Water*, xiv, 30 Nov. 1872. I am grateful to Mrs Eales for the hint that there had been such an event.

⁹⁶ Dublin Chess Club papers, minutes of Special Committee Meeting, 9 Dec. 1867. The fact that fourteen men attended (most of the founder members) suggests there was considerable interest in the matter. Arthur Aston Luce, *A History of the Dublin Chess Club* (Dublin 1967), p. 7, says a 'special committee' of the club considered the matter but a close reading of the papers does not support that interpretation: the word 'special' qualifies 'committee meeting' not 'committee'.

⁹⁷ Minutes of the Dublin Chess Club, 6 Nov. 1907.

⁹⁸ Chris Rojek, *Ways of Escape: modern transformations in leisure and travel* (Basingstoke & London 1993), p. 54. A masculinist view, making an interesting contrast with Burstyn's cited work, is John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven and London 1999).

⁹⁹ Rojek, *Ways*, p. 87.

Nicotine... In the provinces they manage things better, and consequently the presence of ladies at country chess gatherings is not at all unusual.’¹⁰⁰

After the Bristol decision, the floodgates hardly opened but women did appear in increasing numbers at various events. At the B.C.A.’s chess festival at the Crystal Palace in July 1872, participants included Mrs Down (mother of leading City of London Club amateur, H. F. Down) and one of her daughters, plus Mrs Kempe, Mrs Shedlock, and a Miss Parsons.¹⁰¹ Emily Rudge’s Malvern success soon followed, but tournaments exclusively for women remained rare. The Sussex Chess Association organised their first with eight players in 1884,¹⁰² and twelve women competed in the 1892 Counties Chess Association ladies’ tourney at its congress in Brighton, Madame Ludovici winning.¹⁰³

Until the twentieth century, opportunities for women to play chess in clubs very much depended on geography. For those not lucky enough to live near Bristol, Brighton, London, Dublin or Belfast, doors were usually closed to them. The Ladies College Club, in Little Queen-street, Holborn, was a short-lived novelty between 1878-81. It included players of both sexes, several being members of the Down family. Another was the eighteen-year-old who had the honour of receiving a prize at the hands of Prince Leopold with much publicity: Those peculiarly-constituted individuals who object to the daughters of Eve recreating themselves in any other way than by dancing and flirting will no doubt learn with displeasure that a young lady named Miss Rymer, was the winner of the late tournament of the chess club at the Birkbeck Literary Institution’.¹⁰⁴ In late 1881, the Ladies College club closed, apparently because its members ‘were all mated’,¹⁰⁵ or perhaps emigrated (Miss Rymer),¹⁰⁶ but women’s chess made some progress in Sussex.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰ *Land and Water*, xxvii (15 Feb. 1879), p. 145.

¹⁰¹ *Land and Water*, xiv (27 July 1872), p. 315.

¹⁰² Won by Miss Mary Parren, of Herstmonceux: *Southern Weekly News*, 7 June 1884.

¹⁰³ *The Field*, c (20 Aug. 1892), p. 311; *B.C.M.*, xii (Sept. 1892), pp. 387-8. Mary Rudge was absent.

¹⁰⁴ *Land and Water*, xxvi (28 Sept. 1878), p. 271. The award, at the 55th anniversary celebrations of the Birkbeck Institution (evolved from the London Mechanics’ Institute), was reported in *Land and Water*, xxvii (1 Mar. 1879), p. 187, & *Westminster Papers*, xi (1 Mar. 1879), pp. 229-30.

¹⁰⁵ *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, xvi (5 Nov. 1881), pp. 178-9.

¹⁰⁶ The probable census match is Louisa Florence Rymer, aged ten in 1861, living with her siblings, her father (Francis C. Rymer, lithographic artist), and his partner Annette Solly (both named as head of household) at 22 Brighton Terrace in Brixton. She can also be found as a baby in 1851.

Returning to correspondence chess, the use of pseudonyms became rare from the 1880s. Some women played matches or entered tournaments openly,¹⁰⁸ although a married woman's name was hidden behind her husband's.¹⁰⁹ There was still a way to conceal gender. A postal player identified only by initials and who did not appear in over-the-board matches or tournaments, was possibly female, but it is difficult to prove cases. Chess editors introducing games in their columns tended to assume 'Mr'. Charles Locock (1862-1946), one of England's strongest amateurs around the turn of the century, told in his reminiscences how 'Mrs Vincent, a strong correspondence player in the West of England... taught me the unsoundness of my favourite... variation of the Two Knights Defence'.¹¹⁰ The doubt is that this was possibly unreliable testimony given fifty years later, but the fact that Locock was a lifelong supporter of women's chess could be due to this early lesson.¹¹¹ Also the above reference is clearly to one of four *Vincent v. Locock* games published in the 1880s, which suggests that the F. A. Vincent (of Dursley, near Stroud, in Gloucestershire), who had success in postal tournaments,¹¹² was perhaps a woman. Another possibility is that this could be a case of husband and wife collaboration.¹¹³

Free BMD shows her mother died in 1869. Only a brother was found in the 1881 census but by 1901 Louisa Rymer is back in London by 1901 (a telegraphist, living with three other unmarried women). She appears not to have resumed chess-playing. She would be worth more research by a historian of single women at this period; perhaps she spent many years in America.

¹⁰⁷ Mrs Louisa Down died in 1888, at the home of her son-in-law Julius Manning (a chessist): G.A. MacDonnell, *The Knights and Kings of Chess* (London 1894), pp. 117 -9. Her chess-playing daughters were Nelly and Florence. The latter married a tailor and became Mrs Zanzig, surfacing briefly in Brighton in 1893: *Southern Counties Chess Journal*, 61 (Jan. 1894) p. 35.

¹⁰⁸ Eliza Thorold drew a postal match against Thomas Bourn of Clevedon, Somerset: *I.L.N.*, lxxxix, (4 & 11 Dec 1886), pp. 606 & 634. In 1886-7, Miss Annette Votruba of Vienna won a friendly postal match against the Scottish champion, Chambers (*Glasgow Weekly Herald*, 17 Sept. & 31 Dec. 1887). He also won a game against Mary Rudge: *I.L.N.*, xc (18 June 1887), p. 699.

¹⁰⁹ Chess writers never revealed the identity of Mrs Arthur Smith of Brighton (née Kate Carden), whose husband also played postal chess with some success. They were the grandparents of a former opponent of this writer, Canon Arthur Eric Smith (1908-94), and great-grandparents of Ms Margaret Smith, who supplied family information. The *Lady's Pictorial* had a photograph and short profile of Mrs Smith on 8 June 1895.

¹¹⁰ *B.C.M.*, liii (Jan. 1933), pp. 7 -12, here p. 7.

¹¹¹ When he died, a grateful pupil, Elaine Saunders (later English international player Mrs D. B. Pritchard) sent in a tribute to *Chess* (June 1946, p. 198), saying Locock was 'certainly the first to teach Chess in Girl's Schools, work which he continued until a year ago when he organised the Championship tournaments for the last time.' Her letter also appeared in *B.C.M.*, Aug. 1946.

¹¹² Including first prize in the second *English Mechanic* tournament (as mentioned on p. 262).

¹¹³ One might expect a strong male player to have entered some over-the-board tournaments but F. A. Vincent does not appear to have done so. There is no clear match in the census.

Women continued to enjoy chess problem composition. In the 1870s Mrs J. G. Fagan contributed problems to the *Westminster Papers* using the pseudonym Deesa; then she won the 1882 chess tournament of the Bombay Gymkhana although she was not allowed to play her games on club premises.¹¹⁴ In the 1880s the vocalist and singing teacher Agnes Larkcom won prizes for her chess problems.¹¹⁵ She married the Surrey champion, Herbert Jacobs, a Jewish barrister, who was in 1907 the founder and chairman of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, a progressive pressure group of the privileged who sought the vote for women on the same terms as men.¹¹⁶ Edith Baird, a member of the Winter Wood chess dynasty, became one of the world's leading problem composers in the 1890s and 1900s; her daughter Lilian was also a published composer while still in primary school. In an interview, Mrs Baird wished more girls would take up chess:

It is such excellent mental discipline, and brings out one's patience. It would also be a useful corrective to the tendency to jump at conclusions which many women have. The great charm is that it is a home accomplishment... I think it is a very good thing for a woman to devote herself to some study or occupation with a determination to excel in it... Although many men take little interest in helping a woman to achieve success, and are disposed to treat her endeavours with scorn, if she prove her mettle they will applaud extravagantly.¹¹⁷

In the 1890s, as women campaigned for the vote and access to higher education, the bicycle (for recreation) and the typewriter (for employment) were more important routes to liberation, but playing chess made a statement about their sex's intellectual capacity and the equal status they were demanding to run their own affairs. In 1893, a women's international chess congress was first suggested in America, *B.C.M.* commenting: 'it can, however, hardly be expected

¹¹⁴ *B.C.M.*, xvii (1897), p. 289.

¹¹⁵ Her name was sometimes spelled 'Larkom' or 'Larcom' but her obituary in *The Musical Times*, 1 Aug. 1931, prefers 'Larkcom' and shows she had a distinguished musical career as performer and teacher. She was a pupil of the pre-eminent singing teacher Manuel Rodríguez García (1805-1906), whose love for chess is highlighted in *O.D.N.B.*, xxi, pp. 400-1. Her chess success was mentioned in the *Bristol Mercury*, 22 Mar. 1884, and *Southern Weekly News*, 29 Mar. 1884; her marriage was mentioned in the chess column of the *Norwich Mercury*, 9 June 1888.

¹¹⁶ Angela V. John, 'The Privilege of Power: Suffrage Women and the Issue of Men's Support', in Amanda Vickery, *Women, Privilege and Power: British Politics, 1750 to the present* (Stanford 2001), pp. 229-31. Vickery says in a note on p. 380 that Larkcom joined the Women's Freedom League and the Actresses' Franchise League.

¹¹⁷ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 6 Sept. 1894.

that married, or even single ladies, would be willing to cross the Atlantic for such a purpose.¹¹⁸ In 1894 a Ladies' Chess Association was founded in New York, inspiring Miss E. M. Burrell to start a chess club for ladies in Kensington. Announced in *Hearth and Home* at Christmas, it soon had thirty members.¹¹⁹ This was the origin of the London Ladies' Chess Club. Also the prospectus of the Equitable British and International Club for Ladies, started by Miss M. W. von Sandau and others in Elgin Crescent, said chess should be:

...more than merely a pastime for women: we want to gather all women of intellectual tastes, and especially we wish to give a continued opportunity to our sex of a training in logical thinking and mathematical accuracy... essential as a counterpoise to woman's more universally designed emotional tendencies.¹²⁰

In 1895, two ladies' sections were held during the international congress at Hastings; Lady Thomas, winner of the higher one, had recently returned from Turkey.¹²¹ In 1896, Miss Fox of the Ladies' Club won a game against Carl Schlechter at Nuremberg: a good achievement although this was probably in a simultaneous display given by the Austrian.¹²² Then came the 1897 diamond jubilee tournament, with a first prize of £50 and a field of twenty including Mrs Worrall from America. Further ladies' chess clubs were founded in Manchester (on 25 September 1900) and later in Glasgow.¹²³ This may be a sign that men in those cities were particularly resistant to women joining their clubs. There was also a Scottish Ladies' Chess Association, which held the first Scottish Ladies' Championship in 1905. In 1910 they started a correspondence match against the

¹¹⁸ *B.C.M.*, xiii (1893), p. 413.

¹¹⁹ *Hearth and Home*, 20 Dec. 1894 and 31 Jan. 1895; *I.L.N.*, cvi (9 Feb. 1895), p. 182. On Miss Burrell, a portrait painter, see the *Lady's Pictorial*, 15 June 1895.

¹²⁰ *C.P.C.*, journal series xiii (no. 460, 12 June 1895), p. 159.

¹²¹ Cheshire, *Hastings 1895*, p. 362. Lady Edith Margaret Thomas (née Foster) was the wife of a baronet. One of their daughters played in the second women's tournament at Hastings 1895: *Dublin Evening Mail*, 12 Sept. 1895. Their son George (later Sir George Thomas, 1881-1972) became one of England's top players at chess, lawn tennis, and badminton. This is a clear case where mother and son improved their game by competition with each other.

¹²² *Lady's Pictorial*, 19 Dec. 1896, p. 939. Schlechter was then twenty-four and playing in the international tournament; in 1910 he tied a match for the world championship with Emanuel Lasker. Miss Fox played in the 1897 Ladies International; afterwards she became Mrs Sidney and lady champion of Sussex: *Womanhood*, vi (1901), p. 63, has her photograph.

¹²³ *B.C.M.*, xx (1900), p. 405, mentions the formation of the Manchester club. The Glasgow club's foundation date is unknown but it was running in 1927 (*B.C.M.*, xlvii, p. 497).

B.C.C.A., twenty-seven a side with Miss Mair on the team.¹²⁴ The Manchester club (in which the Millar sisters were prominent) was still active in the mid-1930s,¹²⁵ and the one in Edinburgh lasted into the 1950s.¹²⁶ The London Ladies' Club was apparently a casualty of the First World War. The Imperial Club in Mayfair, founded in 1911, welcomed both sexes; a Mrs Rawson was its president.¹²⁷

In chess, as in other activities where women compete with men, there has been debate about whether separatism fosters or limits female achievement. Special women's tournaments and master titles set at a lower achievement level were probably necessary formerly to encourage female participation. Judit Polgar aimed for the top, refusing to compete in female-only events, whereas her eldest sister Zsuzsa both played in open events and won the women's world championship. Apart from Vera Menchik (killed by a V1 in 1944), women almost never played in master chess tournaments before the 1960s. Others might have done had they been given sufficient encouragement and opportunity, but first they would have required regular practice in events for strong amateur players.

Membership of the London Ladies Club was female-only, thus providing a focus for sociability. By 1895 there were several women's clubs in London and elsewhere, modelled to some extent on gentlemen's clubs. Although separatism avoided the fate of the Ladies College Club of the 1870s, which had become a marriage market (like tennis clubs), the later club played many matches against male clubs. They enjoyed some success in the C Division of the London League and soon had thirty-four entries for their club tournament.¹²⁸ Had the College club possessed so many members, it would have survived a few marriages.

¹²⁴ *British Correspondence Chess Association Magazine*, no. 4 (Sept. 1910), pp. 36-7.

¹²⁵ *B.C.M.*, lvii (1937), pp. 125-30, 181, & 189-90. A claim that women's chess was in decline provoked a flurry of evidence to the contrary.

¹²⁶ Papers of the Edinburgh Ladies' Chess Club in the Edinburgh Central Library.

¹²⁷ The Imperial Chess Club is mentioned as new and having women members in 1911: *The Field*, cxviii (16 Sept. 1911), p. 663; *I.L.N.*, cxxxix (23 Sept. 1911), p. 498. It was possibly a development from the Imperial Colonial Club: *The Field*, cxiii (27 Mar. 1909), pp. 540-1. It prospered before the war, hosting the Anglo-Dutch match in 1912, and in 1913 it moved to larger premises at the Rifle Club (*I.L.N.*, 22 Feb. 1913, p. 264). It probably catered for older and well-heeled players: its club champion was veteran W. Timbrell Pierce (*I.L.N.*, 18 July 1914), and Locock was also a member. The club was still in existence during the war: *The Field*, cxxv (26 June 1915), p. 1099.

¹²⁸ *Lady's Pictorial*, 5 Dec. 1896, p. 859, & 6 Feb. 1897, p. 191.

4 Gender differences and the life-cycle

PREVIOUS discussions of this subject possibly overlooked the two major reasons why the pool of young people taking up chess was predominantly male, with the consequence that the high achievers in chess were also men. Firstly, if a girl did not learn chess at home, it was unlikely she ever would, unless she happened to marry a chess player. The opportunities of the sexes differed greatly in adolescence. A middle-class boy who was not taught chess at home might learn it at boarding school or university. For others, a variety of youth and lads' clubs came into being (from about the 1860s) for males too young to join working men's clubs, which typically were for over-18s. At the Y.M.C.A. or lads' club they usually had a library and a variety of indoor and outdoor games to occupy evening and weekend free time, and chess was often one of the recreations available in these institutions.¹²⁹ Girls rarely had such options, at least until a much later date.

Secondly, the greatest downward penetration of chess occurred in cities: first in the 1840s when the mechanics' institutes began to promote rational amusements, and then in the 1870s-1880s, when there was a large expansion of chess in clubs catering to clerks and artisans, who were nearly all male.¹³⁰ There was no corresponding growth of chess among women because few belonged to those occupational groups. Consequently at the very times that the chess-playing population increased, only a very small percentage was female.

This helps explain why Bevan's attempt to include women in his 1875-6 Gravesend initiative was a total failure; the other reason being that it was harder for women to go out in the evening. He had asked 'why should we exclude the women? I myself was taught Chess by my mother' and said 'he had met many ladies who played a good game of Chess'.¹³¹ The chess magazine editor Potter also learned the game from his mother and 'our earliest antagonist was a female

¹²⁹ John Springhall, *Coming of age: adolescence in Britain 1860-1960* (Dublin 1986), chapter 4; on p. 150 he quotes a primary source mentioning chess. On p. 120 he refers to 'the near absence of detailed studies of teenage girls' leisure both in the present and the past'.

¹³⁰ Recognising that clerical work did become an important sector for women, but mainly in the Edwardian generation.

¹³¹ *City of London Chess Magazine*, ii (1875), pp. 290-2; see p. 153 for more on Bevan's initiative.

member of those very working classes whom the generous donor has in view'.¹³² Indeed, it was the working class woman in domestic service who was most likely to learn chess, because she had regular contact with the middle and upper classes and occupying the children was often one of her duties.

Moreover, as Eales pointed out in her conference paper, the peak years for chess performance coincide with the peak years for childbearing, so that even a young woman emerging into adulthood with talent and enthusiasm for the game is quite unlikely to fulfil her potential; a century or more ago, this was even more the case. Older wives and widows were much freer than young mothers to engage in public leisure activities, as were unmarried women — if they had enough money.

When considering gender differences in relation to leisure activities such as chess, it is evident that not all Victorian and Edwardian women were equal: either to each other or to the men in their lives. Ways in which individuals, of either sex, differed included how much time they had to work, how many obligatory but unpaid tasks they had to perform (such as housework, child-minding, and other duties which might include church-going), and how much time (after sleep) remained for things they liked doing for their own sake. For a woman to become actively involved in chess outside the home, she needed either a man's encouragement (usually meaning a husband who also played chess), or else sufficient social and financial independence. In the former category were Mrs Bowles, Mrs Smith,¹³³ and Mrs Rowland (discussed below), who all played by correspondence. In 1897, Mrs Bowles told a women's magazine that many of the Ladies' Chess Club members 'live in far off parts of England, and carry on spirited contests with other members through the post'.¹³⁴ One of those was Mary Rudge; in 1896 the *Lady's Pictorial* published two games she surprisingly lost to Mrs Vivian, a Londoner.¹³⁵ Distance from London was not the only reason many played by correspondence or concentrated on problems. Mothers with young children

¹³² *City of London Chess Magazine*, ii (1875), p. 291.

¹³³ In the 1891 census (RG12 piece 821 folio 62 p. 13, GSU roll 6095931), the Smiths had six children, a maid and a cook. Three of the children were now employed but would have been at school in the mid-1880s when both parents were playing postal tournaments. Arthur Smith was 'living on own means', i.e. a member of 'the leisure class'.

¹³⁴ *Hearth and Home*, 1 Apr. 1897.

¹³⁵ *Lady's Pictorial*, 14 Nov. and 5 Dec. 1896.

were, like Mrs Baird, confined by choice or necessity to amusements they could practise at home.

For a married woman with children, it made a great difference how many and what ages these were, although those wealthy enough to employ nannies and governesses might have more discretionary time than their husbands.¹³⁶ Since a Victorian mother often had many children, and spent much of her youth pregnant, this restricted her opportunities to engage in sporting activity between the ages of (approximately) twenty and forty, although the croquet or tennis lawn might be available on a sunny afternoon. The very factors that restricted her options in fact made it more likely that she might like chess, which she could play with the children as they grew up, while she could employ small parcels of leisure time at home to compose or solve a chess problem, or to decide on a correspondence chess move. Reading and playing the piano were other options convenient for the occasional quarter or half-hour of discretionary time that might present themselves at home. Victorian men were much less likely to be restricted in their leisure opportunities by the obligations of parenthood.

Scholten's study concludes that 'emancipation was not the most important motive behind chess-clubs for ladies. The motive was to support and entertain the husband in his interest'.¹³⁷ That may be a valid generalisation from his Dutch evidence but many British female players had no husbands.¹³⁸ It is a dangerous assumption to take the married woman as the norm. Recently there has been increasing interest in females who never married, perhaps by choice: those whom Amy Froide calls 'singlewomen'.¹³⁹ Froide's monograph covers mostly 1550-1750; as yet there seems no equivalent study for the 'long nineteenth century', although a

¹³⁶ On 'discretionary time' see p. 11 n43. The sex of the children mattered too: boys were more likely to be away at boarding school.

¹³⁷ Scholten, *Schaakleven*, p. 478.

¹³⁸ Also, by 1900, some had husbands who did not play chess but were happy for them to do so. For example, *Womanhood*, vi (Aug. 1901), p. 218; John T. Boyd, 'Sixty years of chess', in *The B.C.C.A. Magazine*, i (no. 5, Sept. 1949), p. 2, has an anecdote from the west of Ireland.

¹³⁹ Amy Froide, *Never married: singlewomen in early modern England* (Oxford 2005), especially the Introduction. She defines a 'singlewoman' as one who has never been married, and in some cases distinguishes between 'life-cycle singlewomen' (who might marry in future) and 'lifelong singlewomen' who did not.

1984 issue of the *Journal of family history* focused on spinsters.¹⁴⁰ In relation to the question of discretionary time, Victorian and Edwardian singlewomen could vary considerably, and clearly in their case financial means was the major factor influencing their independence and leisure choices.

Froide found that ‘never-married women frequently migrated to towns’,¹⁴¹ and that probably remained the case in the period of this study, but a brief comparison of the life-cycles of leading female chess players in the late nineteenth century reveals a wide divergence. The main thing most have in common is that they had fathers, husbands, or brothers who played chess. Mary Rudge was a lifelong singlewoman who learned chess in early childhood. Richards showed how she experienced financial difficulties after her father’s death, as a result of being a ‘gentlewoman’ whose opportunities to work for a living were very limited: a family attempt to run a school failed in 1885 after four years. Money problems were probably the reason she did not participate in several of the annual congresses of the Counties Chess Association.

Her rival Eliza Thorold, on the other hand, though also never married, appears to have been more comfortable, living mostly with a married brother and sometimes visiting her chess-master brother (a widower with no children). The runners-up in the 1897 international were middle-aged and married: Edith Thomas and Louisa Fagan, both mentioned above. Two Irishwomen played in that. Mrs F. Sterling Berry (first name unknown) was the wife of a Blackrock doctor;¹⁴² London-based Kate Finn was another lifelong singlewoman; she withdrew, unwell, but later she won the first two British Ladies Championships (1904-5) and international ladies’ tournaments in Ostend (1907) and San Remo (1911).¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ The relevant articles are Michael Anderson, ‘The Social Position of Spinsters in Mid-Victorian Britain’, in the *Journal of family history*, ix (no. 4, Winter 1984), pp. 377-93; Ruth Freeman and Patricia Klaus, ‘Blessed or Not? The new spinster in England and the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries’, *ibid.*, pp. 394-414. Froide, *Never married*, says (p. 9) that the term ‘spinster’ has derogatory connotations, has meant different things at different times, and that present-day demographic studies use it only for women over the age of 45.

¹⁴¹ Froide, *Never married*, p. 10.

¹⁴² Mrs Berry did quite well and won a share of the best game prize.

¹⁴³ *The Field*, cx (13 July 1907), p. 88; cxi (20 June 1908), pp. 1061-2; cxvii (1 Apr. 1911), p. 613. Obituary in *B.C.M.*, cii (1932), pp 167-8. She was the daughter of a Cork doctor, Eugene Finn: *B.C.M.*, xxxiv (1904) pp. 399-400; *Weekly Irish Times*, 25 Feb. 1905.

For a married woman with schoolchildren, involvement in competitive chess was probably only possible by correspondence and perhaps in a local club, if the husband also played chess, as with the Smiths. The most remarkable husband-and-wife team in Victorian and Edwardian chess were the Rowlands of Dublin, the subject of the case study that follows. This will serve both to close the discussion of women's chess and to lead in to the subsequent chapter on the regional peculiarities of the chess world in the U.K.

5 Case study: Frideswide Rowland and the development of Irish chess

BEFORE her marriage to chess problem expert Thomas Rowland (1850-1929), Frideswide Beechey had already become the first woman to conduct a chess column and the first to win a prize in an international problem composing tourney. The couple edited numerous chess columns in Irish and English papers, and also produced some books. Born in Galway on 18 April 1845,¹⁴⁴ she began life with some advantages. Her father, Richard Brydges Beechey (1808-1895), was an English naval officer and painter of marine canvases,¹⁴⁵ youngest son of Sir William Beechey (1753-1839), a court portrait painter.¹⁴⁶ Her mother was from a Westmeath gentry family.¹⁴⁷

Beechey gave some information about her early life in a 1910 memoir. Her father became keen on chess when, 'stationed at a lonely spot in the West', he met a Catholic priest who was an enthusiastic player, and purchased Staunton's *Handbook*. 'It took my fancy, and before the age of eight I used to play over the games from the book, and covering the moves I tried to guess what the next move might be.'¹⁴⁸ Her talent remained dormant until the late 1870s, when she

¹⁴⁴ Register of Baptisms at St Nicholas Galway, p. 29, no. 12, held at the R. C. B. Library, Churchtown, Dublin. Most chess sources including Gaige, *Personalia*, give incorrect years of birth for her and her age was rounded down in the 1881 census.

¹⁴⁵ For R. B. Beechey see *O.D.N.B.*, iv, p. 804. On his art, see Denys Brook-Hart, *British 19th century marine painting* (Woodbridge 1974) and Walter G. Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, i (Dublin & London 1913), pp. 53-4.

¹⁴⁶ W. Roberts, *Sir William Beechey R.A.* (London 1917), especially pp. 179 and 196 for family references. The artist's parents were from Dublin (*O.D.N.B.*, iv, pp. 804-8).

¹⁴⁷ www.zip.com.au/~lnbdds/home/smythdhist2b.htm (12 Oct. 2004).

¹⁴⁸ *The Four-Leaved Shamrock* 27-28, p. 3, which also has the following quotation.

encountered a chess circle in south Devon, who introduced her to ‘the beautiful art of problem composition and solving. In a very short time I entered the lists of *Brief* as a solver, and as a composer won my first prize.’¹⁴⁹ This hobby shaped the rest of her life. Her first published efforts at composition appeared in Peake’s *Weekly Irish Times* column on 6 March 1880 (to which Rowland also contributed), and a few days later in the news digest magazine, *Brief*.¹⁵⁰ Much later, she wrote that:

Problem solvers are quite a different class of Chessists from those who play ‘the game’. To many of these Chess is a game, not for two persons, but for one. They play over the variations of a Chess composition as a pianist does a piece by Beethoven or Schubert. Skill and practice are required just as in the pianist’s case.¹⁵¹

Thomas Rowland’s early years were less sunny, which perhaps explains difficulties that occurred later.¹⁵² The *Chess Bouquet* described him as ‘a descendant of one of the oldest families in the South’, but Rowland lived all his life in Dublin and its suburbs.¹⁵³ His father, secretary to the Kildare Street Club,¹⁵⁴ died on 8 April 1858 after which Thomas, his younger sister Lucinda, and elder brother Robert were apparently brought up chiefly by a maternal aunt, Jane McCarthy.¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁹ She said it was in the *Jamaica Gleaner* but actually she won second prize in the *Jamaica Family Journal*. Arthur Ford Mackenzie (1861-1905: Gaige, *Personalia*, p. 261) conducted both columns. The tourney run by the *Jamaica Family Journal* was announced in *Brief* on 24 Dec. 1880, and was judged by F. C. Collins, chess editor of *Brief*. On 9 Feb. 1883, the *English Mechanic* said that the *Journal’s* offices, including all Mackenzie’s chess books and special type, had been destroyed by fire and that Miss Beechey was appealing for subscriptions to help him replace them. On 17 May Mackenzie resumed his column, now in the *Tri-Weekly Gleaner*.

¹⁵⁰ *Brief: the Week’s News*, 12 Mar. 1880. The start of her chess problem activity can be dated fairly accurately from these two papers. There are several references to ‘F. F. B.’ and ‘F. F. Beechey’ in the *Brief* chess column throughout 1880; none in 1879.

¹⁵¹ *The Visitor*, May 1904, p. 75. Originally entitled *The Church of Ireland Temperance Visitor*, this was the organ of the Church of Ireland Temperance Society, and edited by the Rector of Malahide, Rev. T. S. Lindsay, who played chess. Mrs Rowland’s column in the magazine only ran from April to Sept. 1904.

¹⁵² Thomas Rowland was born on 1 June 1850, as recorded in the baptism registration book 5, p. 62, of the parish of St Peter & St Kevin, Dublin (Church of Ireland), at the R.C.B. Library. The family lived at 11 Holles St. See also n154.

¹⁵³ Gittins, *Bouquet*, pp. 77-82.

¹⁵⁴ The occupation stated for his father Robert Rowland was ‘Sec’tary to Kildare St Club’ but, the premises having been destroyed by fire on 11 Nov. 1860, no record of him remains at its successor, the Kildare Street and University Club. R. B. McDowell, *Land & Learning: two Irish clubs* (Dublin 1993), p. 46, refers to an ‘archival catastrophe’; pp. 58-9 describes the fire.

¹⁵⁵ Probate calendars at the National Archive of Ireland show that the father left no will. There were three grants of administration, the first on 24 July 1858 to the widow Lucinda Rowland, the second on 25 Oct. 1867 (p. 189) to Jane McCarthy, ‘spinster the Aunt and Guardian during the minority of the children of said deceased’, and a third on 27 May 1884 (p. 717) to Robert

He signed the marriage register as 'gentleman', so must have had a small private income that was sufficient until then.¹⁵⁶

In 1882, Beechey visited the fashionable spa of Matlock Bath, Derbyshire, for her rheumatism. Unusually, she wintered there in 1882-3. Being alone, she had plenty of time for chess problems: 'I asked the proprietor of a small local paper if he would give me space, and he was only too glad to accede, as he was often at a loss how to fill up his paper'.¹⁵⁷ Thus she started her writing career, in the *Matlock Register*, which *B.C.M.* described as a new weekly 'Review of Business, Education, Temperance, and Religion'.¹⁵⁸ Having access to a printer, she compiled her book *Chess Blossoms*, which includes a list of 193 subscribers, some buying multiple copies. Her chief intention was to encourage other women, saying:

That ladies do not generally play chess well is owing not so much to a deficiency of intellectual capacity, as to their sensitive natures, and to the difficulty of concentrating their minds on any subject when in company. For these reasons the composing and solving of problems seem more adapted for ladies than the playing of games.¹⁵⁹

One response to the book was already quoted above, while *B.C.M.* observed that 'this little work presumably marks a new departure in the history of Chess literature, heretofore monopolized by hard-headed, calculating man'.¹⁶⁰ If criticisms of her efforts were sometimes strict, this also indirectly paid her the compliment of judging them by the same criteria they would have used to review a

Rowland jr. an RIC constable in Waterford. What happened to the widow is unclear. From 1863-79 *Thom's Directories* show a Mrs Rowland at 5 Synnot Place nr Dorset St: the move from a £38 house to a £17 house suggests hard times. Jane McCarthy lived at 18 Blessington street (£30 valuation). The *Matlock Visiting List* in 1882 shows that Beechey's landlady in Matlock Bath was a Mrs Rowland but this was probably a coincidence as it was never remarked upon.

¹⁵⁶ On the baptism record for his first child, he styled himself 'journalist'.

¹⁵⁷ *Shamrock* 27-28, p. 4.

¹⁵⁸ *B.C.M.*, iii (1883), p. 30, saying the column commenced in the *Matlock Register* on 8 Dec. 1882, adding 'this is probably the first [Chess Department] conducted by a lady.' She gave up the column late in 1883 (*B.C.M.*, iii, p. 414). Unfortunately, no copies of the *Matlock Register* are held at the British Newspaper Library until no. 237 in 1887. The only local paper available for 1882-3 is the *Matlock Visiting List* from May-Oct. 1882, from which it has been possible to identify some of Beechey's co-residents including a sister and a brother.

¹⁵⁹ Beechey, *Blossoms*, p. 3 (preface). Her *Jamaica* prize problem is number 1 on page 10. It may be a coincidence that Matlock Bath was the home town of Newnes.

¹⁶⁰ *B.C.M.*, iii (1883), pp. 307-8.

book written by an established male composer of chess problems.¹⁶¹ Then came the fateful introduction to Rowland. In 1883, as she described thirty years later:

The proprietor of the *Sheffield Independent* wrote inviting me to conduct their chess department in collaboration with Mr. T. B. Rowland, who at this time had sprung into fame, so though parted by the Irish Channel we agreed to accept the *Sheffield Independent* post and eventually met. After our marriage we conducted as many as six columns in different papers, and there has never been a break in this work.¹⁶²

By December, she was in Dublin and soon they were writing in the *Irish Sportsman* and the *Bristol Mercury*, which became their most important English column.¹⁶³ Through these she organised, and won, an international two-move problem composing tourney for ladies.¹⁶⁴ Their *Sheffield Independent* problem-solving tourney had 140 competitors, 'the largest on record, including 13 ladies'.¹⁶⁵ Others undoubtedly read the columns and attempted to solve the puzzles but did not send in solutions. When the Sheffield column ended later that year, the competitions were transferred to the *Bristol Mercury*.¹⁶⁶ For about eighteen months she also had a column in *The Science Monthly Illustrated*.¹⁶⁷

MacDonnell came from London to officiate at their wedding in Clontarf on 5 June 1884.¹⁶⁸ An anonymous correspondent stated that Mrs Rowland's competitive successes and talents as an authoress had 'gained for her the title of

¹⁶¹ *C.P.C.*, journal series iii (1883), pp. 123 and 130-1.

¹⁶² Rowland, 'Reminiscences' [sic], in *The Four-Leaved Shamrock*, i, no. 27-28 (Summer 1910), pp. 3-4. The final clause seems less than candid if the couple were living apart by then.

¹⁶³ Whyld, *Columns*, p. 58, states the Rowlands edited the *Bristol Mercury* column from 5 June 1886 until Oct. 1896, a new editor following. In fact it began on 2 Feb. 1884 and last appeared on 26 Dec. 1896. There was no more chess until at least 1900; a new column possibly started later. Whyld also credits them with a column 'on Tuesdays' in the '*Nottingham Guardian*' from Feb.-July 1884 but that title is ambiguous. It is not in the *Nottingham Daily Guardian* and the British Newspaper Library declared the *Nottinghamshire Guardian* volumes unfit for use.

¹⁶⁴ Male experts did the judging anonymously. In all such competitions, composers identified their problems by mottos; judges were sent the problems with their solutions and mottos, but only the chess editor organising the tourney knew who had submitted which problem.

¹⁶⁵ *English Mechanic*, xlviii (1889), p. 509.

¹⁶⁶ *B.C.M.*, viii (Nov. 1888), p. 444, wrongly stated that the column was ending. In fact the last Rowland contribution to *The Sheffield Weekly Independent* appeared on 19 Oct. 1889, a new columnist taking over the following week.

¹⁶⁷ [*Illustrated*] *Science Monthly: A popular magazine of knowledge, research, travel and invention*, edited by J. A. Westwood Oliver (London 1883-5). She also had a column in a magazine called *A1* (1889-93) of which the British Library has only one annual volume.

¹⁶⁸ *Irish Times*, 6 June 1884; *Freeman's Journal*, 7 June 1884. The reports are virtually identical.

the “British Queen of Chess”.’ The wedding was even the subject of jokes in the German chess press.¹⁶⁹ By now she had won prizes in two chess problem composing tourneys and was conducting no fewer than five chess columns; she had already published one book and another, jointly with Rowland, was in the press.¹⁷⁰ Unsurprisingly, following marriage, her public career went ‘on hold’ for a decade. Chess sources never mention this, but her first child died after a few days in 1885, while in 1886 she gave birth to twin daughters; one soon died but the other lived until 1977.¹⁷¹

The Irish chess world was now in its most important developmental period, which began with Barry’s column in the *Irish Fireside*,¹⁷² and the Rowlands’ *Irish Sportsman* column. This regular publicity for the game led to the starting of new chess clubs and the formation at Easter 1885 of the Irish Chess Association, of which Rowland was the first secretary. In July 1885, Rowland commenced his most important column, which appeared in the *Dublin Evening Mail* and was repeated in the weekly *Warder*, circulating in Britain. Further discussion of his career is reserved for the next chapter,¹⁷³ but Irish developments over the next few years included correspondence matches, contests for the Irish Championship, and in 1888 the Armstrong Cup, one of the world’s three oldest chess leagues, a major stimulus to inter-club matches in the capital.¹⁷⁴

The Rowlands were masters of chess by correspondence in all its aspects. Unlike his wife, Thomas rarely played by post, but together they ran numerous

¹⁶⁹ Timothy Harding, ‘Ireland’s Queen of Chess: Frideswide Rowland and her world’ in *History Studies* 6 (Limerick 2005), pp. 48-63; here p. 50.

¹⁷⁰ Mr and Mrs T. B. Rowland, *Chess Fruits* (Dublin 1884).

¹⁷¹ Birth and death registers of Clontarf parish at the R.C.B. Library.

¹⁷² The *Irish Fireside* was a free supplement given away with the *Weekly Freeman* on Saturdays and sold separately on Mondays. Barry’s column began with the first issue on 2 July 1883 and continued until 16 Sept. 1885. A new column ran in 1887, apparently by Mrs Rowland.

¹⁷³ From 1885-94, Mrs Rowland worked largely behind the scenes on the chess columns. Her husband’s public activities in Irish chess are considered separately on pp. 318-19 & p. 315 n32.

¹⁷⁴ The first match was played on 20 Oct. 1888 between the City and Phoenix clubs: *B.C.M.*, viii (Nov. 1888), p. 442, said ‘the competition is rousing much interest in local chess circles’. The Armstrong Cup is still the premier competition in Leinster. The Woodhouse Cup in Yorkshire is arguably the world’s oldest annual inter-club competition. It began in 1885 as a knock-out but there was no contest in 1888 because of an epidemic: *B.C.M.*, xii (1892) p. 152, and xxxiii (1913), pp. 277-84. The London League also began around this time, developing from a trophy presented by Baldwin and Hoffer in 1884 (*The Field*, lxiv, 4 Oct. p. 469), but was not formally constituted until the early 1890s. Probably no other country had a chess league that early.

matches and tourneys. These were managed through the mailboxes of the various papers to which they contributed. They exchanged columns and news with like-minded people everywhere. Thus they compiled their reference work, *The Chess Player's Annual and Club Directory*,¹⁷⁵ which ran through five editions between 1889 and 1894. Amongst other things, it included contact details for chess clubs all over the world. They also ran a club for several years in their home, which was notable for its social and gender inclusiveness. Later Mrs Rowland remembered:

Few things would benefit Ireland more than an increase of these social chess clubs, where men of all creeds and politics might meet in one common bond of brotherhood. We had men of all persuasions, the Secretary of the Primrose League;¹⁷⁶ the Rev J. Maxwell, C.C.; Rev F. Saavedra of the Order of Jesuits;¹⁷⁷ Rev R. Fawcett, Protestant Evangelical; J. Howard Parnell, brother of C. S. Parnell; Mir Aulid Ali, TCD... and last but not least, the lady champion Miss Rudge.¹⁷⁸

Rudge spent the 1889-90 winter as companion to the Rowlands and played with great success on the Clontarf team,¹⁷⁹ helping them win the Armstrong Cup. She entered the second *Dublin Evening Mail* postal tournament, in which she defeated the winner, Gunston, and shared second prize after three years. She had at least one other extended stay with the Rowlands, in the autumn of 1899, during which she 'engaged to attend the D.B.C. chess room in Dame Street and Stephen's Green every afternoon alternately'.¹⁸⁰ The Clontarf club held an eight-player ladies' championship in 1892-3; players included Mrs Rowland (who won all her games) and Thomas's sister Lucinda.¹⁸¹ In 1894 their *Annual* included an article on 'How

¹⁷⁵ The Rowlands edited the 3rd (1889), 4th (1890), 5th (1891), 6th (1892) and 7th (1894) editions of this series. The previous editions were in 1880 and 1882 by W. R. Bland.

¹⁷⁶ Probably a reference to Lord Randolph Churchill, an honorary member of Dublin Chess Club.

¹⁷⁷ Dublin Chess Club records show they elected Fernando Saavedra (1847 -1922) a member on 22 Nov. 1890 but he is missing from the membership list in Luce's club history. A Spaniard who is buried at Mount Argos in Dublin, he is famous in the chess world for composing a brilliant endgame study, although its originality has been disputed by Harrie Grondijs, *No Rook Unturned, A tour around the Saavedra study* (2nd ed., The Hague 2004).

¹⁷⁸ *Shamrock*, 27-28, p. 4. Mir Aulad Ali was professor of oriental languages.

¹⁷⁹ An analysis of individual results in the 1889-90 Armstrong Cup showed that she had the fourth highest percentage of any player: played 11, won 8, drew 3, lost none, on second board, and the one player who scored 100 per cent played only five matches: *Dublin Evening Mail*, 1 May 1890. This is the clearest proof of her superiority over most male club players of the time.

¹⁸⁰ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 5 Oct. 1899. The D.B.C. was the Dublin Bakery Company, its cafés being associated with chess well into the 1900s, even mentioned in Joyce's *Ulysses*.

¹⁸¹ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 2 Mar. 1893.

to form a chess club' in which the proposed Rule Two was: 'The Club shall consist of lady and gentleman members'. Female participation in Irish chess was quite strong at this time; Dublin and Northern women played, with some success, in both the 1891-2 *Dublin v. Belfast* and 1893-4 *Ireland v. West of England* postal matches.¹⁸² The Strandtown club in Belfast reported in 1894 that 'there has this year been a large accession to the number of the lady members, and the committee look upon this as an augury of a successful future for the club.'¹⁸³ Yet a decade later, a reconstituted Clontarf club excluded females. Mrs Rowland printed the text of a letter, in which her correspondent's application for membership had been refused. The secretary wrote that 'the general opinion at our meeting was that ladies attending our club would find the atmosphere unpleasant, as smoking is much indulged in, and if smoking were discouraged (as it would be by the presence of ladies) we fear that many of our male members would drop off.'¹⁸⁴

In 1893 the Rowlands moved to Kingstown, where they lived at various addresses until 1903, and in January 1894 they launched a local magazine called *Kingstown Monthly*.¹⁸⁵ The first issue was priced at two pence, but this was reduced to a penny from issue two. The fact that it continued in one form or another for over a decade suggests a qualified success. Mrs Rowland, whose chess column began in the second number, became more active as an editor and organiser as her daughter grew up, but she seems to have played many postal matches constantly. She was in regular contact with leading figures in women's chess, including Miss Eliza Campbell Foot, President of the New York association, whom she met in a postal match beginning in 1893.¹⁸⁶ Her *Weekly Irish Times*

¹⁸² See Appendix V, pp. 461-6. The *Belfast News-letter* commented on 11 Jan. 1894 that Ulster ladies did well, including Miss Marie St. Priestley, Saintfield, 'whose name often appears among our list of solvers in the *Belfast Weekly News*'.

¹⁸³ *Belfast News-letter*, 22 Nov. 1894. The committee was all-male, however.

¹⁸⁴ *Weekly Irish Times*, 5 Dec. 1903. No doubt Ernest Jones and Reuben Fine would have been delighted to cite this last sentence in support of their Freudian interpretations for gender inequality in chess.

¹⁸⁵ *Kingstown Monthly* ran from Jan. 1894 to Mar. 1898 and then the title changed.

¹⁸⁶ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 14 Nov. 1895; *Cork Weekly News*, 13 Feb. 1909. In 1893-4, Miss Foot had even defeated Steinitz in a postal game, which the latter did not take very seriously, according to one account, calling out the moves to his secretary without looking at the board. Landsberger, *Steinitz*, p. 277, refers to this but he did not find the moves. Mrs Rowland obtained a copy of the score and published it in the *Weekly Irish Times*, 22 June 1912.

column began in 1895.¹⁸⁷ During 1896 she also organised a Dublin women's tournament, in which she was runner-up behind Mrs Berry.¹⁸⁸ *Kingstown Monthly* carried the notice that: 'A ladies' chess and reading room has been started at 15 Leinster Street, the office of *To-day's Woman*. Ladies can meet there to play others at any hour during the day.'¹⁸⁹ In 1897 Mrs Rowland had another short-lived column, in the *Irish Figaro*.¹⁹⁰ The readers of her articles subscribed between them more than nine pounds to assist her work by buying her a typewriter.¹⁹¹ Later advertisements in the Kingstown papers offered to do typing work and her profession in the 1901 census was stated to be 'journalist and typewriter'. She also developed a graphology sideline around this time.¹⁹² In March 1898, the *Monthly* was relaunched as *Kingstown Society*.¹⁹³

The Boer War caused a setback to both the main Rowland columns. A correspondence chess tournament announced in the *Weekly Irish Times* on 9 September 1899 was cancelled the following Saturday, 'owing to the fewness of entries'.¹⁹⁴ That cannot have been the real reason, since people barely had time to respond; similar announcements in other papers had usually been repeated. The chess column was suspended after the end of 1899 but returned a few months after the war. In 1900 the *Mail* column appeared irregularly and with inferior content. Following a brief revival, apparently with Mrs Rowland in charge, it ceased

¹⁸⁷ In January 1889 two British columns announced that Mrs Rowland was about to start a chess column in the *Weekly Irish Times* but apparently it was cancelled. Searching in the recently released digitised *Irish Times* archive (which includes the *Weekly Irish Times*) confirms that only occasional news items appear between the end of Peake's column (18 Mar. 1882) and 23 Feb. 1895 when Mrs Rowland's column really did start.

¹⁸⁸ *To-day's Woman*, 1 Aug. 1896, showed there were six competitors; at that stage Mrs Berry and Mrs Rowland had won all their other games and had yet to meet.

¹⁸⁹ *Kingstown Monthly*, no. 30 (June 1896), p. 11. *To-day's Woman* was a Dublin weekly published from 1894-6, the chess column running from 28 Mar. 1896 until the final issue, 26 Dec.

¹⁹⁰ The *Irish Figaro* column possibly ended because of a serious illness which Mrs Rowland suffered in late 1897. The *Weekly Irish Times* refers to this and her convalescence several times.

¹⁹¹ The *Irish Figaro*, 19 June 1897, listed Plunkett and Saavedra among the subscribers.

¹⁹² Advertisements for graphology, with varying wordings, appear frequently in the Rowlands' papers and also occasionally in the *Weekly Irish Times*. Palmistry was mentioned once, in *Kingstown Monthly*, no. 38 (Feb. 1897), p. 11.

¹⁹³ *Kingstown Society* (Apr. 1898-Oct. 1907) is available in the British Newspaper Library, but some issues appear to be missing. The numbering in the last three years is very strange.

¹⁹⁴ The *Weekly Irish Times* never did run a postal chess tournament; on 26 Apr. 1879 Peake had also announced one that did not materialise.

altogether after 29 March 1902.¹⁹⁵ Since their British columns had now all ended, the Rowlands' income must have been reduced and they lacked a mass audience. Their tourneys and matches were now conducted through *Kingstown Society*. Mrs Rowland played in the first ladies' correspondence tourney, organised by *Hobbies* in 1900-1 with eight competitors from Ireland and England,¹⁹⁶ but her subsequent attempt to run an international women's postal tournament was unsuccessful.¹⁹⁷

In 1905, *Kingstown Society* went into decline while the chess subscribers transferred to a new paper, which Mrs Rowland called *The Four-Leaved Shamrock* because it had four pages and came from Ireland.¹⁹⁸ Its contents were problems, games and news from Irish and postal events, and some literary material. An important landmark came in 1908 when, in issue eighteen, she inaugurated the 'Silver Queen Irish National Correspondence Tourney' with a sixpence entry fee to cover expenses. Run as a knock-out, it attracted over twenty entries and took over three years to complete. Ireland thus became the first country in the world to hold a regular national correspondence chess championship.¹⁹⁹ *The Four-Leaved Shamrock* soon lapsed to bi-monthly with eight issues in 1905. Number twelve covered May-July 1906 but the next issue did not appear until January 1907. In total there were fifty separate issues, of which several were double numbers to make up for long gaps in publication.

It is not known exactly when or why the Rowlands separated, but the evidence is compelling. The 1901 census shows the family at Rus in Urbe Terrace,²⁰⁰ but during 1903 two different addresses in Bray were stated for correspondence. In the summer of 1906 she found a better house there at 3 Loretto

¹⁹⁵ It ended a week later in the *Warder*, columns being published in arrears in 1902. Earlier, when the *Mail* column was on Thursdays, it was possible to have the type in the *Warder* on Saturday. Evidence of financial hardship is the appeal for an annuity in *I.L.N.*, cxx (17 May 1902), p. 726.

¹⁹⁶ *Kingstown Society*, no. 43 (Nov. 1900), p. 11 (the start), and Aug. 1901 p. 11 (result). The joint winners were Mrs Berry of Blackrock and Mrs Bowles of *Womanhood*.

¹⁹⁷ *Kingstown Society*, no. 39 (July 1901), p. 11; *Womanhood*, vi (Aug. 1901), p. 217.

¹⁹⁸ The title page of the first issue says: *The Four-Leaved Shamrock* ('An Irish Monthly paper devoted to the royal game of chess') – edited by Frideswide Fanny Rowland, vol.1 no.1, Jan 1905. (All issues were described as volume 1.)

¹⁹⁹ See Appendix VI, pp. 532-3, for dates and results. Here I acknowledge the precedence of Tim Conlan (Dublin), who did the first research into these events but did not find the *Shamrock*.

²⁰⁰ 1901 census: ref 97/58 cabinet 2, drawer 8 at the Irish National Archive, Bishop St. Notably Mrs Rowland is shown here as deaf.

Terrace, a pleasant street nearer the sea. In 1910 she made a will, in favour of her daughter, which does not mention Thomas.²⁰¹ The 1911 census strongly suggests they are living apart. Only Mrs Rowland and her daughter Frideswide Annie were in Bray — although she describes herself as ‘wife’, not ‘head’. Thomas was with his brother Robert (retired policeman), sister Lucinda (music teacher), and their 84-year-old aunt Jane McCarthy at 5 Sea Road, Whitehall Terrace, Clontarf West.²⁰² Most *Shamrock* issues say it is ‘edited by Frideswide F. Rowland’, although a change on the masthead to ‘edited by Mrs Rowland’ in the late issues suggests attempts at reconciliation. Rowland almost vanishes from view between 1900-20; he wrote little on chess except for some articles in *Strand Magazine*.²⁰³

The *Shamrock* cannot have made any money. Mrs Rowland’s will refers to a post-nuptial settlement of £1209 2s. 7d. from her father in 1885, her brother being trustee.²⁰⁴ By 1910, this had been reinvested in India stock, providing an income of just over £42 per annum. She also would have earned some money from her columns in the *Weekly Irish Times* and (from 1907) the *Cork Weekly News*; in the later years the content of those two columns was often very similar. In the Summer 1910 issue, she lamented: ‘When I started the *Four-Leaved Shamrock* in 1905, I had hoped it would have been generally supported by Irish players. Such has not been the case, and it is owing to the generosity of English subscribers... [that it] continues to thrive.’²⁰⁵ Yet the May 1913 issue shows that donations came in to a printing fund. Catholic priest Paul MacLoughlin from County Galway, sent 5s,

²⁰¹ Will obtained from the Irish National Archive.

²⁰² The reference for Bray on 1911 census microfilm at Bishop Street is cabinet 16, drawer 8; The Rowlands and Jane McCarthy can be found by searching www.census.nationalarchives.ie.

²⁰³ Geraldine Beare (ed.), *Index to the Strand Magazine, 1891-1950* (Westport, Connecticut 1982), p. 239 & p. 586, lists Thomas Rowland’s articles on chess in *Strand Magazine*, but not quite correctly. The ones up to 1914 were checked. They were: ‘A Chess Curiosity’, in xlii (Dec. 1911), p. 789; ‘Another Chess Curiosity’, in xliii (Jan. 1912), p.115 and (Feb. 1912), pp. 223-4; also ‘A Prolific Chess Problem’, in xliii (Mar. 1912), pp. 355-6; ‘An Immortal Chess Problem’, in xlv (Dec. 1912), pp. 772-4; and ‘An International Chess Problem’, in xlv (Apr. 1913), pp. 476-7, with solutions (May) p. 600. Beare’s index shows that Rowland later contributed a few more chess articles to the magazine in the issues for Mar. 1916, Apr. & Dec. 1918, and Jan. & Feb. 1920.

²⁰⁴ Her parents apparently did not attend the wedding, either because of objections or her mother’s poor health. In 1885 Beechey was promoted on the retired list with a higher pension (*The Times*, 26 June) and on 30 Aug. his wife died (*The Times*, 3 Sept.) so the post-nuptial settlement that year may just mean that he could not previously afford it.

²⁰⁵ *Shamrock*, 27-28 (Summer 1910), p. 4. The main patron was named as Mr E. J. Winter-Wood, of Paignton, head of a large clan of chess players, and brother of Mrs Baird.

saying ‘those of us especially who are isolated throughout the country should feel it a great loss if we hadn’t your kind services in arranging chess matches for us’.²⁰⁶

The last *Shamrock*, number 58, appeared in July 1914. The *B.C.M.* problem editor explained that Mrs Rowland had to cease the paper due to ‘failing eyesight’. In a fulsome tribute, which also mentioned her poetry and painting, he wrote: ‘Mrs Rowland has survived several serious vicissitudes, and has bravely championed the culture of chess for about thirty years... The result of Mrs Rowland’s career is a long roll of recruits.’²⁰⁷ War meant the *Weekly Irish Times* reduced its size in August and discontinued many regular features, including chess, this time permanently. Now only her *Cork Weekly News* column remained. Frideswide Annie Rowland wrote to John G. White explaining how the Cork editor helped her mother to continue her competitions and news service by printing special slips of the column for monthly mailings to subscribers.²⁰⁸

The last of Mrs Rowland’s Cork columns appeared in April 1916, just after Easter Week — a coincidence? Yet a column she had begun in September 1915 in the *Irish Weekly Mail* still continued (except for two weeks when the paper did not appear after the Easter Rising) until the end of 1916.²⁰⁹ Mrs Rowland died at home on 25 February 1919; her brother-in-law reported the death.²¹⁰ One obituary stated that: ‘Though latterly a great invalid and entirely confined to her chair, Mrs Rowland retained her love of chess to the last, and carried on correspondence games until failing sight made it impossible for her to distinguish the pieces’.²¹¹

²⁰⁶ *Shamrock*, 51 (May 1913), p. 4.

²⁰⁷ B. G. Laws, in *B.C.M.*, xxxiv (Nov. 1914) p. 396. The reference to ‘vicissitudes’ implies that close chess acquaintances knew of her circumstances, but private family matters were never referred to directly in Victorian and Edwardian chess columns.

²⁰⁸ F. A. Rowland to White, dated 29 May, now in the White Collection at the Cleveland (Ohio) Public Library; underlinings as in the MS. The year must have been 1915.

²⁰⁹ The *Irish Weekly Mail and Warder* was a retitling of the *Warder*.

²¹⁰ *Irish Times* death notice, 26 Feb. 1919, p.1. Her death certificate gives the cause as ‘Debility cardiac failure’, so although the Irish newspapers that month were full of influenza reports, no direct connection can be proved. Thomas is not mentioned. Robert Rowland, brother-in-law, was named as the informant on the certificate.

²¹¹ *B.C.M.*, xxxix (Mar. 1919), p.113.

8 Four Countries, One Kingdom

THIS chapter examines certain peculiarities of chess in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, before concluding with a case study of the Scottish player Fraser, who in 1887 organised the 'U.K. International correspondence tourney', a title simultaneously highlighting unity and separateness. Although the 'British Isles' had the same monarch since 1603, politically the United Kingdom was at its fullest extent only from 1 January 1801, when the Act of Union came into effect, until 31 March 1921 when twenty-six Irish counties seceded from it.¹ During this period, England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales formed one state; how many 'nations' were involved remains arguable. Depending on the sport, anything from two to five teams now represent the inhabitants of these islands. The soccer body FIFA recognises two Irish teams and three countries from Great Britain. The Olympic Games has State sovereignty as its criterion,² which obliges sportspeople to assume a pan-British allegiance, possibly not what they see as their primary identity.

1 Differences and similarities

DESPITE some obvious differences, the development of chess in Ireland and Scotland was quite similar, both to each other and (on a smaller scale) to the English experience. Chess clubs developed before 1850 in the major cities and some smaller towns. There was chess in Wales from the 1820s at least, but organisation was retarded and restricted to a few places, as discussed below. In England, the most important difference was between the metropolis, where most

¹ Irish Free State (Agreement) Act, 1922: 12 Geo. V c.4 [UK]; for dates see T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (eds), *A New History of Ireland, viii: A Chronology of Irish History to 1976* (Oxford 1982). As shown in Appendix I, the currencies and postal administrations of Great Britain and Ireland were only integrated in stages thereafter. This sentence and note are included in case the thesis reaches a wider readership in future; the writer has found many people from Europe and America are not clear on the difference between 'Great Britain' (or 'Britain', i.e. the geographical term) and the 'United Kingdom' (the political entity).

² In rugby union (and chess), there are four teams, compared with five in soccer. In the 2007 Cricket World Cup there were three teams, since Wales does not play at full international level. Welsh cricketers can represent England (although occasionally Wales contests one-day matches), and this is complicated by the fact that Scottish and northern Irish players are technically qualified to play for England in Test matches and a few have been selected to do so.

strong players were concentrated (including nearly all foreign professionals and commercial chess resorts), and the rest of the country. Chess skill develops fastest where young players can regularly meet a variety of opposition slightly stronger than themselves, and this has always given players in London (New York, Paris, Vienna etc.) some advantage over provincial rivals.

1 a) Chess in the Jewish community

ONE religious minority was significant for chess, although not particularly so for correspondence chess. There is a long tradition of the game among Jewish people, traditionally urban dwellers with a high educational level and intellectual interests.³ Many leading chess masters of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were Jewish, and the game appears to have been popular among all classes.⁴ Elite members of the community associated with top players: Sarratt dedicated his book to Abraham Samuda, who participated in *London v. Edinburgh*. Sir Moses Montefiore (1785-1858), campaigner for Jewish emancipation, 'being a keen chess enthusiast frequently entertained the prominent chess players of his day'. He taught the game to his nephew Abraham Mocatta (1831-1900), the most prominent Jewish amateur in Victorian London.⁵ One of the elders in the Sephardi community,⁶ and a respected member of middle-class chess clubs, Mocatta also encouraged the game at the London Jewish Working Men's Club which has already been mentioned; he sometimes played for its team in important matches.⁷

³ This has been the special study of Dr Victor Keats, but his works (cited in the bibliography) do not deal with chess in modern times or discuss Jewish players of correspondence chess.

⁴ Edward Winter has published online a collection of early quotations about Jews and chess: www.chesshistory.com/winter/extras/jews.html (1 June 2008).

⁵ 'Leaders of European Chess: A. Mocatta, President of the City of London Chess Club, 1894-7', in *American Chess Magazine*, ii (no. 6, Dec. 1898) p. 257. Abraham Mocatta was brought up by Sir Moses, who was married to Esther Mocatta, his late father's sister.

⁶ 'Papers relating to Abraham Mocatta and the Sephardi community in London 1894-1901': MS 116/48 at University of Southampton Libraries Special Collections; the file includes issues of the *Jewish World* and *Jewish Chronicle* mentioning Mocatta, and other papers.

⁷ When the Jewish club played the North London club on 7 Feb. 1878 their top three players were named as Mocatta, Gunzberg (presumably Isidor Gunsberg), and Louis Cohen (the club's champion in 1876, the first year they won the W.M.C.I.U. trophy). The other players were Pfahl (W.M.C.I.U. champion 1877), Harris, Israel, Samuel, and Moses. *Westminster Papers*, xx (Mar. 1878), p. 195. When a third successive victory won the trophy outright, Mocatta was their champion: *Land and Water*, xxvii (10 May 1879), p. 387. See also p. 152.

Problemist Edward Frankenstein was another member of both the City of London and Jewish clubs.⁸ London's Jewish Museum holds some issues of an 1886 East End school manuscript magazine with a chess column.⁹

Communities outside London being smaller, the options were for all Jewish men to socialise together, or else mix with the *goyim* of their own socio-economic level. Chess players probably joined their local clubs if they did not encounter anti-semitism. The list of Nottingham Chess Club members for 1858 includes E. Goldsmid — apparently Edward Goldschmidt who was mayor of Nottingham in 1882 and a member of the chess club until June 1893.¹⁰ Edwardian Dublin had a Chess Society in the Jewish Social Club, mentioned several times in the press.¹¹

1 b) Exceptionalism of chess in Wales

WALES is problematic. As Keith Robbins has explained, there are even difficulties about deciding 'when was Wales?' and 'where was Wales?'¹² There are certainly problems deciding who was Welsh, especially in the last quarter of the nineteenth century when mining and the steel industry mushroomed. English immigrants swelled the Glamorgan population; these included some leading chess players of

⁸ In April 1878, when the Jewish club played the City Of London's 'best team, with exclusion only of first-class players' at Moufflet's Hotel, Newgate-street, they had Gunsberg, Mocatta, and Frankenstein on the top three boards. The Jewish team won 8-5 with 3 draws. In 1882 Frankenstein was the club's champion in the second year it won the revived WMCIU trophy: *Land and Water*, xxxiii (22 Apr. 1882), p. 293. In 1889, Gunsberg and Frankenstein were elected Honorary Members of the City of London: *I.L.N.*, xciv (9 Feb. 1889), p. 183.

⁹ *Ours*, *A Fortnightly Journal*, probably produced by the teachers at the Jews' Free School in Bell Lane. A description of this was found by searching for 'Jews AND chess' in the National Archive (Kew) search engine, but the Jewish Museum is closed until 2009 so it has not been possible to see this or some other items relating to Jewish immigrants' interest in chess.

¹⁰ 'Records of Nottingham Chess Club 1842-1900': MS/675 at University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections; 'Minutes 1875-84 of Nottingham Mechanics' Institute': DD/MI/248/1 at Nottinghamshire Archives. Tony Gillam says that they were almost certainly the same man, there being no other family of that name in Nottingham during the period. There was a prominent London family of the name Goldsmid.

¹¹ *Weekly Irish Times*, 21 Jan. 1905. The Jewish community in Ireland is examined in Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce: a socioeconomic history* (Princeton 2006); chess is mentioned on p. 186. The majority of Dublin Jews were 'Litvacs': emigrants from the Tsarist empire. London had a higher percentage of long-established Sephardi and Askenazi families.

¹² Keith Robbins, 'Locating Wales: Culture, Place and Identity', in Neil Garnham & Keith Jeffery (eds.), *Culture. Place and Identity; Historical Studies XXIV, Papers read before the 26th Irish Conference of Historians* (Dublin 2005), pp. 23-38. Cultural components of Welsh identities are also discussed in Borsay, *Leisure*, pp. 152-4.

Wales. They included George Lennox (discussed below), Arthur Daniel (who went there in 1901), and Locke Holt (1852-1907), a skilled iron worker from Lancashire. After bringing his family to Wrexham around 1878, Holt was the strongest player in north Wales for many years.¹³ They all played some of their chess by post, both Holt and Daniel winning tournaments. There were genuine Welsh players too, with names like James and Williams, not all positively identified.¹⁴

No history of Welsh chess has yet been published, although Martyn Griffiths is preparing one. Researching the subject exhaustively would require knowledge of the language, so the information here about Welsh chess comes mostly from the Swansea paper *The Cambrian* (the first English-language national newspaper in Wales), three articles by Griffiths, and some exchanges of information with him.¹⁵ *The Cambrian*, which has been indexed, had little mention of chess until the first Welsh clubs appeared, and did not have a weekly column until 1891. The local hero is Captain William Davies Evans, who invented the Evans Gambit in 1824 while his postal steam packet, the *Vixen*, was in transit between Milford and Dunmore.¹⁶ Evans was credited with inspiring in the Waterford area ‘a small circle of players, which continued unbroken while he remained to give it vitality, but upon his removal it fell to pieces and was dispersed’.¹⁷ His impact was greater on London

¹³ Castledine, ‘North Wales’, information on Holt is on p. 84; supplemented by census searches.

¹⁴ Castledine, ‘North Wales’, does not mention the H. Williams from Wrexham who played in the 1877 match against America; no more is known about him.

¹⁵ Several years ago, Martyn J. Griffiths drafted an unpublished history of Welsh chess. Being largely about the twentieth century, it had little relevance to this study but he sent me the section on Captain Evans. He asked by email for information about some individual Welsh players and in return supplied information about others.

¹⁶ *Gentleman’s Journal monthly supplement* (June 1872), p. 159, stated the circumstances but not the name of the vessel: confirmed in *The Cambrian*, 13 Nov. 1824. After 1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bc4 Bc5 the Evans Gambit arises by 4 b4, sacrificing a pawn to obtain a dangerous attack. The fullest account currently available of his life and career is W. R. Thomas, ‘Captain Evans’ in *B.C.M.*, xlviii (1928), pp. 6-18. Thomas fortunately consulted Harold Murray, who corrected some misconceptions before the article was finalised: correspondence divided between Oxf. Bodl. MS H. J. Murray 67 and 159. Searches for ‘Evans’ in *The Cambrian* during the 1820s and 1830s provide some additional information on Evans’s family and working conditions, which are only incidental to this study. See also POST 5/5, f. 138 and POST 30/1241 -2 at the British Postal Museum and Archive. Thomas missed the reference in *B.L.L.*, 6 Mar. 1842, which shows Evans visiting a club in Corfu. See the entry for Evans in Appendix IX.

¹⁷ ‘Chess Playing in Ireland’, *C.P.C.*, iv (1843), pp. 146-9. No dates are mentioned On 24 Oct. 1841 *B.L.L.* answered a query from Waterford Chess Club. The only player of this circle named in the article was Sir John Blunden. Charles Forth was probably of their number. Evans retired from the postal service in Jan. 1840: Royal Mail Archive, POST 5/5 Warrants 1837-1843, folio 138.

and the chess world at large than on Wales, but he may have been behind the following announcement: 'Abergwilly and Milford challenge at Chess, in a rubber of 31 games, the Principality, the four adjacent English counties, and the city of Exeter for any sum not exceeding £20.'¹⁸ That seems to envisage a large-scale correspondence match but apparently received no response.

There were few clubs in the Principality until late in the century, so it is unsurprising that some isolated Welsh chessists played by correspondence. It has been possible to assemble some information about such activities. In 1835 *The Cambrian* printed several letters on chess, which imply a lively interest about the game among some people, but also ignorance about the stalemate rule. One related that a Welsh girl was then playing a correspondence game with a suitor in Calcutta, to decide whether he was to sell his commission and return home or she was to travel east and marry him: 'it commenced from a joke, but is now carried on with much fervour by each party'. Since they could hardly have exchanged much more than three moves a year, this anecdote is hard to credit.¹⁹ A correspondence game soon began through the medium of the paper as a result of a challenge from Llanelly, but after five moves a disagreement seems to have halted it.²⁰ Years later, R. James of Llanelly had a postal game published in the *Birmingham Mercury*.²¹

In the 1860s, Henry Jenner Hope played two *Cassells* tournaments, before moving on to England and Scotland. 'Mr W of South Wales' mentioned in Chapter Six, actually T. Wakeford of Cardiff Chess Club, was a keen but weak postal

¹⁸ *The Cambrian*, 5 Apr. 1828. Martyn Griffiths, 'The First Welsh Chess Club', in *Knight Moves: the journal for chess enthusiasts in Wales*, 3 (June 1992), pp. 7 -8, gives an incorrect date of 4 May 1828; *The Cambrian* was not published that day. It is strange that the Irish were not challenged but perhaps this was before he got to know chess players in Waterford and Kilkenny.

¹⁹ Letter from 'Bishop Knight' in *The Cambrian*, 21 Feb. 1835.

²⁰ *The Cambrian*, 14 Feb., 21 Feb., 7 Mar., 21 Mar (three letters), 28 Mar. (the date of the Llanelly challenge), 4, 11, 18, and 25 Apr, and lastly 2 and 9 May 1835 had items to do with chess. These were not indexed to 'chess'. Moves of the game between Jonathan Bradford of Oystermouth, near Swansea, and 'A Chess Player' of Llanelly (in Carmarthenshire?) were printed from 11 Apr. onwards but in a non-standard notation. The moves as printed do not seem to match the explanation of the notation but appear to have been 1 e4 e5 2 Bc4 Bc3 3 c3 Qf6 (following a variation in Philidor) 4 Nf3 d5 5 Bxd5 Bg4. *B.L.L.* made sarcastic reference to this affair on 26 Apr. and 17 May 1835.

²¹ *Birmingham Mercury*, 17 June 1854.

player.²² A successful Welsh postal player was Evan Griffiths, whose vocation brought him to England in 1908. He won the 1908-12 *B.C.M.* tournament and was a mainstay of the B.C.C.A., editing several issues of its magazine until he gave up postal chess after the war — probably too busy after he became headmaster of Lewes Grammar School (1917-32).²³

In 1850 the first Welsh chess club was founded in Swansea. As Martyn Griffiths says, it probably collapsed because the next mention of chess in the paper was of a new club starting in 1858.²⁴ The Cardiff club, founded 1859, had much contact with the Bristol club; several games between them (some postal) are recorded in the latter's history.²⁵ In 1861-2, at least, a chess club met twice a week in Abergavenny town hall.²⁶ On 4 May 1865 a Bristol meeting resolved to form a West of England and South Wales Chess Association,²⁷ and finally the South Wales Chess Association was established in October 1888.²⁸

The earliest reference to chess playing in North Wales is at Grove Park School, Wrexham, in 1856; there was briefly a club in Denbigh ten years later, and a tournament was held near Wrexham in 1866-7.²⁹ Clubs began to be formed in the 1880s, with annual tournaments at the Craigside Hydro, Llandudno, from 1892-1901 attracting leading English and Irish players. Hoffer proposed staging a six-a-side *England-Ireland* match there in 1894, but a sufficiently strong Irish team could not be raised.³⁰ The North Wales Chess Association was formed on 16 December 1908 — in an English city, highlighting the communications realities of

²² See p. 231 (text and n24). The *Western Mail* on 25 Dec. 1869 published one of the 'Mr W' games that appeared in the *Chess Player's Magazine*, and another not seen elsewhere. Another game where Wakeford was named appeared in *C.P.C.*, quarterly series i (1868), pp. 82-83.

²³ *B.C.M.*, xxxii (1912), pp. 368-70. On Griffiths winning the *British Chess Magazine* tournament, 1908-12, see pp. 265-6. Personal information on Rev Griffiths supplied by Martyn Griffiths and (for his Sussex years) by Brian Denman. See Appendix IX.

²⁴ Griffiths, 'Welsh Chess Club'. This article is based mainly on *The Cambrian* including references to 4 Oct. 1850, 26 Nov. 1858, 29 Apr. 1859, 21 Nov. 1862 ('chess club set up by Neath Mechanics Institution'), and he also mentions early clubs in Wrexham around 1866. *I.L.N.*, 1 (9 Mar. 1867), p. 243, refers to a match or tournament for players in the Wrexham area.

²⁵ Burt, *Bristol*, pp. 71-3: 'Two games played by Correspondence between the Bristol Chess Club and the Cardiff Club. 1859-60.' Another was played at the Bristol club: Burt, Game 48, pp. 81-3.

²⁶ Chess club lists on the covers of several issues of *C.P.C.* in those years.

²⁷ *Era*, 14 May 1865.

²⁸ Griffiths, 'Welsh Chess Club', p. 7.

²⁹ Castledine, 'North Wales', p. 82; *I.L.N.*, 1 (9 Mar. 1867), p. 243.

³⁰ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 22 Mar. and 24 May 1894.

the region. Railways link Bangor to Chester but not to Wrexham; from mid-Wales, Shrewsbury is more accessible than the north or south coasts.

Before 1914, the B.C.F. opened negotiations with both the North Wales and South Wales associations, 'but in the absence of combined action between them no result has at present been obtained'.³¹ In 1923 South Wales entered the B.C.F.'s inter-regional correspondence competition, and in 1927-8 a postal team representing them narrowly defeated Ireland, but that match was of doubtful status.³² Wales still lacked a national body until 19 July 1954 when the Welsh Chess Union was formed; North Wales finally affiliated in 1961.³³ Thus Wales did eventually establish autonomous organisations for over-the-board and correspondence chess, respectively affiliated in the 1960s and 1970s to FIDE, and I.C.C.F., but the Welsh correspondence chess body collapsed in the late 1990s after the death or retirement of some key personnel.

1 c) More on early Irish chess clubs

ARMAGH and Ballinasloe were already discussed because of their correspondence chess activity around 1840.³⁴ The following summarises preliminary research on other early Irish clubs. The Philidorean Chess Society began in 1819 at the Harp Coffee House in Dame Street, Dublin;³⁵ it was the successor to an informal club meeting in private houses.³⁶ The Philidorean fits into Scholten's category of Gentleman's club. One account said they mingled with their game 'that conviviality

³¹ B.C.F., *Ten years of Federation*, p. 16.

³² Martyn Griffiths in *Rank and File*, 3 (July 1984), p. 3. The Irish side was arranged by Rowland whose 'Irish Chess Association' (*Irish Times*, 26 Mar. 1925) was widely disowned. Some people he named wrote in to disclaim connection with the Association: *Irish Times*, 27 Mar. 1825.

³³ Martyn Griffiths, www.barrychessclub.ndo.co.uk/history.htm (18 May 2008). In 1970 Wales severed its links with the B.C.F. and affiliated separately to FIDE but the close association of North Wales chess with Cheshire continued: Furness, *Cheshire Hundred*, pp. 96-7.

³⁴ See pp. 145-7.

³⁵ 'Chess Playing in Ireland', *C.P.C.*, iv (1843), p. 146. The spelling 'Philidorean' appears here and in nearly all the other primary sources, whereas Walker's magazine was entitled *The Philidorian*.

³⁶ *ibid.*; the change apparently coincided with Dr Edward Hincks, the Egyptologist, resigning his T.C.D. fellowship in 1819 to become Rector of Ardtrea. *Irish Sportsman* on old Irish chess clubs, 19 Jan. 1889, p. 782, mentioned Hincks in connection with the Philidorean. Hincks is in *D.N.B.*, ix (1908) pp. 889-90, and *O.D.N.B.* xxvii, p. 258 (but chess is not mentioned in either).

so characteristic of the country',³⁷ while 'on Tuesday evenings the chess finishes with a capital supper reunion.'³⁸ A challenge to Liverpool for a correspondence game appears to have come to nothing because of postage expenses,³⁹ and later they intended challenging Edinburgh Chess Club,⁴⁰ but were declined.

When an article dismissive of Irish chess appeared in the *Monthly Magazine* in 1833,⁴¹ barrister Stephen Coppinger wrote in to say that there were four Dublin chess clubs, including the new one in the D'Olier Street library,⁴² which already had sixty-nine members.⁴³ The subscription was a guinea a year for the lending library and another five shillings to play in the chess room.⁴⁴ In 1839 the Philidorean (which had been meeting privately) revived, changing to the modern stalemate rule. They met daily at Leinster Chambers, Dame Street, its subscription was two and a half guineas per annum, implying an intention to remain more exclusive than their rival, but in 1845 they merged and by 1850 chess returned to D'Olier Street.⁴⁵ The Belfast club maintained some continuity, despite the death in

³⁷ *C.P.C.*, iv (1843) p. 147. They also held an annual dinner in celebration of Philidor's birthday: *The Kaleidoscope*, viii (1 July 1828), pp. 439-40.

³⁸ *B.L.L.*, 30 Apr. 1843; the Philidorean and other Irish clubs were also mentioned in the paper on 2 Oct. 1842 and April 21, 1844. The *Dublin Evening Mail* in 1893 said that play stopped promptly at eleven for drinks and a sing-song.

³⁹ *Kaleidoscope*, vii (13 Mar. 1827), p. 202: M. P. S. of Dublin asked the editor whether 'through your medium a game might be set on foot between [Liverpool players] and the "wild Irish", some of whom play acutely and well.' The editor was willing, but said 'some arrangement must be made to indemnify us against the expense of postage'.

⁴⁰ *Kaleidoscope*, ix (2 Sept. 1828), pp. 75-6, included a speech by the Philidorean club's founder James Lynch, and said they were 'about to enter the lists with the late conquerors ("the cannie Scots") on the long pending game which has just been completed' but until 1862 Edinburgh refused all further challenges.

⁴¹ 'Chess-clubs, and chess-players, British and foreign' in *Monthly Magazine*, xv (no. 88, April 1833), pp. 428-34.

⁴² On the Library, see John Bruce Howell, *A History of the Dublin Library Society, 1791-1881* (Dalhousie University: Halifax, Nova Scotia 1985). Coppinger, a T.C.D. graduate, was a Catholic.

⁴³ 'Our correspondents on chess' in *Monthly Magazine*, xv (no. 90, June 1833), pp. 644-5. The other two were a short-lived Dublin University club, mentioned in just one almanac, and one at the institute in Sackville Street of which there is no more heard.

⁴⁴ This detail emerged from a court case following a dispute: *Freeman's Journal*, 1 & 19 Nov 1839.

⁴⁵ As noted on p. 147, it may be coincidence that the clubs merged in the first year of the Famine. Howell, *Library*, p. 17, states that the new club retained the former's name but this is contradicted by *Thoms Directory* for 1846, p. 192: 'The Dublin Chess Club, that used to meet in the Dublin Library, D'Olier-street, has now joined this Society, making it the only Chess Club in Dublin.' The auctioneer Frederick Norman was secretary until 1847 but in 1848 he has disappeared from traders' lists too and had possibly died. The 1848 *Irish Almanac and Official Directory* (5th ed.), pp. 263 and 599, shows that the library club's secretary Mountifort Longfield (Regius Professor of Feudal and English law, TCD) was now also Hon. Sec. of the Philidorean

1835 of McDonnell. In 1848 R. C. H. Collins started a class in the Dublin Mechanics' Institute, which led to the formation of a club on Eden Quay, but generally Irish chess languished.⁴⁶ Then the 1860s saw a revival in Dublin and Belfast, with a club also for a time in Cork.⁴⁷ Between 1861-5 Dublin clubs played matches by telegraph with Liverpool, Belfast (twice) and a London club (twice).⁴⁸ Dublin University played a postal match against Cambridge, but lost.⁴⁹ A minor social revolution saw the keenest players from D'Olier street join the more youthful north-side Victoria players and merge in a new Dublin Chess Club based at the Athenaeum,⁵⁰ while the Library was left with an upper-middle-class rump. Ireland's first chess congress, in the autumn of 1865, saw a new star arise: James Alexander Rynd, afterwards recognised as the first Irish chess champion.

After the Athenaeum closed in 1867, the City and County of Dublin Club (later renamed) arose; its papers survive. This was not so much a new launch, as formerly supposed, but more a case of survivors building a raft after a shipwreck. After a good first year, it suffered vicissitudes, partly associated with Rynd's misappropriation of funds, clearly documented in the papers but not mentioned by the club's historian.⁵¹ Plans for a second Dublin congress in 1871 were

Society Chess Club at Dame-Street. Then *Thoms Directory 1850*, p. 634, shows the 'Philidorean Society Chess Rooms, Dublin Library.' On Longfield, see *O.D.N.B.*, xxxiv, pp. 390-2, and McDowell & Webb, *Trinity*, pp. 107, 193, and other pages mentioned in the index.

⁴⁶ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 3 Jan. 1889. The class is mentioned in the *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Dublin Mechanics' Institution* (Dublin 1851). In 1852-3 the Dublin Mechanics' Institute won a correspondence chess match against the York Literary & Scientific Institute: *C.P.C.*, n.s. i (1853), p. 110, following a challenge issued in the *I.L.N.*, xx (24 Jan. 1852), p. 75. The Dublin Mechanics' Institute declined towards the end of the century. Other correspondence matches of Irish clubs are discussed on pp. 145-7, in n48 & n51 below, and later ones on pp. 223-4.

⁴⁷ *Cork Daily Herald and Southern Counties Advertiser*, 25 Mar. 1862. Players from Youghal and Sligo played in some of the *Cassells* correspondence events.

⁴⁸ The first match played by submarine telegraph was between the Liverpool and Dublin Library clubs on 26 Oct. 1861: *Belfast News-letter*, 30 Oct. 1861, has one report. The first between Irish clubs was *Belfast v Dublin Victoria* club on 14 Dec. 1861. David McAlister has made a special study of this: www.rct26.dial.pipex.com/ulster_chess_history.htm (1 Oct. 2007).

⁴⁹ *Chess Player's Magazine*, n.s. ii (1866) p. 83.

⁵⁰ The Athenaeum at 33 Anglesea Street, founded in 1860 and failing in 1867, appear to have been tenants of the Royal Bank next door at no. 32. They should not be confused with the D'Olier Street body, which between 1853-69 took the name 'The Dublin Library Society and Hibernian Athenaeum'. *Thoms Directory* for 1866 (p. 1362) shows The Dublin Athenaeum, The Dublin Chess Club and The Phrenological Society all at no. 33.

⁵¹ Arthur Aston Luce, *A History of the Dublin Chess Club* (Dublin 1967) pp. 7-8 only outlines the club's dispute with Rynd over its challenge cup and does not mention the expulsion. The club

abandoned.⁵² Rynd was expelled from the club (in a disagreement about a trophy he refused to return) and gave up chess until about 1884.⁵³ The 1870s were a quiet time in Irish chess, but in mid-decade the university club was revived and another started at the Dawson Street Y.M.C.A. The visits of Zukertort in January-March 1879 and Steinitz in January 1881 were signs of revival and 1883 onwards saw a large expansion of Irish chess activity.

The formation of the Irish Chess Association was mentioned already,⁵⁴ but a split occurred during 1886. Peake had taken over the *Irish Sportsman* column, with unfortunate consequences;⁵⁵ he blew a trivial complaint about the *Ireland-Sussex* match out of all proportion. His personality clash with Rowland echoed the one between Walker and Staunton, in a minor key. Peake was evidently much the stronger player,⁵⁶ and probably resented Rowland's success as a chess writer. Rowland resigned as I.C.A. secretary on 17 March 1886.⁵⁷ His side of the story is given principally in the *Mail*, while anti-Rowland broadsides enlivened the *Sportsman*. Peake's attacks led to more I.C.A. resignations, partly no doubt due to sympathy for Rowland family circumstances, of which Peake should have been aware since they both lived in Clontarf. Rowland's character was evidently abrasive and his friendship with Rynd led to new difficulties. In 1890 Rowland was actually

played postal matches with the St James's Club of London (*Irish Sportsman & Farmer*, 26 Nov. 1870) and with Glasgow in 1873: *Land and Water*, xvii (2 & 9 May 1874), pp. 331 & p. 350.

⁵² The surplus money from the first congress was to be the nucleus of the funds for the new one but the cash went missing. Entries in the minute book are strong evidence that Rynd, a law student who had also been club secretary and treasurer, misappropriated the £15 16s. handed over to him in September 1870. Rynd refused to account for the money on the grounds that the congress committee was not a sub-committee of the club.

⁵³ The club's first minute book shows that it resolved on 1 Oct. 1872 that: 'The statement of the Hon. Sec & Treasurer in reference of non-payment of Subscription having been duly considered, and it appearing that the conduct of Mr James Alexander Rynd is ungentlemanlike, unbecoming, & subversive of the order & interests of the club, it is ordered that Mr James Alexander Rynd be expelled from membership of the club'. Only after the expulsion, Long raised the issue of the missing Congress money.

⁵⁴ See p. 302.

⁵⁵ The tradition of editorial anonymity means that the exact date that Peake took over (after the teenage son of the Irish chess champion briefly supplied contributions) is not clear from reading the columns themselves. Whyld, *Columns* (following Murray) says it was 18 Dec. 1885. In the *Irish Sportsman* on 10 July 1886 Peake wrote that, instead of sending reports to English papers, Rowland 'would be better employed in trying to learn chess and get out of the Queen class', i.e. saying that he was a total beginner.

⁵⁶ He played in the I.C.A.'s top tournaments of Dublin 1885 and Belfast 1886.

⁵⁷ *Irish Sportsman*, 12 June 1886.

elected an honorary member of Dublin Chess Club, only to resign a few months later because he defended in print Rynd's irregular youthful behaviour.⁵⁸ Then in 1892 Rowland's 'discourteous conduct' was stated as the reason for the cancellation of the return match between the Clontarf and Rathmines clubs.⁵⁹

Peake resigned as I.C.A. secretary after its 1889 congress and his successor, J. Young of Dublin, appears to have done nothing. Rowland and Rynd made a new start in 1891, forming the Hibernian Chess Association at a meeting attended by John Parnell.⁶⁰ Its congress, in January 1892, attracted a good Dublin entry, and a testimonial for Rowland that year raised £30, showing he was still quite popular.⁶¹ This new association had no wide support and faded away after its 1893 Congress. Peake's being secretary of Dublin Chess Club from 1891-5 allowed him to maintain his vendetta against Rowland, which only ended when the former emigrated to London in 1897. Mrs Rowland received short shrift when she asked the Dublin club why she and her husband had not been invited to their 1897 'At Home', to which they had given good publicity in their columns.⁶²

2 'Celtic chess': comparing three countries

THE usual explanations for the chess boom in many European countries and North America in the 1880s apply to some extent in Ireland too. Irish players had access to the same chess publications, but although communications links had greatly improved, they were isolated compared with the Scots and Welsh, who also enjoyed more economic benefits and political stability. The paradox is that Irish sport grew, post-Famine, despite the context of limited industrialisation and continuing population decline. This can be explained in terms of the compensating

⁵⁸ The Dublin Chess Club committee minute book includes a letter 27 Oct. 1890 from Rowland thanking them for the honour of electing him honorary member. On 1 April 1891, there was discussion of the *Mail* of 12 & 19 March making 'incorrect statements as to the final disposal of the Cordner Cup', but it was 'beneath the dignity of the Club to take any steps'. Then a one-sentence letter from Rowland of 1 Dec. 1891, resigning the honorary membership, is pasted in.

⁵⁹ Rathmines Chess Club minute books, entry dated 9 Jan. 1892.

⁶⁰ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 24 Dec. 1891.

⁶¹ *B.C.M.*, xii (Apr. 1892) p. 149, announced the fund. Gittins quotes the sum in *Bouquet*, p. 80. In 1916, a testimonial was raised for Mrs Rowland: *Chess Amateur*, x (Aug. 1916), p. 323.

⁶² Dublin Chess Club committee minute book.

concentration of population in towns, the spread of recreational innovations by what Hunt calls the ‘members of a “supra-national class” embracing the whole of the British Isles’,⁶³ and thirdly the harnessing of sport by cultural nationalism, appealing primarily to young Roman Catholics. The former clearly applies to chess too. Also it was ‘supra-national’ but not restricted to the social class A that Hunt referred to. The third factor operated differently, being connected with the misidentification of the Irish word *fidchell* with modern chess.⁶⁴

Several articles in the press and popular books mentioned ancient Irish ‘chess’. Scholars such as O’Donovan and O’Curry had highlighted passages in the *Táin* and other texts, which to Gaelic revivalists seemed to indicate a high level of civilisation in pre-Norman Ireland.⁶⁵ An 1886 newspaper article on the revival of Irish games mentioned that chess ‘was passionately loved by the ancient Irish’.⁶⁶ Next year Michael Cusack launched *The Celtic Times*, which had a chess column for several months. The following, from one of his editorials, was the clearest statement of why the Gaelic Irish should play chess. It is hard to assess what effect this rhetoric had, but several new chess Irish clubs were founded in 1887 and 1888 and Cusack’s influence may have led to a greater participation by Catholics.

This week we give our readers a few introductory paragraphs about CHESS. We earnestly recommend our readers to fall into line with us here, as they have done on the hurling field... We cannot hurl very well when night sets in, but we can then cultivate our minds, and we know no game of skill better calculated to do this than the peaceable warlike game of chess ... It ought to be played because it was Irish and National, and especially because it was the principal instrument of intellectual culture among the most glorious people that ever lived in Ireland — THE FENIANS OF ANCIENT ERIN.⁶⁷

⁶³ Hunt, *Westmeath*, pp. 253-4.

⁶⁴ The writer discusses this in an article, as yet unpublished, but not wishing to overstress its relevance here, this is only a brief summary with one sample quotation.

⁶⁵ John O’Donovan, *Leabhar na gCeart, or The Book of Rights* (Dublin 1847), especially pp. lxi-lxiv, p. 35 and pp. 70-1. Also his ‘The Battle of Clontarf’ in *The Dublin Penny Journal* (20 Oct. 1832), often reprinted in chess columns. Eugene O’Curry made several references to board games in his lectures, collected and published under the title *On the manners and customs of the ancient Irish: a series of lectures* (ed. W.K. O’Sullivan, 3 vols, Dublin and New York 1873).

⁶⁶ J. Wyse Power, ‘The Revival of Irish Games’, in *The Irish Fireside*, vi (no. 133, 2 Jan 1886), pp. 29-30; here, p. 29.

⁶⁷ *The Celtic Times*, 16 July 1887, p. 8 (preserving the capitalisation in the original). The paper ran from 1 January 1887 to 14 January 1888 but the earliest and latest issues appear to be lost. An

Many Scots could claim to be heir to the same Gaelic tradition but such passages are not seen in their newspaper chess columns, although admittedly the *Celtic Times* chess editor, A. Morrison Miller, was Scottish. Welsh nationalist Kinnersley Lewis wrote in to agree that ‘it argues much for the intellectual superiority of the ancient Irish that chess was so fully a national game’.⁶⁸ One mid-twentieth century Welsh scholar studied the games similarly mentioned in the *Mabinogion* and *Laws of Hywel Dda*,⁶⁹ but if Welsh Victorians were being urged in print to take up chess on the grounds that *gwyddbwyll* was their ancestral game (as indeed was *tawlbwrdd*), then it must have been in their own language.⁷⁰

Edinburgh, as already noted, has Britain’s oldest and best-documented chess club.⁷¹ In 1829 there is the first trace of a club in Dundee,⁷² and chess also developed in Dumfriesshire. As the Clyde valley became industrialised, Glasgow naturally became a focus and some *East v. West* matches were played. The Scottish Chess Association, founded in 1884, has been an excellent example of devolved government ever since. In 1908 the Scottish Chess Association affiliated to the B.C.F. (recently renamed the English Chess Federation),⁷³ and organised the British Championship congresses every few years in the twentieth century, but the S.C.A. never surrendered its autonomy and also obtained in the 1930s separate

almost complete set exists in Clare County Library (running from mid-Feb. 1887 to page 2 of the 28 Dec. issue) and is now available in book form as *The Celtic Times: Michael Cusack’s Gaelic Games Newspaper* (Ennis: Clasp Press, 2003).

⁶⁸ *The Celtic Times*, 6 Aug. 1887, p. 8.

⁶⁹ Dr Frank Lewis wrote the most important paper on Welsh board games, ‘Gwerin Ffristial a Thawlbwrdd’, in *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, Session 1941 (London 1943), pp. 185-205. This paper is mostly in English. He also corresponded with Murray on the subject: Oxf. Bodl. H. J. Murray #159.

⁷⁰ Lengthy discussion is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it generally accepted that *gwyddbwyll* and Irish *fidchell* were similar, as the words have the same meaning, while *tawlbwrdd* was akin to the Viking game of *hnefatafl* and probably to Irish *brandub*. Apart from the Lewis paper cited in the previous note, see Eóin MacWhite, ‘Early Irish Board Games’, in *Éigse: A Journal of Irish Studies*, v (for 1945-7), pp. 25-35; H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Board-Games Other than chess* (Oxford 1952), and MacWhite’s letters to Murray in Oxf. Bodl. H. J. Murray #159.

⁷¹ Still possessing many of its early papers, it has far greater claim to continuity than Manchester.

⁷² Walsh, *Dundee*, p. 1, states (with no source reference) that the Montrose Club (already mentioned on p. 134) ‘challenged the Angus Club to the best of three games during the winter months’. This would possibly have been the earliest correspondence match between two Scottish clubs, if it happened. *B.L.L.*, 21 Mar. 1841, said ‘The Dundee Chess Club meets every evening in Brodie’s coffee-rooms, Union Street’ and had just challenged Nottingham to a correspondence match, but that does not seem to have been reported.

⁷³ B.C.F., *Ten years of Federation*, pp. 15-16. In 2001 the S.C.C.A. became Chess Scotland.

membership of the world chess federation, FIDE. In general Scots obtained the best of both worlds: British when it suited them and independent when it did not.

No equivalent to the GAA ban on ‘foreign games’ formed any element of cultural nationalism in Scotland or Wales — or even in India.⁷⁴ Instead rugby became a potent factor in integrating Welsh identity, where alone it was a working class game, while in Scotland local and religious rivalries became polarised around soccer.⁷⁵ Chess has never aroused such passions, yet it may have played a minor role in forging identities among the middle classes in some countries. Early inter-city correspondence matches possibly played a role in the cultural integration of the Netherlands, Germany, and the Tsarist Empire, where Moscow and Petersburg played matches with cities at the periphery such as Kiev, Riga and Warsaw. Chess possibly even contributed to a ‘British’ consensus in the four nations of the United Kingdom, as players from the ‘Celtic Fringe’ competed with English provincials and metropolitans in correspondence events, including an important tournament, organised by the man whose long career is considered next.

3 Case study: G. B. Fraser and the Scottish experience

GEORGE Brunton Fraser died at Wormit, Fife, on 1 December 1905, aged seventy-four,⁷⁶ after a chess career spanning the whole second half of the nineteenth century. His earliest known correspondence game was in 1851 and he organised tournaments up to 1902. His longevity, wide range of activities (‘over-the-board’, postal, literary, and organisational), calibre as a chess player, and his extensive knowledge of the chess world all make him the ideal lens through which to view the development of Scottish chess in that period. It is particularly valuable that his

⁷⁴ Paul Dimeo, ‘Cricket and the misrepresentation of Indian Sports History’, in Garnham & Jeffery, *Culture*, pp. 98-111; here, p. 104: ‘Indians clearly did not take the GAA-type approach to colonial or garrison sports and reject them as symbols of foreign oppression’.

⁷⁵ These points are discussed in Holt, *British*, pp. 236-7 and 246-7 especially.

⁷⁶ Jeremy Gaige, *Chess Personalities: A Biobibliography* (Jefferson NC & London, 1987), p. 126. This, the standard reference work on chess players’ life facts, cited ‘death certificate’ as well as the brief obituary in *B.C.M.*, xxv (Jan. 1906), p. 15. A death notice appeared in the *Dundee Advertiser* of 2 Dec. 1905. Fraser was born in Kirkcaldy, Fife, according to the 1881 Scotland census, but his exact birth date is unknown.

'voice' can be heard through a collection of letters to American collector John G. White, spanning 21 July 1875 to 16 May 1900.⁷⁷

Walsh's Dundee club history, which says Fraser joined in 1850, is somewhat unclear, saying it 'was to lapse for a few years from 1851 to 1860',⁷⁸ while the Angus Club was reformed under Fraser's presidency 'during this time'. Walsh dated the Kling match to 1851 but this in fact began in the autumn of 1850.⁷⁹ Although Fraser was probably involved in that, there is no direct proof. One letter to White pushes the start of Fraser's chess career back into the 1840s: when he was seventeen or eighteen he used to play chess with a hairdresser named Neil, who later 'claimed to be my Instructor in Chess'.⁸⁰ So it is even possible Fraser was involved in 1848 in the correspondence match between the Angus Club and the chess editor of the *Glasgow Citizen*, which Walsh does not mention.⁸¹ Then in 1860 Fraser became Secretary and Treasurer of the reformed Dundee Club.⁸²

Fraser was not yet a force in the 1850s, but postal play helped him to improve. He played private matches but entered no more tournaments after the *Home Circle* and *Birmingham Mercury*, probably concentrating on analysing opening theory, especially the complicated Evans Gambit variation that became known as the Fraser-Mortimer Attack.⁸³ From 1862-4 he edited a column in the local *Courier and Argus*, combining news, games and elementary instruction.⁸⁴ He later warned White that 'it is very disheartening to carry one on, without a steady contributor or two, besides the Editor.'⁸⁵

⁷⁷ *Letters relating to chess from George Brinton [sic] Fraser*, in the John G. White Collection at the Cleveland Public Library, USA.

⁷⁸ Walsh, *Dundee*, p. 1.

⁷⁹ See p. 123.

⁸⁰ Fraser to White, 12 Feb. 1876.

⁸¹ *Glasgow Citizen*, various dates between 12 Feb. & 13 May 1848. The Glasgow editor was A. G. McCombe, who later became chess correspondent of *The Australian: Whyld, Columns*, p. 168.

⁸² Walsh, *Dundee*, p. 2.

⁸³ 'Mr Fraser on the Evans Gambit', in *C.P.C.*, n.s. iii (1855), pp. 135-40. The variation arises from the so-called 'Normal Position', which can be reached in many ways, e.g. 1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bc4 Bc5 4 b4 Bxb4 5 c3 Bc5 6 O-O d6 7 d4 exd4 8 cxd4 Bb6, and now after 9 Nc3 Bg4 Fraser's novelty was 10 Qa4. Several other opening variations bear his name too: *Oxford Companion*, p. 123 (p. 145 in 2nd ed.).

⁸⁴ The column began on the 14 July 1862. It is awkward to follow as, unusually, it was in a daily but did not appear regularly on the same day each week. Fraser told White it ended in 1864.

⁸⁵ Fraser to White, 20 June 1876.

Dundee was almost invariably successful in correspondence matches when Fraser was involved. It has been suggested that the popularity of postal play there was partly due to the area's poor communications with the capital: 'in 1847 the most convenient route from Dundee to Edinburgh was probably by sea'.⁸⁶ They beat Aberdeen in 1859 (Fraser finding a spectacular checkmate),⁸⁷ Manchester 2-0 easily in 1876, and the Arlington club of Glasgow in 1891. The most interesting match was against Edinburgh and it is worth correcting the record here. The first two games were played simultaneously in 1862-3 and after some months Fraser agreed on his own responsibility to Edinburgh's proposal of one win each.

I do so the more readily, as the sole conduct of both Games devolved upon me, before ten moves had been played, but as I anticipated this, when engaging in the match, I felt no disappointment in the matter. I am much pleased with the spirit in which these games have been contested... I promised Mr Staunton a copy of the games...⁸⁸

The game Edinburgh won was very interesting, but the end of it, as printed in Fraser's column and often reprinted,⁸⁹ contains a flaw: a move for each side is omitted. The incorrect version must be Fraser's fault; Edinburgh's match book has the correct finish.⁹⁰ Staunton did not publish the moves of the other game, where Edinburgh made a bad blunder. So later compilers did not find them, yet they were recorded in the match book and printed both in the *Courier and Argus* and the *Weekly Northern Whig*.⁹¹ After the resumption in October 1863, Dundee won the decider quite quickly.⁹²

By about 1860 Fraser had become one of Scotland's leading experts. Early in 1867 Steinitz visited Dundee to play a match, conceding pawn and move to him.

⁸⁶ Pritchett & Thornton, *Scotland's centenary*, p. 5.

⁸⁷ *New York Clipper* columnist Miron Hazeltine later queried this. On 17 Apr. 1888 Fraser wrote: 'I announced mate in 12 moves... It has cost me a deal of analysis to rediscover the solution, but I am glad to find the mate can actually be given as stated.' Computers prove Fraser right. The match was between the Angus Club and the Bon-Accord Club of Aberdeen, which had arranged a tournament in 1859: Walsh, *Dundee*, p. 2; *Northern Figaro*, iv (18 Feb. 1888).

⁸⁸ Fraser to Edinburgh Chess Club, 11 May 1863, in the Edinburgh club papers.

⁸⁹ *I.L.N.*, xlii (20 June 1863), p. 683; *Courier and Argus*, 25 May 1863; *B.L.L.* 20 Feb. 1864.

⁹⁰ Edinburgh did not sacrifice their queen at move thirty-six, which is unsound against correct defence, but played 36 Rc1-c2. Only after the reply 36...Ba7, they played 37 Qxg6+. Everything then follows as in the *I.L.N.* but with the final moves renumbered. See Appendix VIII, pp. 575-6. Edinburgh also has letters from Dundee showing the later moves numbered correctly.

⁹¹ In the *Whig* on 16 May 1863 and the Dundee paper on the 25th.

⁹² *I.L.N.*, xliv (30 Jan. 1864), p. 115; *Courier and Argus*, 19 Jan. 1864.

The Scot lost 7-1 with one draw,⁹³ but probably learned a lot from this; later that year they played another match in which the future world champion did not give odds and Fraser even beat Steinitz once.⁹⁴ That year, Fraser was the principal organiser of the Dundee international tournament, in which Steinitz, Blackburne, and De Vere participated along with other masters and strong amateurs. Fraser was unable to combine organisational duties with playing well. He and Steinitz appear to have remained on good terms thereafter, and in a letter from 1877 Steinitz confided to the Scot a nervous affliction from which he was recovering and thanked him for 'your generous treatment while I was your guest in Scotland'.⁹⁵

In the 1870s Fraser was less active in correspondence chess, due probably to his marriage and to financial difficulties mentioned below.⁹⁶ At this period it is important not to confuse him with his Edinburgh rival, Dr James Cunningham Frazer,⁹⁷ of similar playing strength. After Dr Frazer died in 1876, George Fraser was clearly the strongest Scottish player for several years, but tended to underachieve against English opponents.⁹⁸ At the last minute he had to withdraw from the 1877 Counties Association championship in Birmingham, won by Jenkin, who had never even managed to draw with Fraser.⁹⁹

The Fraser-White correspondence consists of almost two hundred letters, postcards, and lists of books and periodicals, together with prices and accounts for purchasing them. Much of the file deals with such matters, but there is also

⁹³ *Bell's Life in London*, 2 Mar. 1867. The Dundee tournament is well documented.

⁹⁴ *The Chess World*, iii (1867/8), p. 327. Fraser probably paid Steinitz to play these matches, or (what amounts to the same thing) backed himself, knowing he would lose.

⁹⁵ Steinitz to Fraser, 14 Feb. 1877, cited in Landsberger, *Steinitz*, pp. 94-5. This refers to a visit in the 1870s because Steinitz sends 'many compliments to Mrs Fraser'; in 1867 he was still single. On 20 Jan. 1881 (unknown to Landsberger) Fraser reveals that 'Steinitz was down at Glasgow recently with a new invention called the Ichthys propeller, by which he expects to make £10,000!'

⁹⁶ Fraser married Euphemia E. Gibb on 6 Aug. 1872 at 24 Meadowside, Dundee; his address is given as Tayport, Fife (information volunteered by email from Dundee local studies librarian Deirdre Sweeney).

⁹⁷ The spelling 'Fraser', often seen, for example in Gaike's *Personalia*, is unusual for James in Scottish primary sources.

⁹⁸ He finished only ninth of thirteen competitors in the 1876 Counties Chess Association tournament at Cheltenham, probably the strongest of the series, in which virtually all the top players out of London competed. *The Field*, xlvi (19 Aug. 1876), p. 230. Fraser probably played too much chess against inferior opponents, giving odds and experimenting with gambits, to be able to adjust quickly when he had strong opposition.

⁹⁹ Fraser to White, 7 Aug. 1877. Jenkin was the *Glasgow Weekly Herald* columnist and the *C.P.C.* editor in 1876: see pp. 87-8.

personal information and discussion of events and personalities in the chess world. Postal chess is mentioned occasionally. The greatest volume of correspondence was during 1875-9 when Fraser was apparently White's main source of the old manuscripts, books, and chess column scrapbooks that came on the European market. Fraser's wide contacts in the chess world, and his familiarity with the practicalities of arranging international shipping and customs formalities, probably made him ideal for White's purpose, but in later years White used other dealers too. There is at least one letter in every year except 1889 and 1891. No letters from White to Fraser survive.

When the correspondence opens, Fraser appears to have overcome a financial catastrophe that struck him in the early 1870s. Only much later does Fraser moan about money problems, probably in the attempt to obtain sympathy and better terms from White. Towards the end he regularly pleads for advances and settlement. Fraser, however, never admits to White that he was jailed for debt in 1873, a fact not generally known in the chess world. He had earlier (December 1870) been granted a trust deed from which he had been discharged in January 1872. The *Dundee Courier and Argus* reported hearings before the Dundee Bankruptcy Court on Thursday and Friday 20-21 March, and on 28 March.¹⁰⁰ Ellis & Hargreaves, Liverpool, had him in Dundee jail for several weeks in 1873 for a debt of £199 8s. 10d., but other creditors (also Liverpool merchants) to whom he owed £525 6s. 11d. supported his petition for release, which was granted following a creditor's meeting on the 28th. It was stated then that:

Looking to the fact (1) that the bankrupt's conduct, though disgraceful and deserving of condemnation, falls, in the Sheriff-Substitute's opinion, short of fraud; (2) that there is not, so far as the Sheriff-Substitute can discover, any concealment of funds; (3) that the majority of the creditors at their meeting adhered to their former resolution, and (4) the bankrupt has been some weeks in prison, the Sheriff-Substitute thinks that no sufficient reason exists why warrant of liberation should not now be granted.

Fraser had traded in his own name since 1860. In 1864 he also took over the business of a brother who had died, and a dispute arose with a sister in connection

¹⁰⁰ *Courier and Argus*, 21 Mar. 1873 (p. 4), 22 Mar. 1873 (p3), & 29 Mar. 1873 (p.3).

with this. At one hearing he stated that his wife had expectations from her recently deceased mother; probably it was her money that re-established him. In the late 1880s he was in difficulties again.¹⁰¹ The most revealing passage is in a postscript to an undated letter, apparently from mid-1893, when Fraser wrote that his 'pecuniary losses' first began when war broke out between France and Germany. At that time he was a wine merchant.¹⁰² The day war was declared he lost £2,500 and 'shortly afterwards through a Friend who was managing an investment for me, no less than £2,700'. Then another £1,000 went and in total he lost about £7,000 (approximately half a million pounds sterling in 2006 figures).¹⁰³ Perhaps he would have been more successful in business had he worked harder: 'I have all my life since boyhood enjoyed a large amount of leisure – nine hours a day fully – and... I had always plenty to fill up my time – music, languages, and outdoor sports such as Golf... left me no time to weary.'¹⁰⁴ In 1899 he wrote 'I have been bothered in business for some time',¹⁰⁵ and on 24 March 1900 lamented 'I have never recovered myself from the losses I made, and I had the misfortune to be "swindled" I may call it, not long ago, of a sum I could ill spare, by a purchase from a London Broker.' People took advantage of him in his declining years.

In 1886 the Scottish Chess Association organised a testimonial (well-publicised throughout the U.K.), raising over £42.¹⁰⁶ 'A more modest, amiable, pleasant and unselfish man than G. B. Fraser I do not know,' wrote MacDonnell,¹⁰⁷ encouraging subscriptions, and other chess editors praised him too:

¹⁰¹ Fraser to White, 19 July 1890, after a two-year break, on paper headed 'G. B. Fraser, Commission Merchant'. Business problems meant he had 'for sometime been doing very little in practical chess'.

¹⁰² The 1882-3 *Dundee Directory*, p. 590, lists 'Fraser, Geo. B (wine and spirit mer., Dundee), Myrtlebank, E. Newport' (image file supplied by Dundee library).

¹⁰³ Calculation of purchasing power from www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/ (25 Nov. 2007), based on the retail price index.

¹⁰⁴ Undated letter on two slips, 1893. This followed a letter of 7 March stating business in Dundee was bad. Fraser was selling off the rest of his chess library: about 200 volumes.

¹⁰⁵ Fraser to White, 23 May 1899.

¹⁰⁶ Sources differ on the exact figure. The *Glasgow Weekly Herald* of 15 Jan. 1887 says Fraser received £42 8s. 8d. after deduction of expenses. This was worth over £3,000 in 2006 money, based on the retail price index.

¹⁰⁷ Quoted in the *Northern Figaro*, iii (6 Nov. 1886), p. 11.

For many years Mr Fraser was acknowledged to be the best chess player in Scotland, and as a chess analyst, and the discoverer of many important and interesting variations in different openings, he holds a position unique among British chess-players. He is fully deserving of such a recognition...¹⁰⁸

Fraser contributed regularly to the *Chronicle* (in the 1870s) and *B.C.M.* (in the 1880s) and collaborated with Freeborough and Ranken on their openings treatise. The testimonial seemed to spur him to new activity. He played in the *Scotland-Ireland* postal match of 1886-7, in which he spoiled a good game against Ulster champion James Neill by a piece of characteristic carelessness. Fraser wrote to White that 'I am just about giving the Coup de Grace to my opponent',¹⁰⁹ but his claim of a long forced win contained an ambiguous move. Interpreting this to his advantage, Neill was able to demonstrate a draw by stalemate. There was considerable disagreement among chess columnists as to whether the result should be a win for Scotland or not.¹¹⁰ The impartial columnist of *The Bohemian* ruled it a draw, in accordance with the laws for correspondence chess in Staunton's *Chess Praxis*, and the *Glasgow Weekly Herald* agreed.¹¹¹ In his book, discussed below, Fraser awarded himself a win without comment.

Fraser's U.K. International Tourney was highly ambitious, especially as he had never previously organised a postal tournament. Nowadays nobody would both play in and conduct an important event but this was fairly common in the nineteenth century. For several organisers (Pierce and Nash, as well as Fraser) one point of the exercise was to meet strong opponents. He told White there were '18 players – 6 representatives of England, Ireland, & Scotland – and have had a deal of trouble in connection with it during past six months. We play each 4 & 5 games simultaneously.'¹¹² The idea of combining a tournament for individuals with a team match was original, and the exclusion of Wales not unreasonable, since at this date

¹⁰⁸ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 7 May 1886, quoting from the *Glasgow Weekly Herald*. Fraser wrote to White on 8 July: 'I am much obliged by your kind expressions in regard to the proposed testimonial. – I don't much like the idea of such a thing but suppose I must just submit.' He seems to be pretending he was not glad to receive the money.

¹⁰⁹ Fraser to White, 21 Feb. 1887.

¹¹⁰ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 2 June 1887.

¹¹¹ *The Bohemian*, 21 May 1887.

¹¹² Fraser to White, 12 Mar. 1888.

they had insufficient experienced players to make a team. Some details, especially the selection of competitors, would have benefited from more careful planning but there is no information about how invitations were arranged. Although Scotland and Ireland both had national associations, these were possibly not formally involved. Even allowing for the fact that London professionals were excluded, each team, especially England, could have been stronger.

The 'great deal of trouble' probably refers to the withdrawal of one player and to the fact that two substitutions had to be made because a player switched teams.¹¹³ Lennox was the best player in South Wales at this time;¹¹⁴ his father was Scottish but he was born in England and originally listed for the English team. It is a fair assumption that he protested about that. Lennox replaced Dailly, the weakest Scot from the original list and Ayre, a Hull veteran, not known for postal play, filled the English vacancy. Ireland's strongest player (Rynd) was either unavailable or uninvited. Lambert would have strengthened the English team.

Play began about 10 June 1887.¹¹⁵ The coverage of the tournament in Scottish chess columns was patchy, and the fullest reports appeared in the *Dublin Evening Mail* during the twenty-six months it took to complete. The early withdrawal of Archdall (no longer a regular postal player), after four losses, did not affect the individual tournament unduly, but badly distorted the team scoring, which had not been well conceived in the first place. Logically, since each player had five games against his countrymen and twelve against players from the other nations, only the latter should have counted for the team event. The novel proportionate system of scoring in the event of withdrawals, specified in Rule VI, applied when Archdall retired, and it made a simple calculation impossible. It stipulated that if any player retired 'each competitor shall, for every game

¹¹³ The start list, in the *Dublin Evening Mail* on 28 July 1887, showed Lennox on the English team and D. Dailly, Dundee, as the sixth Scots player.

¹¹⁴ Private email from Martyn Griffiths.

¹¹⁵ When the game *Chambers v. Monck* was published in the *Glasgow Weekly Herald* on 19 Nov. 1887, it was said to have begun on 10 June. So some games started a few weeks before the official announcement, which was probably delayed by the substitutions.

remaining unplayed, be credited with a fraction, representing the ratio of his score to the number of games he has actually played.¹¹⁶

So if a player scored 80% in his completed games, he received 0.8 each for any unplayed games, but if he was doing badly in the tournament he might score only 0.3 against defaulters. Only the competitors who actually commenced play with Archdall scored a full point against him: namely, Blake, Gunston, Monck, and Woollett. There were also a few other games for which no result appears in the published crosstable.¹¹⁷ These were apparently unplayed as not affecting the individual prizes. A further difficulty in attempting to determine a final result is that the table contains two errors; these problems are detailed on page 497. Fortunately the top four placings were unaffected by the proportional scoring. Fraser clearly won the individual competition, scoring fourteen wins, two losses, and an unplayed game. Barry was second, half a point behind, while Blake and Gunston tied for third. Fifth on points was Monck from Dublin but Bremner, half a point behind but with an unplayed game for which he scored more than half under the rule, overtook him for the prize.

Fraser's event cannot be said to have been an unqualified success; the experiment of mixing team and individual contest was not repeated. Nevertheless it was one of the more important correspondence tournaments of the nineteenth century, not least because many fine games were played and there were no novices. The top four were amateurs of close to master strength over the board, while Monck and others had fine track records as postal players. Fraser followed this by organising several lesser tournaments over the next ten years. In 1893 he wrote:

My only opportunity for stiff play is in correspondence Tourneys which I find less troublesome than I used to do. I had no less than 16 competitors on hand in last two Tourneys at the same time. Of course there were blunders, but on the whole they were wonderfully good games.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ The rules were printed in the *Dublin Evening Mail*, 28 July 1887. A similar rule was used later in all the *Mail* tourneys.

¹¹⁷ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 9 Sept. 1889: see Appendix VI b), p. 497. Most newspapers just carried a summary of the scores.

¹¹⁸ Fraser to White, 3 Oct. 1893.

Fraser's *A Selection of 200 games of Chess*, published in 1896, is both a bibliographical curiosity and, for historians, a disappointment. The last two games came from Dundee club matches; the rest were all from events organised by the author. As a documentation of his tournaments, the book is woefully inadequate. No result lists or tables of his later events appear to have been published and he never states in which tournament the games were played. It is usually possible to identify those played in the U.K. International; many appeared in chess columns soon after they ended, while the results of others match the crosstable. The omission of results and identification information may be explained by Fraser's idiosyncratic character (apparent from his letters to White); the games were probably of more interest to him than who actually won the tournaments. Another explanation is possible. The book exists in two different paginations. Most copies are normal but the one in the possession of a Norwegian collector, and lent to this writer, has page 160 facing page 177. The numbering of the games is unaffected, so perhaps a sixteen-page section including tables and other information was planned but the manuscript was lost. Apparently the printer corrected the pagination of the book after running off a few faulty copies.

This book, the only large collection of postal games published in English in the century, seems to have been a 'vanity publishing' exercise by Fraser. He priced it at half a crown and sent White only two copies because he said it was a limited edition.¹¹⁹ Either the print run was far too long or he did not find many purchasers, since four years later 'I have still 350 of my *Chess Games* unsold.'¹²⁰ The very last letter says 'I am bringing out a small Edition of "a second selection of 200 Games" and when ready shall forward copies,'¹²¹ which is surprising in view of the previous statement, and this new edition never materialised.

Fraser remained active 'over-the-board' and early in 1898 he won the Scottish Championship for the only time in his career (at the age of sixty-six or sixty-seven). Although Mrs Rowland observed unkindly that this was only because of the

¹¹⁹ Fraser to White, 5 Oct. 1895.

¹²⁰ Fraser to White, 24 Mar. 1900. Unless he seriously expected to make money by selling it, the print run tends to show that he was not at as badly off in 1896 as he liked to suggest.

¹²¹ Fraser to White, 19 May 1900.

absence of Mills through illness,¹²² Fraser probably could have won many times had the event been instituted before 1884 (when he was runner-up) or had Englishmen been barred: Mills won eight times between 1885 and 1900.¹²³ Fraser continued running tourneys even after producing his book. The last of several games found was expressly stated to be from the 'Fraser correspondence tourney, 1902'.¹²⁴ Finally, there was a momentous event in his neighbourhood. For someone living in Fife but working in Dundee, the ferry crossing of the Tay must have been an almost daily chore. Briefly, there was an easier method, but as Fraser wrote to White on 2 January 1880:

We have had a terrible railway disaster here, to close the year '79... I crossed from Edinburgh a short time previously — & having been told by a practical Engineering friend that the Bridge 'was bound to go' I felt more comfortable after I got over, than on any other occasion, on which I have crossed.

4 Conclusions

EACH country in the U.K. had its own sporting peculiarities, but in chess they remained close. Ireland eventually managed to achieve and sustain a single organisation, as with cricket, rugby, some minor games, and (for different reasons) the GAA sports, but twentieth century Irish players, north and south, subscribed to English magazines and entered British correspondence tournaments. Irish chess was rarely associated with Big House culture (except at Ballinasloe) but developed first in the urban areas where Protestantism was strongest: the old Pale around Dublin and in east Ulster, albeit with pockets of interest around the country. As the Roman Catholic middle class grew, chess became more widely played and less sectarian, with a distinct boom period from 1883. Possibly Cusack's initiative played some role, imaginatively placing chess in the context of a re-emerging Gaelic culture. This brief attempt to include chess in cultural nationalism was not mirrored in either Scotland or Wales.

¹²² *Weekly Irish Times*, 30 Apr. 1898.

¹²³ The first 100 champions are listed in Pritchett & Thornton, *Scotland's centenary*, pp. 50-3.

¹²⁴ *Brooke v. Tietjen* (19 moves), in *B.C.M.*, xxiii (1903) p. 39; another game between the same players was in *Hobbies*, 24 Feb. 1899, identified as being in 'Fraser's Correspondence Tourney.'

Regarding the paradox implicit in the title of Fraser's 'U.K. International', it appears that the United Kingdom before 1914 had a sporting and cultural unity that transcended ethnic, economic, political, and other divisions between its parts, and this also was reflected in chess. In his chess history thesis, Kiernan noted Pitman Potter's distinction between internationalism, meaning the inter-relations of national states, and cosmopolitanism, 'a spirit of common culture which transcends national boundaries'.¹²⁵ He mentioned early postal agreements as an example of this.¹²⁶ He argued that international chess links were of a cosmopolitan character, saying that 'the great era of cultural internationalism was the second half of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth'. Indeed, for a few peaceful decades, it indeed seemed that chess was a neutral international language; no western state could claim ownership. Kiernan examined professional chess, but events like the Anglo-Bohemian matches and Esperanto competitions reinforce that view.

The links between Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and English chess players were, however, neither international nor cosmopolitan: they remained essentially domestic even after the Irish Treaty. Language and notation barriers and an isolationist outlook kept the fragmented 'British Isles' largely out of European competition until after World War Two, America being the preferred opposition. U.K. and Free State players and organisers alike remained aloof from the cosmopolitanism of the I.F.S.B. period (1928-39) and only when the trauma of 1939-45 made German leadership impossible did they again take a role in international correspondence chess.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Kiernan, 'Master Chess', pp. 5-6 (including notes). Pitman Benjamin Potter, *An introduction to the study of international organization* (3rd ed., London 1928 [New York 1922]), p. 52: 'The principal element in modern cosmopolitanism, as it has developed since 1850, is a common economic and scientific culture'. The main thrust of Kiernan's argument was to place sporting links, including chess, within this framework.

¹²⁶ See the discussion of this on p. 210 in connection with the Postcard Match against America.

¹²⁷ On the I.F.S.B., see pp. 225-7. For other international comparisons above, see particularly pp. 142-4, 171 nn214-5, and 266-8.

9 Connections and Conclusions

THIS thesis took up the challenge laid down in the quotations from Sandiford and Strutt in the opening paragraph. It examined the growth of chess in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. All sports history potentially suffers from the objection that it may over-emphasise individual agency and neglect the *conjonctures* and *longue durée* beloved of the *Annales* school, but inevitably it must include the stories of players. The ones featured here (except Staunton and Steinitz) are not those who normally stand centre-stage. The thesis instead foregrounded the ordinary chessists, and the editors who catered to them with their writing and especially their organisation of correspondence chess competitions. These battles at long range were chosen as the main subject because they have been so little studied. They provided a new lens for viewing some aspects of British and Irish life in the period, but the discussion often extended into other aspects of amateur chess where this seemed appropriate.

The first two sections of this chapter recapitulate the sequence of themes discussed and then review the main argument of the thesis, showing the connections between chess and wider discussions in sport and leisure history outlined at the beginning. The third section focuses specifically on chess details to highlight what is new on the game in the thesis and where views differ from previous chess writers. The fourth section is a brief self-critique with some comments on methodology and possible future lines of research. The concluding section asks what it all meant.

1 Review of the chapters and the main discoveries

THE special cultural and international status of chess, the richness of its sources, and the game's growth in the long nineteenth century all made it the best area of research to fill the perceived gap in the historiography of sport and leisure concerning indoor pastimes. Correspondence chess, previously neglected, proved particularly worthy of historical study because games played over time and across

distance were more than ephemeral contests. Also, researching correspondence chess offered the opportunity to study developments in posts and telecommunications, and invited inter-regional and international comparisons.

The first major chess match, *London v. Edinburgh*, was examined through a wide range of sources. This introduced many themes developed subsequently, including the evolution of chess clubs and competition between them, the role of the individual player in a collective context, technical aspects about the post, rules of the game, conduct versus the opponent, press coverage, and questions of cultural identity and rivalry, here between Scotland and England. The discussion about the final game is particularly novel; previous writings on the match overwhelmingly concentrated on the Game Two controversy.

More has probably been written about chess than any other game; hence 'chess print culture' received early attention. Despite useful groundwork in bibliography, nobody previously attempted historical analysis of chess literature in terms of editors, readership, and the market. The most useful printed sources for a sports historian are the weekly columns, acting as sponsors of competitions, as providers of information, and sometimes as a forum for debate. Some chess editors enjoyed polemics; most wrote factually, serving their readers. The *Home Circle* chess column formed part of a package aimed at elevating the taste of literate families on modest incomes. Its chess editor interacted with readers: using correspondence games, initially as 'serials' in the column and afterwards organising a tourney, the first by post.

Sports clubs of various kinds were an important aspect of the growth of associational culture and the voluntary sector in society. Early chess clubs were inward-looking but increasingly they tested themselves in competition with others, and the correspondence match was a typical way of doing that. Some comparisons were made with Scholten's findings about Dutch chess clubs, the only precursor in this field. The Lyttelton case study provided an insight into the middle- and upper-class patronage of educational and recreational initiatives. The difficulties encountered by those who tried to establish regional and national chess associations were shown, and in the latter part of the period, specialist correspondence chess clubs emerged.

Postal reform in 1840 immediately created a fashion for correspondence chess. Two distinct trends were noted in the second half of the century. Firstly, inter-club consultation matches declined in popularity, largely replaced by matches where team members each had their own opponent, although this switch occurred much later than in 'over-the-board' and telegraph contests. A particularly unusual event, the subject of a case study, was the match against America, 1877-81. There were more than 100 players on each side in some matches from the mid-1880s onwards. Chess editors usually recruited teams among their readership but the representative status of such matches was an issue in England, where county and regional bodies became more organised.

The individual players' competitive opportunities gradually increased from the mid-1850s. Correspondence chess suited, among others, those who were isolated in some way — whether by means of residence, occupation, age, health, or gender. The private match was their first option, but from the 1860s, tourneys became the principal mode of competition. Such events were relatively few at first, but the fact that *Cassell's* attracted a field of 128 in 1863 shows an increasing demand for them. Several factors soon combined to develop correspondence tourneys. Chess-players were now more numerous and they enjoyed greater leisure time and disposable income than previously. The introduction of the postcard in 1870 halved the cost of postal play. The number of correspondence tourneys increased further in the early 1880s, and a paradigm shift took place in the way they were organised. The knock-out formula was largely superseded by the all-play-all, although some features of the twentieth century tournament were absent. The 'correspondence chess expert' began to emerge, including several of the strongest amateur players. A greater variety of tourneys became available from the turn of the century to those who wished to compete. Details of the principal tournaments, matches, and players can be found in the appendices.

Chess was quite popular among middle-class women, but their almost complete exclusion from clubs and tournaments until the late nineteenth century affected skill levels and the type of involvement that was possible for them. Chess, as a purely intellectual sport, is a potential indicator of intellectual differences between men and women. In recent decades it has become widely recognised that

the historic inequality of the sexes in chess performance was due to social restrictions and cultural conditioning, rather than (as previously supposed) to any physical inferiority of females or peculiarities of the male psyche that might predispose men to outperform women at chess. Notwithstanding some pioneering research on the subject, notably by Jacqueline Eales, and analogous work by feminist historians on women's sports and educational history, hitherto no published study has linked these topics in detail. A crucial new point is that women remained a minority among chess-players because of their virtual absence from the socio-economic group that provided the largest increase of chess players.

Correspondence chess was not just an English phenomenon but chess development did take a somewhat different course in other parts of the United Kingdom. Both Ireland and Scotland had close links with English chess as well as their own internal competitions; in Wales everything was on a smaller scale. Only in Ireland was there an attempt (albeit brief and probably unsuccessful) to recruit chess for cultural nationalism. A case study of the fifty-year career of Scottish player and organiser, George Fraser, concluded the presentation of evidence.

2 Why chess grew

AMPLE evidence was presented in the foregoing chapters to show that chess was pre-eminent among indoor pastimes during this period and that many people considered its intrinsic qualities made it more than a mere amusement. The reasons for the undeniable increase in interest, publicity, and competitive participation in chess between 1824-1914 can be found in the most formative period from the late 1840s to mid-1880s. Historian Richard Eales already sought an explanation for the rapid advance of chess in the 1840s and 1850s particularly. Demographics alone cannot account for this growth of chess in British and Irish society. It is true that (except in parts of Ireland) the population, and especially the middle-classes, dramatically increased from about 1850, but so did the range of other games and leisure activities available to them. Eales indeed mentioned many of the preconditions, in the organisation of the game itself and in society, but

considered them insufficient for an explanation. This project therefore concentrated much of its research and discussion on the mid-century.

This thesis argues that the ‘elusive mainspring’ sought by Eales was the drive for ‘rational recreations’, expressed through the mechanics’ institutes and similar urban institutions that arose in this period, backed up by regular publicity for the game in the press from 1835 onwards. These factors led to chess being taken up in significant numbers by the artisans, clerks, and lower-middle class men who chiefly patronised such institutions. Wherever chess was introduced, a minority of working people probably found it fascinating; from them, their successors, and children the much larger chess cohort of the 1870-80s was recruited. For example, Newcastle club player Francis Woodmass gave his occupation as ‘miner’ in the 1871 census; Peter Shenele was a copper miner in Devon before joining the police. James Stonehouse of Sunderland, who played in several postal tournaments in the early 1870s and composed problems, was a blacksmith by trade. Some contemporary writers such as Potter and Mossop recognised this trend,¹ but chess historians — concentrating on the development of international master chess and professionalism — have previously failed to explain the growth of chess popularity in terms of clerks and artisans.

Eales stated that chess emerged between 1850 and 1875 ‘as a middle-class game, albeit one for a minority with more or less intellectual tastes, still predominantly male and middle-aged’.² This needs modification; the middle-class was not homogenous. Also, single chessists in their late teens and twenties possibly outnumbered the middle-aged by the 1870s. When moving to a new town for work, seeking out the chess club in the local institute was a good way to settle in, make contacts, and demonstrate one was a serious and intelligent person. The middle-aged chessist was not aiming for upward mobility but confirmed his standing and respectability by frequenting the chess club.

There was a good fit between chess, with its long tradition of high status based on its rationality and supposed moral qualities, and the aims of reformers who wished to ‘improve’ working men and direct their use of leisure time into

¹ For example, pp. 152-3 (Potter) and 154 (the quotation from Mossop to end Section 2).

² R. Eales, *Chess*, p. 139.

sober channels. Hence this study connects with the discussion of leisure and sports history at the start of Chapter One, where good reasons were given for dissenting from the types of account, citing 'social control' and 'hegemony', that attempt to portray reform movements as conservative conspiracies. Admittedly historians working with such ideas produced worthwhile research that advanced on 'Whiggish' social history, but eventually their 'standard model' became so qualified by the detailed empirical studies it inspired that some of its basic assumptions no longer appeared valid.

There was no organised campaign using chess as a cultural weapon. To see how chess could indeed become an instrument of social change, D. J. Richards's study of the Soviet promotion of chess in the 1920s and afterwards is revealing,³ but there was no such policy, official or unofficial, in Victorian Britain. Walker and Staunton's advocacy of chess was to be expected because they had a professional interest in it. That of Littleton and Solly, Mott and Pardon was too consistent to be whim or coincidence, but stemmed from their personal love of the game and perhaps belief that it could do some good. Too little is known of the local organisers who ran chess clubs and classes around the country to judge whether they had ulterior motives. The Preston example is the best-documented case.⁴

Chess found strong support among the clergy, several being prominent players and writers. Mason noted that the discoveries of scientists including Charles Darwin 'brought about a crisis of belief, especially among intellectuals', and argued that 'the balance among the clergy began to tip away from the more intellectual and towards the heartier, games playing recruit'.⁵ That would imply that fewer chessists experienced vocations to the priesthood, yet there was no obvious decline in the number of chess-playing clergy. Rather the contrary: 'Rev'

³ D. J. Richards, *Soviet Chess: Chess and Communism in the USSR* (Oxford 1965).

⁴ See pp. 150-1.

⁵ Anthony Mason, *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915* (Brighton 1980), p. 13. On the impact of science on Victorian intellectual life, the Church, and what Coleridge called 'the clerisy', see T. W. Heyck, *The Transformation of Intellectual Life in Victorian England* (London 1982).

remained the most common prefix after 'Mr' in match-lists and even today there is a Clergy Correspondence Chess Club.⁶

Malcolmson's position finds some support, in that, like the outdoor sports he examined, indoor pastimes experienced a 'great divide', with the social context and competitive forms of chess from about the 1840s onwards being quite different from what they had been in the eighteenth century.⁷ Backgammon and card games shared the fate of many once-popular but now disreputable outdoor recreations, but survived in certain gentlemen's clubs and private homes, where whist retained its appeal.⁸ Billiards was another ubiquitous club and private pastime, but there was no public sphere of competitive activity for any indoor game other than chess. Its closest kin, draughts, tended to be associated with pubs, and although some columns and magazines catered to devotees, draughts never achieved the same popularity, except in a few cities.⁹

It is a mistake to judge the level of chess activity by clubs alone.¹⁰ Many social and postal players never joined them, or only belonged to a club for a few years, although their interest in the game was life-long. Periodical publications were equally important in developing chess and the reform and development of the

⁶ Numerous ordained men appear in Appendix IX.

⁷ Responding to a conference paper on chess clubs by this writer in 2007, Joanna Innes of Somerville College, Oxford, suggested that (to paraphrase) 'In general, increasing complexity of relationships and communication between clubs [of various kinds] from district to regional to national level' developed from the 1820s. She saw that time as an under-explored watershed between older and modern associational arrangements.

⁸ Auction bridge killed off whist in London's gentlemen's clubs around 1906. See Edward Dicey, 'The Fall of Whist', in the *Weekly Irish Times*, 5 Jan. 1907, reprinted from the *Pall Mall Magazine*, Jan. 1907. See also n16 below.

⁹ Draughts, like chess, is a game of skill, and (to use Von Neumann & Morgenstern's classic typology) a two-player zero-sum game of perfect knowledge, but memory perhaps plays a greater part than in chess and the 'margin of draw' is wider. Draughts is more likely to end in draws when players are allowed a free choice of their favourite openings. The two-move ballot system was introduced in the nineteenth century and later this became the three-move ballot. (The first two moves by one player and one by the other were predetermined, from a list of openings known to be sound, and in tournaments opponents would play one game with each colour with the selected opening.)

¹⁰ *The Field*, lv (24 Apr. 1880), p. 521, commenting on Bland's *Chess Club Directory*, which found about 4,500 club players (not including Ireland and Scotland), said 'To this must be added the large number of players who are in the habit of visiting various institutions and chess resorts where no charge is made for playing the game, and which, therefore, could not be controlled by such statistical returns. It may also be assumed, as a matter of course, that a very considerable number of devotees to the game, who do not belong to any organised chess society, would be found in private circles, and amongst the fair sex.' The latter categories would include many postal players.

postal service was significant too. Correspondence chess gradually developed from a novelty to a 'department' of the sport, providing for some chessists their main, or only, way of enjoying the game. The post also facilitated communication between readers and editors of columns, thus helping to develop another 'department', the chess problem, which is not examined in detail in this thesis.

The late Victorian and Edwardian period cannot be analysed in quite the same terms as the decades up to the 1870s. 'Rational recreations' are mentioned less and less. This does not mean the populace was becoming irrational, rather the opposite, but the old rhetoric had run its course. By this time chess was widely known and accepted; there was no need to 'sell' or justify it. Nevertheless the perennial problem of directing the energies of young men into sober pursuits remained; Y.M.C.A.s and lads' clubs sometimes had chess sections.

Well before 1914, hobbies of various kinds had established their place in the modern leisure world. Ross McKibbin, probably the only previous writer to use the magazine *Hobbies* as a source, was interested chiefly in working-class men. Although he did not mention chess, it is striking that much of his analysis seems true of chess-players too. He noted that 'most hobbies were intensely competitive' — even gardening — and in the breeding of dogs or birds 'a man's success at his hobby was measured by public competition'.¹¹ Competition came to dominate the once idealistic brass bands and even private hobbies 'usually involved some public display'.¹² This was true of correspondence chess players also: if they won a good game, they sent in notes to encourage the chess editor to publish it. McKibbin refers to the 'individualism of hobbies', just as correspondence chess competitions came to focus increasingly on competitions for individuals.

McKibbin also discusses the function of hobbies. His observation that they provided 'an acceptable competitiveness to lives otherwise circumscribed' is close to the arguments of Elias and Dunning about sports (whether participatory, or

¹¹ Ross McKibbin, 'Work and hobbies in Britain, 1880-1950', in Jay Winter (ed.), *The Working Class in Modern British History* (Cambridge 1983), pp. 127-46; here, p. 144. He may have only looked at the early volumes of *Hobbies* before chess and draughts were introduced there and, unlike the magazine itself, he did not consider women's hobbies.

¹² McKibbin, 'Hobbies', loc. cit.

vicariously as a spectator) providing excitement in ‘unexciting societies’.¹³ He says another function was that ‘they permitted a socially-acceptable level of intellectual activity... The mastery of a craft-hobby or sport demanded accuracy, knowledge, discipline, and skill’.¹⁴ Similarly, Meller’s Bristol monograph says that by the First World War, ‘leisure was becoming more than an antidote to work. For some it could even be the major source of emotional and intellectual satisfaction in their lives’.¹⁵ This project supports those findings.

It was the fate of chess (except among its most dedicated and proficient exponents) to decline into a hobby, and ultimately to cede its premier position among indoor recreations to the almost equally skilful contract bridge,¹⁶ a partnership game more suited to an era when women could readily participate and card games were no longer stigmatised as gambling. Also in the twentieth century, whist drives became popular for winter social evenings,¹⁷ while backgammon revived as a semi-skilled game for gamblers after the doubling cube was invented.

3 What is new here about the history of the game

THIS thesis primarily concentrated on social and cultural questions to do with chess, but it would be incomplete without coverage of specifics to do with the game itself. These, including many of the details provided for the record in the appendices, are the aspects that would be of most interest to chess players who are not professional historians. The principal discoveries will now be highlighted

¹³ See pp. 21-2.

¹⁴ McKibbin, ‘Hobbies’, p. 145.

¹⁵ Meller, *Changing city*, p. 252.

¹⁶ Bridge began as a variant on whist in which a player named the trump suit. The auction to decide trumps was the next innovation, around 1903/4, but the contract to make a specific number of tricks in the trump suit (or no trumps), and an associated improved scoring system, was the decisive improvement in the 1920s. The chapter on the history of bridge in O. Paul Monckton, *Pastimes in Times Past* (London 1913) discusses auction bridge and its frontispiece shows the cover of an 1886 pamphlet *Biritch, or Russian Whist*. For more information, see Rex Mackey, *The walk of the oysters: an unholy history of contract bridge* (2nd ed., London 1986 [1964]), pp. 2-8.

¹⁷ Mentioned in the *Weekly Irish Times*, 12 Dec. 1903, p. 22; still regular occasions in Worcestershire in the 1960s. Also L. C. Birch (ed.), *Fifty years of chess at Battersea* (London 1935), p. 8, mentions that after the First World War, the chess club soon revived and whist drives were also held ‘but Smoking Concerts, very popular in the twenty years before the War, received little support’.

briefly. It must be emphasised that, despite including much discussion about Irish chess, this thesis is not a systematic history of that topic.

The general chess reader may be most interested in facts about famous masters and major events, such as the discovery that Blackburne's chess career started at an earlier date than normally believed.¹⁸ Similarly, some new light was thrown on Steinitz's years in Britain by the correspondence of Blackmore and Fraser.¹⁹ A misunderstanding about Steinitz's postal matches made by his biographer, Landsberger, was corrected.²⁰ The fraught relationship between Howard Staunton and George Walker was previously recognised but not traced through all its fluctuations; unfortunately sources are lacking to decide whether certain rumours about Staunton have a factual basis. Various footnotes record points of information where works widely accepted as authoritative in the chess world must stand corrected. Some may be considered trivial; two at least seem to us to require revisions to *O.D.N.B.*: its claim that Lewis was formally bankrupt (also taken on trust from the *Oxford Companion*) is dubious, and Walker certainly had nothing to do with the *Lancet* chess column.

Terms like 'the chess world' were used at the time. They imply that a community of chess players (however loose and divided) existed — a community linked as much by literature as by a network of competitions and personal connections. This 'world' was diffused nationwide, even internationally, but during the half-century when the U.K. was central to chess activities (roughly 1843-95), London was where most of the strong players, British and immigrant, lived and moved and played out their friendships and antagonisms. Sergeant's *Century of British Chess* remains the best available account but it suffers from its chronicle structure, limited range of sources, some factual errors, and elitist bias. A

¹⁸ See pp. 240-1, and p. 243 which noted that Amos Burn entered a correspondence tournament unknown to his biographer.

¹⁹ See pp. 233-5 and p. 325 n95.

²⁰ See p. 193. In general, Landsberger's coverage of Steinitz's London period is under-researched, leading to inadequate understanding of events and personalities, e.g. he fails to comprehend (*Steinitz*, p. 117) his subject's later bitter falling-out with Potter. Steinitz's postal game against Eliza Foot (see p. 304 n86 and Appendix VIII) , which he mentions, was found in one of Mrs Rowland's columns: *Weekly Irish Times*, 22 June 1912.

balanced, accurate history of British chess is wanting.²¹ On a few detailed points, Harvey's claim that George Salmon was the 'S.M.N.' of Trinity College who first proposed the London 1851 international tournament is almost certainly correct; the Troicoupian club had good reason to complain of their exclusion from the organisation of the London 1883 congress; the Counties Chess Association was essentially a personal fiefdom, not a democratic body, and played a reactionary role in the 1880s.

Moving on specifically to discuss correspondence chess, this exploration was largely conducted in virgin territory. Without wishing to claim that correspondence chess was more important than it really was, this thesis has demonstrated that it was much more important (and widespread) than it is usually thought to have been. There was a much great volume of competition, and at an earlier date, than generally believed. It is also striking how many of the leading Edwardian amateurs — county champions, competitors in early British championships and cable matches with America — had developed their skills through correspondence chess, several of them playing both forms of the game to a high standard. This would not be true of post-war Britain.

With regard to precursors in this field, Bassi left his work incomplete so one cannot be too harsh but there is sufficient evidence to reject his 'golden age' thesis, repeated by the *Oxford Companion*. Since the volume of correspondence chess played before 1840 was tiny, especially by comparison with the 1880s onwards, it is absurd to speak of a fifty-year 'golden age' in which almost all the gold was concentrated in the last eleven years. It is hard to accept his notion on qualitative grounds either. Bassi perhaps intended to mention Anderssen's participation in a Breslau match in support,²² but Anderssen is not known to have played any other

²¹ Harold Murray's posthumous *Short History* is not a satisfactory substitute, and did not anyway aim to deal exclusively with British chess. The chapters added to his MS were '1866-1945' by B. Goulding Brown and 'Modern Times' by H. Golombek. The Murray file at Oxford University Press (Ref: PB/ED/001949 OP 317) reveals the painful gestation of this project, with Golombek being brought in because of dissatisfaction with Brown's contribution, followed by delays with Golombek's chapter. For example, the Press editor, P. H. Sutcliffe, wrote to K. M. E. Murray on 31 Aug. 1960: 'I was proposing to keep Goulding Brown's chapter until about 1930 and drop the later part of it. I am afraid that Mr G. B. strongly resented this suggestion, but I felt it was quite impossible to allow his chapter to stand in its entirety.' It does seem to have been curtailed.

²² See p. 45, n202.

correspondence games whereas Steinitz's leadership in the 1872-4 *London-Vienna* match was surely more significant. He was later to call those games the first to show 'the analytical development of modern chess'.²³

As for Pagni's research into inter-club matches, primary sources revealed numerous additions and corrections to his publications. Game scores discovered include *Leeds-Liverpool* (1825), the second *Dundee-Edinburgh* game (1862-3), and the continuations of the first two *Edinburgh-Berwick* games (1860), as well as several matches not mentioned by Pagni at all. Correspondence tournaments have been totally ignored until now.²⁴ The thesis incidentally made contributions to the history of chess in several other countries. It generally confirmed the accuracy of Diepstraten's reports on Dutch correspondence matches but he said very little about tournaments.

Finally, the appendices contain a very large amount of information of interest to chess-players. Appendix III lists inter-club and team matches. Appendix IV provides a chronological list of correspondence tourneys. Appendices V and VI respectively provide detailed information about the results of team matches and tourneys; it was often impossible to determine full results because of lacunæ in the sources. Appendix VII reprints the text of miscellaneous primary documents, including rules, while Appendix VIII is a selection of game scores.²⁵

The A-Z of chessists, placed for easier reference at the back as Appendix IX, is an ongoing project, which perhaps can never be completed. While much is known or discoverable about many amateur chess-players, others are little more than names. Some virtually forgotten individuals played important roles in the development of chess, the most significant for correspondence chess being Hewan Archdall, Hugh Bryan, Henry Mott (of the *Home Circle* and *Cassells*), William Nash, the Pierce brothers, James White, and Mrs Rowland. This appendix does not by any means include everyone who appears in tournament or match lists.

²³ Landsberger, *Steinitz*, p. 67 (not stating his source but it seems very plausible).

²⁴ The one clue was Hooper & Whyld, *Oxford Companion*, p. 80: 'In the 1850s some magazines promoted tournaments', with no further information or source citation.

²⁵ The accompanying CD-ROM includes all this information, and more, in machine-readable formats.

4 Self-critique and recommendations

EVERY research project raises new questions and inevitably one wonders would some things be done differently if a new start were made. This study has been based on qualitative evidence and perhaps the most obvious objection is that there might have been more counting of clubs and players. This would have been difficult to attempt without first doing this qualitative study; otherwise it would be unclear what to count or where to look for the information. Another aspect that was considered, but not pursued, was to seek a link (as Scholten did in his Dutch study) between economic fluctuations and the popularity of chess at particular times. An impression was received that chess 'did better' among the poorer classes in 'hard times', notably the 1840s — because when people were laid off they went to the institutes, whereas when work was plentiful they reduced their leisure preference. There is no obvious way to test this without detailed evidence researched at local levels.

There were practical and financial difficulties conducting a largely English study from a Dublin base. Furthermore, the lack of census data (and only difficult access to birth marriage and death information) means that no attempt can be made to research Irish chessists in the same way as for England. It was inappropriate to construct a prosopographical database of chess players (an idea considered in the early stages) because the group is too diverse and ill-defined. Moreover, essential occupational and educational information is available for some chessists, but not for most. Studying such a novel field, it seemed best also to stay close to historical sources rather than stray into sociological speculations.

Availability (or otherwise) of sources presented both difficulties and opportunities. Holdings of Victorian magazines and newspapers in Dublin libraries are patchy; in several cases, Irish periodicals had to be sought in London and elsewhere, not always successfully. Even at Colindale, the situation is far from ideal because of the short opening hours, restrictive rules about ordering and copying, and the fact that some bound volumes are deemed unfit for use. Also until late in 2007 their catalogue was unsatisfactory. The situation is better when titles are held

at the main British Library, but even now its integrated catalogue does not give full and accurate information about serial holdings.

On the bright side, the digitisation of some newspapers and periodicals with word-searchable text is starting to transform this kind of research, although there is sometimes no substitute for seeing the original publication. In 2004, *The Times Digital Archive* was unique; now hundreds of titles are available, often in complete runs, in various subscription collections. In several cases, such as *The Kaleidoscope* and *Bell's Life in London*, titles had already been sought out and read before they became available digitally. However, the launch of three new databases by the British Library late in 2007 enabled the searching of more titles than would otherwise have been possible.

As several items in the text and footnotes show, word-searching leads to serendipitous findings in titles one might never have thought of consulting. Online resources of this kind are valuable when they are well indexed and flexibly searchable, especially when the article once found can easily be printed off, but the user interface and search engine for some services at present is very poor, especially the Irish ones.²⁶ All digital newspaper services share the difficulty that it is hard to get a view of the whole page or edition, providing context, and searches sometimes do not find articles even when the date is known. This can be a consequence of editionalising: often only the final edition was preserved, a problem which can affect volume and microfilm holdings too. Microfilm is a compromise. Its usefulness depends considerably on the quality of both the filming and the viewing machine, which vary enormously. One advantage of microfilm for chess research is that it is often possible to find chess articles by their board diagrams when scrolling at a speed that would be much too fast for finding text.

Moving on to suggestions for future research, local historians in some parts of Britain might be able to make discoveries about chess in their areas. Apart from major conurbations without a local chess history (Tyneside, Birmingham, and

²⁶ To give an example of the wide variation in functionality, most 'hits' for 'chess' returned from an Irish newspaper search engine turned out to be for the word 'duchess'. On the other hand, the British Library search engine enables one to find two words separated by a specified number of other words to left or right, e.g., 'correspondence n5 chess': a very powerful feature, which led to some unexpected discoveries.

Glasgow for example), research in Gloucestershire could be fruitful. Cheltenham's chess community was reinforced when G.C.H.Q. was established there (its nucleus of Bletchley code-breakers included chess masters) but long before then it was a favourite retirement town for old India hands. The Stroud area is important because of its association with the *Chess Amateur* magazine and there was chess in the area long before that.²⁷

Chess clubs were not the primary object of study, though more time and effort was spent on them than originally envisaged. They require further research by historians in future. Their membership, where it can be identified, might be related to other clubs and associations through projects such as Maynooth's ongoing associational culture database. A detailed study of English chess and draughts clubs, similar to Scholten's, could be researched at a British university. It should preferably be undertaken by a person or team based in the midlands, Lancashire or Yorkshire for convenient access to the relevant archives. More work could be done on Irish and Scottish chess clubs but these would be smaller projects, suitable for a masters dissertation perhaps.

Bibliographic discoveries will be passed on to the publishers of Whyld's *Columns* and to the *Waterloo Directory* project. There are probably more chess columns to be found and the question of syndication needs investigation. With digitisation, it might also be possible to compile bibliographies of columns on draughts, card games etc.²⁸ Research into correspondence chess in the period from 1914 to the 1980s is also ongoing. While national correspondence chess histories have now been written or are in preparation for several countries, it is apparent that one of the most important has not been tackled, namely German-speaking *Mittel-Europa*. Correspondence chess also began quite early in Sweden and there are some other countries whose chess history should be researched by somebody with the right qualifications. More is known about the German-speakers and

²⁷ The mystery of F. A. Vincent of Dursley awaits resolution (see p. 290), and an S. G. Kempson died in Dursley in 1894 (*Dublin Evening Mail*, 19 July 1894).

²⁸ The *Westminster Papers* and *The Field* had regular articles on whist. Among papers with long-running draughts columns were the *Glasgow Weekly Herald*, *Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement*, the *Weekly Irish Times* (from 15 Oct. 1904), and *Hobbies* (which ran at least one correspondence draughts tourney).

Russian-speakers in Poland than chess among the ethnic Poles and Jewish populations in those territories,²⁹ creating scope for an interesting comparative study by somebody with sufficient local and linguistic knowledge. Despite some partial studies, a thorough history of American chess is patently lacking.

5 Some final points

SO WHAT does this all mean? What did they think they were doing? Does any of it matter? If nothing else, studying the nineteenth century chess experience may offer new insights into Victorian mentalities. Claims linking chess to moral and even religious notions did not then sound as bizarre as they may to readers today. Meller quoted with amusement one of the founders of Bristol's chess club saying 'when we become men, we must put away childish things, and it is then of importance that we should select those amusements and recreations... at least harmless, if not beneficial'.³⁰ The speaker, though, was surely being sincere.

An 1857 book, *The Philosophy of Chess*, also contains Christian references. Its author, surgeon William Cluley, played in the first *Cassell's* correspondence tourney, losing 1½-½ in round one, so cannot have been an expert player. Yet his views hardly seem typical of mediocre club amateurs of the period. In his preface, he wrote that: 'the main object to be aimed at in the cultivation of chess ought not to be eminence as players, in which many would be disappointed, but a skilful training of the mental faculties, in which all would be gainers.'³¹

He argued that chess is not a representation of battle, but of 'human life generally':

...we have in chess an illustration of the principles daily operating in the great economy of human life, especially those of truth and

²⁹ Fred van der Vliet, *Chess in Former German, now Polish Territories, plus some words on neighbouring areas* (The Hague 2006).

³⁰ Burt, *Bristol* p. 3, cited in Meller, *Changing city*, p. 64. Burt does not state the year, only saying it was a speech by a committee member proposing a toast at an anniversary dinner. The quotation in Burt is much longer than Meller's extract.

³¹ William Cluley, *Philosophy of Chess* (London & Manchester 1857), ix. The preface gives Ashton-under-Lyne (Lancashire) as his residence; he was found there (with his age, 30, and profession) in the 1841 census and his marriage was found in Free BMD. No 1851 census entry was found. His widow is listed as 'Head' in 1861 so he had evidently died since the book was published.

justice... and the sure retribution which awaits their disregard... the importance of keeping constantly in view the relation between chess and life cannot well be overrated.³²

Cluley compared the opening of a game to the outset of life, castling to setting up in business, checkmate to ruin for one person and fortune for the other. He did not accept the common-sense view that the object of the game is checkmate. He argued that since the players start from a position of equality, the means of obtaining only one object are present: a draw. This corresponded, on his view, to self-preservation in life, victory only arising by the exploitation of error.³³ He was right about that but probably in 1857 only the strongest masters understood this. Later he seemed to anticipate Steinitz's theory, saying that 'No attack... is justifiable until there has been a breach of the law', and '...when the balance is disturbed, whether the disturbance consist in the gain of territory, a pawn, the exchange, a piece, a passed pawn, the advantage is to be pursued into checkmate.'³⁴

Cluley also observed that 'instead of a slow and prudent process of preparation many speculative and dangerous openings are frequently adopted'.³⁵ The openings generally adopted by chessists correspond to their style of play and it is noteworthy that in some Victorian competitions, including all the *Dublin Mail* correspondence tourneys except the last, the rule was that all games must commence 1 e4 e5, making open, gambit play more likely. Had he lived, Cluley would have seen technical and stylistic changes in the way chess was played, from the 1880s, when Steinitz's new ideas were making some impact, to 1914 when Tarrasch was the leading chess teacher. As the Queen's Gambit, an ancient opening adapted to modern positional techniques, gained in popularity, modern ideas percolated down to amateurs in general. A few nineteenth century masters and

³² Cluley, *Philosophy*, p. 12.

³³ Cluley, *Philosophy*, p. 35, where he also wrote: 'at the commencement of the game, one object only has been generally recognised, and that the wrong one.' Meaning the view that checkmate could be achieved by skilful attacking play irrespective of the opponent.

³⁴ Cluley, *Philosophy*, pp. 42 & 96. Compare W. Steinitz, *The Modern Chess Instructor, Part 1* (New York & London 1889), xxxi: 'it is now conceded by all experts that by proper play on both sides the legitimate issue of a game ought to be a draw' and (xxxii): 'brilliant sacrificing combinations can only occur when either side has committed some grave error of judgment in the disposition of his forces'.

³⁵ Cluley, *Philosophy*, p. 44.

experts did adopt 'flank' openings (notably Owen and Skipworth), anticipating the so-called 'hypermodern' school of the 1920s. It is perhaps dangerous, though, to use the word 'modernity' in connection with chess, or in any historical context.

The feats of boxers and cricketers of the nineteenth century could only be described in words, rather as a drama critic would write about the performances of actors, but the chess moves of that period are open for all to review, criticise, or admire. Many games were of poor quality, although in theory a correspondence player had ample time to analyse and eliminate error, but there were also many interesting passages of play, once one accepts that skill levels cannot be fairly compared across centuries. In a textbook, the modern club player may find strategic ideas that were imperfectly grasped by Paul Morphy, just as the Leaving Certificate physics student of today may learn things about the atom that would have amazed Faraday. That does not detract from the genius of Morphy or Faraday, or mean that the club player could actually beat Morphy if a time machine brought them together. Like London Chess Club in 1828, even today's computer programs sometimes fail to analyse correctly what the Edinburgh players intended in their decisive attack in the fifth game of their match.

Correspondence chess, though sometimes seen as tedious, did play a significant role in the development of the game in the nineteenth century, and occasionally was significant later. During the Cold War, individuals either side of the Iron Curtain exchanged friendly postcards in competitions from world championship level down to humble third class players. When the International Correspondence Chess Federation held its annual congress in Riga in 1998, delegates were told how much Latvian players had enjoyed such games, the only contact they were allowed to have with the West.³⁶ In any other sport, only elite players from the Soviet bloc competed with foreigners, so correspondence chess is perhaps the most cosmopolitan of all games. Chess by post across the oceans and national boundaries began at quite an early date. It could transcend other boundaries too, as one might not know (unless the opponent chose to divulge

³⁶ *Chess Mail*, no. 11/1998, p. 4.

personal information) that the opponent was a clerk or a merchant, a woman, a child, a blind or deaf person, or even a murderer confined to a mental institution.

Scholten observed a changing view on the meaning of chess over the long-term: 'from a game chess becomes an art, a science and finally a competition'.³⁷ Yet, although participants usually took competitions seriously, especially tournaments like Nash's which had a high entrance fee and good prizes, playing by post was less expensive than travelling to a tournament. Some players apparently experimented, not worrying much about results. A few games were played entirely for fun, as with the circulating correspondence games organised by chess editors amongst themselves. One in 1881 involved several on each side, so each editor only played every fourth move, and the winner was he who first demonstrated a forced win (or draw) for either side.³⁸ In 1884-5 the Rowlands organised one between their problem tourney solvers on two different newspapers,³⁹ and another was played between Canadian and American editors in 1887-8.⁴⁰ Huizinga would have been pleased that the sense of play was not entirely defeated by the competitive urges of sport.

Chess, like love, like music, has the power to make men happy.

– Dr Siegbert Tarrasch, chess grandmaster.⁴¹

³⁷ Scholten, *Schaakleven*, p. 481.

³⁸ *Leeds Mercury*, 27 Aug. 1881; the game was organised by Bland of *Design and Work*.

³⁹ Published in the *Illustrated Science Monthly*, iii (May 1885), p. 162.

⁴⁰ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 9 Aug. 1888.

⁴¹ Dr Siegbert Tarrasch, *The Game of Chess* (London 1935), xi; translated by G.E. Smith and T.G. Bone, from *Das Schach hat wie die Liebe, wie die Musik die Fähigkeit, den Menschen glücklich zu machen*, in S. Tarrasch, *Das Schachspiel* (Berlin 1931), p. 4.

Bibliography

NOTE: Capitalisation of titles and subtitles of books, articles, and journals in the bibliography, footnotes, and thesis text follows the original where possible. However, sometimes titles and subtitles were printed in the originals entirely in capitals, making the capitalisation of some words somewhat arbitrary.

Primary Sources 1: Manuscripts

1.1 MSS in private hands

British Correspondence Chess Association

Minute book (1906-43) of the British Correspondence Chess Association.

(MS in the possession of the B. C. C. A., c/o Longeaves, Norton Lindsey, Warwick CV35 8JL).¹

Dublin Chess Club, c/o United Arts Club, Dublin.

Scrapbook of cuttings & miscellaneous items from 1865-71 presented to the club by Thomas Long.

Minute books, match book and miscellaneous records covering 1867-1945.

Notebooks compiled by Canon A. A. Luce when preparing the club's history in 1967.

Early minute book of the Leinster Chess Union, begun in 1912.

(MSS in the possession of the club.)

Edinburgh Chess Club, 1 Alva Street, Edinburgh, EH2 4PH.

Correspondence from the London Chess Club, 1824-8.

Minute books, match book, miscellaneous correspondence, press cuttings scrapbooks and other papers from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

(MSS in the possession of the club.)

Oxford University Press, Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX2 6DP.

Correspondence relating to H. J. R. Murray books published by the Press: 9009 MURRAY

A History of Chess (Ref PB/ED/001949 OP 317).

¹ NB: the person who loaned the papers is deceased; the above is the address of the current president. Alternatively, contact the B. C. C. A. via the English Chess Federation in Hastings.

Rathmines Chess Club, Dublin.

Minute books for years 1888-1931, 1940-2.

Scrapbook of chess columns, ca. 1888-93.

(MSS in the possession of the club.)

1.2 Manuscripts and records in publicly available archives

Armagh (Robinson) Public Library.

Minute book of the Tontine Society (early 19th century).

Bodleian Library, Oxford.

John Johnson Collection of Printed Ephemera: items relating to board games.

Madan, Falconer, Collections relating to chess, twentieth century (MSS Eng. Misc. d. 258-9).

Murray papers:

- a) Murray book bequest catalogue (Oxf. Bodl. Printed book handlist 265).
- b) Catalogue of the papers of H. J. R. Murray (1868-1955) relating to chess and board games (R. ref. 722). This is the detailed index to the next item:
- c) Papers and correspondence of H. J. R. Murray (MSS H. J. Murray 1 -168). The following boxes from the sequence were consulted: 40-1, 64-76, 78-100, 135 -8, 149, 158-68.
- d) Papers of H. J. R. Murray (MSS Eng. c. 2817, d. 2370, e. 2719-21: additional items received later by the Bodleian and not included in the catalogues listed above).

British Library, St Pancras, London.

A collection of newspaper cuttings of draughts and chess problems and games (Scrapbook, apparently collected in Scotland, ca. 1896-1900): Humanities, shelfmark 7919.d.7.

Miscellaneous correspondence and papers of the Osborne and Godolphin families: Eg. 3385 B Leeds Papers. Vol LXXIIB (ff. 178).

Richard Doddridge Blackmore papers: ADD 39954, ADD 43688, ADD 44919, ADD 57771.

British Postal Museum and Archive, Freeling House, Phoenix Place, London WC1X 0DL

Post 5/5, (Incident) Warrants 1837-1843.

Post 12/10, 'Historical summary of mail communications between Great Britain and Ireland' by John G. Hendy (c. 1898).

Post 30/319A and 319B, 'Postcard system introduced 1870' (two parts).

Post 30/439A, 687B, and 736A, Miscellaneous files about postcards.

Post 30/1241 and 1242, 'Captains and master's widows' fund'.

Post 46/56, 'Agreements between the UK and the USA 1844-1879'.

Post 53/32, 'List of postage rates for post towns in England and Wales with the distance and postage of a single letter from various places in Scotland' (1812).

Post 53/34, 'List of postage rates for post towns and principal places with postage rate of a single letter to or from London' (1831), with MS notes.

Cleveland Public Library (John G. White Collection), 325 Superior Avenue,
Cleveland, Ohio 44114.

- a) Caze: 'Instruction pour ce livre d'echets' (usually known as 'the Caze MS').
- b) Fraser, George Brinton [sic], 'Letters to John G. White relating to Chess, 21 July 1875-16 May 1900'.
- c) Murray, Harold J. R., 'Correspondence relating to chess & draughts between Murray and John White, 1900-1918'. (This matches Oxf Bodl. MS H. J. Murray 167, with Murray's replies.)
- d) Scrapbooks of chess columns and chess ephemera from numerous newspapers and periodicals.
- e) Scrapbooks and notebooks of various chess players.

Edinburgh Central Library, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh, EH1 1EG.

Papers relating to Edinburgh Ladies Chess Club: C 65803-65812, C 67231.

General Register Office (Research Room), Lombard St East, Dublin.

Records of births, marriages and deaths (Co. Armagh and Dublin).

Lambeth Archives Dept., Minet Library, 52 Knatchbull Road, London SE5 9QY.

Diaries of Henrietta Thornhill (born 1847): Diary - ref. IV/81/5 - date:1868.

London Metropolitan Archive, 40 Northampton Road, London, EC1R 0HB.

Papers of the London Chess Club 1829-50: refs A/LCH/1-7.

Manchester Central Library, St Peter's Square, Manchester, M2 5PD.

A chess chronology relating to Lancashire chess (MS): Manchester Chess Club collection, ref. 694.

National Archives of Ireland, Bishop Street, Dublin 8.

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Wills and Administrations (probate calendars).

Wills of Frideswide Rowland, Lucinda Rowland, and Frideswide Lawrence (née Rowland).

National Library of Ireland, Kildare Street, Dublin.

Chess: newspaper cuttings (from 1893-5 approx; W. E. Purser Bequest, 1921; shelfmark 3933.c2).

Dartrey (Sir Richard Dawson, 1st earl of), 'Catalogue of the library of, late 19th century': MS 5229.

Nottinghamshire Archives, County House, Castle Meadow Road, Nottingham NG2 1AG.

'Match by correspondence between Nottingham & Ipswich': DD/MI/271/1.

Minutes 1875-84 of Nottingham Mechanics' Institute: DD/MI/248/1.

University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections, King's Meadow Campus,
Lenton Lane, Nottingham NG7 2NR.

Bill from Edlin for chess sets etc. (1819): PwH/2313.

Letter from H. T. Buckle mentioning chess (c. 1850): Os C 687.

Records of Nottingham Chess Club 1842-1900: MS/675.

The Library of Trinity College, Dublin

Letters of W. H. Stanley Monck: TCD MS/4007 (ff. 102 and 113); TCD MS/ 1827—36.

Remains and Memorials of George Salmon: TCD MS/ 2385, 2385a, 4746/1.

Muniments of Dublin University Chess Club: MUN/CLUB/CHESS/1-3.

Representative Church Body Library, Braemor Park, Churchtown, Dublin 14.

Church of Ireland registers of births, marriages, and deaths.

The National Archives, Kew, Richmond, Surrey TW9 4DU.

Board of Trade records of dissolved companies, British Chess Club Company Limited (1901-2): BT
31/9591/71269.

Metropolitan Police records: MEPO 4/2 and 4/488.

Electronic records of censuses and Birth Marriages and Deaths for Great Britain (seen at the Family
Record Office, Islington, now incorporated at Kew; also through www.ancestry.co.uk).

University of Southampton Libraries Special Collections, Highfield Campus,
Southampton SO17 1BJ.

Papers relating to Abraham Mocatta and the Sephardi community in London 1894-1901: MS
116/48.

Papers of the West Central Jewish Working Lads' Club: MS 152.

Primary Sources 2: Official Publications

2.1 House of Commons Sessional Papers

Report from the Select Committee. On Public Libraries, H.C. 1849 (548), XVII.1 (microfiche).

2.2 Principal Acts of Westminster Parliament re the Post Office

NOTE: See Appendix I for more details about legislation affecting the postal service, relevant to the playing of chess by correspondence.

The Statutes At Large from Magna Carta to the Union of the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland (10 vols.; London, 1811).

A Collection of the Public General Statutes, Passed in the [...] Years of the Reign of His Majesty King George III (London, 1812-1820).

24 Geo. III., [II] 2. c. 37 (1784: new postal rates for mail coaches in Great Britain).

37 Geo. III. c. 18 (1796), 41 Geo. III. c. 7 (1801), 45 Geo. III. c. 11 (1805), 52 Geo. III. c.88 (1812: successive increases in postal rates).

53 Geo. III. c. 68 (1813: additional halfpenny rate in Scotland).

A Collection of the Public General Statutes, Passed in the [...] Years of the Reign of His Majesty King George IV... (Dublin, 1821-1830).

6 Geo. IV c. 79 (1825: Irish and British currencies assimilated).

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A Collection of the Public General Statutes, Passed in the [...] Years of the Reign of His Majesty King William IV... (Dublin, 1830-37).

1 Will IV. c. 8 (1831: separate Irish Postmaster abolished).

A Collection of the Public General Statutes, Passed in the [...] Years of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Victoria... (London, 1837-1901).

1 Vict. c. 32-6 (1837: complete overhaul of postal legislation).

2 & 3 Vict. c. 52 (17 Aug. 1839: Rowland Hill reforms, experimental period).

3 & 4 Vict. c. 96 (10 Aug. 1840: Rowland Hill reforms, definitive legislation).

31 & 32 Vict. c. 110 ('The Telegraph Act, 1868: enabling nationalisation of telegraphs).

33 and 34 Vict. c. 79 ('Post Office Act 1870': postcards introduced etc.).

2.3 Principal Act of Dublin Parliament re the Post Office

The Statutes at Large, Passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland (vol. 12, Dublin, 1786).
23 & 24 Geo. III., [I] c. 17 (1784: separate Irish Postmaster established).

2.4 Other official publications

General Post Office. Dublin, 28 Sept. 1773. [An official announcement of the Establishment of a Penny-Post Office for the City of Dublin, etc.].

General Post Office. Dublin, 31 March 1774 [extension of same]. Both on British Library microfilm 1890.e.5. (and the B.L. holds original hard copies.)

2.5 Law reports

John Jaques & Son v Chess, [1939] 3 All E. R. pp. 227 -35.

Primary Sources 3:

Contemporary Works: periodical publications

3.1 Directories and Annuals

The Annual Miscellany; or rational recreations for 1812 (Paisley 1812).

England, Army, *The New Annual Army List, Militia List &c...* By H. G. Hart [*Hart's Army Lists*] (London 1839-1915).

Bland, W. R. (ed.), *Chess Club Directory 1880, for England, Wales and the Isle of Man* (London & Derby 1880).

——— *Chess Player's Annual and Club Directory* (2nd ed., London 1882).

British Chess Magazine Chess Annual, 1915 and 1916.

British Correspondence Chess Association Yearbook (London; for 1907, 1925-31, 1933-9, 1944-9).

Cooper, Thompson (ed.), *Men of The Time: a dictionary of contemporaries, containing biographical notes of eminent characters of both sexes* (8th & 9th eds, London 1872 & 1875).

Crockford's Clerical Directory for ...: being a biographical and statistical work of reference for facts relating to the clergy and the church (seen 1860 & at least every five years to 1920).

The Dublin University Calendar, various years (especially 1833-4, 1865, 1877-1878).

The India List, Civil and Military.

The Irish Church Directory (1868-71).

Lawrence, John (and others), *John Lawrence's Handbook of Cricket in Ireland* (Dublin 1865-6 and several subsequent editions to 1878-9).

Michell, E. A. (ed.), *The Year-Book of Chess* (London 1907-13, annually; 1914 edition, ed. M. W. Stevens; final 1915-16 'war number', ed. W. H. Watts and A. W. Foster).

Newspaper Press Directory for 1903 (London 1903; some other years also consulted).

The post office annual directory and calendar for 1836... containing an alphabetical list of the nobility gentry, merchants and others in Dublin and vicinity &c. (with variant titles; 1836, 1837, 1838, and later incorporated into *Thom's Directory*).

Rowland, Mr and Mrs T[homas] B[enjamin] (eds.), *Chess Player's annual and club directory* (3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th editions: respectively 1889, 1890, 1891, and 1892, London & Dublin), and 1893-94 (7th ed., British Chess Co, London & Stroud 1893).

Schaakkalender van het Noordelijk Schaakbond, 1886 (8th year).

Thom's Directory [Thom's Irish Almanack and Official Directory, including Thom's Dublin and County Street Directory] (successor publication to the above; Dublin, with variant titles; annual since 1844).

Thom's Irish Who's Who (Dublin 1923).

The Treble Almanack, including... Gentleman's and Citizen's Almanack compiled by John Watson Stewart for the year of our Lord 1822 (Dublin 1822, and other years with variant titles).

Tomlinson, Charles (ed.), *The Chess-Player's Annual for the Year 1856* (London 1856).

Who Was Who 1897-1915, 1916-1928, 1929-40, 1941-50.

3.2 Articles relating to chess in contemporary periodicals

Anonymous, 'Of the game of chess', in *The country journal, or, The craftsman*, no. 376 (15 Sept. 1733).

——— 'The Chess Parties at the Hon. Francis Egerton's' in *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxvii part 2 (July-Dec. 1807), pp. 605-6.

——— 'Iets wegens het Amsterdamsche Schaakgenootschap' ('Something about the Amsterdam chess club'), in the *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen, of Tijdschrift van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, 1829, vol. 2 (Amsterdam), pp. 217-28.

——— 'Chess-clubs, and chess-players, British and foreign', in *The Monthly Magazine*, xv, pp. 428-34 (no. 88, Apr. 1833), and reply in pp. 640-5 (no. 90, June 1833).

——— 'Backgammon versus Chess, in *New Monthly Magazine*, x1 (Jan. 1834), pp. 80-4.

——— 'The game of chess by the electric telegraph' in *The Polytechnic Review and Magazine of Science, Literature and the Fine Arts*, ii (London 1845), pp. 340-2; reprinted in *Littell's Living Age*, vi (Boston: June 1845), p. 523.

- ‘The London and Edinburgh chess match’, in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, lxxviii, no. 417 (July 1850), pp. 97-105.
- Allbutt, Thos H., ‘Chess and chess clubs’, in *Good Words* (1897), pp. 45-8.
- Barrington, Hon Daines, ‘An Historical Disquisition on the Game of Chess; addressed to Count de Bruhl, F.A.S.’, in *Archæologia*, ix (1789), pp. 16-38.
- Barry, Rev Albert, ‘Chess in Ancient Ireland’, in *New Ireland Review*, xxi (May 1904), pp. 140-49.
- Douce, Francis, ‘Some Remarks on the European Names of Chess-men’, in *Archæologia*, xi (1793), pp. 397-410.
- Fonblanque, Albany (attributed), ‘Chess and chess-players by an Ancient Amateur’, in *London magazine*, n.s. ii (May 1825), pp. 97-102.
- Fréret, Nicolas, ‘Origin of the game of chess’ (translated from French), in *The country journal, or the craftsman* (6 Feb. 1742); reprinted in *Gentleman’s magazine*, xii (1742) pp. 77-8, in *The Sporting Magazine*, iv (Aug. 1794), pp. 255-8, and in the *Lancet*, i (19 Oct 1823), pp. 105-7.
- Irwin, Eyles, ‘Essay on the Origin of Chess’, in *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, v (Dublin 1795), pp. 53-63.
- Jones, Sir William, ‘On the Indian Game of Chess’, in *Asiatick Researches*, ii (Calcutta 1790), pp. 159-65 (Reprinted in *Invenire*, Aungervyle Society reprints, second series; Edinburgh 1884).
- Lloyd, H. J., ‘The Antiquity of Chess in Ireland’, in *Royal Hist. & Arch. Association of Ireland Journal*, 4 ser. v.7 (1885-86), pp. 659-62.
- Madan, Falconer [attrib.], ‘The Chess Club’, in *The Oxford Undergraduates Journal*, 24 Apr. 1873.
- Madden, Sir Frederic, ‘Historical remarks on the introduction of the game of Chess into Europe, and on the ancient Chess-men discovered in the Isle of Lewis’ in *Archæologia*, xxiv (1832), pp. 203-291.
- Pierce, James, ‘My correspondence game and how it ended’, in *B.C.M.*, iii (1883), pp. 13-16.
- ‘Correspondence Tourney Games’, in *B.C.M.*, v (1885), pp. 78-80.
- Steinitz, William, ‘Lord Randolph Churchill and Charles Bradlaugh as Chess Players’, in *The International Chess Magazine*, vii (1891), pp. 4-6.
- Tenison, C. ‘Chess in Ireland’, in *Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland Jnl.*, Ser 5. IX (1899), p. 127.
- Tomlinson, Charles (attributed), ‘Chess’, in *Quarterly Review*, lxxxv (June 1849), pp. 82-103.
- Walker, George, ‘Chess Musings’, in *The Uptonian*, no. 2 (May 1834), pp. 90-6.
- Walker, J[oseph] C[oooper], ‘Anecdotes of Chess, in Ireland’ in Vallancey, Charles (ed.), *Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis*, v (1790), pp. 366-8.
- W[ayte], W[illiam], ‘The London and Edinburgh Correspondence Match, 1824-1828’, in *B.C.M.*, xii (1892), p. 330.

NOTE: Articles published after 1914 are listed among the Secondary Sources on p. 399. This thesis cites a large number of references to *British Chess Magazine*, but certain articles are separately mentioned here because of their direct relevance to correspondence chess.

3.3 Specialist U. K. Chess and Games Magazines

Complete runs to 1914 were seen unless otherwise stated; some post-war titles are also included.

For more details about some titles, see Appendix II. Only magazines actually seen are included here. In a few cases where similar titles were published elsewhere, the place of publication is stated. Titles published outside Britain & Ireland are listed in section 3.5.

The Amateur Chess Magazine (later *The Amateur*). 1872-4.

The Blackfriars Chess Journal. 1884 (sample issues in British Library only).

The Bristol Draught Player. 1872-4.

The British Chess Bulletin. 1910-11.

British Chess Magazine. 1881 -to date (2008).

The British Chess Review. 1853-4.

The British Correspondence Chess Association Magazine. 1909-32 (some issues were unavailable).

The B.C.C.A. Magazine. 1949-53 (successor to the above; continued as *Correspondence Chess*).

The British Miscellany. 1841 (only part 3: April, available).

The British Miscellany and Chess Player's Chronicle. 1841 (volume 1, May -Oct.).

Chess. 1935-45 (Sutton Coldfield).

Chess Mail. 1996-2005 (Dublin).

The Chess Amateur. 1906-17 (vols. 1 -12, to Sept. 1918; some late volumes were also seen).

The Chess Board. 1914 (A few issues held by Edinburgh Chess Club).

The Chess Chronicle. 1901-2; successor to the final series of the *Chess Player's Chronicle* (q.v.).

The Chess-Monthly. 1879-96 (London).

The Chess Player (later *The New Chess Player*). 1851 -3 (London).

The Chess Player's Chronicle (sometimes *The Chess Player's Quarterly Chronicle*). 1841 -1900. See also *British Miscellany &c*. For full details of this title and its variants, see Appendix II f.

The Chess Player's Magazine. 1863-7 (London).

The Chess Review: a monthly journal for chess and whist. 1892-3 (Manchester, three issues seen).

The Chess World. 1865-9 (London).

The City of London Chess Magazine. 1874-6.

Correspondence Chess — successor to *The B.C.C.A. Magazine*. 1954 to date (2008).

The Four-Leaved Shamrock. An Irish monthly paper devoted to the royal game of chess, 1905-14.

The Household Chess Magazine. 1865.

The Irish Chess Chronicle. 1887.

Knight Moves: the journal for chess enthusiasts in Wales. 1992-3.

The London Chess Fortnightly. 1892-3.

International Correspondence Chess Association Monthly Resume. Jan 1846-Aug 1848 (Weston-super-Mare; continued as *Mail Chess*).

- Mail Chess*. Oct 1948-Apr./May 1949 (Weston-super-Mare); May 1951-July/Sept. 1952 (Belgrade).
- The Philidorian, a magazine of Chess, and other scientific games, edited by George Walker, complete in one volume*. 1837-8 (London).
- The Rank and File: official publication of the Welsh Correspondence Chess Association*. 1993-8.
- The Recreationist*. 1873-4.
- The Saint Patrick's Chess Club Pamphlet* (Dublin reissue of 1887; original of 1885 not seen).
- The Sussex Chess Journal* (subsequently *The Southern Counties Chess Journal*) 1889-96.
- The Sussex Chess Magazine*. 1882-3.
- The Westminster [Chess Club] Papers*. 1868-79.

3.4 U.K. Magazines and Newspapers

NOTES: The normal practice in thesis bibliographies of listing titles read is inappropriate in this case because of the wide variation in availability and handling of newspapers and general periodicals examined for this project. Some were read in long runs because of important regular chess columns. Others were seen only in scrapbooks of chess columns, and in some cases, only a few issues were available, because no more survives. Moreover, a range of other titles became searchable in electronic databases. Where only a single specific reference was sought, that title is mentioned only in the relevant footnote in the text.

Therefore, a subdivision has been adopted to reflect the reality of the method adopted:

- a) Irish Periodicals.
- b) British Periodicals.
- c) Digitised services (naming principal titles).
- d) Other titles that were sampled.

In several cases, further information about titles may be found in Appendix II.

3.4 a) Irish Magazines and Newspapers

The place of publication is as in the title, or presumed to be Dublin unless another place is stated.

‡ indicates that the complete run of the chess column, where there was one, between the cited dates has been read.

Armagh Guardian. 1845.

Belfast News-letter. 1894. (Sample year read in the paper; searched to 1900 in electronic format.)

Belfast Weekly News. 1888-9, 1891-2, 1899, 1901-2.

Celtic Times (Dublin 1887). ‡ Most conveniently available as a book reprint: *The Celtic Times:*

Michael Cusack's Gaelic Games Newspaper (Ennis: Clasp Press, 2003; no named editor).

Coffee Palace Temperance Journal. Jan. 1889 (i.e. the only issue held in a copyright library.)

- Common Sense: a monthly magazine for everybody.* (Only a few issues available).
- Cork Weekly Examiner.* 1902-3. ‡
- Cork Weekly News* 1901-17. ‡
- Dublin Evening Mail* 1885-1902. ‡ (*Warder*, with identical content, checked in some years.)
- Dublin Journal of Temperance, Science, and Literature.* 1842.
- The Dublin Penny Journal.* 1832.
- Evening Herald/ Weekly Herald* (Dublin). 1892-1914.
- Irish Figaro.* 1897. ‡
- Irish Fireside.* 1883-7. (July-Dec. 1886 unavailable.)
- Irish Sportsman and Farmer* (1870-1). ‡
- Irish Sportsman* (1883-90). ‡
- Kingstown Monthly* (1894-8). ‡
- Kingstown Society* (1898-1907). ‡
- Newry Commercial Telegraph.* 1840-3.
- Northern Whig* (Belfast). 1886-8.
- The Rathmines School Magazine.* 1872-3. ‡
- Sligo Times.* 1909-14. ‡
- To-day's Woman.* 1896. ‡
- The Visitor* (Church of Ireland Temperance Society). 1904. ‡
- Warder.* 1899, 1902.
- Weekly Herald* [see *Evening Herald*].
- Weekly Irish Times.* 1879-82, 1895-1899, 1902-1914. ‡ (Also searched digitally)
- Weekly Northern Whig* (Belfast). 1862-9. ‡
- Wesley College Quarterly.* 1888-95 (only some issues available).

3.4 b) British Magazines and Newspapers

The place of publication is as in the title, or presumed to be London unless another place is stated.
‡ indicates that the complete run of the chess columns, where there was one, between the cited dates has been read (although in some cases the runs were short).

- The Annals of Sporting and Fancy Gazette.* 1822-8.
- Argus and Express* (Ayr). 1878-1882. ‡
- Ashore or Afloat.* 1883.
- Bath and Cheltenham Gazette.* 1841.
- Bath Express.* 1867.
- Bell's Life in London.* 1834-73 ‡ (and other years through digitised version).
- Berwick Warder.* 1860-2.

- Birmingham Mercury*. 1854-8. †
- Black and White*. 1893. †
- The Bohemian: an unconventional paper*. 1887. †
- Bow Bells*. Vols. 24 and 29-33 (1876, and June 1878-Dec. 1880).
- The Boy's Journal: a magazine of literature, science, adventure, and amusement*. 1863-5.
- Boy's Own Paper*. Vols. 1 -2 (1879-80).
- Brief: the Week's News*. 1879-80.
- Brighton Guardian*. 1882. †
- Bristol Daily Post*. 1862.
- Bristol Mercury*. 1894-96. (Mostly read in electronic subscription.)
- Burnley Express*. 1881-2.
- The Cambrian* (Swansea). 1824-80 (items indexed to chess only), 1891 -3.
- Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*. 1853-1867. †
- Cheltenham Examiner*. 1893-4.
- Court Gazette*. See *New Court Gazette*.
- Croydon Guardian*. 1882.
- Derby and Derbyshire Gazette*, 1876-77. †
- Derbyshire Advertiser*. 1878, 1880 (1879 was unavailable).
- Doncaster, Nottingham and Lincoln Gazette*. 1835.
- Dudley Herald*. 1891-5. †
- Dundee Courier & Argus*. 1862-4 †, 1872-3, 1893.
- The Edinburgh Magazine* (ed. Alexander E. Sutherland). 1872-3.
- Eliza Cook's Journal*. 1849-54.
- The English Gentleman* (retitled *Nimrod*) 1823-5.
- The English Mechanic and World of Science*. Vols. 30-62 (Sept. 1879-Feb. 1896).
- Era*. 1854-67 (1868-73 columns seen in scrapbooks at Cleveland Public Library).
- Evening Mail*. 1824.
- Evening News and Star* (Glasgow). 1879. †
- The Family Friend*. 1849-52.
- The Family Herald*. Vols. 15-18 (May 1857-Apr. 1861).
- The Field* [*The Farm, The Garden, The Country Gentleman's Newspaper*]. 1853-4, 1858-1915. †
- Figaro/ London Figaro*. 1876.
- Gateshead Observer*. 1848-52 (second half of 1850 unavailable).
- Gentleman's Journal*. 1869-72. †
- Glasgow Citizen*. 1848-51.
- Glasgow Weekly Herald*. 1872-1879; 1887-9.
- Globe and Traveller*. 1824.
- Gravesend & Dartford Reporter*. 1875-6.

- Hampstead Record*. 1901.
- Historic Times*. 1849-50. †
- Hobbies: a weekly journal for amateurs of both sexes*. Vols. 5-30 (Oct. 1897-Sept. 1910). †
- The Home Circle*. 1849-54. †
- The Huddersfield College Magazine*. 1872-80. †
- Hull Bellman*. 1878-1880. †
- The Hull Miscellany and Baker Street Programme*. 1878. †
- Hull Packet and East Riding Times*. 1880-1.
- Illustrated Historic Times*. See *Historic Times*.
- Illustrated London News* 1842-1915. †
- Illustrated News of the World and Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages*. 1858.
- Illustrated Science Monthly* (previously *Science Monthly Illustrated*). 1883-4.
- Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*. 1874 and vols. 10-22 (Jan. 1879-14 Mar. 1885).
- Ipswich Journal*. 1898-9. †
- The Kaleidoscope, or Literary and Scientific Mirror*. (Liverpool, 1818-31). †
- Knowledge: An Illustrated Magazine of Science*. Vols. 1-6 (1881-4).
- Lady's Newspaper and Pictorial Times*. 1848.
- Lady's Pictorial*. 1895-7. †
- Lancet*. Vols. 1-2, 1823-4. †
- Land and Water*. Vols. 9-40 (1870-85). †
- Leeds Intelligencer*. 1825.
- Leeds Mercury*. 1879-1900 (from 1885 in electronic subscription), 1905, Jan.-Feb. 1906 & 1907.
- The Leisure Hour: an illustrated magazine for home reading*. 1899-1905. †
- Lincoln Rutland & Stamford Mercury*. 1888.
- Liverpool Mercury*. 1813-4 (incomplete volume; but also searched in electronic subscription).
- Liverpool Weekly Mercury*. 1890.
- London Courier*. 1824-5.
- The Jewish Chronicle*. 1901.
- The London Journal*. 1858-9. †
- Maidstone Journal [and Kentish Advertiser]*. 1844.
- Malvern Advertiser*. 1872.
- Manchester Guardian*. 1825-6.
- Matlock Visiting List*. 1882.
- The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction*. 1824-5.
- The Monthly Magazine, or British Register of Literature, Sciences, and the Belles-Lettres*.
1826 and 1833.
- Morning Post*. 1901-2.
- New Court Gazette*. 1840. †

- Newcastle Weekly Chronicle*. 1873-4.
- Newcastle Courant*. 1876-8.
- News of the Week* (Glasgow). 1874-7. ‡
- Nimrod* (Nov-Dec 1825): see *English Gentleman*.
- Norfolk News*. 1859-63. ‡
- Northern Figaro* (Aberdeen). 1886-91.
- The Norvicensian*. 1873-6. ‡
- Norwich Mercury*. 1888-9; ‡ 1905-13 (in cuttings from Murray collection).
- Notes and Queries* (only items indexed to chess in various years).
- Pictorial Times*. 1845 (see also *Lady's Pictorial*).
- The Polytechnic Journal*. 1841 and 1845.
- The Popular Educator*. 1852-7.
- Preston Chronicle*. 1842.
- Preston Guardian*. 1878-83. ‡
- Royal Exchange and Weekly Journal of Social Topics*. 1878-9. ‡
- The Review, the Country Gentleman's Journal*. 1858-9. ‡
- Reynolds's Miscellany of Romance, General Literature, Science and Art*. 1858-69. ‡
- Saturday Magazine*. 1841.
- Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*. 1883.
- Sheffield Weekly Independent*. 1884 and 1889.
- South Devon Literary Chronicle* (Plymouth). 1847.
- Southern Times* (Weymouth). 1853. ‡
- Southern Weekly News* (Brighton). 1883-89. ‡
- Sporting Magazine*. Vols. 2-8 (Apr. 1793-Sept. 1796).
- Strand Magazine* (only items indexed to chess in various years).
- Sunday Times*. 1857 and 1898-1903.
- Weekly Mail* (Cardiff). 1870-1.
- Weekly Scotsman* (Edinburgh). 1893.
- West Sussex County Chronicle* (Chichester). 1878-9.
- Western Daily Mercury* (Plymouth). 1903 and 1905-12.
- Westminster Budget*. 1897.
- Womanhood: an Illustrated magazine of Literature Science Art Medicine Hygiene & the progress of women* 1898-1907 (but volumes 1 and 2 were unobtainable).
- The Working Man's Friend, and Family Instructor*. 1850-1.
- The Workmen's Club Journal and official gazette... of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union*. 1875-7.
- Yorkshire Gazette* (York). 1825.
- Young Men of Great Britain*. 1868-72 (10 vols, repeated starting 1875). ‡

3.4 c) Digitised services (with principal titles)

The titles listed here are those that were particularly examined, some of which had already been read in original volumes or microfilm.

17th and 18th Century Burney Collection

A British Library selection of little relevance, except for articles relating to chess from *The Craftsman* (listed separately in this bibliography).

19th Century British Library Newspapers

A selection of forty-eight titles including the *Bristol Mercury*, *Caledonian Mercury*, *Freeman's Journal*, *Leeds Mercury*, *Liverpool Mercury*, the *Preston Guardian*, the *Western Mail*, and the *Belfast News-letter*.

19th Century U.K. Periodicals: Series I

A British Library selection of almost 100 titles mostly relating to women, sports, children, and leisure. Titles found useful here included *Bell's Life in London*, *Hearth and Home*, *Our Corner*, and *The Ladies' Treasury*.

19th Century US Newspapers

Some comparative material on American chess was found here.

British Periodicals Online (collection 1)

More than 160 titles including (titles with chess articles): *Bow Bells*, *The Kaleidoscope*, *The Leisure Hour*, the *London Journal*, and *Reynolds's Miscellany*.

Irish Times Digital Archive

The Times Online

ALSO:

Irish Newspaper Archives (This service appears to be no longer available.)

Included some years of the *Freeman's Journal*.

3.4 d) Other titles that were sampled

The titles here were only seen in one, or a few, issues. They were consulted either because we found reference to them, or because we found them in scrapbooks or miscellaneous bound volumes containing other material. Therefore they have not been read systematically.

A1 Illustrated. 1880 (bound as an annual at British Library).

Amateur Musician. (1889: only three issues seen).

Amateur World. (Only one complete issue, but all chess columns, 1876-8, seen).

Brighton Society. 1896-7 (Chess column scrapbook; originals unfit in Colindale.)

British Soldier. 1852 (Only contained one chess article).

Design and Work. 1878.

The Dial. 1861.

Lads of the Village. 1874 (B.L. holdings seen, but believed incomplete).

London and Brighton Magazine. 1875 (as 1876 unavailable).

Our Corner. Vol. 1 (Jan-June 1883) and digitised version.

3.5 Periodicals published outside the U.K.

American Chess Journal. 1876-7 (2 vols, Hannibal, Missouri).

American Chess Journal. 1878-9 (1 vol, New York) and 1879-81 (2 vols, Chicago).

The American Chess Magazine: periodical organ of communication of American Chess-Players
&c. 1846-7 (New York).

Brentano's Chess Monthly. 1881 -2 (New York).

Brief-Schach. 1929 (Berlin: only a few issues available)

Brownson's Chess Journal. 1877 -8 (nos. 74-84, Dubuque, Iowa; continued, much later, as *The Chess Journal*).

Celestial Empire. 1876 (Shanghai).

The Chess Journal. 1886-92 (Rockdale, Iowa; nos. 99-106 reverted to the title *Brownson's Chess Journal*).

The Chess Monthly. 1857 -61 (New York).

[*Deutsche*] *Schachzeitung*. 1846, 1850-1, 1856-8, 1892-1903 (Berlin).

Dubuque Chess Journal. 1870-6 (nos. 1 -73, Dubuque, Iowa; continued as *Brownson's Chess Journal*, but also, with different proprietors, as the *American Chess Journal*).

Fernschach. 1928-39, 1951-2003 (Germany, various towns).

The Gambit. 1859 (New York).

Hartford Weekly Times. 1877-81 (Hartford, Connecticut).

International Chess Magazine. 1885 -91 (New York).

Le Monde Illustré . 1889-90, 1892-3, Jan. -June 1898 (Paris).

Mail Chess. The second series (1951-2) was published in Belgrade but see listings in Section 3.3.

Maryland Chess Review. 1874-5 (Frederick, Maryland).

La Nouvelle Régence. 1860-1 (Paris).

La Régence: Journal des échecs. 1849-51 (Paris).

Le Palamède, Revue Mensuelle des échecs. 1836-8, 1841 -7 (Paris).

Nordisk Skaktidende. 1877 -80 (Copenhagen).

The Port of Spain Gazette. 1846 (Trinidad).

Sissa, Maandschrift voor het schaakspel. 1847 -9 (Wijk bij Duurstede, Netherlands).

La Stratégie. 1882-1904 (Paris).

Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen. 1829 (Amsterdam).

Primary Sources 4:

Contemporary Works: Books and Pamphlets

- Anonymous, A letter from a minister to his friend concerning the game of chesse (London 1680).
 ——— *Schaakstrijd tusschen het Amsterdamsche Genootschap Philidor e n dat te London. Amsterdam heeft wit, London zwart* (Amsterdam 1849).
- *Korrespondanceparti mellem Skakforeningerne i Breslau og Kjøbenhavn, 1888-1891, Trykt som Manuskript for Kjøbenhavns Skakforening* (Copenhagen 1892).
- *Partierne fra Turneringen om Berlingske Tidendes Pokal med udførlige noter af Dr. S. Tarrasch, J. Giersing og Andr. Nissen* (Copenhagen 1918).
- *Parties jouées par correspondance par L'Echiquier du Nord de Lille contre Bruxelles 1896, Paris 1897, St-Pétersbourg 1898* (Lille: Café du Boulevard, 1898).
- Alexander, Thomas, *A simple chess notation, giving the moves of the pieces by two letters and the moves of the pawns by a numeral and letter, together with code words for telegraphing the moves* (Dublin 1896).
- Babbage, Charles, *Passages from the life of a philosopher* (ed. with an introduction by Martin Campbell-Kelly, London 1994; based on first ed., London 1864).
- Bailey, John (ed.), *The Diary of Lady Frederick Cavendish* (London, 2 vols; 1927).
- Barbier, Jo (possibly pseud.), see Saul.
- Baxter, Richard, *A Christian directory, or, A sum of practical theologie and cases of conscience* (London 1673).
- Beeby, Thomas, *An account of the late chess match between Mr Howard Staunton and Mr Lowe* (London 1848).
- Beechey, F[rideswide] F[anny], *Chess Blossoms* (Matlock Bath 1883); also see Rowland.
- Berkeley (pseud.): see Peel, Walter H.
- Bird, H[enry] E[dward], *The Chess Openings considered critically and practically* (London 1878).
 ——— *Chess History and Reminiscences* (London 1893).
- Blackmore, R[ichard] D[oddridge], *Lorna Doone: a romance of Exmoor* (London, 3 vols.; 1869; first single vol. ed. 1870).
- Blanshard, Charles Thomas [See also under Dufresne], *Examples of chess master-play; Second series* (London 1894).
 ——— *Examples of chess master-play; Third series* (London 1896).
 ——— *Classified Chess Games with Notes* (three parts, London: 1904, 1905 and 1905).
- Bledow, Ludwig, *Die zwischen dem Berliner und Posener Klub durch Correspondenz gespielten Schach-Partieen, mit Anmerkungen und Varianten, nebst einer Sammlung von funfzig anderen Correspondenz-Partieen* [The chess games played by correspondence between the

- clubs of Berlin and Posen, with notes and variations, with a collection of fifty other correspondence games], (Berlin 1843; facsimile reprint, Dresden 1997).
- Boden, Samuel [attrib.], *A popular introduction to the study and practice and chess, forming a compendium of the science of the game, by an amateur* (London 1851).
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Appendix I) Postal history

I a) Summary of legislation

THIS appendix summarises the principal statutes affecting the British and Irish postal services up to and including the Rowland Hill reforms of 1839-40. The statutes mentioned from the eighteenth and early nineteenth century are those which had a bearing on the postal rates and arrangements at the time of the *London v Edinburgh* correspondence chess match of 1824-8. For the actual postal rates in force before the reforms, see pages 410-11. It should be noted that (as enacted in 23 & 24 Geo. III [I] c. 17, 1784), Ireland and Great Britain had separate postal administrations in the period 1784-1831. Following the Act of Union (39 & 40 Geo III, c .67), which came into force on 1 Jan. 1801, there was no immediate change, but after the Napoleonic wars the issue of uniting the services was considered and was brought about in stages. Following a commission of 1821 to investigate Irish revenue-raising departments, the currencies of Ireland and Britain were unified (6 Geo. IV, c. 79, 1825), after which the postal rates for the archipelago were harmonised in 1827 (see below), and then in 1831 all postal services of the UK were brought under one Postmaster General.

The Hanoverian legislation dealing with the postal services was replaced in two stages between 1837-40. The first was in 1837, when 1 Victoria c. 32 repealed all the preceding legislation with effect from 1 August, except for specific clauses listed in a schedule as 'saved', in order to replace them with a package of simplified legislation passed on the same day (1 Victoria c. 33-6). The principal schedule to 1 Victoria c.32, listing all the repealed laws, provides a useful summary of the former legislation to do with the post. The second stage came in 1839, confirmed in 1840, legislating for Hill's reforms, the principal effects of which were: to eliminate the relation of postal charges to distance, to make pre-payment of postage the norm rather than the exception, to greatly reduce the cost of postage, and to eliminate most of the privileges of free post for officials (franking) which had been greatly abused.

1783-4 (Dublin parliament)

23 and 24 Geo. III., c. 17: An Act for establishing a Post-Office within this Kingdom.

Enacted: unspecified date. In force: as soon as convenient.

Effect: establishes an office and function of an autonomous Post-master General of Ireland, i.e. separation of internal Irish postal administration.¹

¹ For the provisions, see *The Statutes at Large, Passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland* (vol. 12, Dublin 1786), pp. 200-205. There was already a General Post Office in Dublin, but under London control. See Mairead Reynolds, *A history of the Irish post office* (Dublin 1983), especially Chap. 6. Her book goes up to the British hand-over at the end of March 1922.

1784 (Westminster parliament)

24 Geo. III., sess. 2, c. 37: An Act for granting to His Majesty certain additional Rates of Postage for Conveyance of Letters and Packets, by the Post, within the Kingdom of *Great Britain*; for preventing Frauds in the Revenue, carried on by the Conveyance of certain Goods in Letters and Packets; and for further preventing Frauds and Abuses in relation to the sending and receiving of Letters and Packets free from Postage.

Enacted: 1784 (unspecified date). In force: after 31 Aug. 1784.

Effect: 'Almost simultaneously with the introduction of mail-coaches there was an increase in the rates of postage, made solely with a view to increased revenue.'² Penny Posts were unaffected.

1796

37 Geo. III. c18: An Act for altering certain Rates of Postage for Conveyance of Letters in England and Scotland respectively, etc. Enacted: 28 Dec. 1796. In force: 5 Jan. 1797.

Effect: New rates of postage for Great Britain, and some other provisions. Rates now became 3d to 15 miles, 4d to 30, 5d to 60, 6d to 100, 7d to 150, and 8d above 150 miles.³

1801

41 Geo. III. c. 7: An Act for repealing the Rates and Duties of Postage in *Great Britain*, and granting other Rates and Duties in lieu thereof, and on Letters conveyed to or from any Part of the United Kingdom from or to any Place out of the said Kingdom, and by Packet Boats from or to the Ports of Holyhead and Milford Haven. Enacted: 24 Mar. 1801. In force: after 5 Apr. 1801.

Effect: New rates to provide an additional £150,000 a year to the Exchequer. 'The new rates were elaborate and complicated, comprising no less than thirteen rates for each class of letter, according to the distance of transmission'.⁴ This Act also brought the London penny post to an end and it became the 'twopenny post'.⁵ Dublin still retained a penny post.

1805

45 Geo. III. c. 11: An Act for granting certain additional Rates and Duties in *Great Britain*, on the Conveyance of Letters. Enacted: 12 Mar. 1805. In force: immediately.

Effect: Raised an additional £230,000 p.a., simply by adding 1d for a single letter, 2d. for a double letter, 3d for a treble letter, and 4d per ounce to the 1801 rates.⁶

1812

52 Geo. III. c. 88: An Act for granting to His Majesty certain additional Rates of Postage in Great Britain.

Enacted: 9 July 1812. In force: immediately. Not for the Channel Islands or the Isle of Man.

² A. D. Smith, *The Development of Rates of Postage* (London 1917). p. 21.

³ R. M. Willcocks, *England's Postal History to 1840* (Perth, Scotland 1975), pp. 156-7. According to Smith, the increase in 1797 was to pay for arming the mail guards.

⁴ A. Smith, *Rates*, p. 22. R. Willcocks, *Postal*, p. 156, summarises: 3d. to 15 miles, 4d. to 30, 5d. to 50, 6d. to 80, 7d. to 120, 8d. to 170, 9d. to 230, 10d. to 300, 1d. for each additional 100 miles.

⁵ A. Smith, *Rates*, pp. 251-2.

⁶ A. Smith, *Rates*, p. 22.

Effect: Increased revenue by raising some rates, typically an extra 1*d.* on single letters going more than twenty miles. Also some minor provisions. 'The rates then established were the highest ever charged in England,' said Smith.

1813

53 Geo. III. c. 68: An Act to repeal the Exemption from Toll granted for in respect of Carriages with more than Two Wheels, carrying the Mail in *Scotland*; and for granting a Rate of Postage, as an Indemnity for the Loss which may arise to the Revenue of the Post Office from the Payment of such Tolls. Enacted: 3 June 1813. In force: immediately (Scotland only).

Effect: Increased the cost of letters carried by mail coaches in Scotland by one halfpenny to compensate the post office for having to pay tolls.

1827

7 & 8 Geo. IV. c. 21: An Act to amend the Laws relating to the Duties of Postage in Great Britain and Ireland. Enacted: 28 May 1827. In force: 5 July 1827.

Effect: The same (lower) distance rates applicable on postage within G.B. to apply also to mail between G.B. and Ireland, but packet boat charges and those payable under the Acts for building the Menai and Conway bridges (e.g. 59 Geo. III. c. 48; 1819) remained. The Act also specified payments to be in the currency of the United Kingdom. Schedules provide a tabular summary of the new rates applicable to Irish post.

1831

1 Will IV. c. 8: An Act for enabling His Majesty to appoint a Postmaster General for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Enacted: 11 Mar. 1831. In force: immediately.⁷ Effect: to unify the postal administrations.

1837

1 Vict. c. 32: An Act to repeal the several Laws relating to the Post Office.

Enacted: 12 July 1837. In force: 1 Aug. 1837. Effect: repealed most previous postal legislation.

1 Vict. c. 33: An Act for the Management of the Post Office.

Enacted: 12 July 1837. In force: 1 Aug. 1837.

Effect: definitive act for the postal administration of the United Kingdom 'and all other Her Majesty's Dominions and Territories'.

1 Vict. c. 34: An Act for the Regulation of the Duties of Postage.

Enacted: 12 July 1837. In force: 1 Aug. 1837.

Effect: Set the postage rates for mail within Great Britain (including the Twopenny Post in London) and Ireland (including the Penny Post in Dublin), the Channel Islands of the Isle of Man, and between the U.K. and overseas.

⁷ No date is specified in the act but Reynolds, *op. cit.*, p. 56, says that 'On the 6th April 1831, the General Post Office in Dublin was re-established and brought back under the control of the Postmaster General of the United Kingdom'.

1 Vict. c. 35: An Act for regulating the sending and receiving of Letters and Packets by the Post free from the Duty of Postage. Enacted: 12 July 1837. In force: 1 Aug. 1837.

Effect: Specifies who had the privilege of free postage.

1 Vict. c. 36: An Act for consolidating the Laws relative to Offences against the Post Office of the United Kingdom... Enacted: 12 July 1837. In force: 1 Aug. 1837.

Effect: miscellaneous legislation about the postal service.

1839

2 & 3 Vict. c. 52: An Act for the further Regulation of the Duties on Postage until the Fifth Day of October One thousand eight hundred and forty.

Enacted: 17 Aug. 1839. In force: immediately.

Effect: Empowered the Treasury to alter the rates of postage to a uniform penny rate, and to abolish franking privileges. Limited in time.

1840

3 & 4 Vict. c. 96: An Act for the Regulation of the Duties of Postage.

Enacted: 10 Aug. 1840. In force: 1 Sept. 1840.

Effect: Definitive act of the Hill reforms, continuing the provisions of 2 & 3 Vict. c.52 indefinitely and making other changes.

The main nineteenth century modification to this was 33 & 34 Vict. c. 79 ('The Post Office Act 1870'), the changes mostly affecting newspapers and packets, and introducing postcards.

I b) Summary of postage rates before 1840

THIS appendix summarises the principal British postage charges for ordinary letters applying from 1812, when the final increase was made, up to and including the Rowland Hill reforms of 1839-40. These were therefore those applying during the *London v. Edinburgh* chess match of 1824-8 and other early correspondence matches. For a summary of the actual statutes affecting rates of postage particular dates, see the previous appendix. It should be noted that these are rates for a single letter (those consisting of more than one sheet of paper incurred higher rates), are for Great Britain only (until 5 July 1827) and are for non-local postage. Several major cities had penny or twopenny posts (usually prepaid) for local letters since the 1780s, but the cost of local posts in Great Britain was raised in 1801 so that London had both a twopenny and threepenny post.⁸

The acts (from 1839) providing for a universal penny post ceased to stipulate the actual rates in the legislation, instead providing for the Treasury to set rates. Rowland Hill's reforms, enacted in 1839, put the universal penny post into effect on 10 January 1840,⁹ but preceded this with a 4d.

⁸ A. D. Smith, *The Development of Rates of Postage* (London 1917), p. 252.

⁹ Peter Davies and Ben Maile, *First Post* (London 1990), p. 5.

national rate from 5 December 1839 (where ever lower rates did not already apply).¹⁰ The Penny Black stamp went on sale on 1 May 1840 and could be used from 6 May 1840.¹¹ Pre-stamped halfpenny postcards (provided for under the Post Office Act 1870) went on sale from 30 Sept. 1870.

The rates applying for letters within Great Britain in 1824 were as provided for in various acts mentioned in the previous appendix, as amended by 52 Geo. III. c88 (1812), which added an extra penny to most G.B. rates. The rates for a single letter within Great Britain thus became:¹²

Not exceeding 15 miles: 4d; 15-20 miles: 5d; then increasing by 1d. for each zone, i.e. 20-30, 30-50, 50-80, 80-120, 120-170 miles (10d.), 170-230, 230-300, 300-400 (13d.), and then (for letters travelling even further, because they were routed via London): 401-500 (14d.), 500-600 (15d.), 601-700 miles (16d.), over 700 miles (17d.).¹³

Additionally, one or more of the following might apply in some cases:

a) in Scotland only, from 1813, an additional halfpenny (irrespective of letter size) for letters conveyed by a carriage with more than two wheels;¹⁴

b) additional charges for mail going by packet boats (2d);

c) additional charges for mail crossing the Menai Strait (1d).

These figures can be derived (not with ease) from the legislation, and seen in Post 53/32 (as of 1812, except for the mistake mentioned in note 13) and Post 53/34 (for the figures applicable in the 1830s until the Hill reforms). The rates are summarised in Information Sheet 10a, available at the British Postal Museum & Archive, Freeling House.¹⁵

¹⁰ The fullest account of the postal reforms, based on Rowland Hill's journals, is to be found in Gavin Fryer & Clive Akerman (eds.), *The reform of the Post Office in the Victorian era and its impact on economic and social activity: documentary history 1837 to 1864 based on Sir Rowland Hill's Journal and ancillary papers ... foreword by Asa Briggs* (Royal Philatelic Society: London, 2000, 2 vols).

¹¹ Davies & Maile, *First Post*, p. 5. Mairead Reynolds, *A history of the Irish post office* (Dublin 1983), p. 69, says the Penny Black went on sale on 6 May (a popular misconception), but that is a mistake unless there was a delay in Ireland. She also says (pp. 61-2) that when the December 1839 reductions were made, 'the public was annoyed at this stop-gap system, feeling cheated of full reform, and through public outcry forced the introduction of the uniform penny post on 10th January, 1840'. That may have been the perception in Ireland, but the phased introduction was apparently part of Hill's plan.

¹² Letters containing one enclosure were chargeable with two single rates. Therefore envelopes were normally not used, as that would automatically have meant a double letter; instead they were folded, sealed, and the address written on the outside, as can be seen with the letters London Chess Club sent to Edinburgh. Letters with more than one enclosure but not weighing an ounce were counted as a treble letter. Letters weighing one ounce (whatever the contents) were chargeable with four single rates, and for every quarter of an ounce above that weight, an additional single rate was chargeable (Post 53/34). An MS note at the head of the section on Scotch Towns says that the additional halfpenny on Scottish letters was a flat rate that did not increase with the size or weight of the letter.

¹³ The 1812 chart of rates from Edinburgh in Post 53/32 says 'and one penny of addition for every 100 miles beyond 300', but somebody has annotated this 'incorrect — WH'.

¹⁴ R. Willcocks, *Postal*, pp. 156-7.

¹⁵ Or see R. Willcocks, loc. cit.

Appendix II) Bibliographical Supplement

HISTORIANS nowadays increasingly exploit printed sources, especially periodicals, for their research. The nineteenth century is perhaps the first for which the volume of preserved material is so great that selections have to be made. Bibliographies and finding aids are very important, especially in the early stages of a research project. So although some corrections and entries here may seem trivial, they might in future save somebody hours of effort duplicating these findings. Chess is a special case perhaps, but similar difficulties await those researching other topics.

The sections of Appendix II are intended to concentrate in one place the principal findings from the chess-bibliographical part of the research project. They repeat, and in many cases supplement with more detailed information, the information about chess publishing that is dispersed throughout the thesis chapters and Bibliography. Where items are rare or difficult to find, or previous bibliographies are in error, some assistance is provided about where to look. References to 'St Pancras' mean the main British Library and 'Colindale' means the British Newspaper Library at Colindale, north London (possibly to be closed in 2012). The 'KB' is the Royal Dutch Library in The Hague and 'NLI' is the National Library of Ireland. Information about digitised titles is usually not included, as these are constantly being developed and new runs of titles become available (usually on a subscription basis) each year. Increasingly Colindale and other libraries supply periodical titles to readers on microfilm (MF), the hard copy volumes being withdrawn after filming or because of deteriorating condition.

There were too many British (especially English) chess columns after 1850 to read them all or list here. The majority are to be found in Whyld's *Columns*. The attempt was made (although not always with complete success) to see every British column started by 1850 (all were at least sampled), and every Irish column (some were not found). Most major post-1850 British columns, especially those known to have organised correspondence events, were also sought, as were all British chess magazines (only one very minor title eluded the search altogether).

Sections a) and b) deal with the Irish titles, respectively chronologically and alphabetically, the detailed notes being provided in the latter. The table constituting c) was based on checking the list of columns prior to 1850 given in the bibliography of early English chess literature,¹ omitting non-U.K. columns. Section d) is a selective list of columns, in part intended as a list of corrections and comments to the two Whyld bibliographies. It includes most, but not all, of the main titles that were read for the project, but also a few that could not be found. The main bibliography lists only titles that were actually seen (at least in samples). Sections d) and e) respectively list the British chess columns and chess magazines, identifying those which ran correspondence events.² Section f)

¹ Whyld & Ravilious, *Chess Texts*.

² In some cases it could be debated whether a particular 'column' was really a chess magazine. The *Westminster Papers* is one treated here as a chess magazine, on the basis that chess was

summarises the confusing history of the *Chess Players' Chronicle* and its variant titles. Those columns and chess magazines that organised correspondence tourneys can be identified from Appendix IV because the sponsoring publications' names appear in the titles of events.

Newspaper titles sometimes changed, and subtitles frequently did, as a result of mergers and changes in circulation. Minor changes are ignored but significant alternative titles during the period of the chess column are mentioned in footnotes to entries.³ For full information on title variations, the best reference is the British Library Integrated Catalogue (selecting the catalogue subset 'Newspapers'). This subset only became available late in 2007; the previously available Colindale catalogue (which had to be used for most visits and preparatory sessions) did not provide much detail about actual holdings and was much harder to search.

II a) Irish chess columns and magazines to 1918 (chronological)

THIS part of the appendix and the next sub-section provide bibliographical and finding information for the chess columns which appeared in Irish newspapers and magazines up to the end of 1914: a column being defined (as in Chapter 3) as a regular series of articles, not merely news reports. Here they are listed by year of commencement; in II b), the listing is alphabetical by the first significant word in the title. Also there, for ease of comparison, can be found (as a WAT number near the start of each entry) the publication's reference code in the currently available edition of John S. North (ed.), *The Waterloo Directory of Irish Newspapers and Periodicals*⁴ That only includes titles which were published during the nineteenth century.

Not all these columns survive, while others are only partially available, sometimes only in a few copies in scrapbooks. Columns not seen are listed here if primary sources mention them, although in such cases the exact title may be in question and publication details can only be approximate. This appendix **also** includes some publications which are chess magazines, rather than columns, because they are few and the *Waterloo Directory* includes them also. There were no Irish chess columns before the 1860s. For detailed information, see the entry in Appendix IIb).

All titles listed were published in Dublin unless otherwise stated.

- 1841:** *Newry Commercial Telegraph*, series of news items.
- 1861:** *Irish Sporting Times* — a mystery: see p. 95 n91 and p. 418. Whyld also lists a *Belfast Weekly Post*, but there was no such title at that time.
- 1862-8:** *Weekly Northern Whig* from 22/2/1862 to 5/12/1868, with interruptions.

probably the principal selling point of the title. This was maybe not the case with the *Huddersfield College Magazine* and definitely not with the *Recreationist*.

³ The inclusion or dropping of the word 'The' from a title is not considered significant.

⁴ John S. North, (ed.), *The Waterloo Directory of Irish Newspapers and Periodicals 1800-1900, Phase II* (Waterloo, Ontario 1986). As yet, there is no Phase III printed or electronic edition for Ireland or for Scotland, though there is for England. Prof North hopes to have these ready in 2009 and the findings here are being made available to him.

- 1870-71:** *Irish Sportsman and Farmer* (J. A. Rynd), for a few months.
- 1872-3:** *Rathmines School Magazine* (Thomas Long, approx. monthly).
- 1878-9:** *Our School Times* (Derry). Untraced.⁵
- 1879-82:** *Weekly Irish Times* column by A. S. Peake.
- 1882?:** *Practical Farmer*. Untraced.
- 1883:** *Irish Fireside* (Barry); *Irish Sportsman* (Rowland) columns start.
- 1884:** *Fireside* and *Sportsman* columns continue.
- 1885:** *St Patrick's Chess Club Pamphlet* (MS magazine) for a few weeks in the Spring. *Dublin Evening Mail* column begins (Rowland). *Fireside* column ends. *Sportsman* editorship changes in November.
- 1886:** *Northern Whig* and *Belfast News-letter* from c. 18/3/86. *Warder* starts to reprint *Mail* column (according to Whyld).
- 1887:** *Celtic Times* (A. Morrison Miller) July-Dec. New editor at *Sportsman* (J. A. Conroy). Peake produces *Irish Chess Chronicle*. New (brief) *Fireside* series.
- 1888:** *Belfast Weekly News* column starts. After hiatus (c. March), W. Campbell revives chess column in the *Northern Whig* about April, then in May also in the *Belfast News-letter* (normally the same content). In Dublin, chess columns start in the *Wesley College Quarterly*, the *Coffee Palace and Temperance Journal*, and *Clontarf Parochial Magazine*.
- 1889:** *Weekly Irish Times* column announced but did not commence.
- 1890:** End of *Sportsman* column.
- 1892:** *Evening Herald* (J. A. Rynd): Saturday editions from March
- 1893:** *Common Sense* (irregular, to 1897?). Whyld lists *Evening Echo*, probably a ghost.⁶
- 1894:** *Kingstown Monthly* starts (Mrs Rowland).
- 1895:** *Weekly Irish Times* column (Mrs Rowland) started 23/2/1895.
- 1896:** *To-day's Woman* column for several months (Mrs Rowland).
- 1897:** *Irish Figaro* column (Jan-Nov) by Mrs Rowland. *Kingstown Monthly* is relaunched as *Kingstown Society* in April.
- 1899:** *Weekly Irish Times* column ends after Christmas.
- 1901:** *Cork Weekly News* starts chess; the *Cork Weekly Times* (in Whyld) is a ghost.
- 1902:** *Cork Weekly Examiner* column from 8 Feb. (for 15 months). Closure of *Evening Mail* and *Warder* column. *Weekly Irish Times* resumes in November.
- 1904:** Short-lived column in *The Visitor* (Mrs Rowland).
- 1905-14:** *The Four-Leaved Shamrock* (now no chess in *Kingstown Society*).

⁵ There definitely was a magazine of this or similar title because Stanley Monck stated in one of his books that he wrote articles on logic for it.

⁶ A 'ghost' (a term introduced by Whyld in this context) is a reference in a primary or secondary source that cannot be traced, either due to a confusion or because the title by which people commonly referred to a paper was different from its real title.

- 1909-14:** *Sligo Times* column (R. L. Clarke).
- 1911:** Belfast: separate editors for the *News-letter* and the *Whig* from this year.
- Aug. 1914:** Outbreak of war ends *Weekly Irish Times* and *Herald* columns.
- 1915-16:** Mrs Rowland column for a few months in the *Irish Weekly Mail*.
- 1917:** End of *Cork Weekly News* column; the only surviving Irish column at the end of the war was in the *Belfast News-letter*.
The *Herald* column was revived by Thomas Rowland in 1922.

II b) Irish chess columns and magazines to 1918 (alphabetical)

THERE are new discoveries and problems about several titles. *Waterloo Directory* code numbers (WAT) are given for several titles; the book does not include publications that commenced after 1900. 'Ghost' titles are not in bold type. Colindale (British Newspaper Library) and NLI (National Library of Ireland) have the fullest holdings, but no archive has everything. Cleveland Public Library holds over fifty uncatalogued scrapbooks of chess columns, some of which have been microfilmed. It was not possible to see everything in a one-week visit; in several volumes inspected, some cuttings were incorrectly attributed anyway. A. J. Gillam found some microfilms from Cleveland when cataloguing the library of the late Ken Whyld, which is now in Switzerland.

Information from Tim Conlan (Dublin) about the *Evening Herald* and from David McAlister concerning some Belfast columns is hereby acknowledged.

Belfast News-letter. (WAT 291). Chess began ca. 18/3/86; chess editor W. Steen until Sept. 1887. Unknown editor to March 1888, then revived May 1888 by W. Campbell. Content (supplied to both papers by Belfast Chess Club) was largely the same as *Northern Whig* until 1911, when, according to Whyld, W. J. Allen took over and remained chess editor to 1956. Whyld names Thomas Martin as editor in 1889, but this was probably be a confusion with the *Belfast Weekly News* (q. v.)? All columns were probably associated with the main Belfast chess club. The column did not have diagrams in the early years.

AVAILABILITY: NLI (hard copy 1887-9). Also in Belfast Newspaper Library, and Colindale. Up to 1900 can be found in the digitised collection '19th Century British Library Newspapers'.

Belfast Weekly Post (WAT 349). Whyld says 1861 (no further details), citing Murray and the *Era*, but almost certainly a ghost, or mistake for *Belfast Weekly News* (q.v.). The only *Belfast Weekly Post* known to Colindale (and hence WAT) is 1882-4. Not at NLI or Belfast either.

Belfast Weekly News. (WAT 347). Column (with diagrams) by Thomas Martin started 14 Jan. 1888 & apparently ran to the end of 1901 (some years not seen). There was no chess in 1902.

AVAILABILITY: Colindale (but not 1900). Not available Belfast or NLI.

Celtic Times. (WAT 531). 1887, Dublin. Chess from July; column probably ended with the demise of the paper in Jan. 1888 (see pp. 320-1). Chess editor A. Morrison Miller. Whyld hints at a

7 July 1888 issue; if indeed the paper was relaunched, which is unproven, it probably had no chess (according to the *Northern Figaro*, 16 June 1888).

AVAILABILITY: The (not quite complete) set in Clare County Library has been reprinted in book form as *The Celtic Times: Michael Cusack's Gaelic Games Newspaper* (Ennis 2003).

Clontarf Parochial Magazine. (Not in WAT; variant titles are possible). T. B. Rowland's column was mentioned as starting in the Church of Ireland parish magazine, but probably no complete copies exist.

AVAILABILITY: Rector of Clontarf said (2005 email) they have no copies before the 1930s. Tony Gillam found two examples from 1890 in a Cleveland microfilm. The *Dublin Evening Mail* of 7 June 1888 mentions the chess column of the *Clontarf Monthly Journal* 'as usual, devoted to local affairs' (note variant title).

Coffee Palace and Temperance Journal. (WAT 1045, but with doubtful date and 'Dublin' at start of title.) These were published by the Dublin Total Abstinence Society, with its HQ at the Coffee Palace in Townsend Street, where the City Chess Club was based. The chess column is mentioned in some Rowland *Directories*. Whyld says May-Sept. 1888, alleging Peake and T. Wil[l]son Fair as editors; Peake is questionable; Fair was definitely involved. There was chess also in Jan. 1889 (the National Library of Scotland holds one complete issue). The last issue was probably Dec. 1892 or Jan. 1893; then *Common Sense* began.

AVAILABILITY: No more issues found as yet.

Common Sense. (WAT 722 says published 1893-1901). Not in Whyld's *Columns*. Successor to the *Coffee Palace and Temperance Journal*, this was also a magazine in the 1890s of the Dublin Total Abstinence Society. Some issues had chess articles by William Henry Stanley Monck.

AVAILABILITY: WAT mentions vol. 4. nos 8-9 (Aug-Sept. 1896) in NLI: the shelfmark for those is *ir 05 c14*. In a volume of miscellaneous periodicals, NLI had the very first issue (Feb. 1893) vol. 3 no. 10 (Oct. 1895), and vol. 4, no. 10 (Oct 1896). However they could not find it when it was requested again.

Cork Weekly Examiner. (WAT 842). 8 Feb. 1902-14 Mar. 1903. Thomas Coleman named as editor in *Dublin Evening Mail* 15/3/1902, which had announced 18/1/1902 that the Cork **evening** paper (this is probably a ghost) had started a chess column. AVAILABILITY: MF in NLI.

Cork Weekly News. 1901-17. Edited by Archibald Smith to 6/9/1902 (according to the column on 20/9); then probably Richard Archer to 1904. Between 1905 (4 Feb.) and end-1906 was a British Chess Company column (said elsewhere to be by W. Moffat), promoting their British correspondence tournament, with limited local information. The fact that the run begins with problem D17 shows the same column must have started in at least one English paper (as yet unidentified) in the autumn of 1903. The B.C.C. byline was dropped when *Chess Amateur* began, but the contributors and style to the end of 1906 are similar. A column by Mrs Rowland then ran from Jan. 1907-Apr. 1916; followed by an unidentified local person from May 1916-27 Jan. 1917, when the column ended. AVAILABILITY: MF in NLI.

Cork Weekly Times. 1901. Apparently a ghost in Murray/ Whyld. No such title at that date. See *Cork Weekly News* for the correct information.

Dublin Evening Mail. (WAT 1063). Chess 16/7/1885-29/3/1902. Largely the same content in a Saturday paper called the *Warder*, from same publisher. The *Mail* was published six days a week, with chess on Thursdays except from March 1900, when it was Saturdays. Colindale's films for many of the years (and NLI for 1885) only have three days a week, lacking Thursdays. This misled the *Waterloo Directory* into thinking the paper was only published thrice weekly.

The *Mail* and *Warder* published the most important Irish column of the late nineteenth century; running problem tourneys, five major postal tourneys and other postal matches with much British participation. Conducted by T. B. Rowland with assistance by Mrs Rowland (in 1901-2 perhaps only by her). There was some irregularity c. 1900, probably due to the Boer War.

AVAILABILITY: 1885 only survives in a scrapbook at the Cleveland Public Library (the KB in The Hague has poor photocopies). From 1886, MFs in NLI. Later years may be available in Colindale but were not checked; this is a task for librarians to get their holdings in order.

Dublin Mail and Warder. Various titles at different times. See under *Dublin Evening Mail*, *Warder* and *Irish Weekly Mail*.

Evening Echo. Dublin. (WAT 1317). The supposed chess column (1893-9), based on Murray and White's lists, is probably a ghost, due to a confusion with those in the *Mail & Herald*.

AVAILABILITY: NLI has Dec 1892-11 May 1895 (offsite hard copy, awaiting microfilming; attempts to request it were unsuccessful). Colindale has only 17/2/1894-11/5/1895. The 1895 film was checked in Colindale and there was no chess; also this was apparently the end of publication.

Evening Herald. Dublin. (WAT 1321) Chess column in Saturday edition (called the *Weekly Herald* in many years), by J. A. (Porterfield) Rynd from 5 Mar. 1892 to 15 Aug. 1914, but perhaps not always written by him. The content of the column is sometimes very strange, suggesting mental illness. During a more lucid period, in the second half of 1903 at least, 'M. W.' [= Moffatt Wilson?] was probably (assisting) the editor. Rynd was certainly writing the column around 1912-14 until the column ceased soon after war broke out. T. B. Rowland revived the *Herald* column on 9 Dec. 1922 and there were other editors after him, usually in charge of running the Irish Correspondence Chess Championship (which was run by the *Belfast News-letter* when it was the only column).

AVAILABILITY: MF at NLI and Dublin City Archive, Pearse St.

Four-Leaved Shamrock, The. Chess magazine edited by Mrs Rowland between January 1905 and July 1914. Originally subtitled '*An Irish monthly paper devoted to the royal game of chess*'. Actually sometimes bi-monthly, sometimes quarterly, irregular. Usually four pages; some double issues and photographs.

AVAILABILITY: Almost complete in NLI (minus a few excisions). Partial sets in BL St Pancras (fortunately including the parts missing in Dublin) and in Cleveland.

Irish Chess Chronicle, The. (WAT 1784 but misleading; see p. 92 for details.). Two series published, edited and published by Alfred S. Peake. **Manuscript series** (reproduced by

tryptograph, cyclostyle or similar device): Seven issues from No. 1 (10 Jan 1887), no. 2 (1 Feb), fortnightly (it used the term 'bi-monthly' incorrectly) to no. 7 (15 Apr.). **Printed series** (fortnightly) from 1 May to 15 Dec 1887.

AVAILABILITY: originals and MF at John G. White Collection, Cleveland, Ohio. Printed series (only?) at the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag.

Irish Field & Gentleman's Gazette. A ghost. Checked 1902 following A. J. Gillam ref in Whyld. Only one article found: 15 Feb. 1902, not a regular column.

Irish Figaro. (WAT 1879). 6 Feb.-27 Nov. 1897 by Mrs Rowland. (NOT Jan. 1897-9 as Whyld stated.)

AVAILABILITY: NLI hard copy.

Irish Fireside. 1883-5 and 1887. (WAT 1742: under *Weekly Freeman's Journal*). A free supplement with the *Weekly Freeman* on Saturdays and sold separately on Mondays for a penny. Chess column by George Frith Barry from first issue, discontinued after 16/9/1885. Apparently no chess in 1886. New column, apparently by Mrs Rowland, in 1887 (15 Jan-3 Sept.).

AVAILABILITY: NLI hard copy (except July-Dec 1886).

Irish Sporting Times. According to the Rowlands, possibly following G. A. MacDonnell, '...the first chess column that appeared in Ireland was in the *Irish Sporting Times*, some thirty years ago. It was conducted by Mr J. A. Conroy.⁷ See p. 95. There are references to it in *C.P.C.*: 1861, p. 361, and 1862, pp. 4-6. This is certainly not the 1876 paper of that title (14 Mar.-18 Apr.; WAT 2043), which was associated with the *Irish Sportsman* and has no chess. Nor can a trace of the 1861-2 *Irish Sporting Times* be found in libraries today or the press directories of those years. The likeliest explanation is that it was not an independent title but a supplement with Saturday editions of the *Irish Times* which has not been preserved in the files of that paper which have been microfilmed and digitised. The best evidence in favour of this argument is that the *Irish Times* report on Thurs. 26 Dec. 1861 of the Belfast-Dublin telegraph match refers in its introduction to the earlier Liverpool match 'fully reported in our paper, 2nd November'. The microfilms and digitised *Irish Times* of Saturday 2 November contain no such report. AVAILABILITY: None traced.

Irish Sportsman. (See WAT 2044 but they seemed to be puzzled by this paper.) The title change from *Irish Sportsman and Farmer* occurred before the chess column by Thomas Rowland (apparently assisted by Frideswide Beechey) running from 8 (not 15, as Whyld said) Dec. 1883 until 21/11/1885. Whyld (following Murray) names Peake from 18/12/1885, preceded briefly by K. A. Rynd from 28/11/1885. As he was only born 9 Oct. 1873 (birth cert) this seems implausible but he is known to have been keen on chess well before this; presumably his father helped him. A. S. Peake ended 30/11/1886 after attacks on Rowland. Column resumed under J. A. Conroy in Jan. 1887, ending 22/3/1890. No evidence that Rowlands involved, *contra* Whyld (following Murray

⁷ F. F. & T. B. Rowland (eds.), *Chess Player's Annual and Club Directory* (4th ed., London & Dublin 1890), p. 32. G. A. MacDonnell said the same in *Knights and Kings*, p. 168; these editors all knew Conroy so this statement is probably correct.

lists), but Conroy (now living in Listowel) was friendly with them and thanks them for help; in 1889 the *Mail* and *Sportsman* columns disagree over the history of Dublin clubs. Publication continued as *Irish Field* (q.v.) in 1894 without regular chess.

AVAILABILITY: MFs in NLI and Colindale.

Irish Sportsman and Farmer. (WAT 2044). Chess 19 Nov. 1870-4 Feb. 1871, 18 Feb and 8 Apr. 1871. Edited by J. A. Rynd, possibly assisted by Thomas Long, beginning correspondence tourney. *See also Irish Sportsman* (later column after title changed).

AVAILABILITY: MFs in NLI and Colindale.

Irish Times. (WAT 2067). A 'ghost' in Whyld, who gives 1879-1906. Several dates checked without seeing anything. The column meant was probably the one in the *Weekly Irish Times* (q.v.). The *Irish Times* has occasional news reports on chess: they can be searched in the digitised subscription archive.

Irish Weekly Mail and Warder. (WAT 2095). Successor title to the *Warder* (q.v.) with Mrs Rowland column from 18 Sept. 1915-30 Dec. 1916 (no chess in 1917). Whyld says 'Weekly edition of *Daily Express*, of which *Dublin Evening Mail* is evening ed.' That statement about a connection between the Mail and Express is questionable.

AVAILABILITY: Colindale; this was a title change of the *Warder* (q.v.).

Irish Weekly Times. Definitely a 'ghost' in Whyld. See the correct title *Weekly Irish Times* for information.

Kingstown Monthly. (WAT 2226). Published and edited in Kingstown (Dun Laoghaire) by Thomas Benjamin Rowland, Jan. 1894-Mar 1898, then relaunched as *Kingstown Society* (q.v.). Chess column by Mrs Rowland from second issue. Problem tourneys and correspondence events.

AVAILABILITY: Colindale has a complete set (some on MF).

Kingstown Society. (WAT 2227). Successor to *Kingstown Monthly* by the Rowlands, Apr. 1898-Apr. 1907. Chess column by Mrs Rowland until end of 1904; she may have edited the whole paper. No chess from 1905 as it transferred to *The Four-Leaved Shamrock* (q.v.). Problem tourneys and correspondence events. Numbering becomes strange in final years. Statement in Whyld that the title changed to *Kingstown Visitor* in 1904 is incorrect.

AVAILABILITY: Colindale has a complete set for the years with chess, but the last three years have several issues missing. The numbering of issues in later years does not make sense.

Kingstown Visitor. A 'ghost' in Whyld. See *Visitor*.

Newry Commercial Telegraph. (WAT 2814). Not strictly a chess column, but included here because it was the first regular series of chess articles in an Irish paper, for several weeks in the summer of 1841. Articles were found on 5, 15, 22 & 29 June; 15 and 27 July; 5 & 21 Aug, 2 & 16 Sept., & 5 Oct. 1841. Also some reports on *Staunton v Saint-Amant*, Dec 1842-Jan 1843. No chess was seen in 1840. Probably written by George Cochrane.

AVAILABILITY : (MF) Irish & Local Studies Library (Armagh); British Library Newspapers, Colindale; also believed to be in Newry Public Library.

Northern Whig. (WAT 2883). Begun 1886 (?) by unknown editor. Hiatus early in 1888. Resumed with new chess editor, W. Campbell, who also ran the column in the *Belfast News-Letter* (q.v.). Content of the two columns was often the same according to David McAlister, until 1911 when W. Marks became *Whig* chess editor. End-date maybe 1916 says Whyld. Chess Thursday or Friday said Whyld.

AVAILABILITY: Belfast Newspaper Library; NLI (incomplete in early years); Colindale.

Our School Times. Derry (the magazine of Foyle College?). 10/1878-9 chess column by W. H. S. Monck, who also wrote articles on logic for the magazine.

AVAILABILITY: unknown. This periodical is mentioned in some primary sources and Whyld, but not in WAT.

Practical Farmer. Rowlands' *Directories* said there was a column c. 1882 but did not name the chess editor. This title is unknown to NLI and WAT, while BL (St Pancras) has the first issue (Sept. 1875) of *Goulding's Practical Farmer*: this was probably the title meant but there was no chess in that number.

Rathmines School Magazine. Monthly school magazine; not in WAT. Chess by Thomas Long, in Nov. 1872-June 1873 (except Feb.), and in Sep.-Oct. 1873 issues. Some other issues of the magazine (without chess) are in TCD Library.

AVAILABILITY: British Library, St Pancras.

St Patrick's Chess Club Pamphlet. (WAT 3238). Weekly from No. 1 (23/3/1885) to No. 7-8 (undated: May?). Manuscript magazine, for members of the St Patrick's Chess Club, Dublin, around the time the Irish Chess Association was founded. Editor not named. Reproduced by typograph. Reissued with some minor changes as a booklet in 1887. See p. 92.

AVAILABILITY: Cleveland has both; the 1885 version is now microfilmed.

Sligo Independent. (WAT 3307). A 'ghost' in Whyld: the column was in the *Sligo Times*.

Sligo Times. Column by R. L. Clarke 20/2/09-24/1/1914 (entire life of paper, edited by the father of R. M. Smyllie). This column is not in Whyld.

AVAILABILITY: Colindale, NLI (MF).

To-day's Woman. (WAT 3501). Short-lived (Dec 1894-Dec 1896) Dublin weekly with Mrs Rowland column 28 Mar.-26 Dec. 1896.

AVAILABILITY: Colindale.

Visitor, The. (WAT 3661/ 614). Apr.-Sept. 1904 (chess editor: Mrs Rowland). There are various passing references in Rowland publications but the publication, not mentioned in newspaper catalogues, proved hard to identify. It was earlier known as the *Church of Ireland Temperance Visitor*; but retitled *The Visitor*. Its editor (T. S. Lindsay, the Incumbent of Malahide) was a correspondence opponent of Mrs Rowland in 1903-4.

AVAILABILITY: In St Pancras. (NLI has earlier years but not this one.)

Warder. (WAT 3669). Saturday paper with Irish content derived from the *Dublin Evening Mail* (q.v.) but sold in Britain, including the Rowlands' chess column. Ran approx. 1886-1902 (the column in 1902 was running one week behind the *Mail* and so ended on the first Saturday of April.)

AVAILABILITY: From 1889 in Colindale. Not in Irish libraries.

Weekly Herald. Dublin. Correct title of the Saturday edition of the (Dublin) *Evening Herald* (q. v.) in some years, but included in the files/ microfilms of the evening paper.

Weekly Irish Times. (WAT 3751). Chess by A. S. Peake 1879-82 (irregular after 1880 and ended early 1882), then by Mrs Rowland 1895-9, 1902-1914. Whyld misleadingly says problem tourney 1882 (just an award for best problem published in 1881), 'irregular in 1886' (actually no chess column at all). A new column by Mrs Rowland said (e.g. in the *English Mechanic*) to be starting in early 1889 did not happen, as shown by the electronic database edition of the *Irish Times*. Her column did begin 23 Feb. 1895 but Irish libraries do not have it until 1897. Interrupted by Boer War after Christmas 1899. Resumed Nov. 1902. Last chess appeared on 8 Aug. 1914.

AVAILABILITY: NLI has 1897 onwards on MF. Only Colindale has complete run on MF, but everything is now available in the *Irish Times* digitised archive subscription.

Weekly Northern Whig. (WAT 3797). First chess article 22 Feb. 1862. Column begins 8 Mar. 1862, continuing weekly (bar some weeks) until 16 Jan. 1864. Then 20 Feb, 5 Mar, 2 Apr. Revived with problem 100 on 29 Oct. 1864 until 7 Apr. 1866 (bar odd weeks). Then 30 June, 7 July, regular 21 July 1866 to 22 Dec. 1866. Returns 26 Jan.-2 Mar. 1867, 16 Mar., 20 Apr. -17 Aug. (bar 8 & 22 June), then 31 Aug., 19 Oct.-23 Nov. and 24 Dec. 1867. In 1868, only on 11 & 25 Jan., 7 Nov., 14 Nov. and the last one 5 Dec 1868. Whyld made no distinction between the *Northern Whig* (which revived chess in 1886) and the *Weekly Northern Whig*, listing everything under the former.

AVAILABILITY: Belfast Newspaper Library and Colindale (MF).

Wesley College Quarterly. (Not in WAT.) Magazine published by Methodist secondary school in south Dublin from July 1881. Chess began mid-1888, with a problem tourney and games, but the magazine became more for the pupils (final issue with some chess was Oct./Nov. 1897). Editors: R. F. Crook, A. T. Bassett (from Jan. 1 892), & William E. Thrift (from Aug. 1893).

AVAILABILITY: No complete set is known. University of Kansas Library has the first twelve issues (July 1881-Aug. 1884). Cleveland has issues 3/ and 4/1888 and all four issues of 1889; scans have been donated to TCD Library. Wesley College and TCD have many later issues but there are gaps. The July 1890 and October 1891 issues are the only ones found from those two years.

II c) British chess columns to 1850, complete list (chronological)

THE following table is intended to correct the one in K. Whyld & C. Ravilious, *Chess Texts*, p. 149, but for British columns only. Theirs also includes overseas columns, but also some articles that are not columns, and some errors. The Whyld and Ravilious table also does not include the end-date of columns mentioned.

From	To	Title	Place	Chess editor	Finding/ notes
9 July 1813	20 Aug 1814 *	<i>Liverpool Mercury</i>	Liverpool	Egerton Smith	COL (incomplete); Liverpool ?
13 July 1819	17 Oct 1820	<i>Kaleidoscope</i>	Liverpool	Egerton Smith	BL; UMI; CLE
5 Oct 1823	28 Mar 1824	<i>Lancet</i>	London	Thomas Wakley	In vols 1 -2, widely available
6 July 1824	23 June 1829	<i>Kaleidoscope</i>	Liverpool	Egerton Smith	BL; UMI; CLE
4 Jan 1835	30 Aug 1873	<i>Bell's Life in London</i>	London	George Walker	BL; BOD (Walker retired May 1873)
9 May 1840	5 Dec 1840	<i>New Court Gazette</i> [<i>Court Gazette</i>]	London	Howard Staunton	COL (title change 3 Oct.)
8 Sept 1840 *	21 Oct 1846 *	<i>Bath and Cheltenham Gazette</i>	Bath	Elijah Williams	COL
Feb 1841	April 1841	<i>British Miscellany</i>	London	Howard Staunton	BL (part 3, April only)
2 Jan 1841 *	28 Dec 1844 *	<i>Saturday Magazine</i>	London	Charles Tomlinson	BL
25 June 1842	30 Dec 1843 ->	<i>Illustrated London News</i>	London	unknown	widely available; irregular 1843-4
16 Nov 1844	15 Feb 1845	<i>Illustrated London News</i>	London	Member of London CC	widely available
5 Feb 1845 *	8 Jan 1848	<i>Pictorial Times</i>	London	unknown	COL (merged with <i>Ladies N.</i> 1848)
22 Feb 1845	June 1874	<i>Illustrated London News</i>	London	Howard Staunton	(S died 22/6 but 27/6 may be his.)
1846 *	June 1847	<i>South Devon Literary Chronicle</i>	Plymouth	unknown	BL (1847 only)
June 1847 *	31 Jan 1851 *	<i>Glasgow Citizen</i>	Glasgow	A. G. McCombe	COL (not 1847)
15 Jan 1848	25 Oct 1851 *	<i>Lady's Newspaper</i>	London	Staunton?	COL (transferred from <i>Pictorial T.</i>)
22 July 1848 *	21 Feb 1852 *	<i>Gateshead [& Co. of Durham] Observer</i>	Gateshead	unknown	COL: titles listed separately
1 May 1849	27 Oct 1854	<i>Family Friend</i>	London	D. Harrwitz (from vol 2)	BL; vol. 1 editor unknown
7 July 1849	June 1854	<i>The Home Circle</i>	London	Henry Cook Mott	BL (vols 1 -9); John Rylands (M'chstr)
16 Nov 1849	26 Sept. 1850	[<i>Illustrated</i>] <i>Historic Times</i>	London	Elijah Williams	COL (some late issues wanting)

II d) Selected British chess columns 1813-1914 (alphabetical)

TITLES included here are major columns, ones requiring corrections to Whyld's *Columns*, or others which require comment of some kind. The list also includes some titles not found, about which there are queries and where this information may provide a starting point for future researchers. More minor columns and corrections can probably be found. Major columns can usually be determined by citations in their contemporaries. It was not possible to see every long-running column, if not known to be involved with correspondence chess. Columns that have the reputation of being mostly about chess problems were usually not read.

Amateur World. Monthly leisure miscellany edited in Norwood, London. Chess by James T. Palmer from 1/1876 to final issue 5/1878. Ran four postal chess tournaments. AVAILABILITY: Cleveland. (BL has only the first issue, no chess.)

Argus and Express. Ayr, Scotland (Whyld incorrectly has *Ayrshire* at start of title). Weekly paper with chess 6 Apr. 1878 to 27 May 1882 (irregular in final months). Column said by Whyld to be 'probably by Frank Norton', with 'F. Morton' and 'Whorton' given as alternates. However, the Postcard match v USA was organised by Hugh Bryan of Ayr and William T. Morton of Ayr was on the team, so he seems a plausible candidate.

Ashore or Afloat. London. Unimportant magazine, except for the chess column by Steinitz from July -Sept 1883. Steinitz's resignation announced on 14 Sept. Afterwards a dull chess column (to final issue of 11 Jan 1884). Whyld's information seems correct.

Aylestonian, The. School magazine in Herefordshire with chess, c. 1890, according to *Waterloo Directory*. Not in Whyld.

Bath and Cheltenham Gazette. Bath. Elijah Williams column (mostly problems, some games) from 8/9/1840-21/10/1846, but with gaps; see p. 85.

Bell's Life in London. George Walker column from Jan 1835 to May 1873, with a few further articles in 1873. See pp. 101-3 for a detailed discussion.

Birmingham Mercury. Weekly paper which closed 1858. Column by T. H. Lowe, 4 Mar. 1854 to 6 Dec. 1856, organising a correspondence tourney; see also pp. 236-7. NB: The title, contra Whyld, was not *Birmingham Weekly Mercury*.

Black and White. London. Column by Hoffer from 4 Mar. to 5 Aug. 1893. See articles by Tim Harding at www.chesscafe.com/text/kibitz101.pdf & www.chesscafe.com/text/kibitz102.pdf.

Bow Bells. London. Column from Dec. 1873 (vol. xix, no. 490) to Dec. 1884 (vol 41, no. 1064) and revived Dec. 1885 -28 Dec. 1887 (by C. F. Potts who said his late father started the puzzle page). *Bow Bells* was relaunched 6/1/88; chess re-started 26/7/89 and ran to 26/12/1890, when the column abruptly ended.

Bridlington Free Press. Syndicated column by 'Captain King', c. 1903-4 at least (not in Whyld; discovered by Chris Williams).

Brief: The Week's News. London news digest. Chess by Francis Collins, mostly about problems but some London club news, from 19/1/1878 (Whyld)-Feb. 1881 (end of publication). Includes early problems by Beechey in 1880. Original title was *Brief of the week*; changed during 1881 to *The week's news*.

Bristol Mercury. See p. 301: Rowland column weekly in Saturday issues, from 2/2/1884 (following a big overview article about the Bristol & Clifton Chess Association on 26/1/1884) until 26/12/1896. (Whyld confusingly has a second entry under 'Mercury and Post'.) Articles include local material and some copy that also appears in the *Dublin Evening Mail* and *Sheffield Weekly Independent* columns. There was possibly a twentieth century column by so mebody else.

Cambrian, The. Swansea. One of the earliest Welsh chess columns, ed. James Glass 1891-3 (possibly later). See pp. 312-13.

Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper. London weekly. Chess column by H. C. Mott throughout life of the paper: Dec. 1853-Mar. 1867. (Chess not ending 12/1863 as Whyld stated.) Several correspondence and problem tourneys; see pp. 111-13, 121-2, and 237-9. In the British Library except for volume XIII (28/11/1863-21/5/1864, found in the Bodleian); some volumes in NLI. Cleveland has a scrapbook with all (or almost all) the chess columns, available on microfilm.

Court Gazette, The. See *New Court Gazette*.

Cricket and Football Field, The. Bolton sporting weekly. Chess 1892-1915 says Whyld. Correspondence tourney 1908-10.

Croydon Guardian. Weekly. Chess by Joseph Steele 1877-85 says Whyld. Correspondence tourneys 1882-5 but several years unfit for use in Colindale.

Derbyshire Advertiser. Weekly. Chess by Fred Thompson 1878; column ends 21 May 1880. The MF for 1879 was missing when sought (may be refilmed).

Dudley Herald. 25/4/1891-1/6/1895. Edited by George Bellingham throughout. Correspondence tournament in 1893-5.

Dundee Courier & Argus G. B. Fraser column from 14/7/1862-19/1/1864. Not seen at a later date. Whyld mentions 1893 as a possibility (title then was *Dundee Courier*) but nothing was found in spot checks; there is no mention of such a column in Fraser-Whyld correspondence.

Edinburgh Magazine. Ed. Alexander E. Sutherland. July 1872-June 1873 (B.L. lacks Jan.-May 1873). Chess by James White (with tourney). Definitely published in Edinburgh. See p. 244.

English Mechanic and World of Science. London. Long-running column: six correspondence tourneys between 1882 and 1894. Editors were J. W. Abbott (7 June 1872-Oct 1876), then to Mar. 1892 by James Pierce; on death of Pierce, after some discussion with readers, the column resumed on 20 May 1892 with an anonymous editor. Whyld named W. T. Pierce until about 1899, then J. P. Taylor, but W. T. Pierce only ran the final tourney. In volume lix (6 Apr. 1894), p. 162, A. G. Fellows is informed: 'We do not understand your post-card. Mr Pierce is not Chess Editor of "E.M.".' Last volume seen was 62 (to 14 Feb. 1896).

Era, The. London weekly. Löwenthal chess column ran 19/2/1854-29/4/1866. Anonymous column from 17/6-4/11/1866 also 6/1/1867 (irregular); 'new series' (problems from #1) began 10/2/1867 to 28/12/1873. Fraser attributed this series to Duffy (see p. 109, n163) and attitudes sometimes expressed in the column support that view. Whyld, noting a break after 6/1/1867 until 10/2/1867, apparently did not look at 1866, despite the fact that several other columns and magazines reported the explicit April 1866 'retirement' of Löwenthal.

Evening News and Star. Glasgow. (Listed by Whyld as *News and Star*.) Chess by Hugh Bryan (a continuation of the column in *News of the Week*) ran 3 Jan.-13 June 1878 only. See p. 215.

Examiner-News. Cardiff 1892? Probably a 'ghost' in Whyld. No such title in the British Library or *Waterloo Directory*.

Falkirk Herald. Whyld says chess column by A. J. Neilson, 1894-1942. Edinburgh Chess Club scrapbook of columns (to at least 1914) was seen.

Family Friend London fortnightly (weekly from June 1852), with chess May 1849-Oct. 1854 (6 vols). Chess column in volumes 2-6 is edited by Harrwitz; internal evidence suggests he did not edit volume 1. Volumes from 1862-3 which Whyld said have chess were not found at the B.L. when requested.

Family Herald. London weekly. Chess only in vols. 16-17: no. 783 for 1 May 1858 had 'First steps in chess' by Tomlinson, who soon handed over to Löwenthal; last chess on 28/4/1860. Later column (1902-16) was mostly problems, in scrapbook at Cleveland, not studied.

Field, The. London weekly: see pp. 112, 114-16. (Original full title: *The Field, the Farm, the Garden, the Country Gentleman's Newspaper.*) The first column was Williams 1/1/1853-mid-1854; irregular in the second year. Whyld says it ended 28/10/54 but Williams had died in September. Chess resumed with Boden 24/4/1858-28/8/1869. Editorship between then and the accession of Steinitz is unclear. Whyld says Boden to 3/70 but there is no obvious change at that point; it appears possible that a new columnist was hired when the column restarted in Jan. 1870. De Vere is generally agreed to have been editor in 1871. Authorship in 1872 is unclear. Steinitz took over in 1873, in January according to his biographer, and his reign ended in July 1882 as recorded on p. 115. Thereafter Hoffer (Aug 1882-Aug 1913) and Burn.

Figaro, The. London from 1870 (title changed to *London Figaro* after 1880). The paper was edited by James Mortimer, who was a chess expert himself. Column 17/2/1872-July 1876 edited by Löwenthal; then Steinitz 2/8/76-1882. Landsberger, *Steinitz* p. 63, incorrectly states that Steinitz wrote in the *Figaro* from January 1873, but the start-date is clear. The column however is short and functional, lacking news and opinion, which Steinitz had to express elsewhere. Briefly the *London Figaro* had a later column by Chatto 2/7 -15/10/87.

Football Field. See *Cricket and Football Field*.

Gateshead Observer. Earliest column on Tyneside; editor unknown but possibly Silas Angas. Regular chess articles began 26/8/1848 (some games earlier but not on the date stated by Whyld) and apparently appeared most weeks until 21/2/1852 (Whyld). The title was *Gateshead and County of Durham Observer* from 14/4/1849-27/12/1851 and then changed back.

Gentleman's Journal. London; weekly with monthly supplement. See pp. 112 and 242. Column by H. F. Meyer, from Nov. 1869-Oct. 1872 (life of periodical).

Glasgow Citizen. First Scottish column: June 1847 to 31/1/51 says Whyld. (1847 unavailable in Colindale.) Editor A. G. McCombe emigrated to Australia.

Glasgow Weekly Herald. Column begun by John Jenkin 2/11/1872 (previously in the *Glasgow Weekly Star*); not clear when he ceased to be editor, possibly 1875 as Whyld says. Editor in next years unclear but the column was still running in May 1879. New column edited by David Forsyth in 1886, but 14/5/1877 reported he was moving to Edinburgh and James Marshall (not

mentioned by Whyld) was named as the new editor. He possibly handed over to Sheriff Spens whom Whyld credits for 1887 -97. Others later.

Glasgow Weekly News. 1878. A 'ghost' in Whyld'; the column referred to is in the *Evening News and Star* [q.v.].

Glasgow Weekly Star. Column by John Jenkin (Jan-May 1872) according to Whyld, before transferring to the *Glasgow Weekly Herald*. Title unavailable until 1874 in Colindale.

Gravesend & Dartford Reporter. A 'ghost' in Whyld' but there were some chess news reports in 1875-6; see p. 153 nn. 112-13. Also on 1 & 22 Apr. the opening moves of correspondence games between Gravesend and the Bedford Institute in London were published. One of these games later appeared in the *Westminster Papers*, x (1 Aug 1877) p. 61, so there may have been further items in the paper.

Hampstead Record. London weekly. Column (not in Whyld) apparently began 1900, ending 6 Apr. 1901. Correspondence tourney.

Historic Times. London (Church of England publication). Date of 1856 in Whyld (p. 192) is an error. Chess by Williams began vol. 2 (no 44, 16 Nov. 1849), p. 286. Seen to 26 Sept. 1850 (vol 4 no 89), chess on p. 189; perhaps the final issue.

Hobbies. London: see pp. 174-5 and 263. Chess started 1/12/1897 and draughts began 16/10/1897. Chess continued almost weekly until suspended on 28/5/1910. Correspondence tourneys were run for both games. The early columnist was Archibald Murray but his successor (from 1905?) is unknown.

Home Circle, The. London; 10 vols from July 1849 to June 1854; chess by H. C. Mott (with assistance from Kling & Horwitz) throughout. Organised the first correspondence chess tourney. See pp. 119-29. Final volume only available at the University of Manchester John Rylands Library.

Huddersfield College Magazine. Monthly, Oct. 1872-Aug/Sept. 1880; see p. 90-1. Chess editor: John Watkinson. The college was a secondary school.

Hull Bellman. Weekly. Chess (ed. J. Crake) from 7 Sept. 1878 to 25 Sept. 1880 when he resigned and Freeborough began chess in the *Hull Packet* instead. Whyld incorrectly states that the title was changed from *Hull Miscellany* [q.v.] to the *Bellman*. They were distinct titles, running simultaneously for a time.

Hull Miscellany and Baker Street Programme, The. Weekly; the title in volume 1 was the *Baker Street Programme and Miscellany: Saturday evenings for the people*. It apparently started as the programme of a Saturday concert series in Hull with additional material (captive audience!) and transmuted into a magazine that lasted to Dec. 1883. Chess (ed. J. Crake) began Jan. 1878 (vol. 2) but on 31/8 (vol. 3) chess (including a correspondence tourney) was transferred to the *Bellman*, his draughts column (which W. E. Leffler had begun in volume 1) remaining in the *Miscellany*. Not in the B.L. until 1881; seen at Hull Public Library. Whyld also mentions a column by Crake 1880-1 in the *Hull Church Gazette*; the local library did not hold this.

Illustrated Historic Times. London. See *Historic Times*. Whyld's *Illustrated Historic News* (immediately above, p. 201) is a ghost.

Illustrated London News. London. See pp. 103-10. The most widely-read chess column in the nineteenth century, circulating globally. Anonymous editors; identity unknown until Feb. 1845; then Staunton (to June 1874), Wormald (to Dec. 1876), Duffy (to Apr. 1888, possibly assisted by people named by Whyld although there is no internal evidence of this); then Abbott. The column was read to 1915 and up to then weeks were rarely missed from 1845 onwards. It appeared approximately fortnightly in the second half of 1923, sometimes with longer gaps. Whyld's statement that there were gaps in 1863 is incorrect.

Illustrated News of the World and Drawing Room Portrait Gallery of Eminent Personages. London. Chess began volume 2, 30/10/1858 after announcement 23/10 that Löwenthal has been engaged. Apparently an inferior copy of his *Era* column; continued to 5/9/1863 according to Whyld.

Illustrated Science Monthly. London. Column by Frideswide Beechey/ Rowland Nov. 1883 to Apr. 1885.

Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News. London. Whyld mentions a column by Wormald in 1874-6. Whyld says the main column by 'Mars' (Rev G. A. MacDonnell) ran Apr. 1879-Aug. 1896 (with a later column by Guest, 16/1/1897-16/6/1900). Chess actually seen irregularly from 11/1/1879; the first 'Chess Chat' by 'Mars' was published 21 June. Material from these columns formed the basis for MacDonnell's books.

Kaleidoscope, The. Liverpool weekly. Two runs of chess by Egerton Smith (1819-20 and 1824-9) with a draughts series in between. See pp. 98-9 and 186-7.

Knowledge. London weekly; see p. 117. Whyld's entry is questionable; there is no internal evidence of Beechey or Fenton involvement. Contributors clearly are Proctor (the editor and proprietor) and 'Mephisto' (Isidor Gunsberg) who was probably chiefly responsible after the earliest issues. First column in issue 1 of 4 Nov. 1881; chess runs through six half-yearly volumes. Later columns by Locock, 1891-1904 according to Whyld.

Lady's Newspaper, The. London. Inherited chess column of the *Pictorial News* on merger 15/1/1848 (no chess previously); continued to 25/10/1851 (problem 332 and game 332). New series, not mentioned by Whyld, 2/8/1856-10/1/1857 (twenty problems). Chess editor probably male: no women's chess news.

Ladies' Treasury. London. Chess columns began Feb. 1876 (not 1874 as stated in Whyld), apparently ending 1 Dec. 1893. Chess editor said to be first Abbott and then Frank Healey (from 1886), both problem experts.

Lads of the Village. London, 'a magazine of universal recreation'; began 18/7/1874. Edited by William Watkins, 'author of *British Sports and Pastimes, The Boy's Own Hand Books &c &c.*' Chess began on 25 July with an obituary of Staunton, lifted virtually verbatim from *Land and Water*; 4 July. After unoriginal items 1 & 8 Aug, chess returns on 5 Sept. with what appears to be

the launch of Chatto's column, but the B.L. and *Waterloo Directory* know of no more issues. We believe it continued because (see p. 246) there are references in the *City of London Chess Magazine* to Chatto running a correspondence tourney during 1875. This title requires more research; can copies of later issues be found?

Lady's Pictorial. London. Columns almost every week from 18/5/1895 to 14 Aug 1897. Edited by 'Mrs Gunsberg' (second wife, née Miriam Clarke) who died soon afterwards. See p. 283.

Lancet. London weekly. Chess in several early numbers, 1823-4, compiled from various sources by Thomas Wakley; not by George Walker. See pp. 99-101.

Land and Water. Important London column. Details in Whyld are largely correct: Löwenthal 27/8/1870-27/12/1873 (Whyld mentions Wisker, which is plausible as L. retired from ill health). Then Duffy from about 4/1876 to Nov. 1877, finally Potter to 29/8/1885; letter from Skipworth 12/9/1885 is the last.

Leeds Mercury Weekly Supplement. Extra section with Saturday edition of *Leeds Mercury*, 27/9/1879-12/1905, edited throughout by James White. A few minor correspondence events organised. Mostly Yorkshire chess news and games. The paper also had a draughts column.

Leisure Hour, The. London monthly. Only occasional chess articles until 1898 (at first included in the 'Fireside Club' section). Regular competitions and column Nov. 1899-Oct. 1905 (final issue).

Liverpool Mercury. Liverpool, 1813-14 (Egerton Smith). See pp. 97-8.

London and Brighton Magazine. Supposed to have a chess column by Chatto from Jan. 1876 but that year untraced. It is believed the magazine ceased with the March 1876 issue.

London Figaro. See *Figaro*.

London Journal. See pp. 111, 240-2. Chess by 'Captain Crawley' 1858-9.

Matlock Register. Matlock Bath, Derbyshire. First Beechey column from 8 Dec 1882-Nov. 1883 according to *BCM*. Copies untraced.

Morning Post. London. Column (by Anthony Guest until his death 29/1/1925) on Mondays from 27/5/1883-30/5/1925 says Whyld.

New Court Gazette. First column by Staunton: 9 May to 5 Dec. 1840; title changes 3 Oct.

Newcastle Courant. Column by William Mitcheson began 14/4/1876 and ran to the end of 1878. Whyld has the start-date and title wrong; it was a weekly paper but that word was not in the title. There may have been a *Newcastle Weekly Courant* with a chess column later in the century.

Newcastle Weekly Chronicle. Column by John Charleton began 20/9/1873 but space very small until late Jan./Feb. 1874 when it starts to be a proper column; ended Feb. 1875. There was a later column in the 1890s.

News of the Week. Glasgow. Column by Hugh Bryan began 2 Nov. 1874 (second issue of the title) and it later organised postal events. After publication ceased Dec. 1877, the column transferred to the *Evening News and Star*.

Norfolk News. Norwich weekly. Column by F. G. Rainger began 20/8/1859 and ran to May 1863. Good coverage of provincial chess in this period.

Northern Figaro. Aberdeen weekly. Chess from 1 May 1886 (by A. J. McConnochie, according to Whyld). Declines in interest in 1889 (new editor?) but chess continued to the end of 1891 at least.

Norwich Mercury. Norwich. Column by Chatto 15/2/1888-28/12/1889 with two small postal tourneys, and a more important column by John Keeble from 1902-1913 with a break in 1911 as stated by Whyld.

Nottingham Guardian. Nottingham, supposedly Beechey from Feb.-July 1884 and then Marriott, with chess said to be on Tuesday. This entry in Whyld's *Columns* (p. 319) is actually ambiguous, because there were two titles at that date: the *Nottingham Daily Guardian* and the *Nottinghamshire Guardian* (the latter probably a weekly from the same publisher). The column was not found in the former on Tuesday or any other day in the first half of 1884, and the Colindale copies of the latter were said to be unfit for use. Also there does not seem to be any reference to such a column involving Beechey or Rowland in primary sources. This possible column therefore remains unresolved and doubtful; it was probably another year and not by Beechey.

Oldhallian. Old Hall School, c. 1880. Not in Whyld and not seen, but mentioned in *Waterloo Directory*.

Our Corner. London monthly, edited by Annie Besant for the Freethought Publishing Company. Chess in the first volume (Jan-June 1883) was not by Gunsberg, as Whyld stated. He was involved from September (*BCM*, iii, p. 385).

Ours: a fortnightly journal. London 1886: MS magazine of the Jews' Free School, Bell Lane, East End. (Source: Jewish Museum website.)

Parlor Journal & London Magazine. Unavailable. Chess supposedly 1860-27/4/1861, including at least one correspondence tourney, but British Library does not hold for these dates. (Contemporary references in *Norfolk News* show spelling 'Parlor' not 'Parlour' as in Whyld.)

Pictorial Times. London. Merged with the *Ladies' Newspaper* [q.v.] in Jan. 1851; numbering of chess problems continued according to G. B. Fraser, letters to White 28/1/1887 and 24/9/1887.

Preston Guardian. Preston, Lancashire, column by J. T. Palmer from 12/11/1879 to 3/10/1883, running two correspondence tourneys. See pp. 247-9.

Recreationist, The. Monthly, 1873-4. It started in Southampton with F. J. B. Peters as editor, James White editing the chess (with correspondence tourneys) and J. Hedley the draughts. There was no May issue, publication being transferred to White in Leeds; Whyld has two separate entries. Peters and White were co-editors from June 1873 to end vol 1 (Jan. 1874). In volume 2 (Feb.-Nov. 1874), when it was a draughts magazine only, White was publisher with Hedley as editor and no more Peters. This publication is held by the Royal Dutch Library.

Review, The: the Country Gentleman's Journal. London. Chess by 'Captain Crawley' from 24/4/1858-17/12/1859 (close of paper). See p. 112.

Reynolds's Miscellany of Romance, General Literature, Science, and Art, London, published by G. W. Reynolds: see pp. 112-3. Chess editor unknown, but column (problems, poor games, answers to correspondents) almost continuously from 4/12/1858 to end of publication (19/6/1869).

Royal Exchange and Weekly Journal of Social Topics. London. Chess from 9 Nov. 1878 to Feb. 1879 (Chatto), then J. T. Palmer until publication ceased 6/12/1879, when postal tourney transferred to the *Preston Guardian* [q.v.].

Saturday Magazine. London, 1841-4: miscellaneous and elementary articles by Charles Tomlinson, not a topical column.

Science Monthly Illustrated. London, 1883-4. Title changed to *Illustrated Science Monthly* [q.v.] in 1884.

Sheffield Independent. 1/12/1883 anonymous (Beechey/Rowland) column began (in succession to Henry Bird, who had retired) in the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*. In 1884 the publishers started the *Sheffield and Rotherham Weekly Independent Budget* [title changed later to *Sheffield Weekly Independent*] and the chess moved to that. The paper also often carried problems by a local man. The Rowland column last appeared on 19/10/1889, its competitions transferring to the *Bristol Mercury*, and a new local editor took over in Sheffield from 26/10/1889.

South Devon Literary Chronicle. Plymouth monthly. Chess supposedly 1846-7. Feeble articles in 1847 (publication ended June); 1846 unavailable in B.L.

Southern Times. Weymouth, Dorset. Notwithstanding the scepticism of some previous writers (see Whyld p. 411) there was such a column, probably conducted by C. T. Atkins, between 12 Feb. and 10 Dec. 1853.

Southern Weekly News. Brighton. Column by Walter Mead from 19/5/1883 to 21/12/1889. Excellent coverage of south-east English chess news, bridging the gap between the *Sussex Chess Magazine* & the *Sussex Chess Journal*.

Weekly Mail. Cardiff: weekly edition of the *Western Mail*, began publication on 12 Feb. 1870 with a chess column from the first issue, probably by Rev. Walter Evans, a leading Cardiff club member. (Whyld had said this column started in May 1871). Possibly the first Welsh chess column; a new column began in March 1884.

Weekly Scotsman. Edinburgh. Chess by D. Forsyth from 4/11/1893-3/4/1897; Whyld lists it under the *Scotsman*.

West Sussex County Chronicle. Chichester 13/11/1878-12/1879? Title slightly different in Whyld; editor probably always G. R. Downer. But 1879 'unfit for use' in Colindale when sought.

Western Daily Mercury. Plymouth; usually Fridays. The publishing history is complicated; in some years (e.g. 1907) the column was repeated in the *Western Weekly Mercury*. Whyld says the first editors (from Aug. 1902) were C. T. Blanshard & P. J. Dancer but in 1903-4 it

was Captain King's syndicated column (as in the *Bridlington Free Press*). From 1905 it was by Blanshard & Co.; later W. Mears with Blanshard contributing items. The column continued until 19/7/1914 at least and Whyld says A. R. Cooper 4/1916-1921.

Westminster Budget. London. 1897 and later. Not in Whyld. Discovered by Chris Ravilious and mentioned in *BCM*.

Westminster Papers, The. Listed in the next section about magazines.

Womanhood. London monthly (edited by Ada Ballin until her death), volumes running Dec-May, June-Nov. Mrs Bowles's column apparently started in issue two (Jan. 1899) and continued until the final issue (June 1907). There were seven issues in the final volume. Correspondence chess tourneys began in volume V; six were played but the result of the final group in the last one was never published. See pp. 263-4 and 283. The British Library set was destroyed in the Second World War; the Bodleian has most volumes.

Wrexham Lantern and Tit-bits. Wrexham, Wales. Not found. Chess from 4 Nov. 1882 edited by Locke Holt, according to the *Preston Guardian*, 8 Nov. 1882, but this title is unknown to the British Library and *Waterloo Directory*.

Young Men of Great Britain. London weekly (2 vols per year). Chess column begun by G. F. Pardon in Jan. 1868 and handed over to Löwenthal, continued until vol. 7, no. 180 (originally 1871 but reissued 1878). Several correspondence tourneys were run. After ten volumes had been completed in 1872, there was apparently a break; the whole series was repeated starting in 1875.

II e) British chess magazines, 1837-1914 (chronological summary)

THIS is a chronological list by start-date of the magazines discussed on pp. 82-93, and including the (mostly minor) ones not mentioned there. Distinct series with the same or similar titles are listed separately. Most titles begin with the word 'The', so it is omitted here. In a few cases, no copies (or only incomplete runs) exist in British or Irish copyright libraries. A detailed breakdown of the 'avatars' of the *Chess Player's Chronicle* (discussed on pp. 85-9) follows in the next appendix. An alphabetical listing of British and Irish chess magazines (including some post-1914) can be found in the main Bibliography on pp. 361-2, but that does not include the few titles that it proved impossible to locate.

Philidorian. London (6 issues, Dec 1837 -May 1838). Ed. Walker.

Palamede. London, 1840-1, incorporating *Games of Chess* and *Curious Chess Problems*. Ed. Huttman: unavailable, see p. 84.

British Miscellany and Chess Player's Chronicle. Vol 1 (May-Oct 1841). Ed. Staunton (successor to the *British Miscellany*: see p. 85).

Chess Player's Chronicle. Vols. 2 onwards: 1841 -Aug. 1856. Ed. Staunton to mid-1854 and then R. B. Brien. See pp. 85-9 and Appendix II f).

Chess Player. London (4 vols, 19 July 1851 to Nov. 1853 [Betts said Dec.]; vol. 3, from Aug. 1852, and vol. 4 were entitled *The New Chess Player*). Ed. Kling & Horwitz. See pp. 83 (n. 30) and 122.

British Chess Review. London (2 vols, 1853-June 1854). Ed. Harrwitz.

Chess Player's Chronicle. London, new series published at the Philidorian Chess Rooms (4 vols. from 1859 to July 1862). The editorship is unclear but Zytogorski was probably most involved: see p. 86 nn. 48-9.

Chess Player's Magazine. London (2 series, 5 vols, July 1863- Oct. 1867). First series ed. Falkbeer (except Dec. 1864); second series ed. Löwenthal.

Household Chess Magazine. Manchester (3 issues, 1865). Ed. by "Toz".

Chess World. London (4 vols, Mar. 1865-Mar. 1869). Ed. Staunton. Subtitled '*a magazine devoted to the cultivation of the game of Chess, etc.*'.

Westminster Papers. London (11 vols, May 1868-Apr. 1879; no issue for Apr. 1869). The title of the first volume was *The Westminster Chess Club Papers*. Also included whist and sometimes other games e.g. croquet and piquet.

Chess Player's Quarterly Chronicle. York (4 vols., each covering two years: 1868-75, but soon became bi-monthly). Ed. Skipworth.

Amateur Chess Magazine: A monthly miscellany of general literature. London (3 vols. from June 1872 to June 1874; retitled *The Amateur* after 5/1873; reduced to quarterly shortly before the end). Ed. Chatto. See p. 246.

Chess Player's Chronicle: a monthly record of provincial chess. Glasgow 1876 (3 issues only). Ed. John Jenkin. See pp. 87-8 and Appendix II f).

Chess Player's Chronicle. New series (sometimes called the Fifth Series), London (16 vols, 1877-1900 with many interruptions). Business management was apparently in Glasgow in 1877; then published by Morgan from 1878 onwards. First four volumes ed. Ranken from 1877-80. From 1881 the format changed and editorship is unclear. See pp. 88-9, especially n62, and Appendix II f).

Recreationist. See columns list, Appendix II d) above.

City of London Chess Magazine. London (2 vols, Feb. 1874-Jan. 1876). Ed. Potter; also vol. 3, no. 1 (only, Mar. 1876) ed. Wisker (that issue is rare).

Huddersfield College Magazine. See columns list, Appendix II d) above.

Chess-Monthly. London. Sept. 1879-Aug 1896 (17 vols). Ed. Hoffer & Zukertort; Hoffer only from Zukertort's death in 1888.

British Chess Magazine. Huddersfield, later London. Annual vols., monthly from Jan. 1881 to date. Edited up to the war by Watkinson, R. F. Green (from Nov. 1887 to 1893), and Isaac McIntyre Brown (to Dec. 1919). The first three volumes are quite rare (not being in any copyright library, although held in the KB, Cleveland, and many private collections.)

Sussex Chess Magazine. Brighton, 13 fortnightly issues (Nov. 1882-May 1883). Ed. Walter Mead, who stopped it when he obtained a column in the *Southern Weekly News*. This magazine is held at the KB.

Blackfriars Chess Journal. Norwich (twelve issues edited by schoolboys F. & G. Howitt, Feb.-July 1884). Not 1936 (misprint in Whyld's *Columns*). A few issues held in the BL St Pancras; Norwich public library may have a full set.

Saint Patrick's Chess Club Pamphlet. See Appendix II b).

Irish Chess Chronicle. See Appendix II b).

Sussex Chess Journal. Brighton, 4 vols. (nos 1-48, Nov. 1889-Dec. 1892). Editor was H. W. Butler (at least for the latter issues). In Cleveland.

Chess Review: a monthly journal for chess and whist. Manchester (ed. N. T. Miniati; five issues in 1892-3).

London Chess Fortnightly. Ed. Lasker, 1 vol (15 Aug. 1892-30 July 1893).

Southern Counties Chess Journal. Brighton; continuing the *Sussex Chess Journal* after the formation of the Southern Counties Chess Union. Betts's bibliography lists them as one entry (item 7-39, p. 40). Ran from vol 4, no. 49 (Jan 1893) to vol 7, no. 4 (Jan 1896). Editors stated to be Crosse and Womersley with the cooperation of W. V. Wilson. In Cleveland.

Chess Chronicle. London (2 vols, numbered 17 and 18; Sept. 1901-June 1902. See Appendix II f). Possibly ed. Hoffer.

Four-Leaved Shamrock. See Appendix II b).

Chess Amateur. Stroud, monthly (24 vols. starting Oct. 1906, ending June 1930). The editor is never named; Frideswide Rowland said it was (W.) Moffat.⁸ Publisher named as Harry Harmer to volume 7; then Stroud News Publishing Co.

Chess Review: a fortnightly magazine. Manchester (three issues in August 1907). Eds. F. Baird and E. Millins. (Not seen: maybe in Cleveland.)

British Correspondence Chess Association Magazine. London. Began in 1909 (probably Oct.), not in 1906 as stated by Betts. Some early issues are unavailable: see pp. 178-9. Publication became irregular from 1914. Editors were: Platt & Dickinson (issues 3-4 at least); J. Jackson (issue 8 at least), Griffiths #13-23 (July 1918); H. E. Matthews #24-29 (1919-1923); #30 (Jan. 1925) unknown; #31 (June 1927) H. Bardsley, and #32 (June 1931) S. G. Duffell.

British Chess Bulletin. London (four issues 1910-11). Ed. Dickinson.

Chess Board. Edinburgh, 1913-15. Manuscript magazine, ed. J. Stewart. Very rare; Edinburgh Chess Club has some issues from volume two.

⁸ *Cork Weekly News* 23 Oct. 1915. Moffat has also been named by Edward Winter.

II f) Publishing history of the *Chess Player's Chronicle* variants

THE history of these magazines is extremely confusing. Here is an alternative break-down of the series, followed by a summary table.

The British Miscellany & Chess Player's Chronicle (volume 1, May to 23 Oct. 1841).

The Chess Player's Chronicle (vols. 2-13, 30 Oct. 1841-Dec. 1852).

The Chess Player's Chronicle (New Series, vols. 1-4, 1853-Aug. 1856).

The Chess Player's Chronicle (Third Series, vols. 1-4, 1859-July 1862).

The Chess Players' Quarterly Chronicle (York; vols. 1-2, 1868-71; bi-monthly from 1869; then vols. 3-4, 1872-75, with the word 'Quarterly' removed from the headers and issue titles but remaining on the volume titles).

The Chess Players' Chronicle: A monthly record of provincial chess (vol. 5, Glasgow, Jan.-Mar. 1876). Edited by Jenkin, keeping volume sequence.

The Chess Player's Chronicle: New series (vol. 1, 1877). Edited by Ranken. Published by Dean and Son, London, and Thos. Murray & Son, Glasgow.

The Chess Player's Chronicle: New series (vols. 2-4, 1878-80). Edited by Ranken. Published by W. W. Morgan, also Dean and Son, London.

The Chess Player's Chronicle and Journal of Indoor and Outdoor Amusements (vols. 5-6, 1881-2). Published by W. W. Morgan, keeping the sequence of volumes from the Ranken years but with a larger page format (later reduced) with some non-chess content. Editor unknown: Betts named 'C. C. Weekly' but there was probably no such person. Publication ceased at the end of 1882.

The Chess Player's Chronicle and Journal of Indoor and Outdoor Amusements. Vol. 7, June 1883-11 June 1884; Vol. 8, 25 June 1884-May 1885; Vol. 9, June 1885-7 July 1886; Vol. 10, 14 July 1886-20 Mar. 1889 (ending with no. 360). It started to break down and become irregular from summer 1887. From this point it is useful to keep track of the issue numbers.

The Chess Player's Chronicle (dropping the subtitle):

Vol. 11. May 1889-Mar. 1891; nos. 361-412.

Vol. 12. April 1891-April 1892; nos. 413-446.

No publication in 1893-4; Whyld noted in *Quarterly for Chess History* 8, p. 461, that the publisher W. W. Morgan died on 23 June 1893; he did not state where he found this information. Morgan's son apparently took over the business.

Vol. 13, Nos 447-483, 13 Mar-20 Nov. 1895. In his article, just mentioned, Whyld placed no. 483 incorrectly in the next volume.

Vol. 14 consisted only of Nos. 484-7, 5-26 Feb. 1896. Then no publication for two years.

Vol. 15 covered 15 Mar. 1899-14 June 1899; Nos. 488-501.

Vol. 16 from 3 Jan.-21 Mar. 1900; Nos. 502-8. (Only complete in Cleveland?)

The Chess Chronicle was the title of the two final volumes:

Vol. 17 runs from no. 509 (4 Sept. 1901) to no. 522 (18 Dec).

Vol. 18 from no. 523 (1 Jan. 1902) to no. 540 (25 June); Betts incorrectly said no. 537 was the last.

Year	Title	Editor	Vol	Frequency
1841	<i>The British Miscellany and Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Staunton	1	1 May -23 Oct
41/2	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Staunton	2	30/10/41-30/4/42
1842	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Staunton	3	7/5-29/10/1842
1843	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Staunton	4	Monthly Jan-Dec
1844	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Staunton	5	Monthly Jan-Dec
1845	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Staunton	6	Monthly Jan-Dec
1846	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Staunton	7	Monthly Jan-Dec
1847	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Staunton	8	Weekly (Sats)
1848	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Staunton	9	Monthly Jan-Dec
1849	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Staunton	10	Monthly Jan-Dec
1850	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Staunton	11	Monthly Jan-Dec
1851	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Staunton	12	Monthly Jan-Dec
1852	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Staunton	13	Monthly Jan-Dec
1853	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Staunton	NS 1	Monthly Jan-Dec
1854	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Staunton/ Brien	NS 2	Monthly Jan-Dec
1855	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Brien	NS 3	Monthly Jan-Dec
1856	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Brien	NS 4	8 issues to Aug
No publication in 1857-8				
1859	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Zytogorksi +?	v1	Third series
1860	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	As 1859	v2	
1861	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	?	v3	
1862	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	?	v4	ended July
No publication in 1863-7				
1868/ 69	<i>The Chess Players' Quarterly Chronicle</i>	Skipworth	1	Quarterly
70/1	<i>ditto (C.P.Q.C.)</i>	Skipworth	2	Bi-monthly
72/3	<i>Chess Players' Chronicle</i>	Skipworth	3	Bi-monthly
74/5	<i>Chess Players' Chronicle</i>	Skipworth	4	Bi-monthly
1876	<i>The Chess Players' Chronicle: A monthly record of provincial chess</i>	Jenkin	5	3 issues only (Jan, Feb, March)
1877	<i>The Chess Player's Chronicle</i>	Ranken	1	New series, monthly
1878	<i>The C.P.C. (ditto)</i>	Ranken	2	
1879	<i>The C.P.C. (ditto)</i>	Ranken	3	
1880	<i>The C.P.C. (ditto)</i>	Ranken	4	
1881	<i>The C.P.C. & Jnl of Indoor etc</i>	Morgan?	5	
1882	<i>The C.P.C. & Jnl of Indoor etc</i>	Morgan?	6	
83/4	<i>The C.P.C. & Jnl of Indoor etc</i>	Morgan?	7	6/83-6/84
84/5	<i>The C.P.C. & Jnl of Indoor etc</i>	Morgan?	8	25/6/84-27/5/85
85/6	<i>The C.P.C. & Jnl of Indoor etc</i>	Morgan?	9	June 85-7/7/86
86/9	<i>The C.P.C. & Jnl of Indoor etc</i>	Morgan?	10	Nos. 309-60
89/91	(no subtitle) 1 st May 89-28 Mar 91	Morgan?	11	Nos. 361-412
1891/2	4 Apr 1891-4 May 1892	Morgan?	12	Nos. 413-446
No publication in 1893-4				
1895	13 Mar. -20 Nov.	Morgan jr?	13	Nos 447-483
1896	5-26 Feb only	Morgan jr?	14	Nos 484-7
No publication in 1897-8				
1899	15 Mar.-14 June 1899	Morgan jr?	15	Nos. 488-501
1900	3 Jan-21 Mar. 1900	Morgan jr?	16	Nos. 502-8
1901	<i>The Chess Chronicle</i>	Hoffer?	17	Nos. 509-522
1902	<i>The Chess Chronicle</i>	Hoffer ?	18	Nos. 523-540

Appendix III) Matches between clubs

THIS appendix lists the known correspondence matches played between U.K. clubs, or between clubs and individuals, between 1824 and 1914, arranged chronologically by start-year. Matches between U.K. and foreign clubs are also included. Only postal-style matches played over a long duration are listed: telegraph or telephone matches completed in one or two sessions of continuous play are omitted. The first part (Appendix III a) also includes minimal information about results and main sources for these matches. In a few cases, a challenge may not have resulted in a match actually being played. Postal matches on the individual opponent basis are not listed here; see Appendix V for them.

For chronological summary lists of tourneys and tournaments for individual players, see Appendix IV, and for detailed results of these individual competitions see Appendix VI. Examples of games of particular interest are to be found in Appendix VIII. The accompanying CD-ROM includes a database with all available game scores and competition information, as that is the only way to conveniently record and preserve the full sporting data without filling numerous volumes with printouts. The purpose of section III b) is to highlight queries that were not resolved, and to correct for the record several oversights and misunderstandings by previous writers. The purpose is not to belittle Pagni, the chief precursor, but to avoid, it is hoped, perpetuation of error.

III a) U.K. inter-club consultation matches to 1914 (summary).

Date	Club	Opponent	Result	Source/ Notes
1824	London Chess Club	Paris	Paris cancelled	<i>Globe and Traveller</i> ; <i>Le Palamede</i>
1824-8	London Chess Club	Edinburgh CC	E. win +2 -1 =2	See Chapter 2.
1825	Liverpool	Leeds CC	Leeds win 1 -0	<i>Kaleidoscope</i>
1825-6	Liverpool	Manchester	M. win + 1 =1	<i>Manchester Guardian</i>
1834-5	Doncaster	Leeds	Doncaster	<i>B.L.L.</i> ; no scores
1834-6	Westminster	Paris	Paris win 2-0	Booklet of match
1835	Doncaster	Newcastle	Not played?	<i>B.L.L.</i>
1837-8	Nottingham	Cambridge	Nottingham 2-0	<i>B.L.L.</i>
1838-9	Leeds	Liverpool	Leeds 2-0	<i>B.L.L.</i> ; book by R. A. Brown.
1839-40	Leeds	Liverpool	Leeds +1 -0 =1	<i>B.L.L.</i> ; R. A. Brown
1839-40	Ballinasloe	Dublin Philidorean	Ballinasloe +1 =1	<i>B.L.L.</i> ; scores unpublished
1839-40	Bristol Chess Club	Howard Staunton	Staunton +1 =1	<i>Court Gazette</i> ; <i>B.L.L.</i>
1840	Nottingham	Huddersfield	Nottingham 2-0	<i>B.L.L.</i>
1840	Maryport	Inverness	Maryport 2-0	<i>B.L.L.</i> ; no score for #2
1840	Wakefield	Huddersfield	Wakefield 1 -0	<i>B.L.L.</i>
1840-1	Yarmouth	[King's] Lynn	Unknown	<i>B.L.L.</i> (2 games)
1841	Manchester	Wigan	Unknown	<i>B.L.L.</i> , 8 Aug.
1841 -3	Liverpool	Armagh	Liverpool +1 -0 =1	<i>C.P.C.</i>

Date	Club	Opponent	Result	Source/ Notes
1841	Norwich	Maryport	Norwich 2-0 (def.)	<i>C.P.C.</i> (game scores unknown)
1841	Armagh	Richmond	Armagh 1-0	<i>Newry Telegraph</i>
1843	Enfield	Gosport	Draw	<i>I.L.N.</i>
1843	Enfield	Potteries	Potteries 1-0	<i>I.L.N. 1844</i>
1843	Kidderminster	Wolverhampton	2 games, openings	<i>Era</i> 26 Nov.
1844	Rochester M. I.	Maidstone M. I.	1-1 #3 is unknown	<i>Maidstone Journal</i>
1844	Durham	Sunderland	Durham 1-0	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1846	Durham	Stockton-on-Tees	Durham 1-0	<i>I.L.N.; B.L.L.</i>
1846	Surrey	Maryport	Maryport 2-0	<i>Era</i> 21/6; scores unpublished
1846	Preston Institution	Manchester	Possibly unplayed	<i>Preston Guardian</i> 16 May 'about to start'
1847-8	Oxford Hermes	Trinity, Cambridge	Oxford +1-0 =1	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1848	Dundee Angus	Glasgow	Draw	<i>Glasgow Citizen</i>
1848-9?	Cambridge	Wisbech	Cambridge 1-0	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1848	Northumberland	Edinburgh Phil. Institute	Northumberland +1-0 =1	<i>I.L.N.</i>
1848	London Chess Club	Amsterdam Philidor	London 1-0	<i>I.L.N.</i> and others
1849-50	Reading	Cambridge	Reading +1-0 =1	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1849	Wisbech	Cambridge	Draw	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1849	Shrewsbury School	Brighton College	Shrewsbury 1-0	<i>I.L.N.</i> (earliest known inter-school match)
1849-50	Glasgow	Newcastle	Newcastle 2-0	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1849-50	Penzance	Reading	Reading 2-0	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1850-2	London Chess Club	Amsterdam Philidor	½ + London win	<i>Chess Player</i>
1851	Guildford	Penzance	Penzance (2-0?)	<i>C.P.C.</i> (one game known)
1851	Lancaster	Preston Lit. & Phil. Inst.	One win each	<i>C.P.C.; I.L.N.</i>
1851	Dundee Angus	<i>Joseph Kling</i>	Kling 1-0	<i>Home Circle</i>
1851	Wellesley House	King's College School	Wellesley 1-0	<i>B.L.L.</i>
1851	Sheffield Athenaeum	Birmingham Polytechnic	One win each	<i>Family Friend</i> 1852
1852	York Literary & Sci Institute	Dublin Mechanics' Inst.	Dublin	<i>C.P.C.</i> 1853
1852	King's College Sch.	Wellesley House	King's 1-0	<i>Chess Player</i>
1852	Liverpool	Birmingham	unknown	<i>I.L.N.; Liv. Mercury</i> said match started.
1853	Trinity Cambridge	Newcastle	Cambridge 1-0	<i>I.L.N.; Field</i>
1853	Hull	Preston	Hull 2-0	<i>British Chess Review</i>
1853	Aberdeen	Elgin	No moves/result	<i>C.P.C.</i> 1853 p. 313
1854	Richmond	Crosby Hall London	unknown (two games)	<i>Era</i> (early moves only)
1855	Oxford Hermes	Trinity, Cambridge	Cambridge 2-0	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1855-7	Kidderminster	Nottingham	Nottingham 2-1 =1	<i>B.L.L.</i> 5/4 & 3/5/1857
1858	Cambridge Univ.	Hull	Cambridge 2-0	<i>I.L.N.</i>
1858	Blackburn	Preston	Blackburn 1-0	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1858	Cambridge Univ.	Stourbridge	Cambridge 2-0	<i>I.L.N.</i>
1859	Dundee Angus	Aberdeen	Dundee 2-0	<i>I.L.N.</i>

Appendix III: Matches Between Clubs

Date	Club	Opponent	Result	Source/ Notes
1859	Ipswich	Coventry	Ipswich 3-0	<i>Family Herald</i> (one game known)
1859-60	Berwick-on-Tweed	Newcastle	Ber 1½-½	<i>C.P.C.</i> ; <i>Norfolk News</i>
1859-60	Bristol Athenaeum	Cardiff	Bristol 2-0	<i>History of Bristol CC</i>
1860	Reading	Cambridge	Reading 2-0	<i>I.L.N.</i>
1860	Bristol Athenaeum	Worcester Work. Men's Institute	One win each	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1860	Birmingham	Deptford	Two draws	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1860	Birmingham & Edgbaston CC	Windermere College	Windermere 1-0	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1860-1	Bristol Athenaeum	Cardiff	Cardiff 2-0	<i>C.P.C.</i> 1861
1860-2	Berwick-on-Tweed	Edinburgh	Edinburgh 2-1	<i>Berwick Warder</i> ; <i>Lange</i>
1861	Birmingham & Edgbaston CC	Windermere College	Birmingham 1-0	<i>C.P.C.</i> (end of game missing)
1861-2	Hanley	City Road, London	Hanley 1-0	<i>Era</i>
1862-4	Edinburgh CC	Dundee	1-1 then Dundee won in playoff	<i>I.L.N.</i> (2 games only); <i>Edinburgh papers</i>
1863	Nottingham Mechanics' Institute	Stamford	Nottingham 1-0	<i>Era</i>
1865	Cambridge Univ.	Dublin Chess Club	Cambridge +1-0=1	<i>Chess Player's Magazine</i>
1867	Bristol Athenaeum	Cambridge Univ.	Bristol 2-0	<i>Bristol club history</i>
1867	Falkirk Chess Club	Dublin amateurs	Dublin 1-0	<i>I.L.N.</i>
1868-9	Norwich & Norfolk	Bury & West Suffolk	Bury 1-0	Bury club history
1870	Cardiff	Chester	Chester +1=1	<i>Weekly Mail</i>
1870	London St James's	City & Co. of Dublin	unfinished (2)	<i>Land & Water</i> ; <i>Irish Sportsman & Farmer</i>
1870	Newcastle	Sheffield Athenaeum	Sheffield 1-0	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1870-1	Bristol Athenaeum	Birmingham	Bristol +1-0=1	<i>Bristol club history</i>
1871	Bristol & Clifton	Sheffield Athenaeum	Sheffield +1-0=1	<i>Bristol club history</i>
1871	Exeter	Cambridge Staunton	Cambridge 1-1	<i>Weekly Mail</i> , <i>I.L.N.</i> , <i>Field</i>
1871	Sheffield	City of London Chess Club	City of London 2-0	<i>Land and Water</i>
1871	Sedbergh CC	<i>A. B. Skipworth</i>	Skipworth 2-0	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1872	Birmingham Acocks Green	<i>Wellington & Wood</i>	Draw	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1872-4	City of London CC	Vienna	London +1-0=1	<i>City of London Chess Magazine</i> ; <i>The Field</i>
1872-4	Nottingham	Derby	Nottingham 2-0	<i>I.L.N.</i> & match booklet
1873	Cambridge Univ	Bristol & Clifton	Cambridge 2-0	<i>Bristol club history</i>
1873	Halifax	Cambridge Univ Senior Club	Cambridge 2-0	<i>Field</i>
1873	Leicester	Leeds	Leeds +1-0=1	<i>Recreationist</i>
1873-4	Dublin	Glasgow	Glasgow +1-0=1	<i>Land and Water</i> ; <i>Field</i>
1874	Bristol & Clifton	Sheffield Athenaeum	Sheffield 2-0	<i>Bristol club history</i>
1874	Glasgow	Cambridge Sr	Cambridge 2-0	<i>Field</i>

Date	Club	Opponent	Result	Source/ Notes
1874	South London Working Men's Inst.	Dudley	Dudley 1 -0	<i>City of London Chess Magazine</i>
1874	Incognito Chess Club	Bermondsey	Incognito 1 -0	<i>City of L. Ch Mag.</i>
1874-5	Sussex Regiment (Curragh)	Minerva Club, Brighton	NCOs of Sussex Regiment 2-0	<i>News of the Week</i>
1874-6	Nottingham	Ipswich	One win each	<i>Booklet at Notts Co. Archive</i>
1876	Cambridge	Nottingham	Nottingham 2-0	<i>I.L.N.; Field</i>
1876	Manchester	Dundee	Dundee 2-0	<i>I.L.N.; Fraser</i>
1876	Leeds Church Inst.	Hull Church Inst.	1-1	<i>Amateur World</i>
1876-7	Gravesend	London Bedford Institute	Bedford 1 -0 and a fragment	Gravesend paper + <i>Westminster Papers</i>
1877	Cambridge Univ	Birmingham	Cambridge 1 -0	<i>I.L.N.</i>
1877	Burton-on-Trent	Nottingham	Draw	<i>Land and Water 1878</i>
1877	Newcastle	Hull Church Inst.	Newcastle 2-0	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1877	Dudley	<i>T. Long</i> (Dublin)	Dudley 1 -0	<i>Westminster Papers x</i>
1877-8	New Basford Club (Nottingham)	Hull Church Institute	One win each	<i>Westminster Papers</i>
1878	Nottingham M. I.	Hull Chess Club	Two draws	<i>Westminster Papers</i>
1878	Northampton	Rugby	Rugby 1 -0	<i>Amateur World</i>
1878	Manchester	Cambridge Sr	Cambridge 1 -0	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1878-9	Dublin Dawson St	Bermondsey	Dublin 2-0	<i>Westminster Papers</i>
1879	Newcastle	Inverness	Inverness 1; other?	<i>Ayr Argus & Express</i>
1879	Hull Chess Club	Tanfield (Durham)	Tanfield 2-0	<i>C.P.C.</i> (Tanfield = Archdall)
1879-80	Camberwell	Derby	unknown (2)	<i>Derbyshire Advertiser</i>
1879-80	Preston	Chichester	Chichester +1 =1	<i>Preston Guardian</i>
1879-80	Glasgow	Copenhagen	Copenhagen 2-0	<i>Nordisk Skaktidende</i>
1880	Cheadle	Birmingham	Cheadle 1 -0	<i>Preston Guardian</i>
1880-1	Liverpool	Calcutta	Liverpool +1 -0 =1	<i>Field</i> etc. (telegraph)
1881	Brighton	Glasgow Central	Two draws	<i>Chess Monthly</i>
1881-2	Bristol & Clifton	Dublin Dawson Street (Y.M.C.A.)	Bristol +1 -0 =1	<i>Bristol history; Chess-Monthly</i>
1882	Torquay	Bournemouth	B. 1/3, others ?	<i>Brighton Guardian</i>
1882-3	Dublin	Cork	1 draw; other ?	<i>Preston Guardian</i>
1883	Chichester	Hastings	two fragments	<i>South. Wkly News</i>
1883	Cambridge Univ.	Bethlehem Hospital	Bedlam 1 -0	<i>Field</i>
1883-4	Cardiff	Swansea	unknown (2)	<i>Leeds Mercury</i>
1883-4	Glasgow	Edinburgh	Glasgow 2 -0	<i>Glasgow Weekly Herald, C.P.C.</i>
1884-5	Glasgow Central	Hull Church Inst.	Glasgow +1 -0 =1	<i>B.C.M.</i>
1885	Brighton	Bournemouth	Bournemouth 2-0	<i>Southern Weekly News; C.P.C.</i>
1886-7	London, British CC	St Petersburg	Petersburg +1 =1	<i>Intl. Chess Magazine</i>
1887	Bristol Chess & Draughts Club	Bath	Bristol +1 -0 =1	<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i>
1887	Brighton	Bournemouth	Brighton 2-0	<i>B.C.M.</i>
1887	North London CC	Manchester	N. London +1 =1	<i>The Bohemian</i> (1)
1887	Chichester	Lewes	Chichester 1 -0	<i>Southern Weekly News</i> 3 Dec 1887
1888	Lewes	East Grinstead	East Grinstead 1 -0	<i>S.W.N.</i>
1889	Birmingham	Glasgow	Glasgow 2 -0	<i>G. Weekly Herald</i>
1889-90	Clontarf	Milford, Co Armagh	2 games unfinished?	<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i>

Date	Club	Opponent	Result	Source/ Notes
1890	Jersey chess & draughts club	Southampton	Jersey +1-0 = 1 (decisive game)	<i>Sussex Chess Journal</i> 1891
1890	Spennymoor	Hastings	Hastings 1, other ?	<i>Sussex Chess Journal</i>
1890-1	Glasgow	North London CC	Glasgow 2-0	<i>B.C.M.</i>
1891	Bournemouth	Corpus Cambr.	Bournemouth 2-0	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1891	Glasgow Arlington	Dundee	Dundee +1-0=1	<i>I.L.N.</i>
1891	Salisbury	Bournemouth	Bournemouth 1-0	<i>B.C.M.</i> 1892/2
1891-2	Bournemouth	Edinburgh	Edinburgh 1, +?	<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i>
1891-2	Dublin Divan	Edinburgh	Edinburgh 2-0	<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i>
1891-2	Glasgow	Liverpool	Liverpool +1-0=1	<i>B.C.M.</i> etc
1891-2	Ipswich	London Ath'm CC	Ipswich 2-0?	<i>The Field</i> (one known)
1891-3	Brighton	Dublin	Brighton +1-0=1	<i>Southern Counties Jnl</i>
1892	Dublin University	Cambridge Univ	Cambridge 2-0	<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i>
1892-3	Liverpool	Ipswich	One win each	<i>B.C.M.</i>
1893	Ashford	Dudley	Dudley 2-0	<i>Dudley Herald</i>
1893-4	Liverpool	<i>William Steinitz</i>	Steinitz +1=1-0	<i>International Chess Magazine</i>
1893-4	Dublin University	Cambridge Univ.	TCD +1=1	<i>B.C.M.; Wesley College Quarterly</i>
1894	Dublin Chess Club	Birmingham St George's	Birmingham +1-0=1	<i>B.C.M.</i>
1894-5	Liverpool P.O. Telegraph Dept.	Glasgow P.O. Telegraph Dept.	Liverpool 2-0	<i>B.C.M.</i>
1895	Glasgow Central	Birmingham Y.M.C.A.	Birmingham 2-0	<i>C.P.C.</i>
1895	Glasgow	North London CC	Glasgow +1-0=1	<i>Weekly Scotsman</i>
1896-7	Edinburgh	Glasgow	Edinburgh +1-0=1	<i>B.C.M.</i>
1896-8	Liverpool	Birmingham St George's	Birmingham 2-0	<i>The Field</i>
1897-8	Aberystwyth Coll.	Cambridge Univ.	1-1; C. win decider	<i>The Field; B.C.M.</i>
1897-8	Liverpool	<i>William Steinitz</i>	Liverpool 1-0	<i>Deutsche Schachzeitung</i> 1899
1898-9	Edinburgh	Glasgow	Edinburgh +1=1	<i>The Field</i>
1898-9	English civil servants	Irish local govt. civil servants	Draw	<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i>
1901	Edinburgh	Liverpool	Liverpool 2-0	<i>The Chess Chronicle</i>
1903-5	Edinburgh	Rome	Edinburgh +1-0=1	Edinburgh club minutes
1906	Glasgow	Liverpool	Glasgow +1-0=1	<i>B.C.M.</i> (one known)
1906	City of London CC	Messina	London 2-0	<i>The Field</i>
1907-8	Edinburgh	Munich	Edinburgh +1-0=1	<i>B.C.M.</i>
1911-12	Edinburgh	Turin	One win each	Edinburgh CC papers

III b) Corrections and queries about inter-club consultation matches

THIS appendix consists of notes on several of the matches listed above, wherever comments, corrections, or queries arise about the nature of the match, result, or sources. The same sequence of events as above is employed. Carlo Pagni, following his countryman Bassi, is the pioneer of research into these matches, but at least thirty-five of the matches listed above are not to be found in Pagni's works. These matches are not explicitly identified here. In addition to them, the scores were found for several games that he knew about but was unable to include in his publications.

References are frequently made to Pagni (2004) and Pagni (2006), which are respectively his Italian compilation of correspondence matches between clubs up to 1899, and his subsequent English supplementary volume.¹

For the completeness of the scholarly record, this quite lengthy treatment seems necessary, if only to enable clear comparison between his conclusions and those from our research. Several corrections are trivial; others more serious. Where corrections chiefly concern actual moves played, the game scores are to be found in Appendix VIII. In a few cases, this appendix mentions matches included by Pagni but not in the above list. These matches were either not in fact played by correspondence, or else no reliable primary source has been found. Pagni (2006) also includes three appendices concerning games he could not find, but knows or suspects were played. The first, 'Games certainly played: result known'; these are mostly non-U.K. games but a few have been found. Some answers have also been found for his second appendix, 'Games certainly played: result unknown'. As to his third appendix, 'Hypothetical second games', in two cases from U.K. matches, a second game has indeed been found.

It should be noted that Pagni has researched correspondence chess matches between clubs, or clubs and individuals throughout the world in the nineteenth century. This appendix comments mostly on U.K. matches, but a few exceptions have been made in the case of early matches.

1824, Amsterdam v. Rotterdam. Pagni (2004), pp. 7-8; the second inter-club match to start and the first to finish. It is clear that Pagni, like Bassi before him, did not see the primary source for himself, as he cited *Vaderländische Letteröfenigen* del 1829 alle pagine 219-20.² Firstly, he spelled the title incorrectly (it is *Vaderlandsche Letteroefeningen* without umlauts) and secondly, there are two volumes for the year; the article about the Amsterdam chess matches is in the second one ('tweede stuk'). Of course it is not always possible to find such early sources, but the Royal Dutch Library holds this journal. The full span of pages of the article is pp. 217-28.

1825, Liverpool v. Leeds. Further sources were found, one including the game score, whereas previously only the final position was known.³ Pagni sought the 'hypothetical other' but there definitely was only one game: see Chapter Five, pp. 186-7.

1825-6, Liverpool v. Manchester (see also p. 188 n18). The last few moves in each game are incorrectly transcribed from the *Manchester Guardian* in Pagni (2004), p. 9. *B.C.M.*, li (1931), p. 314, included only the game won by Manchester, but the finish was also wrong. John Thomson Boyd later reconstructed the games correctly.

1835 or 1838?, New York v. Washington. Although a slight digression, it would be good to establish when was the first match in the United States. Pagni (2004), p. 19, following Fiske and

¹ Carlo Alberto Pagni, *Scacchi Senza Quartiere: incontri per corrispondenza tra circoli nel sec. XIX* (Rome 2004); *Correspondence Chess Matches Between Clubs 1823-1899* Vol. 4, Venice 2006). References to volumes 1-3 are unnecessary as their contents are included in the more readily available 2004 volume (ISBN88-88756-18-3).

² Bassi's eighth article in *Mail Chess*, iv (Jan. 1949), p. 37, had the journal title correct.

³ *Kaleidoscope*, vi (no. 276, 11 Oct. 1825), pp. 116-7; cf Pagni (2004), pp. 8-9. His guess about the colours was wrong.

Bassi, gives an 1835 date, but no moves.⁴ While a contest then cannot be ruled out, the details given by Fiske appear to match at least partially a two-game match that definitely began in 1838 between players in the two cities but which was probably left incomplete after a dispute. Several American papers printed early moves and a progress report appeared in *The United States Magazine & Democratic Review*, v, (no. 13, Jan. 1839), p.96. Then in *B.L.L.*, 10 Nov, 1839, Walker said he had heard nothing for some time about the correspondence match in the New York club. One game later appeared in *Chess for Winter Evenings* by Hyacinth R. Agnel (New York 1848), pp. 271-272.

1837-8, Nottingham v. Cambridge. *B.L.L.*, 1 Oct. 1837, shows this match began in 1837 not 1838 as stated by Pagni (2004) p. 22. In his game 30 (where Nottingham moved first), White's move 28 was Bb3 and not 28 Bg6 as given by Lange, and by Pagni, following him.

1838-9 and 1839-40 Leeds v. Liverpool. These were two distinct matches, as is evident both from *B.L.L.* and the book by a Leeds player who was involved.⁵

1839-40, Bristol Chess Club v. Howard Staunton. These games are often dated 1841 or even later, e.g. Pagni (2004), pp. 35-7, and in Keene and Coles's book on Staunton.⁶ However, *B.L.L.*, 22 Sept. 1839, refers to these games starting and both were published during 1840.

1840-2, Norfolk (Virginia) v. New York. One of the games of this match is very famous; the other game was known to be drawn but the score was missing. Eric Ruch has found it in a scrapbook of columns in the Cleveland library but with no clear source for the cutting, almost certainly from an American paper.

1843, Game in Leeds: Pagni (2004), p. 40. This comes from Walker's *Chess Studies*, which put correspondence and consultation games in the same section without distinction. It was almost certainly a consultation game between two groups of Leeds club members, but there is no other source to decide the issue.

1843, 'Liverpool v. London'? This game reported by Pagni (2004), p. 40, remains a mystery. That was indeed how the game was described soon afterwards in a French chess magazine,⁷ but it was probably between individuals of these clubs — and possibly over-the-board — as the moves have not been found in an English publication, and there is no corroboration of any such inter-club correspondence match in the usual sources *B.L.L.*, *I.L.N.*, *C.P.C.*, or in the Liverpool club history. Unusually for that time, the opening was a Sicilian Defence. It is also noteworthy that Augustus Mongredien was president of both clubs and also had contacts in Paris, so he is likely to have been the magazine's source. The Manchester chess historian Alan Smith suggests it is possibly a *Perigal v. Spreckley* or *Mongredien v. Spreckley* game.

⁴ Daniel Willard Fiske, *The Book of the First American Chess Congress* (New York 1859), p. 402-3; Bruno Bassi, 'Early Correspondence Chess in U.S.A.', in *Chess Life*, 5 June 1951, p. 3.

⁵ Brown, *Chess Problems* (London 1844).

⁶ R. D. Keene & R. N. Coles, *Howard Staunton: the English world chess champion* (St Leonards on Sea 1975), p. 78.

⁷ *Le Palamède* (Deuxieme Serie), 1844, pp. 416-7: 'Partie qui vient d'être jouée par correspondance entre Liverpool et Londres' ['a game which has just been played by correspondence between Liverpool and London'].

1844, Rochester v. Maidstone. This match, discovered by Adrian Harvey, is discussed on p. 195, but the third game, said to have been started, is unknown. Colindale has an index to the *Maidstone Journal* around this period but there were no references in it to the chess match beyond those already cited.

1844, telegraph games *Baltimore v Washington* Two games are known; see p. 34, n138.

1845, telegraph games '*Portsmouth v. London*'. Pagni (2004), pp. 47-8, and other sources describe these as such, i.e. as inter-club matches, saying that Staunton and Kennedy 'assisted the Portsmouth committee'. It is clear from our discussion on pp. 34 and 107-9 that this was not the case. There was no Portsmouth committee, although Hoffmeister was present.

1846, Trinidad matches. See p. 192. Further research is needed in Trinidad.

1848, London Chess Club v. Amsterdam Philidor Club. A succession of writers have been misled by Van der Linde and some mis-statements in a few English publications into believing this was the first game of a three game match.⁸ The games played in 1850-1 constituted a separate match, as shown on pp. 198-200, and Diepstraten's history of Dutch correspondence chess agrees.

1848-50, Wisbech v. Cambridge. Two games were played consecutively. It is unclear whether these formed one match or two.⁹ As Pagni said, when publishing the earlier game in his 2006 volume (he did not find the other), it is also unknown which of the clubs in Cambridge at that time played the games: the Town club or the Trinity College club.

1849-50, Penzance v. Reading. There is a serious error in Pagni (2004), pp. 63-4. This match was won 2-0 by Reading, not by Penzance; he has the colours reversed for both games (also in his earlier edition). Lange has it right but Pagni perhaps found an incorrect version in a database. The primary sources are *I.L.N.* xvi (23 Feb. & 2 Mar. 1850), pp. 131 & 147; they are also in *C.P.C.*, x (1850) pp. 86-8 (calling it '*Reading v. Cornwall*'). In the game Penzance lost with White, White's last (43rd) move was Qxf2 not Kxf2. The game Reading won with White is in *C.P.C.* x (1850) p88 and *I.L.N.* xvi p147, but is not in Lange.

1851, Guildford v. Penzance. Pagni corrected in his 2006 book what he had said in 2004, where he was misled by Lange.¹⁰ The second game was probably never published.

1853, Trinity College Cambridge v. Newcastle. This match, apparently consisting of only one game (if there was a second, it was not published) may possibly have started late in 1852 but certainly was not played in 1849 as Pagni states.¹¹ It was published in *I.L.N.* xxiii (9 July 1853), p.1 and also in *The Field*, ii (16 July 1853), p. 68, and elsewhere that year.

⁸ On Van der Linde's error, see p. 198 n77.

⁹ The games are in *C.P.C.*, x (1848), p. 182, & *I.L.N.*, xvi (13 Apr. 1850), p. 251.

¹⁰ Pagni (2004), p. 65 should be disregarded; Pagni (2006), pp. 12-13, is correct (except for the common mis-spelling 'Guilford').

¹¹ Pagni (2004), p. 62. Staunton wrote in *I.L.N.*, xxiii (9 July 1853), p. 11 that it had 'just terminated between the Chess Clubs of Cambridge and Northumberland' and as it was only nineteen moves long, it is unlikely to have taken more than four months to play. At some point the Northumberland club was reorganised as the Newcastle club.

1855, Coventry v Northampton This game was included in Pagni (2004), p. 78, but it was not played by correspondence. It was the last of three played as over-the-board consultation games at the Leamington congress and, being incomplete, was afterwards concluded in Northampton.¹²

1855-7, Kidderminster v. Nottingham. This match (apparently for the first club to score two wins) also began at Leamington in 1855 but is more complicated than the previous case. In the first game, a clerical error occurred in writing down one of Kidderminster's moves for the courier to bring to the other room. The case went to arbitration and it was ruled that the precedent from correspondence games should be followed, and accordingly Kidderminster were held to the move they had actually written rather than what they had played on their board. This cost them their queen.¹³ A second game was begun but not finished and it was decided to continue it by correspondence; this ended in a draw and appears not to have been preserved. Kidderminster won the third game and Nottingham won the match by taking the fourth game. The last two game scores have been found.¹⁴

1858, Cambridge University v. Hull. Pagni published a fragment and incorrectly dated it 1849. It was actually 1858, as reported in the *I.L.N.*¹⁵ Pagni [2006] includes the other in his list of 'hypothetical second games'.

1858, Cambridge University v. Stourbridge. Pagni found one game and sought the 'hypothetical other'. These games were both published in the *I.L.N.*¹⁶

1859-60, Berwick-on-Tweed v. Newcastle. Only one of the two games appeared in a national publication; Pagni found it in Lange and thought it was played in 1860, but it began in Nov. 1859.¹⁷ Rainger published both games in the *Norfolk News*; the 'hypothetical other' was found there.¹⁸

1859-60, Bristol Athenaeum v. Cardiff. Care is needed here; Pagni was generally unreliable on Bristol games as he apparently did not see Burt's history of the Bristol club. Pagni (2004), pp. 90-1, correctly gives two games between the clubs from 1859-60 which are stated in Burt to have been played by correspondence, although his statement that this was 'the first correspondence chess match in Wales' ignores the fact that Bristol is in England. Page 313 (n20) shows that at least one earlier correspondence game began in Wales.¹⁹ Then Pagni (2006), pp. 19-20, purports to find two more correspondence games between these clubs but states no source.

¹² *C.P.C.*, n.s. iii (1855), pp. 257 & 303.

¹³ *C.P.C.*, n.s. iii (1855), pp. 257-9.

¹⁴ The course of the match (not in Pagni) is described in *B.L.L.*, 5 Apr. 1857, where the decisive game was published. Kidderminster's win (but with the end somewhat garbled) is in *B.L.L.*, 3 May 1857.

¹⁵ Pagni (2006), p. 62, citing Lange; *I.L.N.*, xxxiv (8 Jan. 1859), p. 43 has the result; the games were published there on 29 Jan. 1859, p. 118.

¹⁶ *I.L.N.*, xxxii (24 Apr. 1858), p. 426. Pagni found the one where Stourbridge was White; it was the other where Stourbridge sportingly forgave their opponents' clerical error (see p. 157 n135).

¹⁷ Pagni (2004), pp. 96-7, originally in *C.P.C.*, n.s. ii (1860), p. 188, & *Norfolk News*, 18 Apr. 1860.

¹⁸ *Norfolk News*, 30 June 1860 and reprinted in the *Newcastle Courant*, 17 May 1878.

¹⁹ John Burt, *The Bristol Chess Club — its History, Chief Players and 23 Years' Record of Principal Events; 151 games by 64 past and present members etc.* (Bristol 1883), games 40-1, pp. 71-3.

Burt explicitly stated that the first of these (his game 48, pp. 81-3) was played over the board at the Bristol Club; the other one (an Evans Gambit) was indeed by correspondence.²⁰ Also Pagni includes a '*Bristol v. Bath 1866-7*' game that Burt says was played at Bath in 1867²¹

A difficulty is that Burt himself was not infallible. Pagni is not to blame for including a *Bristol v. Liverpool* game,²² since Burt said it was played by telegraph in 1862.²³ Yet it was not apparently a telegraph game and definitely not in 1862, as the *Norfolk News*, 28 Sept. 1861, published it, showing it was a Bristol-Liverpool consultation game over the board at the British Chess Association Bristol meeting (with the same players named by Burt). So one cannot rule out, without another source, the possibility that he was wrong about some of the other games.

A telegraph line was indeed established during the Congress between the Bristol Athenaeum and the Divan in London.²⁴ At least one game was played over the wire between consulting committees at each venue, Sir John Blunden (deputising for Lyttelton) being involved at the Bristol end.²⁵ In 1866 another telegraph game (said by Pagni to be postal) was played between the Bristol club and the St George's in London.²⁶

1860, Birmingham & Edgbaston Chess Club v. Windermere College. It is difficult to know whether to characterise this as one match or two. It appears to have been the earliest essay of George Gossip (who was at Windermere) into correspondence chess; he was about eighteen years old at the start. Pagni, who appeared unaware of the Gossip connection, calls it one match.²⁷ Windermere won the first game but then a return game was 'played by correspondence between the secretaries of the Birmingham chess club and Windermere College chess club to further explore the line they tried the previous year'. This time Birmingham won although the final moves were not published.²⁸

1860-2, Berwick-on-Tweed v. Edinburgh. The match was apparently for the first club to win two games, and in all three games were played, the first two starting in Nov. 1860, and there

²⁰ *C.P.C.*, Third Series iii (1861), p. 84.

²¹ Pagni (2004), p. 123; Burt game 51.

²² Pagni (2006), p. 21; the opening moves had been given in Pagni (2004) p. 112.

²³ Burt, *Bristol*, game 47.

²⁴ *Era*, 14 July 1861: 'The directors of the Electric and International Telegraph have, in the most handsome manner, facilitated the arrangements for the proposed Match by Telegraph between Bristol and London.' On 11 Aug. 1861, Löwenthal explained that the Divan was convenient for the company, being only a few hundred yards from its office. Also 15 Sept. 1861: 'There was not one error on the part of the Telegraph.' No telegraph match with Liverpool was mentioned.

²⁵ Published in the Rowlands' obituary of Blunden, *Bristol Mercury* 22/2/1890; not yet found in a contemporary newspaper source. There is a wrongly-dated fragment in Pagni (2004), p. 111.

²⁶ Pagni (2006) pp. 23-4, but see Burt, game 49, pp. 83-4.

²⁷ Pagni (2004), pp. 97-8. The primary sources for the first game are *I.L.N.*, xxxvii (3 Nov. 1860), p. 425 and *C.P.C.*, n.s. ii (1860), p. 327-8, which said 'Game played by correspondence between Birmingham chess club and Windermere College chess club'. Gossip's own *Chess Manual* (2nd ed, New York 1888 [London 1875]) pp. 89-90, said: 'Played by Correspondence in 1860, by the author against the Birmingham and Edgbaston Chess Club, Dr Freeman and Mr Wills representing the club.' To add confusion, this game has been described as *Bindermeier-Birmingham*.

²⁸ *C.P.C.*, n.s. iii (1861), pp. 200-201.

was a summer adjournment in 1861. This match has long been problematic. Lange (1872) obtained information about it, perhaps from a private source, or maybe from an Edinburgh paper as yet untraced. In the Edinburgh club papers there is mention of the committee being selected at the start of the match, but the moves are not preserved in the match book. His book has the third game complete (not saying where he found it) but only the early moves and results of the first two. The *Berwick Warder* (whose editor was involved in the earlier Newcastle match) did publish the game they won, but not the finish of the game they lost (presumably because of the adverse result). Lange said it ended in March 1862.²⁹ The third game presumably began when the first game ended.

1862, Cardiff v. Worcester. Pagni (2004), p. 112, has two fragments taken from an American secondary source. These were probably the opening moves of consultation games played at a British Chess Association congress, or a similar occasion, but no primary source has been traced.

1862-4, Edinburgh Chess Club v. Dundee (see p. 324). Edinburgh played this after the Berwick match, and along the same lines. Two games were played simultaneously, ending 1-1 and after a break, Dundee (principally G. B. Fraser) won the playoff. In this case the Edinburgh club papers do have the game scores and enable us to correct the mistake Fraser made in his transcription of Edinburgh's win: see Appendix VIII. Staunton published only two games. Lange and Pagni did not find the earlier game that Dundee won, unsurprisingly as it had only been published in quite obscure newspapers.³⁰

1868, Grahamstown v. Uitenage. Perhaps the earliest correspondence match in South Africa. Pagni dated it 1869-70, but it was published by Staunton in January 1869.³¹

1870, St James's Club of London v. The City & County of Dublin Chess Club. There was nothing about this unfinished two-game match in the Dublin Chess Club papers. The ongoing games had been published in the *Irish Sportsman and Farmer* on 26 Nov. 1870 and *Land and Water* printed one further move in each game on 17 Dec. 1870. Pagni (2004), p. 135, following a German source, wrongly states that the St. James's Club was in Bristol.

1870-1, Bristol Athenaeum v. Birmingham. Pagni dates one game to 1870-2 and the other to 1872-3 but they were both published in 1871.³²

1876-7, Gravesend v. Bedford Institute, London. This match started around Easter, about the same time as Bevan's tournament described on p. 153. The start of two games was published in the *Gravesend and Dartford Reporter* on 1 and 22 Apr. and then no more was seen but there was insufficient time to read the whole volume. One of the games was later published.³³ Gravesend's opponent was not the city of Bedford but the Bedford Institute in the east end of London, which regularly competed in the chess tournament of the Working Men's Club and

²⁹ *Berwick Warder*, 19 July & 22 Nov. 1861

³⁰ *Weekly Northern Whig*, 16 May 1863, and *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 25 May 1863.

³¹ *L.L.N.*, liv (16 Jan. 1869), p. 74; Pagni (2004), p. 132.

³² Burt, gg. 44-5; Pagni (2004), pp. 136-7; *Land & Water*, xii (8 July & 2 Sept. 1871), pp. 11 & 153.

³³ *Westminster Papers*, x (1 Aug. 1877), p. 61. Compare Pagni (2004), p. 162.

Institute Union. The match was no doubt the idea of Thilthorpe, a Gravesend man who had won the W.M.C.I.U. trophy for the institute.

1877, Cambridge University v. Birmingham. Pagni includes a two-game match *Cambridge v. Birmingham*, for which he cites no source, and says the year was 1860.³⁴ The game won by Birmingham has not been traced to a primary source yet, but was possibly the companion to the other, which was played in 1877. The *I.L.N.* editor (Duffy) wrote: 'The following game was lately played...'³⁵

1877-8, New Basford Club (Nottingham) v. Hull Church Institute. This match was a 1-1 draw. Both games were published in the *Westminster Papers*, but Pagni overlooked one and sought the 'hypothetical other'.³⁶

1879-80, Preston v. Chichester. In his 2006 first appendix, p. 76, Pagni was aware that Chichester won one game and the other was drawn, but he found no moves. They are in the *Preston Guardian* on 2 and 9 June 1880.

1880, Brighton v. Chichester (two telephone games). See p. 219. Pagni (2004) p. 188 had only the second of these.

1880, Newcastle v Hull? Pagni (2006, p. 190) has the opening of a game attributed by Cook's 1910 opening manual to a match between these cities. It is plausible but no primary source has been found yet; it could possibly have been an over-the-board game.

1883, 'Bridgewater v. Dorrington'. The first nine moves are included in Pagni (2004), p. 202, citing *B.C.M.* (1883) p. 128. This was not a game between clubs but between individuals of those surnames. Like the Van der Linde example below, this shows his faulty method, not actually looking at the sources he cites.

1887, North London Chess Club v. Manchester. Reference to this match, concluding in 1887, was found in the Manchester chess history, in a chapter by Alan Smith.³⁷ Manchester drew one game and lost one. Smith quoted the *Manchester Weekly Post*: 'The members have taken no interest in the contest'. The game won by London was found, but not the other.³⁸

1887, Londonderry v. Aberdeenshire. Strictly speaking this was a match between the club secretaries (not named).³⁹ Aberdeenshire was unusual in that it formed a county club before a city club in the 1880s — although there had been the Bon-Accord Club about 1859, which ran an over-the-board tournament and played a correspondence match with Dundee.

1891, Cardiff v. Bristol? Pagni (2006), p. 65, has a twelve-move game from Steinitz's *International Chess Magazine*, 1891. This may be genuine but a British primary source is so far

³⁴ Pagni (2004), p. 99.

³⁵ *I.L.N.*, lxxi (8 Sept. 1877), p. 240.

³⁶ *Westminster Papers*, xi (Jan. 1879), p. 202, is the one he missed. The next issue (Feb. 1879) p. 221, had the one Pagni saw, but Pagni also overlooked the correction in March, p. 232, where A. T. Marriott wrote that it was his brother T. Marriott and not himself who took part in it.

³⁷ Nowell (ed), *Manchester*, pp. 35-6.

³⁸ *The Bohemian*, issue 2 (15 Jan. 1887), pp. 26-8.

³⁹ *Northern Figaro*, iii (6 Aug. 1887), p. 17.

lacking. More dubious is the supposed *London v. Athens*, 1897?, miniature game, found in a computer database (Pagni, 2006, p. 66); if played at all, this is more likely to have been between anonymous individuals. Again, no printed source has been seen and Pagni cited none.

1891-2, Dublin (Morphy's Divan) **v. Edinburgh**. The games of this match were published in the *Dublin Evening Mail* on 17 & 24 Mar. 1892. The one where Edinburgh played White is incorrectly dated by Pagni.⁴⁰

1894-5, 'Copenhagen v. London'? The provenance of this game given by Pagni (2006), pp. 61-2, is unclear but it does not seem to have been a match between clubs.⁴¹ It was really played between Denmark and England, but apparently by individuals: Vilhelms Nielsen and the Kent player C. F. Delcomyn.⁴²

1898, Dublin Chess Club v. Steinitz? As explained on p. 193, this match, mentioned by the world champion's biographer, was not actually played.⁴³ The *Dublin Evening Mail* did say on 1 Dec. 1898 that 'arrangements have been made for a game, to be played by correspondence, between Mr W. Steinitz, New York, and the Dublin Chess Club,' but the club minute book contradicts this, and had the game started it would surely have been reported in Dublin newspapers.

1899, Netherlands. Pagni (2006), pp. 38-9, claimed to have found a game of uncertain date played by the chess historian Antonius van der Linde against the Staunton Chess Club of Groningen. Since Pagni cites the book by Diepstraten in that paragraph, it is incomprehensible how he failed to detect that this game, to be found in that book, was actually played by a chess club named in honour of Van der Linde, and not by the historian himself.⁴⁴ The famous game against the Nielsens of Copenhagen (Pagni 2006, pp. 37 -8), was indeed played by Van der Linde himself, but it was stretching a point to call it an inter-club contest.

⁴⁰ Pagni (2004), p. 257, said 1894-5, misled by an American book, Morgan's *Chess Digest* (1902).

⁴¹ Also given as 1898 in Pagni (2004) p. 279, quoting an American secondary source; in 2006 he quoted *La Stratégie* (1895), but the original publication was probably *Tidskrift for Skak*, 1895.

⁴² Delcomyn's obituary in *B.C.M.*, xlviii (1928), p. 97, said he was a Scandinavian by birth, who had just died about age 65, 'prominently connected with the county of Kent'.

⁴³ Landsberger, *Steinitz*, p. 373, refuted by the Dublin Chess Club minutes.

⁴⁴ Pagni (2006), p. 48. Compare Diepstraten, *Correspondentieschaak*, game 126, p. 91. On the Schaakvereniging Van der Linde in Winschoten, see Scholten, *Schaakleven*, pp. 218-21.

Appendix IV) U.K. correspondence chess tourney lists

THIS appendix consists of two summary tables: one for knock-out tournaments and one for all-play-all events. Detailed results are in Appendix VI, where they are arranged into series by organiser. The chronological order can only be approximate because although start-years are known, the exact dates that many tournaments began are not. Some tournaments took much longer than others to finish. 'No' in tables refers to the number of players.

IV a) Knock-out tourneys to 1914 (chronological summary)

Date	Title	Organiser	No	Winner	End
1853	<i>Home Circle</i>	H. C. Mott	16	C. F. Smith	1856
1854	<i>Birmingham Mercury</i>	T. H. Lowe	16	Unfinished?	1857
1856	<i>Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper-1</i>	H. C. Mott	32	James White	Feb 1860
1859	<i>Family Paper-2</i>	H. C. Mott	32	James White	1864
1859	<i>London Journal</i>	G. F. Pardon	32	Unknown	
1859	<i>London Journal-2</i>	G. F. Pardon		Cancelled	
1860	<i>Parlor Journal</i>	?		Unknown	
1860	<i>Family Paper-3</i>	H. C. Mott	32	Unknown	
1863	<i>Family Paper-4</i>	H. C. Mott	128	unfinished?	
1863-5	<i>Boy's Journal series</i>	G. F. Pardon	16	(3 events)	
1865	<i>Family Paper-5</i>	H. C. Mott	32	unfinished?	
1865	<i>Household Chess Magazine</i> (gambit tournament)	"Toz" (T. Hopwood)		Cancelled	
1868	<i>Young Men of Great Britain-1</i>	G. F. Pardon	32	Unknown	
1868	<i>Y.M.G.B. -2</i>	G. F. Pardon	16	C. W. Benbow?	
1868	<i>Y.M.G.B. -3</i>	G. F. Pardon	16	Unknown	
1869	<i>Gentleman's Journal</i>	H. F. L. Meyer	20	No Result	1872
1870	<i>C.P.Q.C [club]</i>	A. B. Skipworth	4	Sheffield	1871
1870	<i>C.P.Q.C. [individual]</i>	A. B. Skipworth	12	T. Bourn	1873
1871	<i>Irish Sportsman & Farmer</i>	J.A.Rynd/T.Long	16	G. F. Barry?	
1872	<i>Amateur Chess Magazine</i>	J. T. C. Chatto	16		
1872	<i>Amateur 2nd tourney</i>	J. T. C. Chatto	32?		
1872	<i>Edinburgh Magazine-1</i>	James White	8		
1872	<i>Edinburgh Magazine-2</i>	James White	8		
1873	<i>Amateur 3rd tourney</i>	J. T. C. Chatto	?		1874
1873	<i>Amateur 4th tourney</i>	J. T. C. Chatto	?		1874
1873	British Chess Association	J. J. Löwenthal?	16	Ranken	1875
1873	<i>Recreationist-1</i>	James White	16		
1873	<i>Recreationist-2</i>	James White	16		
1873	<i>Recreationist-3</i>	James White	16		
1873	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle-1</i>	Rev J. H. Ellis	8	G. H. D. Gossip	1874
1873	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle-2</i>	Rev J. H. Ellis	8	E. Walker	1874
1874	<i>Chess Player's Chronicle-3</i>	Rev J. H. Ellis	8	Rev T. H. Archdall	1876
1874	<i>Bow Bells-1</i>	C. Potts	32	W. J. N. Brown	1879
1874	<i>Lads of the Village</i>	J. T. C. Chatto	?	Unknown	
1875?	Archdall KO tournament	T. H. Archdall	16	E. Peart	1876

Date	Title	Organiser	No	Winner	End
1876	<i>London & Brighton Magazine</i>	J. T. C. Chatto	64	Cancelled	
1876	Nash KO tourney	William Nash	16	Rev T. H. Archdall	
1876	<i>Amateur World</i>	J. T. Palmer	8	J. Parker	1877
1876	<i>Amateur World-2</i>	J. T. Palmer	8	Sargent/Crake	1878
1877	<i>Bow Bells-2</i>	C. Potts	32	unfinished?	
1877	<i>Amateur World-3</i>	J. T. Palmer	8	J. Jacobsen	1878
1878	<i>Hull Miscellany/ Hull Bellman</i>	J. Crake	8	C. Ballard	1881
1879	Albion C. C. club	J. W. Snelgrove	16	Unknown	1879
1879	<i>Royal Exchange</i>	Chatto / Palmer	8	Sgt. J. Scott	1879
1879	<i>Preston Guardian-1</i>	J. T. Palmer	16	Sgt-Maj. McArthur	1881
1880	<i>PG consolation-1</i>	J. T. Palmer	8	J. Clothier	1881
1881	<i>Preston Guardian-2</i>	J. T. Palmer	32	A. T. Marriott	1883
1881	<i>PG consolation-2</i>	J. T. Palmer	16	Unknown	1883
1881	<i>Burnley Express</i>	J. Thursby	16?	unfinished?	1882
1882	<i>Bow Bells-3</i>	C. Potts	24	unfinished?	
1882	<i>Croydon Guardian</i>	Joseph Steele	10	E.J. Winter Wood	
1882	<i>Croydon Novices</i>	Joseph Steele	?	Herbert Jacobs	1886
1885	Scottish Chess Association	D. Forsyth?	16	J. D. Chambers	1887
1889	Sussex county tourney	W. Mead?	24	J. V. Elsdon	1890
1890	<i>Bow Bells-4</i>	C. Potts?	16	unfinished?	
1908	<i>Cricket and Football Field</i>	F. Baird	24	A. W. Daniel	1910
1908	'Silver Queen' 1 st Irish C.C. Championship	F. Rowland	27	H. Twomey	1912

IV b) All-play-all tourneys to 1916 (chronological summary)

Date	Title	Organiser	No	Winner	End
1876	Archdall's all-play-all	T. H. Archdall	17	John Crum (SCO)	1878
1877	Nash's first a-p-a tourney	William Nash	21	Rev A.B. Skipworth	1880
1878	<i>C.P.C. handicap</i>	C. E. Ranken	15	Rev J. Bell	1879
1879	<i>Leeds Mercury A</i>	J. White	6	1= G. Farrow, E. Wallis, G. H. Bays	
1879	Nash a-p-a-2	W. Nash	21	Rev C. E. Ranken	1881
1880	<i>C.P.C. handicap-2</i>	C. E. Ranken	15	J. W. Snelgrove	1882
1880	<i>Leeds Mercury B</i>	J. White	6	Unknown	1881
1880	Albion CC club -2	J. Snelgrove	15	B. Askew	1883
1881	Nash a-p-a-3	William Nash		H. Cheshire	1883
1882	<i>C.P.C. & Journal</i>	?	13	Unfinished?	1882
1882	<i>B.C.M.</i>	Ranken	12	Bridgwater	1883
1882	<i>Brighton Guardian</i>	H. W. Butler	15	J. Russell (Glasgow)	1885
1882	<i>English Mechanic -1</i>	James Pierce	13	J. Russell	1883
1882	Nash a-p-a-4	William Nash	?	1= F.Budden, W. Pierce	1885
1883	<i>Leeds Mercury -1</i>	J. White	6	H. Balson	1884
1883	<i>Leeds Mercury -2</i>	J. White	6	Unknown	1884
1883	<i>Leeds Mercury -3</i>	J. White	6	W. Ives	1884
1883	<i>Leeds Mercury -4</i>	J. White	6?	Unknown	1884
1884	<i>English Mechanic -2</i>	J. Pierce	16?	F. A. Vincent	1885
1884	Nash a-p-a-5	William Nash	?	H. Cheshire	1886
1884	<i>English Mechanic -3</i>	J. Pierce	14	C. J. Lambert	1887
1885	Nash a-p-a-6	William Nash	20	D. Y. Mills	1887

Date	Title	Organiser	No	Winner	End
1887	<i>English Mechanic -4</i>	J. Pierce	12	1= Balson & Lambert	1889
1887	U.K. International	G.B. Fraser	18	G. B. Fraser	1888
1887	Nash a-p-a-7	W. Nash		Russell or Lambert?	1888
1888	<i>Norwich Mercury</i>	Chatto	8	W.H. Blythe	1889
1888	Scottish C.A.-2	Forsyth?	16	D. M. Latta	1889
1889	<i>Norwich Mercury -2</i>	Chatto	4	G. H. Mainwaring	1889
1889+	G. B. Fraser series	Fraser	?	(various)	1902
1889	<i>Dublin Evening Mail</i>	Rowlands	18	Locke Holt	1890
1889	<i>English Mechanic -5</i>	J. Pierce		1= W. Pierce/T.G. Hart	1892
1890	<i>Dublin Mail -2</i>	Rowlands	20	W. H. Gunston	1893
1892	<i>English Mechanic -6</i>	W.T. Pierce	11	A E. Tietjen	1894
1893	<i>Dublin Mail -3</i>	Rowlands	18	J. H. Blake	1894
1893	<i>Dudley Herald</i>	Bellingham	10	Unknown	1895
1894	<i>Dublin Mail -4</i>	Rowlands	20	J. H. Blake	1896
1896	<i>Brighton Society</i>	Dr Hunt	8?	Unknown	?
1896	<i>Dublin Mail-5</i>	Rowlands	17	Unknown	1898
1898	<i>Hobbies first tourney</i>	A.K. Murray	8	Rev R. O. Davies	1898
1898	<i>Hobbies new season</i>	Murray	32	R. O. Davies	1899
1899	<i>Hobbies 2nd season</i>	Murray	64	(various)	1900
1899	Scottish C.A. tourneys	S.C.C.A.	14	Dr R. C. Macdonald	1900
1900	<i>Hampstead Record</i>	?	7	J. Mahood	1901
1900	<i>Hobbies 3rd season</i>	Murray	90	(various)	1902
1901+	Kitchin Memorial series	Yorkshire	7	(various)	
1901	<i>Womanhood-1</i>	R. Bowles	70	Gunston	1902
1901	<i>Hobbies 4th season</i>	Murray	110	H. Cheshire	1902
1902	<i>Womanhood-2</i>	R. Bowles	56	Gunston	1903
1902	<i>Hobbies 5th season</i>	A. Murray	115	Richardson	1903
1902	<i>Kingstown Society</i>	F. Rowland	21	W. Monck	1904
1903	<i>Womanhood-3</i>	R. Bowles	77	J.H. Dixon	1904
1903	<i>Hobbies 6th season</i>	A. Murray	54	Donaldson	1905
1904	<i>Womanhood-4</i>	R. Bowles	105	Elwell	1905
1904	<i>Hobbies 7th season</i>	A. Murray	42	A. Ellis	1905
1904	Plunkett Trophy	F. Rowland	?	H. Twomey	1905
1904+	'Popular' series	F. Rowland	5	(various)	
1904+	'Crown' series	F. Rowland	10	(various)	
1905	<i>Womanhood-5</i>	R. Bowles	63	R. Johnson	1906
1905	<i>Hobbies 8th season</i>	A. Murray	28	(various)	1906
1906	<i>Womanhood-6</i>	R. Bowles	49	(winner unknown)	1907
1906	<i>Hobbies 9th season</i>	A. Murray	21	(various)	1907
1906+	<i>F.L.S. series</i>	F. Rowland	6	(various)	
1907	<i>Hobbies 10th season</i>	?	7	Unknown	1908
1908	<i>B.C.M. prelims</i>	J. Blake?	98	(qualifiers for final)	1910
1908	<i>Hobbies late series</i>	?	10	(two groups)	1909
1909	<i>Hobbies final series</i>	?	9	Unknown	1910
1910	<i>B.C.M. Final</i>	J. Blake?	15?	E. Griffiths	1912
1910	Irish ch-2	F. Rowland	7	T. King-Parks	1911
1912	Irish ch-3	F. Rowland	18	J. S. Armstrong	1913
1913	Irish ch-4	F. Rowland	6	J. S. Armstrong	1914
1914	Irish ch-5	F. Rowland	10	W. M. Brooke	1915
1915	Irish ch-6	F. Rowland	6	W. M. Brooke	1916
1916	Irish ch-7	F. Rowland	6	W. M. Brooke	1917

This table does not include tournaments organised by the B.C.C.A., which began in 1906-7.

Nor does it give a detailed breakdown of other series of multiple events.

Appendix V) Results of Team Matches

THIS appendix presents results (where available) for major team matches. One of the purposes of these lists is to indicate the large number of individuals who occasionally participated in correspondence matches, only some of whom played in postal tourneys. Because of the very large number of matches, full lists of individual results are often not included. The CD contains further match lists, in a file called 'Team Matches: Long Version', and raw unedited data in MS Excel files.

Oxford University v. Cambridge Staunton Club, 1871

OXFORD	v.	CAMBRIDGE	
C. T. Wild (Christ Church)	0	Rev A. H. Smith (Caius)	1
W. E. Foster (University Coll.)	1	H. C. Kingsmill (Caius)	0
E. F. Linton (University Coll.)	0	V. N. Portilla (Emmanuel)	1
R. D. H. Gray (Brasenose)	1	J. de Soyres (Caius)	0
T. Constable (Magdalen Hall)	½	C. H. Prior (Caius) ¹	½
E. W. B. Nicholson (Trinity)	1	R. M. Simon (Caius)	0
R. B. Schomberg (New Coll.)	1	C. W. Wooll (St John's)	0
	4½		2½

Oxford University v. Cambridge Staunton Club, 1872

OXFORD	v.	CAMBRIDGE	
E. Anthony (Christ Church)	1	J. de Soyres (Caius)	0
W. E. Foster (University Coll.)	0	Rev A. H. Smith (Caius)	1
C. T. Wild (Christ Church)	0	R. M. Simon (Caius)	1
R. D. H. Gray (Brasenose)	0	F. H. Neville (Sidney Sussex)	1
E. W. B. Nicholson (Trinity)	0	C. B. Ogden (Magdalene)	1
	1		4

¹ Staunton published Constable-Prior up to move 49, where it was agreed a draw for the purposes of the match: *I.L.N.*, lx (9 Mar. 1872), p. 251. Constable won a private over-the-board continuation; those moves are not preserved. Staunton's statement that after White's 29th move 'the game was played out over the chess-board, not by letter' is in conflict with the Oxford history, which is based on the club minutes. Probably Staunton misunderstood something De Soyres told him. Two other games appeared in the *I.L.N.* (on 2 & 16 March, pp. 211 & 267). The second match began on 14 Mar. 1872 and the result was minuted by Oxford on 30 Oct. Four of the five games were printed in the *I.L.N.*

Postcard Match U.S.A. v. Canada, 1875-77

The first international correspondence match was Canada v. U.S.A, approx. Dec. 1875-Dec. 1877. The following list is largely based on Hallock's *American Chess Journal* (June 1876, p. 20, and later). Two games were played at each board but in some cases only one result or none was reported. Reports differ on whether *Berry v. Jones* was void or two American wins.

UNITED STATES		v.	CANADA		
Beebe, H.	Manchester, VT	1	Wylde, J. T.	Halifax, N. S.	1
Berry, William J.	Beverly, Mass.	2	Jones, F. T.	Toronto	0
Blanchard, E. R.	New York	1	Hands, J. G.	London, Ont.	1
Blood, Charles H.	Biddeford, MA	2	Ramsey, R. H.	Cobourg, Ont.	0
Boll, Rev J. A.	Gettysburg, PA	2	Patterson, E. G.	St Catherines, Ont.	0
Brock, D. T.	Chicago	2	Baker, C. S.	Galt, Ont.	0
Brown, L. T.	Cranbury, NJ	2	Stephens, H.	Hamilton, Ont.	0
Davis, Rev. L. W.	Oconomowoc, WI	0	Beatty, J. W.	Toronto	1
Fannin, Dr H. W.	Choctaw Nation	V	Young, John	Toronto	V
Gilbert, Mrs J. W.	Hartford, Conn.	2	Hood, A.	Wroxeter, Ont.	0
Gore, J. C.	Hannibal, Mo.	2	Fowler, Dr Fife	Kingston, Ont.	0
Hanshew, J. K.	Fredericksburg, MD		Neish, W. M.	Kingston, Ont.	
Jacobus, Charles	Matewan NJ	0	Moore, T.D. S.	London, Ont.	1
Kinnier, John A	Lynchburg, Va.	2	Mackay, William F.	Hamilton, Ont.	0
Martindale, F. W.	Peterborough NY		Boggs, Herbert	Cobourg, Ont.	
Munoz, J. B.	New York		Gordon, J. H.	Toronto	
O' Farrell, Capt. P.	Hartford, Conn.	0	Northcote, H	Toronto	2
Oldack, A.	Middletown, Conn.	0	Atkinson, Wm	Montreal	2
Orchard, Isaac E.	Columbia, S.C.		Ruttan, H. J.	Cobourg, Ont.	
Peter, Arthur	Lexington, KY	2	Narraway, J. E.	St John, N. B.	0
Rogers, Don C.	Detroit, MI	1	Ryall, Dr Isaac	Hamilton, Ont.	1
Romeyn, John C.	Roundout, NY	1	Robertson, H.	Collingwood, Ont.	0
Settle, L. B.	Lebanon, TE	0	Barry, George	Toronto	1
Shinkman, W. A.	Grand Rapids, MI	0	Henderson, John	Montreal	1
Updegraff, R. D.	Cleveland, Ohio		Braithwaite, Wm.	Unionville, Ont.	
Wheeler, Charles H.	Englewood, IL		Betts, Fred W.	Kingston, Ont.	
White, Dr R. L. C.	Lebanon, TE	2	Jones, W. Flint	Belleville, Ont.	0
Willett, Norman	Decorah, Iowa		Burns, Robert T	Kingston, Ont.	
Willing, R. L.	Philadelphia, PA	2	Rose, H. J.	Toronto	0
	TOTAL	26		TOTAL	11

Postcard Match U.K. v. U.S.A., 1877-81

The central columns show: U.K. wins, draws, U.S. wins, void games, and unknown results.

UNITED KINGDOM		B	=	A	V	U	UNITED STATES	
Allen, J	Belfast	0	4	0			Toepfer, P. G.	Milwaukee, WI
Brewer, H	Bournemouth	1		2		1	Delmar, Eugene	New York
Coates, William	Cheltenham	1	3	0			Judd, Max	St. Louis, MO
Chatto, Rev J. T. C.	Redcar	2	1	1			Brenzinger, F. E.	Saratoga Springs
Copping, J	St Neots	3	0	1			Jaeger, Daniel	New York
Crake, J	Hull	1	1	2			Foster, Thomas H	Mt. Clemens, MI
Farrow, G. W.	Hull	0	4	0			White, Dr R. L. C.	Tennessee
Gossip, G. H. D.	Colchester	0	0	4			Gilbert, Mrs J. W.	Hartford, Conn.
Hood, John H	Warwickshire	3	0	1			Blood, Charles H.	Biddeford, Maine
Heath, E. H.	Surrey	1	1	2			Rogers, Don C.	Detroit
Latta, David Miller	Leith, SCO	1	3	0			Curtis, F. H.	Wyoming
Molson, H. W.	Belfast				4		Burke, James	New York
McArthur, Sgt-Maj.	Chichester				4		Gentil, A. W.	Milwaukee, WI
Monck, William H. S.	Dublin	2	0	2			Frech, Jacob	Washington DC
Morton, William T.	Ayr, SCO	0	4	0			Peiler, Max H.	Hartford, Conn.
Nash, William	St Neots	2	2	0			Romeyn, John C.	Kingston City, NY
O'Brien, Jos.	Renfrew, SCO	0	2	1		1	Kunkel, E. A.	Wolcotville, Conn.
Parker, J.	Grimsby	3	1	0			Orchard, Isaac E.	Columbia, S.C.
Palmer, J.T.	Hull	1	0	0	3		Boothby, F. A.	Portland, Maine
Palmer, Edwin	Devon	1	0	0	3		Hime, Edward	New Orleans
Philip, R. H.	Hull	1	1	2			Davis, L. W.	Oconomowoc, WI
Ranken, Rev C. E.	Malvern	3	0	1			Berry, William J.	Beverly, Mass.
Stranger, R. J.	Devon	1	2	1			Bull, T./Belden, J.	Detroit/ Hartford
Stevens, G. W.	Coventry	0	1	3			Holmes, H.	Bay City, WI
Scott, Sgt. J.	Chichester	0	1	0	3		Lunt, H. C.	Independence, KA
Waight, Henry H.	Halifax	0	0	4			Atkinson, L. S	Tilton, NH
Williams, H.	Wrexham	1	0	3			Olcott, W. M.	Hartford, Conn.
Woods, Sgt. H.	Chichester	2	0	2			Brown, L. T.	Cranberry, NJ
		30	31	32	17	2		

Thus although there was no Official result, a 32-30 American win seems fairest. See pp. 212-18.

That match was arranged by Hugh Bryan (Ayr) and John G. Belden (Hartford). Previously, Bryan organised the following unofficial match between his readers North and South of the Tweed, starting in October 1876, but no clear result was ever published. Two Irishmen played on the 'Scots' team and a Scotsman, Sergeant-Major McArthur, was on the 'English' team. A reconstruction based on a report in the *News of the Week*, 1 Dec. 1876, and other information from that column gives the following tentative result for that match. Two games each were to be played and some individual results never appeared, but it was said Scotland won 5-3 (including two walkovers) and four draws.

North of the Tweed v. South of the Tweed, 1876-7

'SCOTLAND'	v.	'ENGLAND'	
D. M. Latta (Leith)	1 ½	G. W. Farrow (Hull)	½
Neil Kennedy (Scotland)	1 ½	R. J. Stranger	½
J. Allen (Belfast)	2	Sgt. H. Woods (Chichester)	0
H. Molson (Belfast)	1	W. McArthur (Chichester)	1
W. Naismith (Hamilton, SCO)	1	G. W. Stevens (Coventry)	1 (two draws)
James Lyle (Scotland) def.	0	J. T. Palmer (Hull)	2 (w.o.)
	7		5

The next known correspondence team match in the U.K. was the following. It was mentioned in *C.P.C.*, n.s. iii (1879), p. 253, and the result is in *C.P.C.*, n.s. iv (1880), p. 182. A second match was played between these clubs in 1881 but the detailed results were not published. *B.C.M.*, i (1881) p. 392, reported that Albion won 4-1 with four draws.

Albion Corresponding Club v. Chichester Chess Club, 1879-80

ALBION	v.	CHICHESTER	
G. D. Soffe (Dublin)	0	G. R. Downer	1
J. Clothier jr. (Street)	0	W. McArthur	1
W. H. S. Monck (Dublin)	1	Sgt J. Scott	0
J. W. Snelgrove (Heytesbury)	1	Rev A. M. Deane	0
W. Searle (Truro)	1	H. Johnston	0
R. H. Philip (Hull)	0	Geddes	1
W. Ball jr. (Torquay)	½	H. Norman	½
F. A. Vincent (Dursley)	1	Skeet	0
	4½		3½

Ireland v. Sussex, 1885-6

IRELAND		v.	SUSSEX	
1	L. Leuliette	1	Dr W. H. K. Pollock	0
2	William Timbrell Pierce	0	J. A. 'Porterfield' Rynd	1
3	Horace F. Cheshire	1	G. D. Soffe	0
4	Colonel Minchin	0	W. H. S. Monck	1
5	R. Jones	1	George Frith Barry	0
6	Arthur Smith	½	M. S. Woollett	½
7	H. Erskine	0	J. Morphy	1
8	W. McArthur	1	Alfred S. Peake	0
9	H. Colborne	0	Thomas Long	1
10	J. G. Colborne	½	William C. Palmer	½
11	Rev. E. A. Adams	½	C. Drury	½
12	Mrs Arthur Smith	1	Mrs. F. F. Rowland	0
13	G. A. Raper	0	W. McCrum	1
14	G. T. L. Cole	0	W. Moffatt Wilson	1
		6½		7½

All games in the *Ireland v. Sussex* match were published: in Irish columns, the *Southern Weekly News* or both. This was the first match organised by the Irish Chess Association, originally announced over twelve boards but boards 13-14 were added, the Irish players being members of the Dublin University club. H. Burfield was named on board 14 for Sussex but appears to have been replaced; Morphy was originally named as 'Murphy' (probably his real name). For the controversy over the Cheshire-Soffe game, see Appendix VIII.

Sussex v. Yorkshire, 1886

This was the first English inter-county match by correspondence, organised by James Rayner (Leeds) and Arthur Smith (Brighton). It ended in a 10-10 tie. The pairings appeared in the *Southern Weekly News*, 27 Mar. 1886, p8. On board 10, Rev. Wakefield was originally named for Yorkshire. The final reports were in both in the *Southern Weekly News* and the *Leeds Mercury* on 30 Oct. 1886. At the close of time, Sussex led 9-8 and the last three games (boards 1, 13, and 15) were submitted to the professional master Joseph Blackburne for adjudication. He did the adjudications with the help of Rev G. A. MacDonnell. Sussex reports sometimes say their opponent in this series of matches was West Yorkshire. *Leeds Mercury* reports imply that the West Yorkshire Chess Association ran internal county events such as the Woodhouse Cup while the more recently formed Yorkshire County Chess Association was in charge of external representative events.

SUSSEX		v.	YORKSHIRE			
1	G. R. Downer	Chichester	0	J. Rayner	Leeds	1
2	W. T. Pierce	Brighton	0	T. Y. Stokoe	Leeds	1
3	H. W. Butler	Brighton	0	H. H. Waight	Halifax	1
4	H. F. Cheshire	Hastings	1	A. W. Common	Halifax	0
5	H. Colborne	Hastings	1	S. Hudson	Bradford	0
6	Sgt-Maj W. McArthur	Chichester	0	F. Toothill	Leeds	1
7	Mrs Arthur Smith	Brighton	1	J. Roe	Barnsley	0
8	Arthur Smith	Brighton	½	J. W. Barton	Sheffield	½
9	R. Jones	Hastings	1	S. Ward	Dewsbury	0
10	Colonel Minchin	Eastbourne	0	W. Rea	Leeds	1
11	H. Erskine	Brighton	½	G. Hart	Hull	½
12	W. Andrews	Brighton	1	J. Sutcliff	Harrogate	0
13	Sgt-Major J. Scott	Chichester	1	J. Woodhead	Dewsbury	0
14	G. A. Raper	Brighton	1	J. Musgrove	Leeds	0
15	G. Cole	Hastings	0	W. Gledhill	Burley-in-Wharfedale	1
16	Rev E. Adams	Eastbourne	1	D. W. Moss	Ripon	0
17	P. J. Lucas	Brighton	1	B. Hunter	Doncaster	0
18	C. Scott Malden	Brighton	0	A. B. Hawke	Wakefield	1
19	Major Malden	Brighton	0	A. Knight	Doncaster	1
20	Rev E. I. Crosse	Shipley	0	W. Ives	Leeds	1
			10			10

Ireland v. Scotland, 1886-7

This was an official match between the Irish and Scottish Chess Associations, aiming to involve as many players as possible. The Irish team was arranged by Alfred S. Peake, who was not on good terms with other Dublin columnists. Board order was meaningless but players were matched according to known strength; the strongest pairings were boards 1, 29, 35, & 41. It is not possible to give a clear-cut result of this match for many reasons. Originally there were 47 boards, listed by the captains Forsyth & Peake in the *Irish Sportsman*, 21 Aug. 1886, and republished in *The Chess-Monthly*. There were dropouts, replacements and late-starting boards. Peake, in the *Irish Chess Chronicle*, 15 June 1887, p. 90, said 128 players were involved in the match. Scotland won comfortably, however it is reckoned. The table below is provisional.

Appendix V: Results of Team Matches

IRELAND			v.	SCOTLAND		
1	James Neill	Belfast	½	G. B. Fraser	Dundee	½
2	D. D. Persse	Derry	1	Daniel Baxter	Alford	0
3	S. Agnew MD	Lurgan	0	J. Marshall	Glasgow	1
4	J. C. Newsome	Dublin	0	J. Birch	Glasgow	1
5	J. H. Taylor	London	1	W. Millar	Glasgow	0
6	Alfred S. Peake	Clontarf	0	J. D. Chambers	Glasgow	1
7	J. Morphy	Dublin	0	C. R. Baxter	Dundee	1
8	David Middleton	Dublin	0	C. Hillside	Edinburgh	1
9	K. A. Rynd	Clontarf	1	R. P. Fleming	Dundee	0
10	M. S. Woollett	Dublin	½	J. Court	Glasgow	½
11	J. L. Downey	Belfast	0	David Chirrey	Glasgow	1
12	Dr W. A. Murray	Dublin	1	E. Davoisin	Glasgow	0
13	E. L. Harvey	Belfast	1	D. Forsyth	Glasgow/ Edin'	0
14	S. Gunning	Cookstown	1	W. N. Walker	Dundee	0
15	J. R. Livingston	Lurgan	0	W. Robertson	Edinburgh	1
16	Benj. Barrington	Limerick	0	Patrick Sandeman	Dundee	1
17	John Dill	Lurgan	0	J. Mackenzie	Islay	1
18	D. Cudmore	Dublin	½	J. M. Finlayson	Glasgow	½
19	N. A. Brophy	Limerick	0	Rev R. Semple	Aberdeen	1
20	William Nicholls	Strabane	0	J. H. C. McLeod	Glasgow	1
21	Wm. Hanrahan	Rush	1	D. Gordon	Glasgow	0
22	R. W. Barnett	Oxford Univ.	0	G. Barbier	Glasgow	1
23	James Gamble	Belfast	1	G. A. Thomson	Glasgow	0
24	S. J. Harris	Dublin	0	D. M. Latta	Edinburgh	1
25	William Kennedy	Derry	1	David Walker	Udny	0
26	J. Roden Law	Derry	0	Fred McCrae	Aberdeen	1
27	James Spaight	Limerick	½	R. B. Duff	Liverpool	½
28	S. J. Magowan	Belfast	½	Rev G. McArthur	Edinburgh	½
29	G. F. Barry	Dublin	1	John Crum	Glasgow	0
30	Frank Hobson	Armagh	0	J. L. Whiteley	Glasgow	1
31	Rev H. Royle	Belfast	0	Neil Kennedy	Glasgow	1
32	W. C. Palmer	Dublin	½	J. S. Fagan	Crieff	½
33	G. D. Soffe	Dublin	1	Andrew Hunter	London	0
34	T. Hogben	Derry	1	A. McConnochie	Aberdeen	0
35	J. A. Rynd	Clontarf	0	D. Y. Mills	London	1
36	J. P. Carey	Belfast	0	Dr J. C. Rattray	Blairgowrie	1

37	R. Tennant	Belfast	½	John Gilchrist	Glasgow	½
38	Wm. Armstrong	Dublin	1	Dr Duncan	Glasgow	0
39	V. H. Rylski	Belfast	½	G. Galloway	Edinburgh	½
40	M. A. Ennis	Wexford	0	William Urquhart	Edinburgh	1
41	W. H. S. Monck	Dublin	0	John Russell	Glasgow	1
42	D. O'C. Miley	Dublin	—	R. R. MacFadyen	Glasgow	—
43	J. Copeman	Limerick	—	P. Fyfe	Glasgow	—
44	George Boyd	Limerick	0	J. C. Bremner	Broughty Ferry	1
45	J. A. Conroy	Listowel	0	John Drummond	Glasgow	1
46	George Belshaw	Limerick	0	George Shand	Glasgow	1
47	Dr Shanahan	Limerick	½	A. D. Vardon	Edinburgh	½
50	E. G. Fitt	Limerick	0	J. A. Walsh	Forsinard	1
51	F. E. Harrington	Rathgar	—	W. Black	Glasgow	—
52	James Cairns	Liverpool	1	John Fraser	Edinburgh	0
53	Henry Wade	Strabane	0	Rev C.M. Grant	Dundee	1
54	Alex Hill	Belfast	1	Rob C. Lyness	Glasgow	0
55	William Steen	Belfast	—	William Hodge	Dunbarton	—
56	Fred H. Wilson	Derry	—	John Marr	Old Meldrum	—
57	S. A. Thompson	Belfast	½	Charles E. Stewart	Glasgow	½
58	J. B. Booth	Cork	½	W. Kendall Burnett	Aberdeen	½
59	C. S. Wakefield	Portadown	0	Geo L. Miller	?	1
60	R. K. Knox	?	—	Rev F. W. Davis	?	—
61	Miss King	?	1	Mrs Harvey	?	0
62	J. S. McTear	?	1	Dr Macfie	?	0
63	Seaver	?	0	Rev R. Kemp	Blairgowrie	1
64	Rev H. Hill	Ardee	0	J. Phillips	?	1
			22½			31½

Ireland v. Yorkshire, 1887-9

This was the third and last official correspondence match organised by the Irish Chess Association. Peake announced the Irish team on 15 Dec. 1887 in the *Irish Chess Chronicle*, p. 132, just before that publication closed. There were originally fifteen players on each side, but in the end Peake (because of illness) did not play. Two games were played on each board, but Wright and Soffe 'agreed to abandon their games at an early stage'. Although without some experts such as Barry and Monck, the Irish team was quite strong. Hardly anything was published about this match in Ireland. Eventually the result was published in the *Leeds Mercury* (the best source for games) on 12 Jan. 1889 and in the *Sheffield Weekly Independent*, 19 Jan. 1889.

YORKSHIRE		v.		IRELAND		
1	Rayner, James	Leeds	0 ½	Rynd, J. A. 'Porterfield'	Dublin	1 ½
2	Wright, F. H.	Wakefield	—	Soffe, G. D.	Dublin	—
3	Toothill, F.	Leeds	1 1	Neill, James	Belfast	0 0
4	Woollard, J. A.	Bradford	1 1	Woollett, M. S.	Dublin	0 0
5	Stokoe, T. Y.	Leeds	1 1	Barnett, R. W.	Belfast	0 0
6	Slack, S. B.	Sheffield	0 ½	Gunning, S.	Cookstown	1 ½
7	Common, A. W.	Halifax	1 ½	Morphy, J.	Dublin	0 ½
8	West, J. S.	Leeds	1 1	Hobson, F.	Cork	0 0
9	Lamb, F.	Sheffield	0 0	Tennent, Robert	Dublin	1 1
10	Hart, T. G.	Hull	1 ½	Nicholls, William	Mullingar	0 ½
11	Cockin, S. M.	Halifax	1 0	Persse, D. D.	Ballinrobe	0 1
12	Spencer, T.	Bradford	0 0	Hill, A.	Ballinrobe	1 1
13	Ives, W.	Leeds	0 ½	Steen, W.	Belfast	1 ½
14	Guy, J. A.	Bradford	0 ½	McGowan, S. J.	Belfast	1 ½
			14	12		

Sussex v. Yorkshire, 1887, 1890, and 1894

The pairings for the second match between these counties, the first two to become well organised, was published in the *Leeds Mercury*, 25 Dec. 1886. There were sixteen boards, with two games played on each, but one pairing was cancelled. Yorkshire won 19-11. Brian Denman, who found the results, comments that the Sussex team seemed weak. The third match was announced in the *Dublin Evening Mail* on 3 July 1890 and it published the final result of all the games on 15 Jan. 1891, following the *Sussex Chess Journal*, i, p. 15. Only one game was played on each board and the result was a 6-6 tie. The 1894 match was also contested over twelve boards, Sussex winning 8-4. That result was published in the *Southern Counties Chess Journal* of February 1895.

Belfast v. Dublin, 1890-1 and 1891-2

The Rowlands arranged these matches with help from Belfast Chess Club, who recruited the northern players through its columns. The first was mooted in the *Dublin Evening Mail* on 24 April 1890 and pairings were listed there on 12 June, a few more starting later. J. A. Rynd played under one of his aliases, 'R. Porterfield'. At one point it was stated the match was 54-a-side but some

games were cancelled and the final result appears to have been 26½-23½ in Dublin's favour. Most of the results appeared in the *Mail* on 19 Feb. 1891 but the last game did not finish until May.

By that time, arrangements for a larger match were under way; H. Seaver was the Belfast captain. The *Mail* of 4 June 1891 gave a long list of pairings in games that had just begun. More players were sought to make the match up to 100-a-side. This could be regarded as a North-South match; not all players lived in the capitals. The match was very close throughout, Dublin scoring a narrow win, reported in the *Dublin Evening Mail* on 27 August 1892. The relatively large number of female players on both sides is noteworthy.

	BELFAST	v.	DUBLIN	1891-2
1	Shaw, Mrs	0	Berry, Mrs F. Sterling	1
2	Lowry, Miss L.	0	Brown, Miss L.	1
3	McCarthy, Miss	0	Browne, Miss Jennie	1
4	Thompson, Mrs	0	Bruce, Miss Eva	1
5	Kelly, Mrs T.	1	Lynam, Miss	0
6	Larmour, J. E.	0	Martin, Mrs T.	1
7	Patterson, Miss	0	Rowland, Mrs F. F.	1
8	Glasgow, H. L.	0	Rudge, Miss Mary	1
9	Kelly, S. C.	0	Varian, Miss	1
10	Gifford, Miss	0	Bruce, Miss Eliza	1
11	Bell, D.	0	Devine, Mrs D. C.	1
12	Shaw, Miss	½	Larminie, S? (W. R?)	½
13	Neill, James	½	Monck, W. H. S.	½
14	Hill, A	0	Rynd, J. A. 'Porterfield'	1
15	Gunning, S. C.	1	Fitzpatrick, S	0
16	Roth, R. T.	0	Morphy, J	1
17	Thompson, S. A.	1	Fawcett, Rev R. H.	0
18	Sterling, Rev J. H.	1	Gray, H.	0
19	Nicholls, William	1	Woollett, Capt M. S.	0
20	Garratt, J. R.	0	Dawson, A.	1
21	Figgis, F. F.	1	Young, J.	0
22	Lushe?, W.	½	Meyer, Max J.	½
23	Bright, George	1	Palmer, P.	0
24	McConnell, J.	0	Hoult, Powis	1
25	Peebles, R.	½	Napier, G.	½
26	Oswald, J.	½	Brooks, W.	½
27	Clayton, William	1	Lynam, J	0

Appendix V: Results of Team Matches

28	Child, A. W.	1	Draper, Dr	0
29	Williams, R. A.	1	Hogg, William	0
30	Williams, J.	0	Letchford, T.	1
31	Holland, W.	1	Tyner, W. B. K.	0
32	Houston, G	½	Lyle, R. P.	½
33	Gamble, T.	0	Daly, J. C.	1
34	Kelly, T.	1	Conroy, J. A.	0
35	Tate, G.	1	Tottenham, Rev E.	0
36	Workman, (Mr)	1	Hanrahan, W.	0
37	Bryson, W.	0	Bassett, A. T.	1
38	Stevenson, J.	0	Holt, R.	1
39	McDonald, S	0	Falkiner, R. W.	1
40	Barnett, A. J.	0	McCarthy, T.	1
41	Stronge, Capt W. L.	½	Cosgrave, Dr E. M.	½
42	Lowry, D. E.	0	Lynam, Colonel	1
43	McMurray, W. J.	0	Garrett, J. H.	1
44	Carey, J	0	Joynt, A. E. R.	1
45	Hill, Rev H.	0	Middleton, D?	1
46	Allen, J	1	Davidge, H. N.	0
47	Evans, R. A. E.	1	Kelly, J. C.	0
48	Wallace, E. T.	1	Thompson, C.	0
49	Hadden, J. C.	½	Montrose, H.	½
50	Livingston, J. R.	1	Williams, P. H.	0
51	Johnston, C. T.	1	Thrift, W. E.	0
52	Patterson, H. W. T.	0	Dawson, M. V. F.	1
53	Martin jun., John	1	Wisbey, J. C.	0
54	Patterson, Thomas	1	Ryan, B. G.	0
55	McIlroy, J. E.	0	Thrift. H. G.	1
56	Hamilton, Dr J.	0	Dutton, T. D.	1
57	McMullan, W.	0	Davey, Mr	1
58	Lytle, T	1	Jones, F. J.	0
59	Kilis?, J. H.	½	Kenny, T. M.	½
60	Watson, Robert	1	Hoyte, W. M.	0
61	Clements, S. D.	1	McDonogh, A. A.	0
62	Beattie, Rev	1	Bagot, A. G.	0
63	Atchison, J.	0	Drury, C.	1
64	Murray, D.	1	Jamison, J. L.	0

Appendix V: Results of Team Matches

65	Dill, J.	½	Cooke, W.	½
66	Ferguson, J. H.	0	Tuthill, C. E.	1
67	Glasgow, J.	1	Daly, J.	0
68	Gibson, T.	0	Maher, R. J.	1
69	Shanahan, G. R.	½	Alcorn, Rev H	½
70	Barnett, G. W.	0	Lindsay, Rev T. S.	1
71	Coulin, (Mr)	0	Hopkins, J.	1
72	Martin, J. S.	0	Meehan, Rev P	1
73	McCann, Mr	0	Thompson, John	1
74	Phillips jun., H. W.	1	Tickell, G.	0
75	Miller, L. D.	0	Thompson, James	1
76	McKinney, Dr	1	Harden, H.	0
77	Pollock, William	1	Foy, Dr	0
78	MacNaught, W	0	Jamison, H. D.	1
79	Wheeler, Dr	1	Miller, William	0
80	Chapman, W.	1	Sandford, Philip G	0
81	Fisher, A. W.	1	Rynd, Kenneth A	0
82	Campbell, W?	½	Skipworth, J	½
83	Kelly, H. C.	½	Dunscombe, Parker	½
84	Gifford, Mr	½	Dunn, F. W.	½
85	Wade, H.	1	Arthur, F.	0
86	Costley, J.	1	Smythe, G. D.	0
87	Knox, Kyle	0	Burns, W. H.	1
88	Cummins, F. R.	1	Martin, T.	0
89	Reid, William	1	Beater, H. W.	0
90	McMonigle, Mr	½	Gasewell, W.	½
91	Hunter, J. C.	½	Murphy, J.	½
92	Todd, J.	½	Johnson, R. W.	½
93	Bailie, T. S.	1	Varian, R. T.	0
94	Turnbull, M. H.	0	Humphries, W. H.	1
95	Thompson, R.	½	Du Cree, E. P.	½
96	Barnett, J. M.	½	Devine, D. C.	½
97	Martin, S.	½	Jenkins, H.	½
98	Walker, J.	0	Hamilton, G.	1
99	McIlroy, jun., J.	0	Quigley, J.	1
100	Seaver, H. S.	0	Rowland, Thomas B.	1
		48		52

Ireland v. West of England & Wales, 1892-3

This was arranged by the Rowlands and W. Shelley Branch of Cheltenham, who captained the West team, including players he knew from Sussex. There was no support from Liverpool, so the Irish victory was gained against weakened opposition. Evidently 100-a-side was intended but a few boards were unfinished. Various lists of pairings and results appeared, e.g. the *Belfast Newsletter*, 11 Jan. 1894 and *Bristol Mercury*, 13/1/1894 which gave the total score as 50½–43½, saying the remaining six games were not played, although it actually had 95 results. It seems impossible to resolve this discrepancy. It may have something to do with the fact that F. H. Harris played both board 6 and 80; perhaps one of these was discounted (possibly one named player was the substitute for another). It is also unclear which man named Colborne played board 60 as different papers gave different initials.

	IRELAND	v.	WEST OF ENG.	
1	Rowland, Frideswide	1	Monk, W	0
2	Martin, J.	½	Jackson, Mrs	½
3	Lewis, J. P.	0	Vernon, Rev J. E.	1
4	McCarthy, T.	1	Walker, E.	0
5	Laithwaite, J. G.	½	Badland, Rev C. D.	½
6	Allen, F. J.	½	Harris, F H.	½
7	Heaney, W. J.	0	Blake, G.	1
8	Rynd, Kenneth Arly	1	Reid, F	0
9	Hill, Rev H.	1	Bond, E.	0
10	Rowland, Thomas B	½	Rudge, Miss Mary	½
11	Sandford, Philip	1	Fisher, W. R.	0
12	Clugston, William	0	Briggs, Rev H. C.	1
13	Rynd, J. A.	1	Chisholm, Col.	0
14	Cooke, William	0	Cowley, F	1
15	Boyle, Rev Prof	0	Noyes, D. E. H.	1
16	Bancroft, C	0	Wood, Carslake Winter	1
17	Ladd, F. E.	0	Clutterbuck, B. R.	1
18	Davidge, H. N.	1	Rickman, F.	0
19	McCrea, J.	1	Pearse, T. G.	0
20	Holland, William	½	Howell, W. G.	½
21	Strong, Capt W. L.	½	Tucker, F. G.	½
22	Tottenham, Rev. E. H.	0	Smith, G. Dyke	1
23	Burke, E. W.	1	Wright, J. R.	0

Appendix V: Results of Team Matches

24	Dawson, Adrian	1	Fairweather, J. L.	0
25	O'Hanlon, John J.	½	Merrick, F.	½
26	Lynam, J	0	Thornhill, C. W.	1
27	Berry, Mrs F. Sterling	½	Gooding, Miss	½
28	Thompson, S.A.	1	Birks, J.	0
29	Woollett, Capt M. S.	0	Heitman, W.	1
30	Varian, R. T.	½	Chisholme, J. D.	½
31	Livingston, J. R.	1	Holt, E	0
32	Hunter, J. C.	0	Seller, W. J. T.	1
33	Garratt, J. H.	1	Meyer, Max J	0
34	Monck, William H. S.	0	Gartnell, J. H.	1
35	Watson, R.	½	Wade, E.C.	½
36	Persse, D. D.	1	Duncombe, M	0
37	Shaw, Miss G	1	Macaulay, H	0
38	Weldon, Captain H	1	Wallace, W.	0
39	Daly, Dr J. C.	1	Newick, R. C.	0
40	Sigerson, G. P.	½	May, W. G. [W. J?]	½
41	Dale, R. J.	0	Nicholls, A.T.	1
42	Larmour, James A	1	Willis, Captain C	0
43	St Priestley, Miss Marie	1	Martin, (Mr) C. M.	0
44	Patterson, W. H. F.	0	Waterfield, W	1
45	Figgis, F. F.	0	McLachlan, A. C.	1
46	Bailie, T. S.	1	Whittard, T	0
47	Allen, J	½	Webb, R. J.	½
48	Pim, William Ferguson	½	Crump, C	½
49	Thomson, J	0	Hogg, William	1
50	Weatherall, J	0	Wilkinson, J. F.	1
51	Williams, R. A.	1	Gittins, F. R.	0
52	Downey, J L	1	Waite, TB	0
53	Drury, C	0	Collins, W	1
54	Dick, J. S.	1	Knowles, P. R.	0
55	Workman, J. A.	1	Nicholson, Rev N. D.	0
56	Wallace, E. T.	1	Wall, H. A.	0
57	Hoult, Powis	1	Richards, D. M.	0
58	Tuthill, C. E.	1	Moffatt, W.	0
59	Gleeson, R.	0	Morris, FW	1
60	McKenny, Dr		Colborne, J. G. ?	1

Appendix V: Results of Team Matches

61	Kelly, H. C.	½	Wheeler, J. K.	½
62	Wheeler, T. Kennedy	0	Womersley, F. W.	1
63	Wade, H	0	Cheshire, Horace F.	1
64	Jenkins, H	½	Churchill, J. G.	½
65	Devine, D. C.	0	Fitzroy, F	1
66	Tannior, Dr D	0	Noyes, Col G. A.	1
67	Morphy, John [Moriarty?]	1	Buchanan, H. T.	0
68	Ferguson, William	½	Crump, C	½
69	Neill, James	1	Pilkington, R.	0
70	Hamilton, Dr G.	1	Ball, J	0
71	Meehan, Rev P.	0	Mathews, G. B.	1
72	Stoney, T. J.	1	Ruddle, G	0
73	Jones, F. J.	0	Cook, E	1
74	Bruce, Miss Ellie	1	Attwood, Miss	0
75	Martin, Mrs T	0	Nicholls, Miss E.	1
76	Chapman, W. H.	½	Heming, R.	½
77	Lynam, Miss	0	Evans, J	1
78	Shaw, Mrs	1	Williams, W. H.	0
79	Robinson, R.	1	Selby, W. C.	0
80	Stokoe, J. Clarke	½	Harris, F. H.	½
81	Thompson, J.	½	Hobbs, A.	½
82	Holt, R. B.	½	Frances, D. H.	½
83	Evans, R. A. E.	1	Harvey, W. S.	0
84	Devine, Mrs D. C.	½	Mountford, A. H.	½
85	Kenny, T. M.	0	Cann, William	1
86	Tate, G	1	Nicholls, E.	0
87	McCrum, W. M.	1	Strickland, Surgeon	0
88	Parke, R. H.	1	Sanderman, E.	0
89	Christian, J. C. +	0	Glass, J	1
90	Nolan, D. J.	½	Jones, R	½
91	Seaver, C. E.	½	Burroughs, (Mr)	½
92	Lynam, Lt. -Col.	0	Pearce, C. A.	1
93	Breitman, H	½	Cooper, C. F.	½
94	McIlroy, J. E.	½	Neale, H.	½
95	Humphries, H.	½	Griffiths, H.	½
	IRELAND	51	WEST	44

Aberdeenshire v Londonderry, 1888 & 1890

In 1888 Aberdeenshire Chess Club played a match with the Londonderry chess & draughts club. The results were published in the *Dublin Evening Mail* on 17 Jan. 1889, as shown below. The Londonderry club played at least two smaller matches after this: losing 1½-2½ against the Aberdeenshire club again, and a 3-3 tie in the other, against the Alford club in Aberdeenshire. The individual results of both those matches were in the *Dublin Evening Mail* on 25 Sept. 1890.

	LONDONDERRY	v.	ABERDEENSHIRE	1888
1	Warren, General	0	(Anonymous)	1
2	Kennedy	½	Coleman, P	½
3	Persse, D. D.	2	Gordon	0
4	Adams	1	Souter	1
5	Best	1	McReadle	1
6	Honiball	1	Walker	0
7	Law.	0	Baxter	1
8	Wilson	1	Baxter	0
		6½		4½

Smaller matches of the period

There were some other team matches in this period. Usually one hears of them only if there was a particularly interesting game. In 1886, for example, one was published from a match between the Dublin University Chess Club and Peterhouse College Cambridge; there is no more information about this.² The Cheltenham and Hastings chess clubs played a sixteen-a-side match in 1892.³ After the Belfast v Dublin match, the idea of a return match with Scotland was proposed but when this did not materialise, the match with the West was arranged instead, but Belfast did play a match with Perthshire in 1893, of which at least one game was published.⁴ The over-all result is unknown. In 1897 Perthshire played a 24-a-side correspondence match against Bradford, the Yorkshiremen winning 10-5 with nine draws.⁵ Other matches of this kind, like some local correspondence tournaments, were probably reported in local newspapers but did not come to national attention. Even in 1904 two Dublin clubs played a team correspondence match.⁶

² *Dublin Evening Mail*, 25 Nov. 1886: T. A. Walker v. H. S. Tickell for Trinity.

³ The game Womersley v. Wade is in the *Sussex Chess Journal*, ii (no. 41, May 1892), pp. 152-3.

⁴ *B.C.M.*, xiii (1893) p. 361, the game E. L. Harvey (Belfast) v Rev Robert Kemp ('Kappa').

⁵ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 13 May 1897.

⁶ The Calaroga and Rochdale clubs of Dublin: *Weekly Irish Times*, 2 Apr. 1904.

North v South of England, 1900-1

Two large matches were played between teams from the English regions, two games being played in each pairing. In the first match, the published results did not distinguish between cases where players won one game each and where they had two draws. The results were published in *B.C.M.*, xxi (1901), pp. 162 & 209. The first of these is the last major match for which the individual results will be included in full in this appendix, because of space considerations.

NORTH	v.		SOUTH		
1 Burn, Amos	Lancs.	1 ½	Gunston, William H.	Cambs	½
2 Schott, G. A.	Yorks.	0	Locock, Charles D.	Surrey	2
3 Downey, F.	North'd	0	Ward, W.	London	2
4 Spedding, F. E.	Lancs.	½	Mills, David Y	Gloucs.	1 ½
5 Wildman, F. P.	Yorks.	1	Trenchard, H. W.	London	1
6 Carroll, F. C.	Lancs.	2	Physick, T.	London	0
7 Palmer, Rev W. C.	Lancs.	0	Elwell, F. J. H.	Hants.	2
8 Wilson, J.	Lincs.	0	Passmore, S.	London	2
9 Atkinson, W.	Yorks.	2	Brewer, H.	London	0
10 Birks, J	Durham	½	Cheshire, Horace F.	Sussex	1 ½
11 Wallwork, C. H.	Lancs.	0	Tietjen, A. E.	London	2
12 Brunton, W.	Yorks.	2	Howell, P.	London	0
13 Woollard, J. A.	Yorks.	1 ½	Tattersall, C. E. C.	London	½
14 Sergeant, E. G.	North'd	0	Pierce, W. Timbrell	Kent	2
15 Wright, H. E.	Durham	2	Lambert, Charles J.	Devon	0
16 Coates, C.	Lancs.	0	Moore, H. E.	Somerset	2
17 Shaw, Dr	Lancs.	0	Carr, F. P.	London	2
18 Rogers, J.	Lincs.	0	Woon, C. J.	London	2
19 Wright, F. H.	Yorks.	1	Emery, E.	London	1
20 Clifford, P. R.	Yorks.	½	Curnock, A.	London	1 ½
21 Lowenthal, Dr M?	Lancs.	½	Bowley, A. A.	Sussex	1 ½
22 Musgrove, J	Yorks.	1 ½	Braund, F. N.	Sussex	½
23 Lambert, T. H.	Lancs.	0	Turnbull, R. C.	London	2
24 Greenwell, W. J.	North'd	½	Miles, F. H.	Sussex	1 ½
25 Harrison, G. H.	Yorks.	1	Van Gelder, S.	Somerset	1
26 Doyle, H.	Cumb'd	1 ½	Anspach, F. L.	London	½
27 Foulds, J.	Yorks.	0	Michael, M.	London	2

28	Keir, S.	Lancs.	1	Deighton, Dr	Cambs.	1
29	Brooksbank, J. H.	Cumb'd	½	Vyse, W. E.	London	1½
30	Nicholson, J.	North'd	1½	Flear, F. W.	Hunts.	½
31	Philip, R. H.	Yorks.	½	Erskine, Henry	Essex	1½
32	Higgins, J.	Cumb'd	1	Bridger, W.	Sussex	1
33	England, P. R.	Lancs.	1	Dunstan, Dr	London	1
34	Gledhill, W.	Yorks.	1½	Girdlestone, T. B.	London	½
35	Greenwell, H.	North'd	1½	Lee, H. G.	Somerset	½
36	Howell, F. C.	Yorks.	1	Bowles, H. L.	London	1
37	Cockin, S. M.	Yorks.	½	Friedberger, T. M.	Sussex	1½
38	Greig, A. E.	Cheshire	0	Newman, T. W.	London	2
39	Shields, J. J.	Yorks.	2	Hayden, T. E.	London	0
40	Hawdon, W. D.	North'd	0	Watt, J. A.	Sussex	2
41	Jackson, M.	Yorks.	2	O'Bernard, H. D.	Devon	0
42	Stainsby, F	Yorks.	2	Purchas, F.	Somerset	0
43	Nixon, W.	North'd	1½	Williams, G. W.	Essex	½
44	Roberts, C. W.	Yorks.	1	Chisholm, Colonel	Gloucs.	1
45	Lowe, C. J. B.	Lancs.	½	Taylor, T.	Devon	1½
46	Cook, D.	Durham	1½	Capel, G. B.	Somerset	½
47	Holt, M. M.	Lancs.	0	Sutton, G. V.	London	2
48	Croft, C.	Yorks.	2	Green, J. A.	London	0
49	Burgess, W. H.	Lancs.	½	Law, Colonel E.	Gloucs.	1½
50	Platt, C.	Cumb'd	½	Mears, W.	Devon	1½
		NORTH	43		SOUTH	57

Further regional matches in England

The second North-South match, 1902-3, was not quite as strong on the high boards as that of 1900-1. Yet it involved 252 players; the South won 138-114. Full results were published in *B.C.M.*, xxiii (1903), pp. 342-5, so do not need to be reproduced here. The B.C.F. inter-unit matches played in 1905-7 were discussed on pp. 221-2. Unfortunately no detailed results have been found in any primary source, although it is possible they may have been published in some provincial newspaper columns that have not been seen. After 1900 inter-county matches in England become too numerous to be worth detailing here. One of the earliest was Devon v Kent, 1902.⁷

⁷ *B.C.M.*, xxii (1902), pp. 313-4.

Matches between readers of chess columns, 1901-2

A new development around the 1901-2 season was a brief fashion for matches between the readerships of various chess columns. The spur appears to have been the British Chess Company's promotional offer to awarding chess sets as prizes to the winning teams. This in turn sometimes led to small tourneys being played in 1902-3 among the successful members of winning teams (or sometimes any team member who wished) to see who would receive the prize. Such tourneys as the *Oldham Chronicle* 1903 (following their win over *Kingstown Society*)⁸ were probably played at least partly over the board when the players concerned all lived locally. The size of teams varied by agreement between the chess editors. The following are the results of some of these matches.

<i>KINGSTOWN SOCIETY</i>			v.	<i>LEEDS MERCURY</i> 1901-2		
1	Baker, Arthur	Croydon	½	Winterborne, H.	Belper	½
2	Coulthard, A.	Cork	1	Nowell, A.	Huddersfield	0
3	Curran, T.	Co. Tyrone	0	Jackson, S.	Hull	1
4	McIlwaine, William	Portadown	0	Gamble, Rev G.L.	York	1
5	Smith, Archibald	Cork	0	Newsome, F.	Dewsbury	1
6	Foster, Miss	Bexhill-on-Sea	½	Hudson, C. S.	Hanley, Staffs	½
7	Trotter, Rev J.C.	Co. Galway	0	Bliss, Captain G.C.	Dover	1
8	Rowland, Frideswide F.	Kingstown	0	White, James	Leeds	1
			2			
				6		

A different *Kingstown Society* team played the readers of *Hobbies* in 1901-2, winning 8-2.⁹ When the *Dublin Evening Mail* column ended in March 1902, it was losing heavily against the *Morning Post*. This was perhaps the largest of these matches. The Post won 20-7.¹⁰

Late in 1901 the *Leeds Mercury* also began a match against the *Cork Weekly News* which Cork won 9½-8½. A second-team match was also played, won easily by Leeds. The Cork team then had a tourney largely played over-the-board in 1902-3, to decide the ownership of the British Chess Company prize set.¹¹ In 1902 the Cork readers played matches with both the *Belfast News-letter* and the *Northern Whig*, which demonstrated the greater strength of Northern chess. The *News-letter* team then played an over-the-board tournament to decide their championship and O'Hanlon was unbeaten, winning a chess set.¹²

8 The *Oldham Chronicle v. Kingstown Society* result is in the *Dublin Evening Mail*, 8 Mar. 1902.

9 That match began in Oct. 1901. The result was in *Kingstown Society*, July 1902, p. 11.

10 According to the *Cork Weekly News*, 20 May 1902.

11 The results of the Cork matches mentioned here were not published conveniently but are scattered through numerous chess columns in the *Cork Weekly News*, 1902-3.

12 *Cork Weekly News*, 18 Apr., 1903.

One of the strongest matches in the British Chess Company series was the following, with several experts of note on the *Leisure Hour* team. The games on board two and 11 were adjudicated. The board 12 players were stated to be 'The Chess Editors'.¹³

<i>LEISURE HOUR</i>	v.	<i>LEEDS MERCURY</i>		
1 G. E. Wainwright	½	A. T. Nicholls	½	
2 L. Serrailie r	1	T. E. Burkinshaw	0	
3 H. Brewer	1	Geo. Brumfitt	0	
4 G. A. Hooke	1	F. Huckvale	0	
5 A. E. Tietjen	1	A. W. Overton	0	
6 A. Curnock	1	J. T. Stuckwell	0	
7 Dr R. Dunstan	1	W. Skirrow	0	
8 H. S. Barlow	½	John Ellis	½	
9 H. Balson	1	T. H. Billington	0	
10 Dr Hemming	½	W. G. Ledgard	½	
11 J. E. Parry	0	C. Croft	1	
12 H. F. L. Meyer	0	James White	1	
	8½		3½	

Irish regional matches 1903-13

The Rowlands arranged a North v. South of Ireland match, 1903-4, in which the qualification rule was the county of birth. Dublin players were on the North team and those born in the midland counties could choose their side. The South won 19½-15½. The result, which proves little as some of the strongest players on each side had weak opponents, appeared in *Kingstown Society*, Nov. 1904, p. 11. In 1905 Mrs Rowland likewise organised a Connaught v. Leinster match, won 7-5 by the West, thanks to being able to call on two strong English players who were resident in the region at the time, H. G. Cole and James West.¹⁴ Mrs Rowland, born in Galway, played on the Connaught team herself. The winners played off for book prizes donated by Messrs. Paterson and White, the publishers of American expert Mordecai Morgan's *Chess Digest*.¹⁵

Further North v. South of Ireland matches were arranged at intervals, which probably gave satisfaction to those involved but have no real sporting significance. Complete results are unavailable for the 1911 North-South match, won by the North. Pairings appeared in the *Shamrock*,

¹³ *Leisure Hour* (1902), p. 86. The match began in Sept. 1901.

¹⁴ The result is in *The Four-Leaved Shamrock*, no. 10, p. 3.

¹⁵ *Shamrock*, issues 6 (start) and 10 (result).

no. 34-5 (June 1911), listing thirty-seven boards; the following issue (Autumn 1911) printed twenty-two results, the North leading $13\frac{1}{2}$ - $8\frac{1}{2}$. The *Weekly Irish Times* on 21 October stated that the North won the match and their players were now competing in an (over-the-board) tourney for the Silver King trophy. In the case of the 1913-14 match between the South and the *Northern Whig*, thirty-three boards listed were listed in the *Weekly Irish Times*, 29 Nov. 1913. Several of these must have been cancelled; it is uncertain which ones. Number 56 (Mar. 1914) of the *Shamrock* printed some results, showing the South leading 10-8 with all unfinished games to be sent for adjudication at 30 March. Then the *Cork Weekly News* on 30 May reported that the match had resulted in a draw, $10\frac{1}{2}$ each. However the earlier report did not include Frank Hobson's win for the South against O'Hanlon. Therefore it is not possible to establish a table for that match.

Ireland v. England, 1903-4 and 1906

This match, arranged by Mrs Rowland and Philip Dancer of Cornwall, was the subject of complaints because the English team was unrepresentative (see p. 223). The qualification rule was that players should be natives of the country they represented, irrespective of current residence. In all, 111 games were completed, some players taking more than one board, although there were some replacements and boards 5-6 were not played. Players had been listed at various dates, with addresses, in *Kingstown Society*. The fullest result list was in the *Weekly Irish Times*, 7 May 1904. 'England' won $68\frac{1}{2}$ - $42\frac{1}{2}$. Mrs Rowland's final attempt to organise an international in 1905 attracted little response. It was eventually played over 36 boards starting early in 1906. Several players had more than one opponent and the English team was very weak, Ireland winning $24\frac{1}{2}$ - $11\frac{1}{2}$. The final result is in the *Weekly Irish Times* on 15 Dec. 1906, listing the boards in alphabetical order of the Irish. Only board 29, where O'Hanlon drew with Cole, was master strength.

Anglo-Bohemia matches, 1905-6 and 1907-9

The chief organisers of these were Charles T. Blanshard of Bewdley, Worcestershire (one of the chess correspondents of the *Mercury* and compiler of some chess game collections) and Stanislav Trcala (1878-1920), a Czech chess editor. Both sides agreed that England had won the first match but there were discrepancies in the scores: see the footnotes. In both matches, each player played two games against his opponent. Several results shown as 1-1 may actually have been two draws. Although also unofficial, these had a better claim than Mrs Rowland's matches to be called international. There were no 'big guns' on the English side, but E. S. Tinsley was chess correspondent of the *Times Literary Supplement* and several others were county-strength amateurs or experienced postal players. There were several masters on the Czech teams, notably Frantisek Batik (1887-1985) who played competitive correspondence chess as late as 1977, and was awarded the title of International Master of Correspondence Chess in 1959.

The first match officially began in 1905 but some games did not commence until early in 1906. Games unfinished at 1 January 1907 were to be adjudicated.¹⁶

	ENGLAND	v.	BOHEMIA	1905-6	
1	F. Baird	1 0	R. Hlava	0	1
2	C. T. Blanshard	½ 0	Stanislav Trcala	½	1
3	A. Baker	1 ½	J. Hrnčíř	0	½
4	W. M. Brooke	½ 0	J. Genntner	½	1
5	G. W. Howard	1 ½	Karel Treybal	0	½
6	J. McA. McGill	1 0	K. Anderle	0	1
7	E. A. Pryer	1 1	K. Karras	0	0
8	Rev H. C. Briggs	½ 0	V. Kautský	½	1
9	J. Dyal	1 0	M. Gargulák	0	1
10	J. H. P. Ibbot	1 0	Fr. Havlíček	0	1
11	J. Rounsefell	1 0	T. Sika	0	1
12	Edward S. Tinsley	1 1	K. Holub	0	0
13	J. E D. Moysey	1 0	A. Perna	0	1
14	Rev T. H. Moyle	1 0	Prof J. Jerábek	0	1
15	Frank Tinsley	1 1	O. Pavelka	0	0
16	A. W. Daniel	1 0	K. Kraus	0	1
17	A. West	1 0	J[ulius] Pelikán	0	1
18	Rev H. C. Briggs	1 0	A. Petrnoušek	0	1
19	J. Bootherstone	1 0	K. Polák	0	1
20	F. W. Wynne	1 0	H. Kellner	0	1
21	J. Bootherstone	½ 0	Fr. Sova	½	1
22	J. Bootherstone	0 0	František Batík	1	1
		23		21	

The second match began in 1907 and the final results were returned in 1909. Players were given different opponents unless they expressly asked to meet the same ones.¹⁷

¹⁶ The result shown here is as published in Rudolf Ševeček & Jan Kalendovský, *Historie Korespondenčního Šachu 1870-1999* (Prague 1999), pp. 20-1, but English names are as in the *Mercury* where there are discrepancies. Their source was *Casopis českých šachistu* 1908-9, p. 144. The *Western Daily Mercury* at one point gave the score as 24-18 to England but in response the Czechs claimed a 21-21 tie. Both calculations apparently included some erroneous results corrected later. Board 22 was not included in the English version. The Czechs claimed a 2-0 win but the *Mercury* (21 May 1909) stated that: 'Mr Batík, of Prag, writes to apologise for not playing out the last match, and asking to be included in the present one. We have pleasure in admitting him.' It seems from the Czech history that they did eventually concede defeat due to defaults on one or two boards not included in their original count.

	ENGLAND	v.		BOHEMIA	1907-9	
1	F. Baird	1	0	Stanislav Trcala	0	1
2	C. T. Blanshard	½	0	R. Hlava	½	1
3	L. A. Dutton	0	0	František Batík	1	1
4	A. J. Prichard	1	0	K. Kraus	0	1
5	A. West	½	0	J[ulius] Pelikán	½	1
6	Edward S. Tinsley	1	1	O. Kruliš-Randa	0	0
7	W. Gledhill	1	1	A. Petrnoušek	0	0
8	W. M. Brooke	1	0	Fr. Sova	0	1
9	Rev A. Baker	1	½	T. Sika	0	½
10	P. Lawrence	1	0	F. Nachtikal	0	1
11	Rev T. H. Moyle	½	0	J. Hrcír	½	1
12	G. W. Howard	1	1	J. Záviška	0	0
13	A. W. Daniel	1	0	Karel Treybal	0	1
14	F. W. Wynne	0	0	L. Vetešník	1	1
15	J. J. Smith	0	0	František Batík	1	1
16	Rev H. R. Kruger	1	0	O. Liling	0	1
17	N. B. Holmes	0	0	Frantisek Batík	1	1
18	E. E. Westbury	½	0	H. Procházka	½	1
19	C. Platt	0	0	K. Holub	1	1
20	J. E. Smith	1	0	M. Gargulák	0	1
			16½		23½	

The only other international match correspondence match before 1914 was between the British Correspondence Chess Association and the Pillsbury National Correspondence Chess Association, 1907-9. Except that the Americans won, very little is known about that match.

Four-Leaved Shamrock matches

Mrs Rowland was the most prolific organiser of correspondence matches between 1900-14. Some of her teams were restricted to players born in Ireland. Others were styled as matches by the *Four-Leaved Shamrock* (her magazine) in which her British readers could also play. These were

¹⁷ *Western Daily Mercury*, 12 Mar. 1909, agreeing with the results given by Ševeček & Kalendovský.

essentially a continuation of what she had organised earlier through *Kingstown Society*. In 1907 her team won a match against a *Year Book of Chess* team, captained by that publication's editor, E. A. Michell of the City of London Chess Club. Issue 16 of the *Shamrock*, gave most results, showing a score of 25½-15½ with two games to be adjudicated.¹⁸ Most results of early B.C.C.A. matches are unavailable, but the one with the *Shamrock* team survives.¹⁹

	<i>SHAMROCK</i>	v.	B.C.C.A.	1908
1	F. U. Beamish	½	John Foulds	½
2	T. King-Parks	1	Charles Platt	0
3	H. Brewer	1	R. Alexander	0
4	F. N. Braund	1	A. Ellis	0
5	Rev Paul MacLoughlin	1	J. M. Craig	0
6	A. Bradley	½	H. G. Bockett-Pugh	½
7	James Simpson	1	Dr F. E. Hutchinson	0
8	Charles J. Barry	0	Miss Clara Millar	1
9	T. A. V. Haynes	½	Miss Marian Millar	½
10	W. Moorhead	1	P. Lindenberg	0
11	W. R. Todd	1	H. J. E. Whitemarsh	0
12	W. Marks	1	Major Lever	0
13	G. Belcher	0	D. S. Williams	1
14	Rev J. J. Smith	0	Rev B. Reed	1
15	Rev A. H. M. Hare	1	Maj-Gen. H. M. Bengough	0
16	F. A. Stewart	0	Rev P. Wolfers	1
17	C. K. Ogden	0	Hon V. A. Parnell	1
18	Mrs Richardson	0	J. Jackson	1
19	Alex Orr	0	Rev Evan Griffiths	1
20	Sgt. J. Brennan	1	F. de Mattos Harding	0
		11½		8½

In the 1909 match, the *Shamrock* beat the B.C.C.A. 15-9,²⁰ and their final match, in 1913-14, was won 9½-2½ by the *Shamrock* team.²¹ The *Shamrock* readers also played two matches against

¹⁸ The results appeared in the *Shamrock*, no. 16, p. 3.

¹⁹ *Shamrock*, no. 19 (Autumn 1908), p.3, & the *Weekly Irish Times*, 5 Sept. 1908.

²⁰ The 1909 match result is in the *Shamrock*, no. 24, p. 4. One result remains unknown.

²¹ *British Correspondence Chess Association Magazine*, no. 17 (Mar. 1914), p. 11.

the readers of *Chess Amateur* magazine. In 1911-12, there was a 15-15 tie.²² In the 1912-13 rematch, the *Shamrock* team won 19-12.²³

Other British Correspondence Chess Association matches

Apart from the *Shamrock* contests, the B.C.C.A. is known to have played several early matches but there is no record of most of them. In some cases, such as the 1910 matches against the Scottish ladies and the Braille Chess Club, at least the start-lists are known. The next B.C.C.A. matches of which there are full result lists (see the CD) were played against the 'Gloucestrians' and G.P.O. Savings Bank Department, about 1909-10, and the details are in *The British Correspondence Chess Association Magazine* 3 (Apr. 1910). B.C.C.A. beat the Gloucestershire team 11½-6½ and the G.P.O. 6½-5½. Magazines 14 and 16 have the results of two small matches against Jersey: 5-5 and 4½-3½ in 1911 and 1913 respectively. The former also lists a match easily won against the 'Nondescripts C.C.' in 1913. The B.C.C.A.'s last known pre-war matches were started in 1913. They lost a return to the 'Gloucestrians' by 4½-7½, which was possibly Mary Rudge's last match. She drew, playing for the opposing team, but the score has not been found.²⁴

Ireland v. English counties

B.C.M. reported towards the end of 1907 that Mrs Rowland was organising an Irish team to play the Devon County Chess Association, while H. G. Cole (then working in Newry) was looking for players for a match against the Kent Association. Devon won 41-25.²⁵ The Kent captain was W. M. Brooke, of Tunbridge Wells, who had a family connection with Ireland. That match initially gave rise to a protest from Mrs Rowland that the teams were not recruited properly. We cannot call English players who hold Government appointments in Ireland, and who have been champions in their own country, representatives of Irish chess... to organise a really Irish team it would be necessary to have the match previously announced in every chess column in Ireland.²⁶ Changes were made, as she eventually played in it herself, called it an "F.L.S." match. It was closely contested, not ending until 1911, when Kent won 20½-19½.²⁷

In 1908 Cole also arranged a match with Yorkshire, which proceeded more quickly and finished in the summer of 1909. He commented that: 'Ireland did well on the whole, and that Irish players are fast improving. But in Yorkshire, with its large manufacturing towns, and numerous

²² *Weekly Irish Times*, 25 May 1912.

²³ *Shamrock*, no. 52 p. 2.

²⁴ The result was in the B.C.C.A. club magazine 16 (Dec. 1913), p. 184.

²⁵ *Shamrock*, no. 18, p. 2.

²⁶ *Cork Weekly News* and *Weekly Irish Times*, 27 June 1908.

²⁷ The final result only appeared in the *Shamrock*, no. 34-5 (June 1911), p. 6.

matches and tournaments, players can obtain strong practice much more easily than the Irish players can.' Yorkshire won 42½-37½ after adjudications by Blackburne.²⁸ No full result list is available. The writer Philip W. Sergeant was on the team but it is unknown what Irish connection he had. The last occasion on which an Irish team played against an English county was in 1909-10, when Mrs Rowland arranged a *Four-Leaved Shamrock* match against Cornwall, winning 29-10 according to Mrs Rowland, although there was a disagreement over the final result.²⁹

The only Irish inter-county match

Irish chess was rarely organised on a county basis, but there was an energetic chess circle in Sligo just before the war, thanks to R. Smyllie, editor of the short-lived *Sligo Times* and his chess editor R. L. Clarke. The *Sligo Times* of 25 Jan. 1913 reported that although two games were lost by Queen's County (Laois) and one by Sligo on time limit (indicated by * below), the remaining games 'were all earnestly contested, and the score sheets disclosed much interesting and skilful play'.

	LAOIS	v.	SLIGO	1912-13
1	Mgr. Murphy	0	H. Loretto	1
2	J. Waldron	½	J. J. Farrell	½
3	E. N. Burke	0	D. C. Devine	1
4	A. E. Lamont	1	C. H. Binns *	0
5	W. A. Rowe	0	R. L. Clarke	1
6	C. C. Loretto (capt) *	0	G. Pettigrew	1
7	J. Jessop	½	T. J. McGowan	½
8	Mrs Waldron	1	R. Graham	0
9	W. Petty *	0	R. Smyllie	1
10	Mrs Jessop	0	J. J. Tansey	1
11	W. Proudman	1	W. Gilbert	0
12	Rev T. G. Harpur	0	M. R. Fitzmaurice	1
13	Mrs Harpur	0	W. Franks	1
14	Sgt Hegarty	1	A. Siva	0
		5		9

²⁸ The first twenty-five results appeared in the *Weekly Irish Times* on 20 Feb. 1909, and Yorkshire were leading 14-11 at that stage. The *Weekly Irish Times*, 21 Aug. 1909, gave the final score and some comments but no individual results; Cole's comment appeared there.

²⁹ *Weekly Irish Times*, 30 Apr. 1910.

Irish North v. South wartime match

A new North-South match had been planned when war broke out and was played on a scaled-down basis: see p. 266. James Armstrong enlisted shortly afterwards.

	NORTH	v.	SOUTH ³⁰	1914-15
1	Thomas, H.	½	Armstrong, Rev S. C.	½
2	Allen, W. J.	1	Beamish, F. U.	0
3	Morton, T. E.	0	Monck, W. H. S.	1
4	Ballantine, W. E.	1	Brooke, W. M.	0
5	Purdy, G. F.	0	Barry, Charles J.	1
6	McCluggage, T. B.	1	Levin, Max	0
7	Haig, J. M.	0	Armstrong, James S.	1
8	Allen, B.	1	Twomey, H.	0
9	Martin, F. C.	1	MacLoughlin, Rev P.	0
10	Leinster, J.	0	Archer, R.	1
11	McAuley, H. +	1	Wells, H. H.	0
12	McKee, W. H.	0	Rowland, Mrs F. F.	1
13	Allen, Miss	0	Bulman, T.	1
		6½		6½

³⁰ The results were published at intervals in the *Cork Weekly News*, 1915.

Appendix VI) Results of Correspondence Tourneys

THIS appendix includes detailed results of most important events and summary results of less important ones, and of those where insufficient information was published. Knock-out tournaments are listed first and then all-play-all competitions. Distinct series are kept together but a rough chronological sequence is used. Section VI b) consists of crosstables of large all-play-all events in landscape format to make them fit on an A4 page; VIc deals with all-play-all tournaments in general. VI d) covers the French tourneys in which some British players participated, and the final part, VI e) deals with Irish Chess Championships. The CD contains more data on some events.

VI a) Knock-out tourneys to 1914

The Home Circle tourney, 1853-6

Organiser: Henry Cook Mott. Sixteen players; won by C. F. Smith. See pp. 11-29.

Round One: C. F. Smith beat [F.] Gilder after replay: first game drawn.¹ R. B. Wormald beat F. G. Rainger.² "Beta" beat W. N. Auten in replay.³ "Beaver" beat Dyson.⁴ "Willie" lost to "Alpha"; see Appendix VIII.⁵ Fred R of B. beat "Contentment".⁶ T. H. Lowe (White) lost to G. B. Fraser.⁷ R. L. B. of Stoke beat V[alentine] Green.⁸ **Round Two:** Wormald (White) & Smith drew;⁹ Smith won replay.¹⁰ "Beaver" lost to "Beta".¹¹ Fred R. of B. lost to "Alpha".¹² Fraser beat R. L. B.¹³ **Semi-final.** Smith (White) beat "Beta".¹⁴ "Alpha" beat Fraser.¹⁵ **Final.** Smith beat "Alpha".¹⁶

¹ *Home Circle*, x, p. 224 (result only). The draw was in *Home Circle*, x (Jan. 1854), p. 32.

² *Home Circle*, ix (no. 227, 1853), p. 304.

³ Comments in *Home Circle*, x, p. 224. Games in *Home Circle*, ix, p. 368, & x, p. 240.

⁴ *Home Circle*, x (Jan. 1854), p. 48.

⁵ *The New Chess Player*, iv (1853), pp. 80-3.

⁶ *Home Circle*, x (no. 235), p. 16.

⁷ *Cassell's*, i (Dec. 1854), p. 407.

⁸ Although, in volume 10, Mott claimed to have published all first round games bar one that was replayed, this game is not to be found in either volume 9 or 10.

⁹ *Cassell's*, i (Dec. 1854), p. 415.

¹⁰ *Cassell's*, ii (5 May 1855), p. 151.

¹¹ *Cassell's*, i (Aug. 1854), p. 271. Mott apparently made a mistake, naming Robinson instead of 'Beaver'. See *Home Circle*, x, p. 224.

¹² *Home Circle*, x, p. 424, reprinted in *Cassell's*, n.s. ii (1858), p. 95. *The Era*, 8 Oct. 1854, published another game between the same players, perhaps a friendly.

¹³ *Cassell's*, i (1854), p. 319.

¹⁴ *Cassell's*, ii (14 July 1855), p. 231 (drawn), and the replay in volume ii (1 Sept. 1855), p. 279.

Birmingham Mercury tourney, 1854-6

Organiser: T. H. Lowe. This was the second correspondence tournament: sixteen players; apparently unfinished.¹⁷ The players were divided into two divisions of eight, with a play-off intended. There is no information beyond the start of round three (the divisional finals). An innovation was that two games were played in each pairing, with the same colours, and if the 'A' game was drawn, the second game counted. See pp. 236-7.

FIRST DIVISION

Rd 1: F. G. Rainger beat G. B. Fraser; R. B. Wormald beat J. A. Conroy (Dublin); 'Sigma' (Birmingham) beat W. Evill; F. Gilder beat 'Nemo Chits' (NB: anagram of Mitcheson).

Rd 2: Wormald beat Rainger; 'Sigma' beat Gilder. **Rd 3:** Wormald-'Sigma', result unknown.

SECOND DIVISION

Rd 1: W. N. Auten beat Alward; D. F. Ralli beat G.B.H. (Birmingham); R.L.B. (Stoke) beat M.W.M. (Birmingham); A. E. (Manchester) beat 'Nemo' (London).

Rd 2: W.N. Auten v. Ralli: Ralli stood well, but resigned the games as he was going abroad; A.E. bt R.L.B. These players have been identified respectively as Richard Burnard and Aristides Eumorfopoulo (see Appendix IX). **Rd 3:** W.N. Auten v. A. E., result unknown.

Cassell's tourney-1, 1856-60

Organiser: Henry Cook Mott, in *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*. Thirty-two players. Two games were played in each pairing as in the Birmingham event. Winner: James White. For these events, see also pp. 237-9.

A full reconstruction of the pairings for this tournament was attempted, but is not given here. It is uncertain because of some contradictions in the sources and probable misprints in the sources. Several players were identified by initials or pseudonyms. Players competing in this event included Gilder, Rainger and probably Mitcheson from earlier tournaments, Cluley (author of *Philosophy of Chess*), Francis Harvey of Torquay (usually referred to as 'F. H. of Torre'), G. W. Farrow (a well-known Hull amateur) and W. G. Crook of Norwich, whom White defeated in the first round.

On 21 Aug. 1858 (p.191) the column explicitly states who were the semi-finalists: 'The prizes are now contended for by G.P.Y, Mr E. Johnson, J.W. (of Lowick) and Mr M Lancaster.' This possibly means they all played each other at this stage, but on 8 Oct. 1859 it stated that the distribution of prizes 'is awaiting the termination of the game between Messrs E. Johnson and J. White... The third prize falls to Mr Beaver and the fourth to Mr M. Lancaster'. This 'G.P.Y.' is also mentioned in an initial pairing, but never otherwise, and 'Beaver' seems to fill the gaps.

¹⁵ *Cassell's*, ii (11 Aug. 1855), p. 255.

¹⁶ *Cassell's*, iii (19 Apr. 1856) p. 127.

¹⁷ The information about this tournament is from the *Birmingham Mercury*, various weeks between 30 Sept. 1854 and 1856.

The final announcement (18 Feb. 1860) stated that: 'The prize-bearers in the Tourney just concluded are: 1st. Mr J. White, Lowick; 2nd. Mr E. Johnson, Ryde; 3rd, Mr W. Beaver, Manchester; 4th Mr M. Lancaster, Huxley.' L. Beaver was a Manchester player; the W. may be a misprint. Games between many of these players, published in the column, imply that in the semi-final White beat Lancaster & Johnson beat Beaver, and then that Beaver beat Lancaster in a play-off for third prize.

Cassell's tourney-2, 1859-64/5

Organiser: Henry Cook Mott, in Cassell's *Illustrated Family Paper*. Thirty-two players. Winner: James White.

This was the event which *The Chess Bouquet* said took six years for White to win. Although seven of the eight third round players can be identified, it is not certain whom White played in round three, and there are other gaps that prevent a complete reconstruction. Among the players eliminated early in this tourney were Rainger (beaten by White in round two), D. W. O'Connor of Sligo, William Coates (who later played in the Postcard match), A. Holloway (chess editor in Bristol and later Australia), and Charles White, an army doctor later better known as the problemist 'C. W. of Sunbury'.

The tourney (usually called Tourney-2 by Mott) began on 2 July 1859 when the first round pairings were published in the *Family Paper* (NS iv, p. 79). On 20 Sept. 1862 (NS x, p. 271) a short note names the last four who are competing for the prizes: A. Kempe, W. H. Codner, White and 'F. H. of Torre', but Mott mistakenly called this Tourney-3. Maybe he was thinking of the *Home Circle* tourney as number one, or was in a hurry, or the printer misread his writing. (In all these cases where there are discrepancies, it is necessary to remember that the chess editors delivered their copy in manuscript; in particular this accounts for frequent confusions between I and J).

If the *Bouquet* is right, then in the semi-final, White defeated Harvey, who had beaten Holloway to get there, while Kempe (in his only tourney) defeated Codner. White then defeated Kempe in the final, which ended late in 1864 or in 1865. A general problem with Mott's reports was that once he began a new tourney, he rarely said anything about any earlier ones still in progress.

Cassell's tourney-3, 1860-?

Organiser: Henry Cook Mott, in Cassell's *Illustrated Family Paper*. Thirty-two players. The competition was probably completed but the winner is unknown due to inadequate documentation in the column. A first division of sixteen players (eight pairings) began on 25 February 1860, and another eight pairings on 20 October. The tournament had fewer recognisable names and several pseudonyms: 'Tilly' was possibly a woman. James White lost in the first round (to E. Geake of London, a weak player), probably through concentrating on the later stages of tourney-2. The P.

O'Farrell defeated in round 1 of the third *Cassell's* tourney was possibly the Belfast player who went to America in 1862 and later was champion of Connecticut (see Appendix IX).

Results for this event are incomplete. Charles H. Cox, a known Liverpool player, reached the semi-final, as did a John Cowen. The Rev F. C. Hamilton who won at least his first two rounds was probably T.C.D. graduate Francis Charles Hamilton from Donaghmore, diocese of Limerick; nobody else in the 1860-70 *Crockford's* matched his initials.

Cassell's tourney-4, 1863-?

Organiser: Henry Cook Mott, in *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*: A record 128 players started and the pairings were published on 25 April 1863. All first round results are known with the exception of 'Daisy' v J. B. Smith, which Mott overlooked, allowing both players in one other pairing to advance. The round two pairings were all published, but at long intervals. This tournament was unfinished at the closure of the column in March 1867, and although it is known to have still been running shortly afterwards,¹⁸ it was almost certainly uncompleted.

Players who finished their games quickly were re-paired for the next round and consequently some winners ended up far ahead of the pack. J. Sarratt won five rounds and on 30 Sept. 1865 it was stated that he 'awaits opponent' for the semi-final. Other players who eventually reached round five (the quarter-final) were T. Smith (whom Sarratt then defeated); G. W. Farrow, for whom no opponent was named; B. Weaver (secretary of the City Road Club in Islington) who was then to play Henry Jenner Hope of Wales (later losing finalist in the first *Bow Bells* tournament).

Players who reached round four were E. H. Heath of London (defeated by Sarratt); James F. Hope (lost to Smith); James White (lost to Weaver); Coates (lost to H. J. Hope); R. Dunderdale of Bolton (lost to Farrow); and three for whom no further information is available: 'Emmett' (awaiting an adversary on 30 Sept. 1865), J. McWilliams (of Belfast) and possibly Thomas Root. Some players were still playing round two towards the end of 1865; no more is known of their progress.

Boy's Journal tournaments, 1863-5

Organiser: George Frederick Pardon, in the *Boy's Journal*. (The 'Captain Crawley' pseudonym was not used.) A tournament of sixteen players was mooted in the first issue (in 1863) and began in issue 3 (vol. 1, pp. 115-7), with one Dublin player, and was won by F. Richards (Swansea). A second began in issue 7, with another Dublin boy, H. W. Ormsby, who won it. A third tournament began in 1864 and another was mooted but the final results of these were not published. The only named player who distinguished himself later at chess was Henry Brewer of Bournemouth

¹⁸ An answer to a correspondent in *Reynolds's Miscellany* on 25 May 1867 said: 'The Tourney to which you refer is still in existence; and the probability is that it will not be terminated for at least two years. The number of members originally consisted of upwards of one hundred.'

who was playing not chess but in the draughts tournament (*Boy's Journal*, ii, pp. 368-9). The reference on p. 238, n63, to boys playing correspondence tourneys may refer to these competitions.

Cassell's tourney-5, 1865-?

Organiser: Henry Cook Mott, in Cassell's *Illustrated Family Paper*. Thirty-two players.

Complete results of rounds one and two are available, but once more players progressed at different speeds. When the column closed in March 1867, James White was playing the third round against 'Canada', known from a hint in another column to be a man called Peirson from Bury St. Edmunds. A game between them, won by White, later appeared in *Reynolds's Miscellany*. The only other certain round three pairing is Wisker v. Weaver, no outcome known.

Other players (including Farrow and Weaver) were still playing round two when the column closed. On 9 March 1867 the column and paper ended, but Mott was said to be completing his tournaments through the post. At that stage tourney-4 and tourney-5 could not yet be finished and no end to tourney-3 had been announced, although it was probably either finished or abandoned.

London Journal tournament(s), 1859

Organiser: 'Captain Crawley' (George Pardon). See pp. 240-2. Thirty-two players started one tournament and another, which J. H. Blackburne had entered, was being prepared when the column ended. The competition was probably not completed. Three games were published by Pardon elsewhere: they involved Codner, Crook, and Geake who all played in *Cassell's* events.

Parlor Journal tournament, c. 1861

This publication is unavailable for the relevant years. The only reference found to this event was when Rainger published two games in his *Norfolk News* column, 8 July 1861. The unidentified Norwich player mentioned used the pseudonym 'Jacoi' for several years. He had looked for a correspondence opponent in the *Home Circle* and had a game in the *Birmingham Mercury* some years earlier, but did not play in those tournaments.

The following games, which have been played by correspondence between Mr C. H. Cox (of Liverpool) and a Norwich amateur, are taken from two recent numbers of the *Parlor Journal*, being match games in connexion with that publication; and as one of the competitors is a member of our club, we believe it will give the games more interest than they otherwise would have attracted. As each competitor has scored one game, we are given to understand that they are now contesting three games, the victor of two being entitled to one of the prizes offered by the Chess Editor of the *Parlor Journal*.

Household Chess Magazine gambit tourney, 1865

Organiser: "Toz" (T. H. Hopwood). This tournament for sixty-four players, in which gambit openings were required, was announced in the magazine but was probably unplayed due to the title closing. Issue number one (31 Jan. 1865, pp. 9-10) announced a Gambit correspondence tournament for 128 players, with players allowed to enter up to 4 times, as advertised in a prospectus. This was clearly too ambitious. Issue two included several suggestions from readers, e.g. that 2nd, 3rd and 4th entry fees be abolished or made optional. There was some variation in terms of tournament. Players need not play gambits but those who wish to do so should state this when entering, so they can be paired with others of same disposition. The possibility of women entering was also raised: see p. 284.

Young Men of Great Britain tourneys, c. 1868

Organisers: 'Captain Crawley' (George Pardon), succeeded by J. J. Löwenthal. See pp. 242-3. Three tournaments were begun and it is known that Charles Benbow won one of them, but it could have been the second or the third (or both).

The first tournament, for thirty-two players, began on 13 May 1868; Farrow was the only 'name' and some players were pseudonymous. An Irishman named F. Cane was in the list. Some of the results announced did not seem to match the original pairings and progress cannot be tracked.

The second tournament also began in May 1868, with sixteen players including Benbow and F. C. Collins, later chess editor of *Brief* and a noted problem expert. It is known from volume 4, p. 254 that Benbow beat Collins in the third round (i.e. semi-final) of the second tournament. So it was probably this tournament that he won, although his final opponent cannot be identified.

The third tournament began on 13 Oct. 1868, with both Benbow and Collins in the field; Collins beat W. J. Bearne in the first round, but again the publication of results was inadequate. There were twenty-one entrants for a fourth tournament by 1 May 1870 (vol 5. p. 206) including Amos Burn and C. J. Lambert, as well as Benbow, Collins, and V. Portilla of Cambridge University, but they needed more players and this event never began.

Gentleman's Journal tourney(s), c. 1870-71

Organiser: H. F. L. Meyer. See p. 242. A tournament for thirty-two players was begun: two groups of sixteen listed in the January 1870 supplement. Collins and Mary Rudge (who won her game in eleven moves) were in the first group and the second group included James White (playing Joseph O'Brien from Lurgan), Emily Rudge (paired with Francis Monnelly from Naas), John Jordan from Sheffield (later a strong player), and Hopwood was paired with Chatto. This was potentially a very interesting event but it appears to have collapsed. A few results were reported and

defaults were mentioned. Meyer admitted in issue 109 (February 1871) that things had not gone well, naming twenty players now in the event; Benbow, Nash and Lambert were among the new additions. He said some of the thirty-two 'have not written lately, we have to go on with the above'. Meyer, however, was chiefly interested in problems and there was little evidence of progress that year, although a draw between Mary Rudge and Collins 'in our chess tourney' was later published, and a game in which Benbow beat Nash.

Then in the February 1872 supplement he made a new attempt to reconstitute the old tourney with sixteen players, and to start a new one. Later in that year, publication ended.

Chess Players' Quarterly Chronicle thematic tourney(s), c. 1870-3

Organiser: Rev A. B. Skipworth. See pp. 245-6. Two series of tourneys were run while Skipworth was editor. The first (one for clubs and one for individuals) was to test certain opening variations (to play out positions following specified opening moves).

Club tournament: In 1870, eight clubs were sought but only five entered. Bristol beat Birmingham 1½-½. In the other match, Sheffield resigned Game 2 early against Newcastle after a clerical error (*C.P.Q.C.*, ii, p. 89), but they won the principal game. Then Sheffield beat Bristol 1½-½ in the final. There was no opponent for Bradford who had also been prepared to play.

Individuals' tournament: *The Field* said fourteen players had entered, but only twelve were named in the magazine: W[illiam] Bolt, E. Walker (Cheltenham), S. G. Kempson, Thomas Bourn, B. W. Fisher, Dr Lloyd (Birmingham), Valentine Green, J[ames?] Charleton, W.T. Pierce, John Halford, Rev Ellis (then London) and James White (then Newcastle).¹⁹ Therefore there must have been byes and the exact course of the tournament cannot be determined. It was eventually announced that 'Mr Bourn, now residing at Clifton, has carried off the prize in the correspondence tourney, beating Mr Walker, Mr Bolt, Mr V. Green, and others. The prize is £2 2s.'²⁰

Irish Sportsman & Farmer tournament, 1871

The first Irish correspondence tournament; see pp. 243-4. Organiser: J. A. Rynd and/or Thomas Long. Sixteen players competed, the first round (drawn by lot at the City and County of Dublin Chess Club) being published in the paper on 4 Feb. 1871. The column closed but the tournament appears to have continued and was probably won by George Frith Barry.

¹⁹ *C.P.Q.C.* ii, p. 217; *The Field*, 16 Apr. 1870.

²⁰ Supplement I to *C.P.Q.C.*, iii (following p. 320, with the Aug. 1873 number in the Moravian Chess reprint). Bourn had previously lived at Whitby. He did not actually play Green, who had been defeated by Dr Lloyd in the first round. Bourn first beat Halford, then Fisher. His third opponent is unidentified and Walker was his final opponent.

Three games won by Barry, and said to be from the tournament, were published by him in his *Irish Fireside* column on 12 Jan., 6 Apr., and 1 July 1885. As there were only four rounds, this meant he at least reached the final. One of those three was against Larminie, known to have been his first round opponent. Also on 10 Mar. 1884 he published a win against Cranwill, 'Game played by correspondence some years since'. Cranwill was also in the first round draw, so if Barry's game with him was in the tournament too, it follows that Barry won the event. The only other preserved game that may have been from the tournament was Thomas Long v Rev E. Buckley,²¹ assuming that both players won their first round.

Chess Players' Chronicle tourneys, 1873-6

Organisers: Rev J. H. Ellis & Rev A. B. Skipworth. See pp. 245-6. Three tourneys, each of eight players, were completed. The results published in the magazine were as follows.

Tourney-1 (1873-4). Rd. 1: Gossip beat Kempson; Archdall beat Major Martin; [Rev J.] Coker beat J. Burt; W.T. Pierce beat B. W. Fisher.

Semi-final: Gossip beat Archdall; W. T. Pierce beat Coker.

Final: Gossip beat Pierce and won £1 10s; Pierce, 2nd prize of 10s.²²

Tourney-2 (1873-4). Rd. 1: W. Garraway beat A. Godwin; J. F. Ryder beat G. B. Cocking; E. Walker beat E. Sonneborn (who had contributed £1 towards prizes) and (*a late pairing not in vol. 3, p. 346*) H. Brewer v H. Molson.

Semi-final: Garraway v. Ryder; Walker v. Brewer *or* Molson (unknown which).

Winner: Walker (Ryder resigned both games).²³

Tourney-3 (1874-6). Rd. 1: Rev T. H. Archdall beat R. W. Johnson; Dr Vines beat H. Fry; Burt beat Rev T. S. Carnsew; W. T. Pierce v Fisher was the other pairing. **Semi-final:** unknown. **Winner:** Archdall, with Burt second.²⁴

The Amateur Chess Magazine tournaments, 1872-4

Four tournaments were begun: two in 1872 and two in 1873. It is unknown if any were completed; there are no results of later rounds. The magazine closed soon after the organiser, J. T. C. Chatto, went to Cambridge. See p. 246, which also mentions other tournaments begun by Chatto, but probably not completed, in the 1870s.

²¹ *Westminster Papers*, iv (Mar. 1872). Buckley would be the 'Rev Mr B' who was paired with a 'Rev Mr D' in round one. There is no E. Buckley in the *Irish Church Directory* of 1871, so he was either retired or not an Anglican; Rev E. Buckley was a founder member of the City and County of Dublin Chess Club.

²² This was the success on which Gossip prided himself so much!

²³ *C.P.Q.C.*, iv (1874/5), pp. 361-4.

²⁴ *C.P.C.*, v (Feb. 1876), p. 46. Games from the final in *Glasgow Weekly Herald* 22/4/1876.

Tourney -1. Began in the first issue so must have been arranged in advance. Sixteen players including Long of Dublin, the Rudge sisters, a Miss Flintoff from Newcastle, Benbow etc. Progress unclear due to insufficient reporting.

Tourney -2. Originally asked for 32 players but began with 16. Two players entered twice! Emily Rudge (not Mary) and Miss Flintoff played again; also Nash, W. T. Pierce and some other recognisable names. Eventually (June 1874) it was stated that the fifth round was between M. Jordan (Sheffield) and R. W. Johnson; that would be the final in a 32-player event, so more may have started later. A third and fourth tournament also began but the magazine did not give full information on progress.

Edinburgh Magazine tournaments, 1872 -3

James White began two eight-player tournaments. See p. 244, n97.

Tourney -1. F. Woodmass defeated in turn R. W. Johnson and J. Stonehouse (who had beaten G. C. Heywood). Ben Craggs beat Benbow and was playing Farrow (who had beaten Nash). The winner of that was to play Woodmass in the Final but it is unknown whether the event was concluded. Some issues of the magazine appear to be missing and publication concluded abruptly.

Tourney -2. Only three first round results were published.

Recreationist tournaments, 1873

James White started three sixteen-player tournaments but after January 1874 the magazine was only about draughts. The following is known.

Tourney -1 (began March 1873): Four first-round winners are known: Johnson, Stokoe, Stonehouse, and Woodmass. Mary and Emily Rudge were both playing.

Tourney -2 (began April 1873): The only known first round winner was Nash. Mary Rudge probably withdrew when her sister died.

Tourney -3 (began April 1873): No results known.

British Chess Association tourney, 1873-5

This was a strong sixteen-player tournament organised by Löwenthal; see pp.244-5. Its latter stages received little publicity as he fell ill and resigned most of his columns soon after it began. The following complete reconstruction has now been made.

Round One: Ranken beat G. O. Cutler; E. Thorold bt Rev W. Beckett; B. W. Fischer beat J. I. Minchin; F. W. Clarke beat H. A. Fry; F. J. Young beat J. White; W. P. Warren beat J. Stonehouse; J. T. Ryder beat T. Guest; C. Benbow beat H. J. (really Miss) Francillon.

Round Two: Ranken beat Thorold; Fisher beat Clarke; Young beat Warren, and Benbow beat Ryder. **Semi-Final:** Ranken beat Fisher; Young beat Benbow. **Final:** Ranken beat Young.

Bow Bells tournaments, c. 1874-80

Three tournaments were played at intervals, organised either by C. F. Potts or his father who began the puzzle page in *Bow Bells*. As these tournaments were not mentioned in other publications, it has only been possible to reconstruct the first of them. See p. 246, n111. After the title was relaunched as a more upmarket paper, there was also a fourth tournament in 1890.

Tourney-1 (Nov. 1874-June 1879). Most of the thirty-two players are unknown or little-known. A few had played in the *Cassells* events; others became prominent later. The winner W. J. N. Brown is otherwise unknown but must have been quite a strong player as he beat J. Jordan in the semi-final and then in a long-drawn-out final he defeated H. J. Hope (whose previous opponent was Sergeant-Major McArthur). The tourney took so long to finish because Brown and Hope tied their original final match with one game each and one draw. They then played a new match which Brown won.

Tourney-2 (1877-?). No results are known beyond round one. This is the earliest tourney in which P. S. Shenele is known to have competed, winning in round one. Some of the players who had recently started the Postcard Match played in this event: E. Palmer, R. J. Stranger, and Monck.

Tourney-3 (1882-?). Twenty-four mostly unknown players. Few results known.

Rev Archdall's first tournament, 1875?-6

Before his pioneering all-play-all tournament (see below), Archdall ran a knock-out tournament. It is mentioned in the *Westminster Papers*, vol. 9 (Aug. 1876, p.77): the Tyneside player E. Peart beat William Nash in two games to win Archdall's tournament. The start-date was therefore probably in 1875, and the competition must have ended by July 1876. There were probably only eight players, as in the events previously run by Ellis for *C.P.C.*

William Nash's first tournament, 1876

William Nash of St Neots, before his series of all-play-all tournaments, organised a knock-out tournament. There is no explicit information about pairings and results, one of the problems being that 1876, with the closure of two magazines in the Spring, was a poorly documented year. Some games were, however, published. Early in 1877 (pp. 55-6), Ranken published, in the *C.P.C.*, an 'interesting game played in Mr Nash's Correspondence Tourney 2d Round', and in June 1877 (p. 134) a game won by W. T. Pierce against F. Woodmass, saying 'in Mr Nash's correspondence tourney, first round'. Nash's all-play-all tournament was only announced later in 1877. A game won

by Pierce against Farrow was said to be from the third round of Nash's correspondence tourney?²⁵ this implies four rounds and hence an original entry of sixteen. The *I.L.N.* published the games from the final in November 1877: Archdall beat W. T. Pierce 2 -0.²⁶

Amateur World tournaments, 1876-7

J. T. Palmer organised three eight-player tournaments, mostly for chessists on Humberside. These were all completed, but the second was left as a tie after the final match was drawn.

Tourney-1 (Apr. 1876-Mar. 1877). Rd. 1: Farrow beat A. Loseby; J. Parker (Grimsby) beat M. Jordan (Sheffield); R. H. Philip w/o v Capt. Beaumont (London); J. T. C. Chatto beat J. T. Palmer. **Semi-final:** Parker beat Farrow; Philip beat Chatto. **Winner:** Parker.

Tourney-2 (Oct. 1876-May 1878). Rd. 1: J. Crake beat McArthur; J. N. Mortson beat Parker; D. Sargent beat Colour-Sgt. H. Woods (Chichester); B. Morris w/o; Farrow beat G. W. Stevens. **Semi-final:** Crake beat Mortson; Sargent beat Farrow. **Final:** Sargent & Crake scored 1 -1 and agreed to share the prizes.

Tourney-3 (July 1877-April 1878). Rd. 1: Farrow beat McArthur; J. Jacobsen (Hull) beat S. Smith; B. Morris w/o; R. H. Philip beat G. W. Stevens. **Semi-final:** Jacobsen beat Farrow; Philip beat Morris. **Winner:** J. Jacobsen.

Hull tournament, 1878-80

After the closure of the *Amateur World* and the departure of its chess editor J. T. Palmer and local organiser from Kingston-upon-Hull, J. Crake organised one eight-player tournament, beginning on 27/4/1878 in the *Hull Miscellany*. It transferred to the *Bellman* (see Appendix II d). Most of the players were from Humberside, but not the winner.

Round One. Charles Ballard (Chichester) beat W. E. Trumble; J. C. Hurley beat J. W. Day; Miss C. A. Holroyd beat E. E. Street; J. N. Mortson (best player in the Catholic club in Hull) beat J. T. Palmer. **Semi-Final:** Ballard beat Hurley; Mortson beat Holroyd.

Final: C. Ballard beat J. N. Mortson (now in Yarmouth).

Albion Club tournament, 1879

The first members' tournament of the Albion Corresponding Chess Club was run as a knock-out in 1879 by its secretary, J. W. Snelgrove. Information is only fragmentary. The third round (semifinal) pairings were listed in *C.P.C.* (1879, p. 253) so there must have been sixteen competitors

²⁵ *Huddersfield College Magazine*, vi (Nov. 1877), p. 49.

²⁶ *I.L.N.*, lxxi (24 Nov. 1877), p. 511, with a correction on 8 Dec. (p. 558).

originally. The players still in the event were: F. M. L. Heriot (of Ladybank, Scotland) v. G. D. Soffe (Dublin), and W. Searle (Truro) v. F. W. Clarke (Bury St Edmunds). The outcome of these, and of the final, is unknown. Games were published in which Soffe beat W. Ball (Torquay) and (possibly from this event) T. Brown (of London), who are unknown.

Royal Exchange and first *Preston Guardian* tournaments 1879-81

Chatto began the first *Royal Exchange* tournament and then J. T. Palmer took over the column, and ran more tournaments. See pp. 246-9.

Royal Exchange tournament 1879. Eight players, including two NCOs and one civilian from Chichester, and a married couple from Clifton, Mr and Mrs G. M. Welch. Sergeant-Instructor Scott beat Sergeant-Major McArthur in the Final. Isaac Bryning lost to Scott in round two.

Preston Guardian 1879-81. A sixteen-player tournament begun in the *Royal Exchange* and then transferred to the *Preston Guardian*. This was Sergeant-Major William McArthur's best result in correspondence chess, beating in succession F. F. Pott (Birkenhead), Bryning, Blake, and Parker. Monck won his first round. Also in this event was B. G. Laws, later problem editor of *B.C.M.* for many years. J. Clothier won a consolation tournament for the eight first-round losers.

Burnley Express tourney, 1881-3

In 1881 J. Thursby announced a tourney with a prize presented by his father, Col Thursby, but the column ended in 1882. Four games were published.²⁷ There may have been sixteen competitors. Locke Holt, Isaac Bryning, Erskine and Vincent won their first round pairings. A note in the *Sussex Chess Magazine*, 6 Dec. 1882, stated that H. W. Butler was now conducting the *Burnley Express* tournament, but no further information appeared. The last news was Locke Holt winning his pairing in a later round against H. Blanchard from Dolphinholme, near Lancaster.²⁸

Preston Guardian second tourney, 1881-3

With thirty-two mostly experienced players, this was the strongest tournament played on the all-play-all system. Bryning, a senior local policeman, used the pseudonym 'Enul'. A third-place match was abandoned when Jordan died. There was also a sixteen-player consolation event for first-round losers. When the *Preston Guardian* column ended, Monck and James Young of Glasgow were still playing the final of that, but the main event was completed. The full results are shown on the next page because of the importance of this competition.

²⁷ *Burnley Express*, 4 and 11 Feb. 1882.

²⁸ *Preston Guardian*, 16 May and 4 July 1883.

Round 1	Round 2	Round 3	Rd 4 (Sf)	Final
A.T.Marriott v. F.A. Vincent W. McArthur	A. T. Marriott W. McArthur	A. T. Marriott		
C.Hanson J.N.Broughton	J.N.Broughton		A. T. Marriott (Nottingham)	
J.W. Sladen Sgt J. Scott	Sgt J. Scott	J. N. Broughton		
J.H. Palliser J. Jordan	J. Jordan			A. T. Marriott
C.H.C.Richardson H.W. Butler	H.W. Butler	J. Jordan		
H.J. Hope J. Parker	J. Parker		J. Jordan (Sheffield)	
J. Walker J. Keeble	J. Keeble	J. Parker		
J. Mackenzie				
Locke Holt	Locke Holt			WINNER: A. T. Marriott
F. Thompson R. K. Leather	Leather	Locke Holt		
D. Cudmore P.S. Shenele	P.S. Shenele		Locke Holt (Wrexham)	
H. Turner J. H. Blake	J. H. Blake	Inspector P.S. Shenele		
J. Young				Locke Holt (Wrexham)
W.H.Gunston	Gunston			
W.H.S. Monck J. Russell	J. Russell	W. H. Gunston		
E. B. Lowe J. Clothier	J. Clothier		W. H. Gunston (Cambridge)	
E. Wallis "Enul" (Bryning)	"Enul"	J. Clothier jr.		
A. Smith				

Croydon Guardian tournaments, 1882-5

These were probably organised by the chess editor, Joseph Steele. There is little information about this. After 1882 the *Croydon Guardian* was unfit for use in the British Library but 1882 was seen and some information appeared in *C.P.C.*, which stated that the column ended before the tournament was completed. *The Chess Bouquet* stated that E. J. Winter-Wood went through unbeaten. Also in the tournament were J. H. Blake (as yet quite inexperienced), P. S. Shenele, Isaac Bryning, Carslake Winter-Wood, J. T. Palmer, and lesser-known players.

There was also a second tournament for players who had never won previously played in a correspondence tourney. Herbert Jacobs was the winner.

First Scottish Chess Association tournament, 1885-7

John D. Chambers might be regarded as the first Scottish correspondence champion as he won a sixteen-player tournament organised by the association soon after its commencement. However, Fraser was not in the field. At the end of the event, the full record of results appeared in the *Glasgow Weekly Herald* on 30 July 1887 .

Round One: David Forsyth (Glasgow) beat W. R. Stewart (Dalmellington); J. H. Scott (Inverness) beat James Young (Glasgow); J. Mackenzie (Islay) beat J. C. Bremner (Broughty Ferry); George L. Miller (Berwick-on-Tweed) beat William McCombie (Glasgow); James Phillips (Helensburgh) beat William Heggie (Glasgow); Edmund Hunt (Glasgow) beat W. W. Robertson (Edinburgh); John D. Chambers (Glasgow) beat G. P. Galloway (Edinburgh); John Court (Glasgow) beat David M. Latta (Edinburgh).

Round Two: Forsyth beat Scott; Chambers beat Mackenzie; Court beat Miller; Hunt beat Phillips. **Semi-Final:** Court beat Forsyth; Chambers beat Hunt. **Final:** Chambers beat Court.

Sussex county tourney, 1889-90

This tourney was run by the Sussex Chess Association, and began on 19/1/1889 with twenty-four entries. These were reduced to twelve, then six, and the last three played a final pool, ending 5/9/1890. The competition was reported on various dates in the *Southern Weekly News* and then the latter stages in the *Sussex Chess Journal* (3 Feb. and 5 Sept. 1890). Most of the strongest Sussex players did not enter. In round two, J. V. Elsdon had to replay his match with Mrs Arthur Smith after a draw. Then he beat E. Dobell in round three.

In the final pool, Elsdon scored 1½ pts, Dr Graham (second on 1pt.) and A. R. Maller, third on ½ pt, from which it may be deduced that Elsdon beat Graham and Graham beat Maller.

Bow Bells tournament, 1890

This tournament was organised by the second chess column of *Bow Bells* after the paper's re-launch. The competition was announced in January (vol. 9, no. 107, p. 70) and began with 16 players on 31 January. At this date knock-out tournaments were rather unusual but the editor was probably following the plan of previous events run by the paper. There were no players of note, and some used pseudonyms, which was also unusual so late in the century. The second round pairings appeared in August (vol. 11, no. 135, p. 119) and the column ended at the end of 1890 with no more being said about the competition. One of the first round losers was J. Young of Dublin, who had been the ineffectual last secretary of the Irish Chess Association and was later Hon. Sec. of the Dublin Chess Club.²⁹

Cricket and Football Field tournament, 1908-10

After 1890, the knock-out system was seldom used for important correspondence tournaments, until 1908 when two organisers made an attempt to revive it, probably because it seemed appropriate to their circumstances. The organiser of this event, F. Baird (better known as a problem composer) rejected the round-robin system for economic reasons which were already stated on pp. 249-50. As his tournament only had twenty-four entries, this involved him in arranging byes.

It began on 14 March 1908 and ended in 1910. The column did not publish full results, so the event cannot be reconstructed. The winner, at least, was a strong player: A. W. Daniel of Bridgend, defeating G. W. Wright in the final. One of the people Wright earlier defeated was Thomas King Parks of Manchester, an Irishman who regularly played in Mrs Rowlands' competitions.

'Silver Queen' Correspondence Chess Championship of Ireland, 1908-12

Mrs Rowland organised the first Irish correspondence championship, unusually for her, on the knock-out system, probably to encourage a maximum entry. Subsequent events were played as all-play-all groups, sometimes in two stages. In order to keep all Irish Championships together, they are collected below in section VI d).

²⁹ There had earlier been a James Young of Glasgow (sometimes London) who played correspondence tournaments in the 1880s, but the name is common; it is unknown if they were the same person. There could even have been three J. Youngs.

VI b) Crosstables of large Round-Robin Tourneys

C.P.C. Handicap	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	*
A Gossip, G. H. D.	X		1	0		0	1/2	1	1	0	0	1	1	1/2	1/2	3 1/2
A Skipworth, A. B.		X	1/2	1	1	1/2	1/2	1		1	1	1	0	1	1	5.44
B Brewer, H.	0	1/2	X	0		1/2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2.38
B Nash, William	1	0	1	X	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	8.02
B Downer, G. R.		0		0	X		0	0		1	1		1		1	2.13
C Coates, William	1	1/2	1/2	1		X	1	1	1	1	1/2	1	1	1	1	9.84
C Rebbeck	1/2	1/2	0	0	1	0	X	1	1	1	1/2	1	1	1	1	7.6
D Biggs	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	X	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	5.17
D Murray, A. K.	0		1	0		0	0	0	X	1	0	1	0	0	0	3.08
E Stevens, G.	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	1	0	0	4.48
E Bell, Rev J.	1	0	1	0	0	1/2	1/2	1	1	1	X	1/2	1	1	1	11.03
F Clothier	0	0	1	1		0	0	1	0	1	1/2	X	1	1	1	9.80
F Thursby, J.	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	X	0	1	6.21
G Macdonald	1/2	0	1	0		0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	X	1	9.74
G Pugh	1/2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	X	3 1/2

Table source: *C.P.C.*, new series iii (Nov. 1879), p. 254. The first column shows the class to which the player was assigned. The final column is not a sum of the actual game results but of the adjusted handicap scores.

Appendix VI b: Round-Robin Tourney Crosstables

Nash tourney 1877-80	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	Pts	
1 Archdall, Rev T. H.	X		0			1						0	1/2				1			0	0	2 1/2	Retd.
2 Bryan, Hugh		X		1		1			1		0	0				1	1				1/2	5 1/2	
3 Bryning, Isaac	1		X	1/2		1				0		0	0	0	0			0		0	0	2 1/2	Retd.
4 Copping, J.		0	1/2	X			0			0	1/2		0	1		0		0	0	0	0	2	
5 Downer, G. R.					X		1/2		1			1	1/2		1			0	1		1	6	3rd
6 Farrow, G. W.	0	0	0			X	0			1/2	1	0	0	0		1	0	1	1			4 1/2	
7 Gossip, G. H. D.				1	1/2	1	X	1		1				1		1	1/2	1	1/2		0	8 1/2	
8 Hope, H. J.							0	X		0	0		0	1	1	1/2		0		0		2 1/2	
9 Johnson, R. W.		0				0			x	0		0		0	0					0		0	
10 Latta, D. M.				1		1/2	0	1	1	x	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1/2	0		9	
11 Monck, W. H. S.		1	1	1/2		0		1		0	x	0	1/2	1	0	1	1/2	1/2	0			7	
12 Nash, William	1	1			0	1			1	1	1	x	1	0	1		0	0	1/2		1	9 1/2	4th
13 Parker, J.	1/2		1	1	1/2	1		1		0	1/2	0	x	1	1/2	1	1/2		1	0	1	10 1/2	
14 Philip, R.H.			1	0		1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	x	0	1	0	1/2	0	0	0	5 1/2	
15 Pierce, W.T.			1		0			0	1	0	1	0	1/2	1	x		0	0			1	5 1/2	
16 Procter, M.		0		1		0	0	1/2		0	0		0	0		x	0					1 1/2	
17 Ranken, Rev C. E.	0	0	1			1	1/2		1	1	1/2	1	1/2	1	1	1	x	0			1	10 1/2	2nd
18 Sanders, Rev T. C.				1	1	0	0	1		1	1/2	1		1/2	1		1	x				8	5th
19 Sargent, D.			1	1	0	0	1/2			1/2	1	1/2	0	1					x	0	1	6 1/2	
20 Skipworth, Rev A. B.	1		1					1	1	1			1	1					1	x	1	9	1st
21 Vines, Dr H. J. K.	1	1/2		1	0		1						0	0	1	0		0	0	0	x	4 1/2	Retd.

Appendix VI b: Round-Robin Tourney Crosstabes

Brighton Guardian (Butler's) tourney		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Pts
1	J. Russell Glasgow	X	0	1	1	1	1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1				9½
2	William H. S. Monck Dublin	1	X	1/2	1/2	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1				9
3	Joseph H. Blake Southampton	0	1/2	X	1/2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1				8
4	William Timbrell Pierce Brighton	0	1/2	1/2	X	1/2	1	1/2	1/2	1	1	1	1				7½
5	F. A. Vincent Dursley	0	0	1	1/2	X	1	1	0	1	0	1	1				6½
6	W. G. North Hull	1/2	0	0	0	0	X	1	1	0	1/2	1	1				5
7	Horace F. Cheshire Hastings	0	1	0	1/2	0	0	X	1	0	1	1/2	1/2	W			4½
8	G. A. Hooke London	0	0	0	1/2	1	0	0	X	1	1/2	1	0				4
9	G.E. Houghton Anerley, London	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	X	0	1/2	1				3½
10	Arthur Smith Brighton	0	0	0	0	1	1/2	0	1/2	1	X	0	1/2		W	W	3½
11	William Nash St Neot's	0	0	0	0	0	0	1/2	0	1/2	1	X	1				3
12	W. J. Gotelee (blind) Wokingham	0	0	0	0	0	0	1/2	1	0	1/2	0	X				2
13	Peter S. Shenele + Barking							L						X	W		
14	Isaac Bryning Blackburn										L			L	X		
15	C. H. C. Richardson London										L					X	

Fifteen players started; one died and two withdrew. 'L' and 'W' indicate losses and wins in games finished by Shenele before his death and the last two before they withdrew. Shenele was said to have scored 5½ pts. from seven games but his other results are unknown.

Appendix VI b: Round-Robin Tourney Crosstables

UK International 1887-9			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Pts	%	*
1	Blake, J. H.	ENG	X	1	1	1	1	1/2	1	0	1	1	1	1	1/2	1	0	1	1/2	1	13½		13½
2	Archdall, T. H.	ENG	0	X	0				0					0							0		0
3	Gunston, W. H	ENG	0	1	X	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1/2	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	13½		13½
4	Pilkington, R.	ENG	0		0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1/2	1	0	1	4½	28.1	4.78
5	Ayre, F. F.	ENG	0		0	1	X	1	1/2	0		0		1	1/2	0	1	1/2	0	1	6½	46.4	6.96
6	Cheshire, H.	ENG	1/2		0	1	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	1	1/2	0	1	1	1	1	7	43.8	7.44
7	Monck, W.H.S.	IRL	0	1	1	1	1/2	1	X	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1/2	11		11
8	Barry, G. F.	IRL	1		0	1	1	1	1	X	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1/2	1	13½	84.4	14.3
9	Neill, James	IRL	0		0	1		1	0	0	X	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1/2	7½	50	8
10	White, H. V.	IRL	0		0	1	1	1	0	0	0	X	1	1	1	0	1/2	1	0	0	7½	50	8
11	Gerahty, E. F.	IRL	0		1/2	0		1	0	0	0	0	X	1	0	0		1	0		3½	25	3.75
12	Woollett, M. S.	IRL	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	1/2	0	0	1/2	0	1	3		3
13	Chambers, J. D.	SCO	1/2		0	1	1/2	1/2	1	0	0	0	1	1/2	X	0	1/2	0	0	1	6½	40.7	6.91
14	Fraser, G. B.	SCO	0		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	X	1	1	0	1	14	87.5	14.88
15	Lennox, G. W.	SCO	1		0	1/2	0	0	0	0	1	1/2		1	1/2	0	X	0	0	1/2	5	33.3	5.33
16	Comrie, J.	SCO	0		0	0	1/2	0	1	0	1	0	0	1/2	1	0	1	X	1/2	1	6½	40.6	6.91
17	Bremner, J. C.	SCO	1/2		0	1	1	0	0	1/2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1/2	X	1	10½	65.6	11.16
18	Russell, John	SCO	0		0	0	0	0	1/2	0	1/2	1		0	0	0	1/2	0	0	X	2½	16.7	2.67

Archdall withdrew early and the blank spaces in the table show where some other games were unplayed. The percentage score in the penultimate column was used to calculate the adjusted score shown in the final column. This table also corrects two errors in the table published in the *Dublin Evening Mail*. Woollett was shown beating Archdall (but not reverse) and Archdall was shown as losing to Comrie (but not the reverse). It must have been Woollett as otherwise the stated team totals are not right. Also Woollett v Cheshire was shown as a win for both players, which cannot be right. A win for Cheshire is probably correct but the game was not published.

Appendix VI b: Round-Robin Tourney Crosstables

Scottish C.A. tourney-2		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	Pts
1	Latta, D. M.	X	1	1/2	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	13 ^{1/2}
2	Sandeman, P.	0	X	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1/2	1	1	13
3	Bremner, John C.	1/2	0	X	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12
4	Comrie, John	0	0	1/2	X	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11 ^{1/2}
5	Russell, John	0	1/2	0	1	X	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11 ^{1/2}
6	Chambers, J. D.	0	0	0	0	0	X	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
7	Baxter, Daniel	1	0	0	0	1	0	X	1	1	1	1/2	1	1	1	1	0	9 ^{1/2}
8	Gauld, Alex	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	1	1	1/2	1	0	1	1	1	6 ^{1/2}
9	Kemp, Rev R.	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	1/2	1	1	1/2	1	1	6
10	Miller, Geo L.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	X	1	0	1	0	1	1	5
11	McCombie, Wm.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1/2	1	0	X				1	1	
12	Ritchie, Dr A.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1		x	0	1	1	1	
13	MacDonald, Rev F.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0		1	x		0	1	
14	Sutherland, Geo.	0	1/2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1		0		x	1	1	
15	Young, James	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	X		
16	Duncan, Dr E.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		X	

Table in *B.C.M.*, ix (1889), p. 250. Totals were not stated for the players who retired with unplayed games.

Dublin Evening Mail (Warder) tournaments

Mail tourney-1, 89-90		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Pts	%	
1	Billups, R.	X	0	0	1	0	1	1/2	1/2	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	1	9		
2	Blake, Joseph H.	1	X	1	1	1	1	0	0	1/2		1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	13	78.1	5
3	Cheshire, Horace F.	1	0	X	1	1	1	0	1	1		1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	13	81.2	3
4	Doheny, J.	0	0	0	X	0				0		0	0	0			0			0		
5	Gunston, Wm. H.	1	0	0	1	X	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	14	82.4	2
6	Harvey, E. R.	0	0	0		0	X	0	0	0	0				0					0		
7	Holt, Locke	1/2	1	1		0	1	X	0	1	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	12 1/2	83.3	1
8	Nash, William	1/2	1	0		0	1	1	X	0	1	1/2	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	10	62 1/2	6
9	Monck, W. H. S.	1	1/2	0	1	1	1	0	1	X	1	1/2	1	1/2	1	1	1	1	1	13 1/2	79.4	4
10	Pilkington, R.	0	1	1		0	1	0	0	0	X							0	0	3		
11	Elson, Franklin	0	1/2	0	1	0	1		1/2	1/2		X		0	1	1	1	1	1	8 1/2		
12	Woollett, Marcus S.	1	0	0	1	0		0	0	0			X	0	0	0	1	0		3		
13	Keir, Samuel	0	0	1	1	0		0	0	1/2		1	1	X	1	1	0	0	0	6 1/2		
14	Nicholls, William	0	0	0		0	1	0	0	0		0	1	0	X	0	0	1	1	4		
15	Johnson, R. W.	0	0	0		0		0	1	0		0	1	0	1	X	1	0	1	4		
16	Gamman, J. B.	1	0	0	1	0		0	0	0		0	0	1	1	0	x	0	1	4		
17	Wisbey, J. C.	1	0	0		0		0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	X	1	8		
18	Last, C. W.	0	0	0		0		0	0	0	1	0		1	0	0	0	0	x	2		

The percentage rule applied to unplayed games determined the distribution of prizes in the final column.

Source of the table: *Dublin Evening Mail*, 18 Dec. 1890.

Appendix VI b: Round-Robin Tourney Crosstables

Mail tourney-2 1890-3		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Pts	
1	Rudge, Mary	X	1/2	1	1	1	.	0	1	0	1	1	1	1/2	1/2	1	1	1	1	.	1	13 1/2	2=
2	Monck, W. H. S.	1/2	X	1/2	1	1	.	1/2	0	0	1	1	1	1/2	1/2	0	0	1	1/2	.	1/2	9 1/2	7=
3	Fawcett, Rev R. H.	0	1/2	X	1	.	.	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	1/2	0	.	1	9	
4	Johnson. R. W.	0	0	0	X	.	1	0	0	.	.	.	1	.	0	0	1	0	1	1	.	5	
5	Cheshire, Horace F.	0	0	.	.	X	1	0	r	1	1	0	.	.	.	1	.	0	0	.	0	4	
6	Wisbey, J. C.	r	r	r	0	0	X	.	0	0	0	.	.	0	.	0	.	0	
7	Billups, Robert	1	1/2	0	1	1	.	X	0	.	1	1/2	1	0	1	1/2	1	1	0	1	1	11 1/2	4=
8	Gunston, Wm H.	0	1	1	1	*	1	1	X	1	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	16	1
9	Kelly, J. C.	1	1	0	.	0	.	.	0	X	.	0	.	0	0	1	.	0	0	0	.	3	
10	Nicholls, William	0	0	1	.	0	.	0	.	.	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	.	0	.	0	1	
11	Middleton, D.	0	0	1	.	1	.	1/2	0	1	1	X	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	.	1	8 1/2	
12	Last. C. W.	0	0	0	0	.	.	0	0	.	1	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	.	1/2	1 1/2	
13	Muir, W.	1/2	1/2	1	.	.	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	X	1	0	1	1/2	0	1	1	11 1/2	4=
14	Letchford, T.	1/2	1/2	0	1	.	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	X	1/2	1/2	0	0	.	1/2	7 1/2	
15	Brunton, W.	0	1	0	1	0	.	1/2	0	0	1	1	1	1	1/2	X	1	1/2	0	1	1/2	10	6
16	Martin, J.	0	1	0	0	.	.	0	0	.	1	1	1	0	0	1/2	X	1	0	1	0	6 1/2	
17	Russell, John	0	0	1/2	1	1	1	0	0	1	.	1	1	1/2	1	1/2	0	X	1/2	.	1/2	9 1/2	7=
18	Neill, James	0	1/2	1	1	.	.	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1/2	X	1/2	1	13 1/2	2=
19	Probert, G. A.	.	.	.	0	1	1	0	0	1	.	.	.	0	.	0	0	.	1/2	X	1	4 1/2	
20	Pilkington, R.	0	1/2	0	.	1	.	0	0	.	1	0	1/2	0	1/2	1/2	1	1/2	0	0	X	5 1/2	

Games marked 'r' were unplayed due to retirement of the opponent. The percentage rule applied to unplayed games.

Source of the table: *Dublin Evening Mail*, 19 Oct. 1893 (with some corrections of obvious misprints).

Appendix VI b: Round-Robin Tourney Crosstables

Mail-3, 1892-4		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	Pts	%	
1	Monck, W. H. S.	X	1	0	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1/2	1	1	1	0	0	11 1/2	67.6%	6
2	Winn, Dr R. M.	0	X	1/2	1	0	1	0	0	1/2	1		0	0	1	0		0	0	5		
3	Brunton, William	1	1/2	X	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	0	1	0	1	0	1	12 1/2	78.1%	5
4	Billups, R.	0	0	0	x	0			1		0		0	0	0	0		0	0	1		
5	Larminie, W. R.	1	1	0	1	X	1	1	0	1	1			1/2	0	0		1/2	0	8		
6	Pilkington, R.	0	0	0		0	X	1/2	0				0			0				1/2		
7	Fisher, W. R.	0	1	0		0	1/2	X	0		1	0	1	0	1/2	0	0	0	0	4		
8	Kempson, M.	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	X		1	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	5		
9	Wisbey, J. C.	0	1/2	0		0				X	1			0		0	0	0	0	1 1/2		
10	De Salis, Rodolph	0	0	0	1	0		0	0	0	X			0	0		0	0	0	1		
11	Gartnell, J. H.	1						1	1			X	0							3		
12	Neill, James	0	1	0	1		1	0			1	1	X				1/2	0		5 1/2		
13	Sandford, Philip	1/2	1	1	1	1/2		1	1	1	1			X	1/2	0	1	1	1/2	11	78.6%	4
14	Birks, J.	0	0	0	1	1		1/2	1					1/2	X	1/2	1	0	0	5 1/2		
15	Balson, H.	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1			1	1/2	X	1	1/2	0	12	80.0%	3
16	Russell, J.	0		0				1	1		1		1/2	0	0	0	X	0	0	3 1/2		
17	Bellingham, G.	1	1	1	1	1/2		1	1	1	1		1	0	1	1/2	1	X	1/2	12 1/2	83.3%	2
18	Blake, J. H.	1	1	0	1	1		1	1	1	1			1/2	1	1	1	1/2	x	12	85.7%	1

Source of the table: *Dublin Evening Mail*, 28 June 1894.

Appendix VI b: Round-Robin Tourney Crosstables

Mail-4 1894-6	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Pts	Pos
1 Monck, W. H. S.	X	1	1	1	½	1	0	1	1	1	½	1	½	1	1	1	1	1	0	½	15	<i>2nd</i>
2 Fisher, W. B.	0	X	0		0	1	½	0	0	1	1				0	0				0	3½	
3 Sandford, Philip	0	1	X	0	0		0	1	0	1	1	½	1	1	1	1			1	0	9½	
4 Chatto, J. T. C.	0		1	x	½	1	½	0	0	1	1			1	½	0			0	0	6½	<i>rtd</i>
5 Andrews, R. H.	½	1	1	½	x	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	½	1	1	0	1	13½	<i>5th</i>
6 Barnett, H. H.	0	0		0	0	x	½	1	0	1	1	½			0	½	0	1		0	5½	
7 Blake, Joseph H.	1	½	1	½	1	½	x	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	½	1	1	1	1	1	17	<i>1st</i>
8 Brunton, William	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	x	0	1	1		1	1	1	1			0	1	11	<i>7th</i>
9 Johnson, R. W.	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	x	1	1	1	½	½	1	0	1	1	1	1	14	<i>3/4=</i>
10 Briggs, Rev H. C.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	x	½	1	0	1	1	0	0		½	0	4	
11 Briggs, Rev H. C.	½	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	½	x	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	4	
12 Winn, Dr R. A.	0		½		0	½	0		0	0	0	x	0	0	0	0		1		0	2	<i>rtd</i>
13 Wheeler, Rev A. W.	½		0		0		0	0	½	1	1	1	x		1	0	1	1	½	0	7½	
14 MacGrath, T.	0		0	0	0	0	0	½	0	1	1			X	1	0	0	0	1	0	4½	
15 Brackenbury, G. B.	0	1	0	½	1	1	½	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	x	1	0		0	0	7	
16 Trenchard, H. W.	0	1	0	1	½	½	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	x	1	1	1	½	12½	<i>6th</i>
17 Crewe, W. Outram	0				0	1	0	0	0	1	0		0	1	1	0	x	1	0	0	5	
18 Dupre, G. J.	0				0	0	0		0		0	0	0	1		0	0	x		0	1	<i>rtd</i>
19 Erskine, Henry	1		0	1	1		0	1	0	½	1		½	0	1	0	1		x	0	8	<i>rtd</i>
20 Bowley, A. A.	½	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	½	1	1	1	x	14	<i>3/4=</i>

Source of the table: *Dublin Evening Mail*, 1 Oct. 1896. A curiosity in this tournament is that as a result of a replacement, Rev Briggs played as both #10 and #11, i.e. he played everybody else with both White and Black, with a draw against himself. Chatto replaced the original player #4, M. Kempson, who had died.

Appendix VI b: Round-Robin Tourney Crosstables

Mail tourney—5 '96-8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	Pts
1 Monck, W. H. S.	X	1/2	1	1	0	1		1/2	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	8
2 Crutwell, Walter H	1/2	x	1	0	1/2	1	1	1	1/2	1	0	1/2	0	1/2	1	1	1	11/2
3 Briggs, H. C.	0	0	x	0	0	0			1/2							0	0	1/2
4 Sandford, Philip	0	1	1	X	1	1		1	1	1		0		1	1/2	1	1	10 1/2
5 Erskine, Henry	1	1/2	1	0	X	1	1/2		0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	8
6 Beale, H. B.	0	0	1	0	0	x	1	0	0	1	1/2		1	0	0	0	1	5 1/2
7 Biggs, J. H.		0			1/2	0	x		0	0		0					1	1 1/2
8 Arnold, W. H.	1/2	0		0		1		x	0	0	0		1				0	2 1/2
9 Nolan, D. J.	1	1/2	1/2	0	1	1	1	1	x	1		1/2	1/2	1	0			9
10 Platt, Charles	0	0			0	0	1	1	0	x	0	0		0	0	0	0	2
11 Wheeler, Rev A. W.	0	1			1	1/2		1		1	x			0	1/2		1	6
12 Brunton, William	1	1/2		1	0		1		1/2	1		x		1/2	0	1		6 1/2
13 Johnson, R. W.	0	1			0	0		0	1/2				x	0	0	1		2 1/2
14 Jones, R. F. B.	1	1/2		0	1	1			0	1	1	1/2	1	x	1	1/2	1	9 1/2
15 Macdonald, Dr R. C.	1	0	1	1/2	1	1	1		1	1	1/2	1	1	0	x	1	1	12
16 Thomas, George A.	0	0	1	0	0	1				1		0	0	1/2	0	x	0	3 1/2
17 Bumpus, A. A.	1	0	1	1	0	0		1	1	1	0			0	0	1	x	7

Source of the table: *Dublin Evening Mail*, 27 Oct. 1898, saying that the tournament was ‘rapidly drawing to a conclusion’. Sandford-Nolan was the only result subsequently published in the paper (*Mail*, 15 Dec. 1898). Arnold, Biggs & Briggs had retired so unfinished games against them were to be scored on the percentage system, making Macdonald’s final score 12.8 pts. Sandford, who also had one unplayed game, could tie with Macdonald by scoring 1 1/2 against Johnson & Wheeler, or win outright by beating them both. The absence of a final announcement is puzzling.

Appendix VI b: Round-Robin Tourney Crosstables

B.C.M. Tourney Final 1910-12			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	Pts
1	Griffiths, Rev E.	Lewes	X	1	1	1	1	1	½	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	13½
2	Parnell, Hon V. A.	Sittingbourne	0	X	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	½	1	12½
3	Gunston, W. H.	Cambridge	0	0	X	1	1	1	1	1	½	0	1	1	1	1	1	10½
4	Birmingham, E.	Dublin IRL	0	0	0	X	1	1	1	0	0	1	½	½	1	1	1	8
5	Mewton, A. W.	Truro	0	0	0	0	X	1	1	½	½	1	½	½	1	1	1	8
6	Cole, Dr S. J.	Devizes	0	0	0	0	0	X	½	1	½	1	½	1	1	1	1	7½
7	Jackson, W. E.	Leeds	½	0	0	0	0	½	X	1	½	0	1	1	1	1	1	7½
8	Shedden, C. T.	Sydenham	0	0	0	½	1	0	0	X	0	½	1	1	1	1	1	7
9	Robinson, S.	Ballylone IRL	0	0	½	1	½	½	½	1	X	0	0	0	1	1	1	7
10	Penyer, J.	Kingswinford	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	½	1	X	½	½	1	½	1	7
11	McOwan, J. B.	Godstone	0	0	0	0	½	½	0	0	1	½	X	1	1	1	1	6½
12	Todd, A. C. *	Tunbridge Wells	0	0	0	½	½	0	0	0	1	½	0	X	0	1	1	4½
13	Dodd, J. *	London	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	X	½	1	2½
14	Robson, W. W. *	Newcastle	0	½	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	½	0	0	½	X	1	2½
15	Yates, F. D. *	Leeds	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0

Source: *B.C.M.*, xxxii (1912), p. 333; a few errors have been fixed. The *B.C.M.* table scored a draw for Parnell against Robson but 0 for Robson against Parnell. This game was published in *B.C.M.*, xxxi (1911), pp. 144-5. It was drawn, so the table has been corrected. This table places Birmingham fourth on tie-break, because he won their individual game., but the magazine showed Mewton ahead. Here * indicates that the player concerned withdrew before completing all his games, but the table does not distinguish between lost and defaulted games because the source does not always provide that information.

VI c) Round-Robin Tournaments to 1914

DETAILED results are available for several of the more important competitions but in many cases insufficient information was published. Cross-references are included to the large crosstables, which were presented above because they required a separate page each.

Archdall's tournament, 1876-7

Information about Archdall's only round-robin tournament is scanty. It began on 2 December 1876 with seventeen players and a game which concluded on 19 March was published.¹ The event was decided in about eighteen months. John Crum of Glasgow, the *Chronicle* Problem Editor, won the £10 silver cup without losing a single game.² From the games published in the *Chronicle* and the *Newcastle Courant*, the following are known to have been competitors: Skipworth (Lincolnshire), R. W. Johnson (Lancaster), Brewer (Bournemouth), McArthur (Chichester), W. L. Biggs (London), Murray (Glasgow), John Copping and William Nash (both St Neots), Matthew Procter and Francis Woodmass (Tyneside). H. Browne (Bournemouth) was named; this may be a misprint for Brewer. Archdall himself probably played but the others can only be speculated upon.

Nash's tournament series, 1877-88

Nash's first round-robin tournament, modelled on Archdall's with some modifications to the rules, certainly began late in 1877. Soon after the start, the *Chronicle* listed the twenty-one entries for 'Mr Nash's Corresponding Tourney', with addresses.³ This was a strong tournament. Progress reports were twice published in *C.P.C.* during 1878-9; the latter crosstable is reproduced on page 495 but it is incomplete. Although some players withdrew and did not finish their programme of games, others including Skipworth certainly advanced their score beyond this point.

The tournament did not end until 1880. In the June issue of the *Chronicle*, reported that Skipworth had won the cup. Second was Ranken himself and third was G. R. Downer of Chichester, the fourth and fifth prizes still depending on the outcome of the only unfinished game. This report also stated that Nash had recently begun his second twenty-one player tournament.⁴ The final

¹ *C.P.C.*, n.s. i (1877), pp. 158-9 with the game Skipworth-Johnson. For the announcements of Archdall and Nash's tournaments, see Appendix VII.

² *C.P.C.*, n.s. ii (June 1878), p. 138.

³ *C.P.C.*, n.s. ii (Jan. 1878), p. 20. The first crosstable in April (p. 87) showed early results.

⁴ *C.P.C.*, n.s. iv (June 1880), p. 185.

information was seen in the January 1881 issue of *B.C.M.*, stating that Nash himself had won fourth prize and (Rev T. C.) Sanders was fifth.⁵

The documentation of the later tournaments in Nash's series is disappointing. According to the *Preston Guardian*, there were nineteen players in his second tourney, which began in December 1879. They were named with their residences as: Rev J. Bell (Brighton), Rev C. E. Ranken (Malvern), Briggs (London); Brittan (Huntingdon); Clothier (Street); Hope (Scotland: probably H. J. Hope), Isaac (Bath); Lambert (Exeter), 'Lune' (i.e. Bryning of Blackburn), Monck (Dublin); Nash himself, Palmer (Cullompton, i.e. E. Palmer), Parker (Grimsby), Philip (Hull), W. T. Pierce (Brighton), Rebbeck (Bournemouth), Sanders (Chard), J. Thursby (Eton), and F. A. Vincent (Dursley). Possibly two more players joined the tournament as Ranken said in June 1880 that there were twenty-one playing, as before. The first issue of *B.C.M.* stated that Ranken was (at the end of 1880) leading the second tournament with eleven wins and one loss.

Ranken went on to win this tournament which had begun during 1880 but information about this and Nash's later tournaments is sparse and sometimes a little contradictory. It is not even certain exactly how many tourneys there were and when they were played, but the following reconstruction shows there were probably seven all-play-alls, including the first two won respectively by Skipworth and Ranken. Rowland's columns are the source of the most details on the later events, his information probably coming from Monck and other Dublin players involved in these events.

In 1884, when announcing the start of a new event (which he said was the fifth or sixth), Rowland attempted to summarise the history so far.⁶ 'In the first one that came under our notice the first prize was won by the Rev A. B. Skipworth.⁷ In the second the Rev C. E. Ranken gained first prize. In the third Mr Gunston won first, Messrs Lambert and Israel tieing for second prize.' At this point, Monck was leading the current tournament, ahead of W. T. Pierce but there were still some games to be played, so he thought it likely the new event would be played simultaneously with the end of the old, and this does indeed seem to be what happened through most of the 1880s. That fourth event originally had 21 players, but two retirements and the death of Shenele (for whose widow Nash raised a subscription, limited to the contestants, which raised £10) it was reduced to 17, with those games cancelled.⁸ The death of Shenele dates the start of Nash's fourth round-robin tournament to somewhere between late 1882 and mid-1883. The third tournament, won by Gunston, therefore probably started in 1881 and finished late in 1882 or early in 1883. A published game between Vincent and S. Israel (London), who was not in the second tourney, confirms the

⁵ *B.C.M.*, i (Jan. 1881), p. 5.

⁶ *Irish Sportsman*, 23 Aug. 1884. It was the fifth all-play-all.

⁷ This implies that Rowland was unaware of Nash's previous knock-out tournament. Perhaps he suspected something as he said the new event would be the fifth 'if not the sixth'.

⁸ Police records show Shenele died of pleurisy on 10 Nov. 1883: British National Archive, MEPO 4/2 and 4/488. The subscription fund was mentioned in *B.C.M.*, iv (1884) pp. 54 & 249.

event must have been under way by mid-1882.⁹ There is almost no other information about this third tournament.

That fourth tournament continued until November 1885 because of a long Blake-Monck game, which Monck needed to win to take first prize, but eventually he lost it.¹⁰ The leading positions in that tournament were therefore as follows, according to Rowland in 1885: 1st= W. T. Pierce and F. Budden 14/17; 3rd= Blake and Monck 13½; 5. H. F. Cheshire 12½; 6. C. W. Jarvis 10½; followed by Vincent, Nash, and Rebbeck 9½, Arthur Smith 9, and James Pierce 8½.

The fifth Nash all-play-all tournament was therefore the one which began in 1884. Although several games from these tournaments were published in English columns and magazines, they are usually just described as being played in 'William Nash's tourney' so this is not very helpful — particularly because of time lags between the completion and publishing of games, because the games in the tournament were commenced serially not simultaneously, and because many players competed in several of these events. Some clues are available: Mrs Arthur Smith played in the fifth tournament whereas her husband played in the fourth.

For information on the outcome of the fifth and later Nash competitions, the only detailed records are statements made by the Rowland in 1887 and 1888, and one must rely on their accuracy, trusting that Monck was in an excellent position to give them correct information. In 1887, the *Mail* stated that a Nash tournament was about to end and the prizes were decided.

The game between Mr W. H. S. Monck, Dublin, and Mr H. V. White, Portarlington, on the result of which the destination of the second, third and fourth prizes depended, has terminated in a draw, and the prizes are awarded as follows: 1st prize - D. Y. Mills, London. Won 16½. 2nd & 3rd prizes. Monck & Blake 15½. 4th prize. John Russell, Glasgow, 14 and 1 to play. 5th prize. H. V. White 12½. 6th prize W. Nash 11 and 1 to play.¹¹

It said there were twenty competitors, and each had to play eighteen games, which is either a misprint or somebody withdrew. The article also stated that two other Dublin players, Captain M. S. Woollett and E. F. Gerahty, made 'very creditable scores', Woollett even defeating Blake.¹² It also stated that, 'in the tournament just concluded', W. T. Pierce, 'though he made a good score, was unplaced, and Mr Budden did not compete'. To determine which event in the Nash series was that won by Mills with strong Irish participation (it was in fact the sixth), one must be somewhat critical of the next paragraph in the 1887 article which provides the invaluable count-back information:

In Nash's previous Correspondence Tourney Mr Monck tied with Mr Blake for third and fourth prizes, he having lost only half a game each to Messrs W. T. Pierce and F. Budden, who tied for first and second prizes. The fifth was won by Mr H. F. Cheshire.

⁹ *Land and Water*, xxxiv (26 Aug. 1882) p. 176.

¹⁰ *Irish Sportsman*, 21 Nov. 1885.

¹¹ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 17 Mar. 1887.

¹² That game was published in the *English Mechanic*, xliii (14 May 1886), p. 245, and the *Dublin Evening Mail*, 20 May 1886. So this tournament can be dated approximately 1886-7.

The word 'previous' appears to be misused here, or else Rowland became understandably confused. Since it has already been established that the event won by Pierce and Budden was the fourth, the vital new information is that Cheshire won the fifth, and the one just ended must have been the sixth.

One more was played, although the *Mail* did not provide the final result. Writing in May 1888, about a Nash tourney 'which has been in progress for several months past', it said that 'the average number of games completed by each competitor in this tournament, is fifteen, and, although not yet concluded, a fair idea of how they will be placed for the prizes may be gathered from the following leading scores.'¹³

These were: J. Russell, Glasgow 12/15; C. J. Lambert, Exeter, 11½ out of 15; Monck, 11½ out of 16; E. F. Gerahty, Dublin, 10/14; G.A. Hooke, London 11½ out of 18; W. J. Gotelee, London 9½ out of 14; Nash 9/15.

The final result of that event has not been found, but to summarise the above information, there were seven all-play-all tournaments organised by Nash, with the approximate dates and winners as follows.

1st tourney (1877-80): 1. A. B. Skipworth; 2. C. E. Ranken.

2nd tourney (1879-81?): 1. C. E. Ranken.

3rd tourney (1881-3?): 1. W. H. Gunston; 2= Israel & Lambert.

4th tourney (1882-85): 1= F. Budden & W. Pierce; 3= Blake & Monck.

5th tourney (1884-6?): 1. Cheshire.

6th tourney (1885-7?): 1. Mills.¹⁴

7th tourney (1887-8?): Unknown, but probably won by Russell or Lambert.

C.P.C. handicap tournaments, 1878-9 and 1880-2

A crosstable was published for the first of the handicap tourneys organised by Ranken for the *Chess Player's Chronicle* but the handicap weightings made it hard to interpret; also not all games were played. The table on page 494 shows the actual results of games played and then the player's adjusted score. For the original complicated table, see the *Chronicle*.¹⁵

The second C.P.C. handicap was run as a 'normal' tournament with material odds being given where players' classifications differed. This was an exception to the general rule that material odds were not given in postal competitions. If the difference was 1, the higher-ranked player conceded pawn and move; this is not explicitly stated but they were the normal odds for a one-class

¹³ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 10 and (corrections) 17 May, 1888.

¹⁴ The *Southern Weekly News*, 9 May 1885, published a game by Mills. This is probably the only correspondence tourney in which he played. Had he played the fifth also, it is hard to believe that Cheshire would have won it because Mills was a far stronger player. The event could possibly have begun in late 1884.

¹⁵ C.P.C., n.s. iii (1879), p. 254. The scoring system was explained in C.P.C., n.s. ii (1878), p. 113.

difference. If the higher ranked player was in Class 1 and his opponent in Class 3, the higher-ranked player moved first, conceding odds of the exchange (rook for knight), which is less than knight odds and arguably, in correspondence chess, less of an advantage than pawn and two moves (the normal handicap with a class difference of two). Detailed results are unavailable but John Halford of Birmingham was prematurely announced as winner, despite the difficulty of being in the highest class to win the tournament.¹⁶ The fullest account appeared in *Land and Water*, as follows.

The Handicap Correspondence Tourney which has for the last two and a half years been going on in connection with the late series of *Chess Players' Chronicle* has at last ended, and with the following result:— First prize, Mr J. W. Snelgrove, 9½ games out of 12 played; second prize, Mr J. Halford (deceased), 10 games out of 13 played; third prize, Rev W. H. Gunston, 9 games out of 12 played. The first prize winner was in Class 3, the other two in Class 1. The prizes were £5, £3 and £1 10s. It appears that Mr Halford was considered to have made sure of the first prize by his score, and to please him in his dying condition, the last stages of consumption being then upon him, the amount of first prize was handed to him by Mr Ranken, and it had to be paid over again to Mr Snelgrove, whereby Mr Ranken stands a loser of £2. Meritoriously Mr Halford was really the topmost, and amongst other facts going to make him so we understand that through his illness he had to resign a game to Mr Snelgrove that must have almost certainly ended in a draw.¹⁷

Leeds Mercury tournaments, 1879-84

Organised by James White. There is little detailed information about these, because he gave preference to local news. White's previous experience as player and organiser was with knock-out tournaments that had experienced difficulties. Soon after he began the column, in September 1879, the possibility of a tournament was mentioned a few times and at least one section began by January 1880.¹⁸ They were evidently small groups with only six or seven players. The first group ended in a tie on four points each between Messrs G. W. Farrow (Hull), E. Wallis (Scarborough) and G. H. Bays (Wakefield).¹⁹ The other section apparently ended in 1881 but no result was found.

A new series began in 1883, with three groups of six players each starting in April after some discussion on how best to organise the competition, so that known strong players and experienced players would be separated.²⁰ A fourth group probably also started, including Locke Holt, who was named as an early entry but whose name did not appear in the first three groups. These sections ended about March 1884.²¹

¹⁶ *B.C.M.*, i (1881), p. 392, said that the last game in progress, between Nash and Snelgrove, would decide second prize. 'The first prize, value £5, has been won by Mr J. Halford, of Tipton, who, we greatly regret to hear, is in such a state of ill health that his life is despaired of.'

¹⁷ *Land and Water*; xxxiii (27 May 1882), p. 398. Potter was mistaken in calling Gunston 'Rev'.

¹⁸ *Leeds Mercury*, 3 & 17 Jan 1880.

¹⁹ *Leeds Mercury*, 20 Nov. 1880.

²⁰ *Leeds Mercury*, 10, 17 & 24 Mar., 7 & 14 April 1883.

²¹ *Leeds Mercury*, 5 Mar. 1884. *C.P.C.*, journal series viii (1 Oct. 1884), p. 137, published a game by Holt said to be from the *Leeds Mercury Supplement* tourney.

The first of the 1883-4 sections was won by H. Balson (Derby) 5/5 with J. Russell (Glasgow) second, losing only to Balson. Nothing was said about the second section. Section III was won by W. Ives (Leeds) 4½/5 with Alex Byron (Halifax) second with 4. Several players in this group were interested in a new tourney so White called for entries. It seems doubtful, however, that the *Leeds Mercury* arranged any more events.

Albion Club second tournament, 1880-3

Snelgrove announced his intention of starting a new Albion event as soon after 1 November 1880 as possible.²² It was an all-play-all, not completed until 1883. *B.C.M.* summarised the outcome, and it seems from the following that a percentage scoring system must have been used.

The Second Tourney of the Albion Corresponding Chess Club, for which fifteen competitors entered, has resulted in Mr B. Askew of Northwich winning the first prize, £4, with the good score of 12 won, out of 14 games played; Mr J. F. Sugden, of London taking the second, £2, with 9 out of 13; Mr F. P. Carr of London, the third, £1, with 8 out of 12; and Mr J. N. Broughton of Warminster the fourth, 10s, with 8½ out of 13.²³

C.P.C. tournament, 1882

In 1882, the *Chess Player's Chronicle and Journal* started a series of correspondence tourney games, which were published in instalments while they were in progress.²⁴ At least twenty-three games were begun, of which eleven were left unfinished at the end of the year when publication was suspended. Players included Blake, Lambert, J. T. Palmer and Vincent. No continuation or result of this event was seen in 1883.

British Chess Magazine tournament, 1882-3

This event, organised by Ranken, was discussed on p. 261.²⁵ The crosstable is on the next page. Under the controversial rule used in this event, the unplayed games of Erskine, who withdrew, were scored as draws for the opponents.

²² *C.P.C.*, iv (1880), p. 255.

²³ *B.C.M.*, iii (1883), p. 109.

²⁴ *C.P.C.*, journal series ii (1882), not properly indexed; the pages where the event was mentioned or moves published were pp. 143, 152, 167, 202, 248 (start of play), 267, 296, 324 (full list of players), 336 (first moves in some games), 346, 358, 368, 384, 432, 444, 480, 485, 504, 528, 540, 557, and 580.

²⁵ For a fuller account, including the few known games, see T. Harding, 'Correspondence chess: *B.C.M.* tournaments 1882-83 and 1908-12', in *Quarterly for Chess History* 12 (nominally Winter 2004, but really 2006), pp. 199-325.

B.C.M. tourney 1882-83			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Pts
1	Bridgwater, W.	Birmingham	X	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
2	Millard, Henry	Leeds	0	X	0	1	1	1	1	½	1	1	1	1	8½
3	Coates, William	Cheltenham	0	1	X	0	½	0	1	1	1	1	1	½	7
4	Vincent, F. A.	Dursley	1	0	1	X	1	½	1	0	1	1	0	½	7
5	Lambert, Charles J.	Exeter	0	0	½	0	X	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	6½
6	Balson, H.	Derby	0	0	1	½	1	X	1	1	0	0	1	½	6
7	Dorrington, H.	London	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	1	1	1	1	½	4½
8	Cates, A. T.	London	0	½	0	1	0	0	0	X	1	0	1	½	4
9	Fisher, B. W.	Redruth	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	X	1	1	½	3½
10	Isaac, P.	Cheltenham	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	X	0	1	3
11	Pierce, James	Birkenhead	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	X	½	2½
12	Erskine, Henry	Brighton	0	0	½	U	0	U	U	U	U	U	0	U	X Rtd.

Brighton Guardian tournament, 1882-5

See the table on page 496. H. W. Butler began this tournament in the *Brighton Guardian* and continued it even after he stopped his column. It was intended to be a strong event and there were several extra prizes: for the first game won, longest announced mate, and for the most brilliant game in various openings. Players were paired as usual in such tournaments to have an equal number of games with White and Black, but a concession was made to Gotelee, who was blind. Contestants due to play White against him were requested to let him have the first move. The early leader in the tournament, Inspector Peter Shenele of the Metropolitan Police, had 5½ from seven games when he died, and his score was cancelled. Bryning and Richardson also withdrew after early setbacks, reducing the tournament to twelve players. The winner James Russell of Glasgow was said to have agreed a draw in his last game to make certain of first prize.²⁶

English Mechanic series, 1882-94

James Pierce inaugurated these tournaments and ran five of them; see p. 261-2. He died soon after starting the sixth and last competition. Usually only summary results and a few games appeared in print, probably because the space available for chess in the *English Mechanic* was often somewhat restricted to what could be fitted on an inside cover page.

²⁶ Reports included *Southern Weekly News* 12 July 1884; *Irish Sportsman*, 21 Mar. 1885; the special prize-winners were announced on 25 April (p. 250).

Tourney 1, 1882-3: This was announced in August 1882 with a September closing date and there appear to have been thirteen competitors. The names are not all clear because of a pseudonym ('Plevna') and some apparent substitutions. On 14 December 1883, Russell was said to have won with 10/11, losing only one game, to Studd, but a few weeks earlier the paper had published a game won by Russell against Studd.²⁷ So very little about this event is known for certain. Blake, the Pierce brothers, Mainwaring, and Vincent were in the field.

Tourney 2, 1884-5: This was a sixteen or seventeen-player event, players to conduct single games against two opponents simultaneously. The rules were announced on 22 February and the starters on 7 March, More players being added later. Vincent was named as winner on 31 July 1885. Pierce stated on 18 Sept. 1885 that Blake & Russell tied for second place while Bourn and Nash were playing off for fourth place. Other players in this event included Blythe, Chatto, Locock, Mainwaring, Arthur Smith, and Timbrell Pierce.

Tourney 3, 1884-7: There was a rule change,²⁸ so that players had two games with each opponent. Twelve starters were listed on 12 October but two more players were added. The paper published the final scores of the leading six players on 12 August 1887 and stated the other eight (who are known to have included Chatto, Cheshire, Farrow, and Vincent) were unplaced.

Lambert (Exeter) won with 18½ points ahead of H. Balson (Derby) and E. F. Gerahty (Dublin) 18, Monck (Dublin) 15, Nash 13, and James Pierce 12.

Tourney 4, 1887-9: The provisional start-list appeared on 12 August 1887; there were only twelve players, including a woman (Miss Tyssen Amherst). Special prizes were offered for the best games with the Pierce Gambit, which the brothers had recently analysed in a book and articles. Eight of the players tried the gambit in their games. The situation in this nearly completed tourney was published on 15 November 1889 at the same time as the fifth event was announced. It stated that 'Messrs. Lambert and Balson share the first prize, having won 16½ games. The other prize winners are J.G. Woods, Pillcan, Monck, and W.T. Pierce but their order is not yet determined.'

Tourney 5, 1889-92: Play began on 7 February 1890 and the result appeared on 11 March 1892. The following is all that was stated: 1. W. T. Pierce and T. G. Hart 14½, 3. W. H. S. Monck 12½, 4. T. G. Biggs & T. G. Woods 8½, 6. C. G. Hoadley & T. W. Morling 7½. 'These are all the prize winners.'

Tourney 6, 1892-4: see crosstable below.²⁹ James Pierce announced this event shortly before he died and was originally named as one of the competitors. His brother William Timbrell Pierce conducted the tournament for the sixth *English Mechanic* but did not take over the management of the column. This is the only tournament in the series of which the full results were published, but no games from the tournament appeared. London amateur Albert Tietjen won.

²⁷ *English Mechanic*, xxxvii (10 Aug. 1883), p. 540.

²⁸ *English Mechanic*, xli (21 & 28 Aug. 1885), pp. 552 & 574.

²⁹ *English Mechanic*, lix (22 June 1894), p. 421, miscalculated Morling's total in this crosstable.

	E.M.-6 1892-94	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Pts
1	A. E. Tietjen	X	11	1 ½	10	10	01	½ 1	½ 1	½ ½	11	11	14½
2	R. Billups	0 0	X	10	0 0	11	10	11	11	10	11	11	13
3	M. Kempson	0 ½	01	X	1 ½	01	11	11	01	10	10	01	12
4	W. H. S. Monck	01	11	0 ½	X	0 ½	½ ½	10	01	10	11	11	12
5	Alex Munro	01	0 0	10	1 ½	X	10	1 ½	01	11	01	11	12
6	J. H. Biggs	10	01	0 0	½ ½	01	X	0 ½	½ 1	01	½ 1	11	10½
7	Dr R. M. Winn	½ 0	0 0	0 0	01	0 ½	1 ½	X	11	11	10	1 ½	10
8	W. T. Pierce	½ 0	0 0	10	10	10	½ 0	0 0	X	11	11	11	10
9	J. W. Morling	½ ½	01	01	01	0 0	10	0 0	0 0	X	½ 1	11	8½
10	R. Pilkington	0 0	0 0	01	0 0	10	½ 0	10	0 0	½ 0	X	11	6
11	R. de Salis	0 0	0 0	10	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 ½	0 0	0 0	0 0	X	1½

Scottish Chess Association championship-2, 1888-9

This was a round-robin for sixteen players: see the crosstable on page 498. The *Dublin Evening Mail* reported on 29 December 1887 that the first champion, Chambers, was appointed to frame rules, 'and those he put into force are similar to the rules of Mr Fraser's Correspondence Tourney, which are thought better than the pairing system.' The prizes were £1 15s, £1 5s, and 15s. The winner, David Miller Latta of Edinburgh Chess Club, had a leg amputated when a boy.

Fraser's U.K. International, 1888-9 and later events

The cross-table of the individual performances is shown on page 497. This tournament is also discussed on pp. 328-30. The fullest reports appeared in the *Dublin Evening Mail*, the only paper to carry more than summary results. The percentage scoring system for the unplayed games did not affect the first two prizes (£7 and £5 5s. respectively) but meant that Blake caught up with Gunston (they shared £5 5s.) while Monck lost to Bremner the fifth prize of £1 1s., which on absolute points scored would have been his. The team results were stated to be: England 45 wins out of 84 games played; Ireland 47/94; Scotland 45/94. Ireland was considered to be the winner.

Subsequently (c. 1891-1902) Fraser ran further tournaments, probably on an annual basis. No results were published, although several of the games appeared in his book and elsewhere. By eliminating games known to have been played in the above event, it can be noted that players in his later events included: Cheshire, Farrow, Fraser himself (and R. B. Fraser, who was perhaps a son), Gunston, Lambert, Monck, Tietjen, and several other players mentioned in connection with other tournaments.

Norwich Mercury tournaments, 1888-9

Organised by Chatto; see p. 247. Each player played his opponents twice but several gambits were lost by forfeit (F). Both Jacobs and Mainwaring were players of some note later.

<i>Norwich Mercury-1</i>		Ne	Ja	Mai	Do	Mas	Bl	Bur	La	Pts	Pl
Newman, T.W.	London	XX	0 0	½ ½	11	1 ½	0 0	11	0 1	7½	4
Jacobs, H.	London	11	XX	FF	11	0 0	0 0	0 0	FF	4	7
Mainwaring, G.	Dudley	½ ½	11	XX	11	½ 0	1 0	11	0 ½	9	3
Doheny, J.	Dublin	FF	0 0	0 0	XX	FF	FF	0 0	FF	0	8
Maslin, W. H.	Stirling	0 ½	11	½ 1	11	XX	0 0	FF	FF	6	5=
Blythe, W. H.	Cambrg	11	11	0 1	11	11	XX	11	0 1	12	1
Burrows, H.	London	0 0	11	0 0	11	11	0 0	XX	0 0	6	5=
Lake, Leonard	London	1 0	11	1 ½	11	11	1 0	11	XX	11½	2

In the second tournament (1889), which only four entered, Burrows and Newman both withdrew and then Lake resigned both games to Mainwaring.

Dublin Evening Mail tournaments, 1889-98

Mr and Mrs T. B. Rowland organised five tournaments under the auspices of their columns in the *Dublin Evening Mail*. This was the last major series of correspondence tournaments run in the U.K. in the nineteenth century. They were also promoted in their other columns, which were in the *Warder* and (except for the last) also in the *Bristol Mercury*. This appendix provides a summary of the principal information about them, and the results tables may be found above, although they are somewhat incomplete because of gaps or contradictions in the sources.

Mail Correspondence Tourney No. 1 (1889-90)

See the table on page 499. This was announced in the *Mail* on 28 March and the *Warderon* 30 March 1889. It began on 1 May 1889 with twelve players, six more entering soon after. Forty-eight hours were allowed per move and all games had to begin by both players advancing the king's pawn two squares (1 e4 e5). Five players were Irish, the winner lived in north Wales, and the others lived in England. Competitors conducted about four games simultaneously. At the beginning, the first five on the list were playing each other; the second five and the third five were paired similarly and the last three played each other. As games finished, they were assigned new opponents. Completing the event in under twenty months was quite swift progress. In all, 128 games were played (of which the scores of seventy-nine have been found), and twenty-five were left unplayed. The fifth prize-winner, Blake, spoiled his game with Nash by omitting one conditional move from a series his opponent offered and he said he also missed a win against Holt.

Cross-tables appeared in the *Mail* during 1890 and the final result (cross-table and report) was printed there on 18 December 1890. Like most tournaments, there were retirements during the progress of the event. Some of the leaders having played more games than others, prizes were awarded according to the percentage score achieved in games actually completed, similar to the system G. B. Fraser had employed in his U.K. International shortly before. Rowland explained the operation of the rule with this table of the prize-winners:

	Won	Played	Per cent ³⁰
1 st , £7 0s.— L. Holt	12½	15	83.3
2 nd , £5 5s.— Gunston	14	17	82.4
3 rd , £3 3s.— Cheshire	13	16	81.2
4 th , £2 2s.— Monck	13½	17	79.4
5 th , £1 8s.— Blake	12½	16	78.1

In the *Bristol Mercury* on 20 Dec., Rowland commented that ‘Locke Holt, who is well known to most of our readers as a problemist and solver, is to be congratulated on thus having distinguished himself as a player.’ Rowland also pointed out that Holt achieved the best score in the games among the top five players and that Mr Nash, who was sixth, only scored 62.5 per cent, the difference between Nos. 5 and 6 being three times as great as between Nos. 1 and 5.

Mail Correspondence Tourney No. 2 (1890-93)

See the table on page 500. The first tournament having proved popular, the second one commenced while the first was still in progress. It proved to be a much longer-drawn-out affair. The rules were published on 6 February 1890 and by mid-March it was under way with ten players, more entering later. The *Bristol Mercury* invited entries on 31 May. Rowland was again named as conductor. The lists closed in the *Mail* column of 17 July 1890, when the last three players were named. Of the field of twenty, six were Irish and two were from Glasgow; the rest lived in England. One player soon withdrew. At 1 September 1892 there were still a few games in progress but in March 1893 Mary Rudge still had two open games that affected the prizes. She drew her last game in ninety-three moves to share second prize. This was the only time a woman competed in one of the *Mail* tournaments. The game in which she beat Gunston was not published; this probably means it was decided by a clerical error.

Mail Correspondence Tourney No. 3 (1892-4)

See the table on page 501. The third tourney was first mooted on 17 March 1892 but only started in November with eighteen competitors. Of these, three lived in Ireland, one in Glasgow and the rest in England (though one of those was ‘a TCD man’). The late entrants were strong: multiple postal tournament winner Russell (who however withdrew after a poor start), and most significantly the future over-the-board international Bellingham (not yet eighteen years old) and the very experienced Blake. Gunston did not enter this time. The event proceeded even more

³⁰ The figures are given as in the paper, with .5 not rounded up.

rapidly than the first. Once more the percentage rule applied in the case of retirements. The final table was published on 28 June 1894 with the following prize list.

First prize: £5 15s — J. H. Blake, Southampton. 12 out of 14, 85.7 per cent.

Second prize: £4 15s — G. Bellingham, Dudley. 12 ½ out of 15, 83.3 per cent.

Third prize, £3 15s — H. Balson, Derby, 12 out of 15, 80 per cent.

Fourth prize, £2 15s — P. Sandford M.A., Galway, 11 out of 14, 78.6 per cent.

Fifth prize, £1 15s — W. Brunton, Marton, 12 ½ out of 16, 78.1 per cent.

Mail Correspondence Tourney No. 4 (1894-6)

See the table on page 502. The fourth tourney was announced in the first week of May 1894 (3 May in the *Dublin Evening Mail*). This time it was given greater prominence in the Rowlands' *Bristol Mercury* column (on 5 May 1894), where it was called 'Our correspondence tourney', rather than the *Mail* tourney, and good support from Gloucestershire was requested. That was not forthcoming, but other English readers saw the column either in the Bristol paper or the *Warder*. There were only two Irish competitors, both regulars: Monck took second prize and Prof. Sandford scored 50 per cent. Two players entered from Jersey, one from Wales, and the rest lived in England.

Play began in July 1894, but there were some replacements in the early weeks because of a death and withdrawals. A curious incident, not seen in any other round-robin tourney, was that one player competed twice. The vacancy created by the withdrawal of number 10, Stainsby, was (it was stated in December) taken by H. Carrer, Oscott College, near Birmingham, but this was in fact Rev Hugh Currer Briggs who was already number 11; crosstables and games later published confirm this. Blake was the winner again, with Monck second, continuing their rivalry from the Nash tournaments. Blake was definitely the stronger player of the two, but the rule requiring 1 e4 e5 suited Monck's style as he was often effective with White in these openings.

Mail Correspondence Tourney No. 5 (1896-8)

See the table on page 503. Blake did not enter the fifth and last tourney, which included the teenager George Alan Thomas (a future British Champion) and Dr R. C. Macdonald, one of the leading Scottish players of the early twentieth century and a top postal player. It took much longer to fill the lists than usual. The opening moves 1 e4 e5 had been compulsory in the *Mail* tournaments, and was originally specified again, but (entries being slow) the Rowlands agreed to requests to allow a free choice of opening.³¹ Although the field of seventeen was the smallest of the series, that is still a large tournament. Four entrants were Irish but most appear to have been English residents.

The first twelve starters were named on 21 May 1896 but play did not begin until October. The column provided less information than for previous tournaments and the Rowlands failed to publish the prize list. At the end of 1898, when the last result was seen, the only possible tournament winners were Macdonald or Professor Philip Sandford of Galway.

³¹ *Dublin Evening Mail*, 19 Mar. 1896.

Dudley Herald tournament, 1893-5

This was a small tournament of seven (originally ten) Midlands players, run by George Bellingham. Some of the games and results were published but there seems to have been little interest in it and the final result could not be determined.

Brighton Society tournament(s), 1896-7

Little is known about this event (possibly more than one), due to volumes in the British Library being unfit for use. A microfilm with some columns was seen in the John G. White collection, including some games from the event but no clear statement of results. Dr J. W. Hunt arranged at least one tournament, which was announced on 6 June 1896 to be limited to ten players, each to play two games with every other competitor. The field was quite strong, including Gunston, Tietjen, H. W. Trenchard, and Captain Claude Chepmell who played in the first B.C.F. British Championship (1904). Rev Roger Wright of Worthing and Quartermaster-Sergeant Dunster of Canterbury were also in the field. More information may be found if this magazine for 1897 becomes available later.

Hobbies tournaments, 1898-1910

This series of tournaments, organised (initially at least) by Major Archibald K. Murray, can be considered as the precursor of the British Correspondence Chess Association (see pp. 174-7). Tournaments were organised in small all-play-all groups, never more than eight players per section, and were generally finished within a few months. Players sometimes entered more than one section in a season. Some sections were arranged geographically. A summary of the *Hobbies* series follows but there were too many small tournaments to be worthwhile documenting them all.

Tourney -1, 1898: one group of eight players, announced on 22 Jan. 1898 with the starters listed on 5 February.³² Rev R. O. Davies from Wickham Market, Suffolk, chess editor of the *Ipswich Journal*, and C. Crump (Stroud) were declared joint winners in September with 5/7³³

First full season, 1898-9: Four groups were played, starting in October 1898. The final result was published on 1 July 1899; the group winners were Rev Davies, George Wernick, R.

³² *Hobbies*, v (1898), p. 363. Note that, as with the *English Mechanic*, there were usually two (sometimes more) volumes per year, starting in the autumn and spring, but in the British Newspaper Library all periodicals are bound by calendar year, cutting across volumes. The set in the Bodleian Library is bound according to the publisher's volumes.

³³ *Hobbies*, vi (3 Sept. 1898), p. 467.

Porter, and Eastwood. Then the divisional winners played off for the first *Hobbies* Championship, which Rev Davies won.³⁴

Second season, 1899-1900: While the championship was played, a new season with eight groups began in the autumn of 1899, with about sixty-four players. Play in these ended on 1 May 1900.³⁵ It was then proposed that 'the prize-winners shall contend, in three sections of eight each, for prizes of 10s., 5 s. and 3s., and thereafter the three winners for prizes of 10s., 5 s. and 3s., and the Hobbies Championship.' However, this idea seems to have been postponed until the 1901-2 season as none of the 1900-1 sections was called a championship

Third season, 1900-1: Twelve groups were formed, includes a seven-player Ladies' Division; about ninety players were involved.³⁶ This was the first women-only correspondence tournament; the idea had been mooted before at least twice, but never materialised.³⁷ Some results for this season appeared on 6 April 1901 and the list of prize-winners on 1 June.³⁸

Fourth season, 1901-2: This time sixteen groups began on 1 June 1901, eventually involving about 110 players.³⁹ The first two of these groups were called the championship and included the 1900-1 winners, but in fact the first section appears to have been regarded as the real championship and the stronger winners were placed in it. On 3 May 1902 the column stated that Cheshire, winner of that group, gained the Championship 'with the unbroken record of seven wins over very strong opponents'.⁴⁰ There was no mention of a play-off against the players who tied in the second section, A. Baker and F. A. Richardson, both of London.⁴¹ Richardson was promoted to the top group for the next season.

Fifth season, 1902-3: The number of competing groups peaked at seventeen, with early entrants starting in May, but others as late as October 1902. There was an Irish division with Mrs Rowland and Miss Rowland,⁴² and a foreign division with two players from the West Indies competing against home players. Some results appeared on 2 May 1903, but play was extended in

³⁴ *Hobbies*, viii (27 May 1899), p. 167 named the group winners. *Hobbies*, ix (4 Nov 1899), p. 79 reported that in the championship section, where two games were played with each opponent, Davies had won all his six games.

³⁵ Announced in *Hobbies*, viii (16 & 23 Sept. 1899), pp. 524 & 539. The results were announced in *Hobbies*, x (5 May 1900), p. 77.

³⁶ As in the previous season, some played more than one group. *Hobbies*, x (5 May 1900), p. 77, with late entries following. The Ladies' result was reported on 1 June 1901 (*Hobbies*, xii, p. 179).

³⁷ See Chapter 7, p. 306. The joint winners were Mrs Berry of Blackrock and Mrs Bowles of *Womanhood*, whose game with Mrs Rowland is included in Appendix VIII.

³⁸ *Hobbies*, xii (1 June 1901), p. 179.

³⁹ Some players (including O'Hanlon) played in two sections and some groups were filled after the start. The initial listing was in *Hobbies*, xii (18 May 1901), p. 126.

⁴⁰ *Hobbies*, xiv (3 May 1902), p. 93.

⁴¹ *Hobbies* xiv (17 May 1902), p. 144; more results appeared on 7 June, pp. 214-5, also naming the competitors for the next championship as: A. Eastwood (Norfolk), T. W. Newman (Bronesbury), H. Uber (S. Norwood), W. J. Stables (Upton Manor), W. Lambert (Denton), Richard Jones (Birkenhead), and F. A. Richardson (New Southgate).

⁴² *Hobbies*, xii (18 May 1901), p. 126 and xiii (19 Oct.), p. 40. It is unknown whether the Miss Rowland was Mrs Rowland's daughter or her sister-in-law Lucinda, who had played in the Clontarf club and composed problems in the 1890s.

other sections and the prizes were not announced until June.⁴³ The *Hobbies* Championship for the previous season's winners was played in two sections. F. A. Richardson of London won the first and B. Mercer Hollis the other. There was no play-off, with Richardson considered over-all champion.

Sixth season, 1903-4: Numbers of entries declined sharply. In addition to the six-player Championship, eventually won by S. Donaldson (Glasgow), six groups of eight players were contested, starting in September 1903. Some results were eventually presented in cross-tables.⁴⁴ On 23 April there was a short article, 'some observations on correspondence play', giving advice to players who might enter the next series: see Appendix VII.

Seventh season, 1904-5: There were six divisions, the last season in which a *Hobbies* Championship was contested. The players were: A. Ellis, S. Donaldson (Glasgow), A. E. Layng, A. Tuckfield, W. Lambert & CF Bailey.⁴⁵ Ellis won, the results appearing in the Spring of 1905.⁴⁶

Eighth season, 1905-6: There were now just four divisions with no mention of a championship. The rules for the new series, published on 8 April 1905, show a leisurely time limit of seven days per move, Sundays and bank holidays excepted, and with six weeks leave allowed during the eleven-month playing period.⁴⁷ Readers who wanted serious correspondence chess competition would have looked elsewhere but this pace would have suited those who wanted more casual games. Even so, there were several withdrawals. C. J. Came won division one with 5½ from six games (one a win by default). A. F. Battersby, later a leading light in the B.C.C.A., won division two with the same total (but three retirements); R. Burk won division three with 5/6, and T. White won division four with 5½ (including two wins by default).

Ninth season, 1906-7: Three groups of seven players each contested this series. By this stage the B.C.C.A. was beginning its tournaments and the column mentioned the association's formation on 22 September 1906. Some games were published during the winter, but full results did not appear in the paper, perhaps because of the death of Major Murray in May 1907, around the time that unfinished games were normally adjudicated. Preliminary results had been published on 1 December 1906 and 16 Feb. 1907; Battersby had scored 5/6 in the first section.⁴⁸

Tenth season, 1907-8: One or two divisions began play but reporting was inadequate: indirect proof that Murray had been in charge to the end, and that there was no successor with a

⁴³ *Hobbies*, xvi (2 May and 6 June 1903), pp. 94 & 215. Even then the results of some sections including the foreign and Irish were unavailable.

⁴⁴ *Hobbies*, xviii (30 Apr., 14 & 28 May, 4 & 18 June), pp. 95, 136, 175, 191 & 236.

⁴⁵ *Hobbies*, xviii (25 June 1904), p. 256. Donaldson was defending champion. Results on the dates mentioned in the previous note show that Layng won division 1; Ellis won divisions 2 and 6; A Tuckfield won division 3; Lambert won division 4, and Bailey won division 5.

⁴⁶ *Hobbies*, xx (8 Apr. & 6 May 1905), pp. 24 & 122. Ellis also won division 2. A. Campbell won division 1; C. J. Came won division 3; A. Tuckfield won division 4, from which Saunderson and another player retired. R. Burk scored 6/6 in division 5, from which the strong player H. Uber had retired. T. Foster won division six, in which a Miss Foster scored 2½.

⁴⁷ *Hobbies*, xx (8 Apr. 1905), p. 24. Despite the easy pace, some players were not observing the time limit: 16 June 1906 (xxii, p. 266) that. Postal draughts tournaments were also run (p. 267).

⁴⁸ *Hobbies*, xxiii (1 Dec. 1906), p. 218; a Battersby game on 26 Jan. 1907 (xxviii, p. 410), and the last report was on 16 Feb. 1907, p. 486.

real interest.⁴⁹ In January 1908, it was stated that the games were continuing and should finish soon; it is unknown who won this tourney but one game was published.⁵⁰

There was now a hiatus, with no event running for several months. Chess and draughts were combined in one column during the summer volume. Then in November, it was stated, following enquiries, that: 'We have not this year instituted an annual Tourney, but if any of our readers care to send in their names we will put them in communication with each other, or if agreeable, a Tourney might be arranged.'⁵¹

Late series, 1908-9: Two groups, each of five players, were announced on 12 December 1908. Hugh Doyle, who had been champion of Cumberland, won all his games in Section I and J. Pomerantz won all his games in Section II, these competitions finishing in the summer of 1909.⁵²

Last series, 1909-10: Two groups began play on 23 October 1909 with a total of nine players, none of them being of note. Provisional results appeared on 16 April 1910 and games unfinished on 14 May were to be sent in for adjudication. The *Hobbies* chess column was last published on 28 May 1910 and the results of the final tournaments were not included.⁵³

Scottish Chess Association tournaments, 1899-1900

Two all-play-all sections of seven players were completed (*The Scotsman*, 13 Feb. 1901). The results tables are on the CD but there are no game scores. R. C. Macdonald won the principal event.

Hampstead Record tournament, 1900-1

This was a small local tournament, of seven players, organised by the chess correspondent (unknown) of the *Hampstead Record*, but it included two players who were later prize-winners in British Championships. The winner was J. Mahood, a player from Northern Ireland, scoring 5/6, ahead of R. C. Griffith.⁵⁴ Mahood was probably at that time a member of the Hampstead club. Some results from the less successful players never appeared in the paper.

⁴⁹ *Hobbies*, xxiv (25 May 1907), p. 194, listed the seven players starting 'New Hobbies Tourney Division I'; none of them were well known. On 8 June a game from Division II was published but that was probably from the 1906-7 season.

⁵⁰ *Hobbies*, xxv (11 Jan. & 18 Jan 1908), pp. 362 & 386.

⁵¹ *Hobbies*, xxvii (14 Nov. 1908), p. 174.

⁵² Announcement in *Hobbies*, xxvii (12 Dec. 1908), p. 270; Section II in xxviii (17 July 1909), p. 336; Section I in xxviii (14 Aug. 1909), p. 416: 'we are continually receiving suggestions, and requests for Tourneys, but owing to the lax manner in which entries come in, it is difficult to fix up matters satisfactorily.' A new event was promised for Oct. if there was support.

⁵³ *Hobbies*, xxx (24 May 1910), p. 205. It was stated that 'the results of the current tourneys will be announced early next month' but nothing was seen, checking as far as 16 July.

⁵⁴ *Hampstead Record*, 2 Nov. 1901.

Kitchin Memorial tournaments in Yorkshire

This series of small annual tournaments restricted to Yorkshire players was inaugurated in 1901 and played annually each winter.⁵⁵ The series continued until 1925 at least. The prize for the annual competition was the interest on £200 presented by brothers and sisters of the late C. S. Kitchin of Harrogate.⁵⁶ Usually six, seven or eight players competed for it annually. As this was not a national event, it only occasionally received publicity outside Yorkshire. There was a rule preventing players from dominating the competition. The first double winner was J. Bland, of Bradford, who won the 1914-15 Kitchin Memorial, eight years after his first victory, and was now debarred from entering for the next seven years.⁵⁷

Womanhood tournaments, 1901-7

This series of tournaments, organised by Mrs Rhoda Bowles, began in March 1901 with ten sections, seventy players (sixteen women). Lady Thomas, scoring 5/6, was rather unlucky as that score would have been sufficient to qualify in most groups, but her son was joint runner-up. Section winners (including tied players) played the Final, starting in December and finishing by June 1902.

Womanhood-1 Final	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Pts
1 G. S. Carr	X	1	0	1	1	½	1	1	0	1	0	6½
2 Davies	0	X	0	0	1	0	0	½	0	0	0	1½
3 William H. Gunston	1	1	X	1	1	½	1	1	½	1	1	9
4 Leroy	0	1	0	X	0	0	1	0	0	½	½	3
5 Mayne	0	0	0	1	X	0	1	0	0	0	0	2
6 Morgan	½	1	½	1	1	X	1	0	1	1	0	7
7 Papworth	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0
8 W. Timbrell Pierce	0	½	0	1	1	1	1	X	1	1	0	6½
9 George Alan Thomas	1	1	½	1	1	0	1	0	X	1	1	7½
10 Webb	0	1	0	½	1	0	1	0	0	X	0	3½
11 West	1	1	0	½	1	1	1	1	0	1	X	7½

Womanhood-2, beginning in April 1902, attracted fifty-six entries, but only four were women. Gunston, Thomas, R. C. Griffith, and H. Erskine were in the same preliminary group: an anti-seeding method. Thus Gunston eliminated some rivals before the final, played early in 1903.

⁵⁵ *B.C.M.*, xxxi (1901), pp. 97, 215, 456, & 460-1 on the first competition.

⁵⁶ *B.C.M.*, xxxvi (1916), p. 90. Also p. 234 stated that the prize in the current 1916-17 competition would be £8 (i.e. 4% interest), which was what Bland had won in 1915.

⁵⁷ *B.C.M.*, xxxv (1915), p. 80.

Appendix VI c: Results of Round-Robin Tourneys

Womanhood-2		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Pts
1	F. N. Braund	X	1	1	½	1	0	1	1	0	½	0	1	7
2	Fred Brown	0	X	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	4
3	J. H. Dixon	0	0	X	0	½	1	1	1	1	½	0	1	6
4	W. B. Dixon	½	1	1	X	1	0	1	½	1	½	1	1	8½
5	Daniel	0	1	½	0	X	0	1	1	0	½	½	0	4½
6	W. H. Gunston	1	1	0	1	1	X	1	1	1	½	1	1	9½
7	Kirsopp (retired)	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	Mayne	0	0	0	½	0	0	1	X	0	0	½	1	3
9	A. J. Mackenzie	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	X	½	1	1	7½
10	F. W. Markwick	½	1	½	½	½	½	1	1	½	X	0	0	6
11	Norman	1	1	1	0	½	0	1	½	0	1	X	½	6½
12	G. F. Pollard	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	½	X	3½

There were seventy-seven entries for the third *Womanhood* tournament, which began in March 1903, including thirteen women. Gunston did not defend the championship. In most cases, the results of the *Womanhood* preliminary sections were published and have been collected but they were not deemed of sufficient interest to reproduce here. However, it is noteworthy that Mrs (Agnes) Gunsberg scored 6/6 but did not take up her place in the Final. Perhaps there were suspicions that her husband, grandmaster Isidor Gunsberg, was offering too much assistance. This was the best result by a woman in the series up to this point, but Mrs Durlacher bettered it in the fourth tournament. (See the CD for the preliminary section tables of all the *Womanhood* competitions in Microsoft Excel format.)

Womanhood-3 Final		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Pts
1	W. Waterhouse	X	0	½	0	½	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	5
2	W. R. Nelthropp	1	X	1	1	½	1	1	1	½	0	½	1	8½
3	W. G. Thorne	½	0	X	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	6½
4	W. Gooding	1	0	0	X	1	½	1	1	½	½	0	0	5½
5	A. E. Tietjen	½	½	1	0	X	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	6
6	E. Tredway	0	0	0	½	0	X	1	1	0	0	0	0	2½
7	W. M. Brooke	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	1	0	0	1	0	2
8	F. W. Clarke	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	x	0	0	0	0	0
9	J. H. Dixon	1	½	1	½	1	1	1	1	X	1	1	1	10
10	D. T. C. Dixon	1	1	0	½	1	1	1	1	0	X	0	1	7½
11	G. A. Thomas	0	½	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1	X	1	7½
12	A. S. Hiley	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	X	5

The fourth *Womanhood* tournament was the largest of the series. It began in April 1904, with two further groups in July, totalling 105 entries in seventeen sections. This was the largest entry for a British all-play-all tournament before the First World War. The final was divided into two groups and Elwell won the play-off with Grantham. In Final-B, Mrs Durlacher won third prize and finished ahead of future British Champion George Thomas, winning her game against him.

Womanhood-4 A		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Pts
1	R. S. Breese	X	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
2	G. W. Cutler	1	X	1	½	0	1	1	½	5
3	Rev W. Chinn	0	0	X	0	0	½	1	1	2½
4	J. H. Dixon	1	½	1	X	1	½	0	0	4
5	F. J. Elwell	1	1	1	0	X	1	1	1	6
6	W. J. Stables	1	0	½	½	0	X	1	0	3
7	Dr Herbert Tibbits	1	0	0	1	0	0	X	0	2
8	A. West	1	½	0	1	0	1	1	X	4½

Womanhood-4-B		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Pts
1	Rev G. P. A. Blomefield	X	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	Mrs Durlacher	1	X	0	1	1	0	1	1	5
3	H. H. Grantham	1	1	X	1	1	1	1	1	7
4	Charles Hoadley	1	0	0	x	0	0	0	1	2
5	Dr W. R. Smith	1	0	0	1	X	0	0	1	3
6	Malcolm Sim	1	1	0	1	1	X	1	1	6
7	George Alan Thomas	1	0	0	1	1	0	X	1	4
8	W. J. Thorne	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		1

For the fifth *Womanhood* tournament in 1905, entries came slower and there sixty-three players in nine sections. The final (played in early 1906) was again divided. The veteran R. W. Johnson won the championship silver medal by two games to one, against W. B. Dixon.

Womanhood-5 -A		1	2	3	4	5	6	Pts
1	W. B. Dixon	X	1	½	½	1	1	4
2	D. T. G. Dixon	0	X	½	0	0	½	1
3	Rev T. H. Moyle	½	½	X	0	0	½	1½
4	P. H. O'Connor	½	1	1	X	½	0	3
5	W. Timbrell Pierce	0	1	1	½	X	1	3½
6	A. West	0	½	½	1	0	X	2

Womanhood-5 -B	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Pts
1 W. Gooding	X	1	0	0	0	½	0	1½
2 R. Gubbins	0	X	0	0	0	0	0	0
3 A. Huddart	1	1	X	0	0	½	0	2½
4 R. W. Johnson	1	1	1	X	1	1	1	6
5 Rev H. J. Kellsall	1	1	1	0	X	1	½	4½
6 J. Barton Shaw	½	1	½	0	0	X	0	2
7 R.P. Wilkinson	1	1	1	0	½	1	X	4½

In 1906, entries fell to forty-nine for the sixth *Womanhood* tournament and there were therefore only seven sections. The final of tournament six began in February 1907 with: F. J. H. Elwell, Southampton; J. A. McKee, Glasgow; W. Timbrell Pierce, Guildford; Rev W. E. Evill, Canterbury; Hon V. A. Parnell, London; A. Drake, Sheffield; and A. F. Falkiner, Rathgar. One game was found. No results were ever published and the magazine abruptly ceased publication. No new tournament was started in 1907 because of insufficient entries. (Its original editor, Ada Ballin, had died in an accident during 1906 and the decline of *Womanhood* was connected with this.)

Kingstown Society and later Rowland tournaments 1902-14

These were mostly, but not exclusively for Irish players. They also included Irish people in Britain, British people in Ireland, and Englishmen who may have had not Irish connection. After the *Mail* tourneys ended, the Rowlands organised several team matches as shown in Appendix V, but no more tournaments for four years. An attempt to arrange one in the *Weekly Irish Times* in 1899 was immediately cancelled; see p. 305. *Kingstown Society* announced its tourney in 1902, first mentioned in its May issue.⁵⁸ By August 1902 nine players were named and the first finished game published. In December 1902, eighteen players were named and there were two vacancies. The full list of players was published in January 1903. There were now twenty players and several games were already complete by that time. The players were (in draw order): Frederick W. Flear (St Albans), Canon (John) Healy of Kells, Dr Ringwood of Kells, J. E. Nolan (Castlereagh), R. Saunderson (Crowthorne, i.e. Broadmoor), J. Simpson (Rochdale), W. M. Brooke (Tunbridge Wells), P. Baker (Tralee), H. Grantham (Darlington), Rev H. Hill (Ardee), Sir Alex E. Miller (Ballycastle), A. W. Mewton (Truro), Dr J. Shaw-Little (Pontypridd), Charles Hoadley (Helston), J. C. Mahoney (Dublin), W. H. S. Monck (Dublin), Charles Heaviside (Richmond District Asylum, Dublin), J. Bale

⁵⁸ *Kingstown Society*, no. 49, p. 11: 'Rules will be published in our next issue. The entrance fees (2s. each player) will form a prize fund, which will be supplemented by special prizes. The number of prizes will necessarily depend upon the number of entries.'

(Wakefield), T. R. McCluggage (Lisburn), and Henry Knowles (Cornwall). The October issue announced the death of Miller, who had also been playing in the *Hobbies* foreign division.

Results were never published in detail, although the current totals of the leaders appeared sometimes. In August, readers were invited to send 1½d. if they wished to have a copy of the up-to-date score sheet. The last word on this event was in *Kingstown Society*, October 1904, which showed that Monck had won with 17 points. Saunderson, Baker, Hoadley, Heaviside and McCluggage had retired. The scores for the rest were: Ringwood and Flear 16 (sharing the second and third prizes); Grantham (fourth prize on tiebreak), Bale, Mewton, and Simpson 13½; Healy and McCluggage 11½; Nolan 10; Mahoney 9½ (he must have replaced Baker); and Brooke 9. Hill and Knowles were still playing the last game and their scores were unstated.

In January 1904 Mrs Rowland proposed to start a new tournament consisting of three sections, with entry fees respectively of 5s, 2s.6d, and 1s. This plan was soon modified. Her short-lived column in *The Visitor* announced two different kinds of round-robin events, one which came to be called the Crown and the other the Popular, the latter having only five players in each section. The players in the first Popular tourney were Saunderson, M. Cronin (Cork), Hill, H. A. Richards (Helston), and Charles Platt (Carlisle).⁵⁹ A second group started in June with H. W. Hart (Manchester), Rev J. Waller (Limerick), Rev T. S. Lindsay (of Malahide, editor of the *Visitor*), and 'Queen's Knight' c/o Mrs Rowland (probably her or a relative). A third group, with three Irish players and two from Rochdale, began in August.

The *Crown* series, for stronger players, also began in the *Visitor*. The field for the first of these was: Monck (Dublin); W. Berryman (in Shropshire, but later seen in Derry); F. U. Beamish (a Corkman in Somerset); J. Bale (Wakefield); Richard Archer (Cork); Dr Ringwood; Mewton; Herbert Grantham (Darlington); Rev T. Hamilton (Ely); and W. M. Brooke (Tunbridge Wells). The first finished game appeared in the last column (September).

Also in 1904, Mrs Rowland started a Plunkett Trophy tournament for the players on the winning South of Ireland side in the match with the North. The competitors were (in draw order): Monck, Nolan, Thomas Coleman (Cork), Hugh Twomey (Granard), Archer, J. Creevey (Uckfield, Sussex), Nicholas O'Brien (Longford), Edwin Bermingham (County Wicklow), J. Good (Cork), Beamish, A. F. Sheehy (Comber, Co. Down), M. Levin (Cork), Canon Healy, J. L. Copeman (Cork), and Charles E. Egan (Ilfracombe).⁶⁰ Playing games over-the-board was possible, if convenient. Twomey was the eventual winner, in 1906.⁶¹

In 1905 Mrs Rowland transferred all her tournaments to *The Four-Leaved Shamrock*. The size of Crown tournaments was soon reduced to six players. At least fifteen Popular sections were

⁵⁹ *The Visitor*, Apr. 1904, p. 60.

⁶⁰ Start list and rules in *Kingstown Society*, Dec. 1904. Charles J. Barry was announced earlier but seems to have withdrawn. The trophy was presented by Hon Horace C. Plunkett and there was later a Plunkett Trophy for the over-the-board championship of Cork.

⁶¹ *Shamrock*, no. 13, p. 4, showed that Twomey and Coleman tied for first with nine points, and Twomey then won an over-the-board play-off match in Cork by 3½-1½.

played, number 15 being for Ladies.⁶² New rules for *F.L.S.* six-player sections were published in 1911,⁶³ but once the Irish Championship series was begun in 1908 demand for these events among the stronger players naturally declined.

British Chess Magazine tournament, 1908-12

This was the last major U.K. correspondence tournament before the First World War. For references to this event in the main text, see pp. 265-6. *B.C.M.* editor, Isaac McIntyre Brown, probably took overall responsibility for the tournament but he acknowledged help from J. H. Blake (likely to have been the main organiser) and Cecil Tattersall, who was thanked for assistance with making the draw for the final. As demonstration of the assertion that the first two preliminary sections concentrated most of the known strong players, here are the tables of those sections; the rest are on the CD. For the cross-table of the final, see page 504.⁶⁴

B.C.M. prel-1		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Pts
1	Gunston, W. H.	X	1	1	1	1	1	½	5½
2	Tattersall, C. E. C.	0	X	1	1	1	1	1	5
3	Greig, E. A.	0	0	X			0	0	0
4	Erskine, H.	0	0		X	1	1	0	2
5	Cole, H. G.	0	0		0	X	1	1	2
6	Healey, Percy	0	0	1	0	0	X	1	2
7	O'Hanlon, J. J.	½	0	1	1	0	0	X	2½

B.C.M. prel-2		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Pts
1	Mackenzie, A. J.	X	1	0	0	½	1	1	3½
2	Pierce, W. T.	0	X	0	1	½	0	1	2½
3	Yates, F. D.	1	1	X	½	0	1	1	4½
4	Doyle, H.	1	0	½	X	1	0	0	2½
5	Sergeant, P. W.	½	½	1	0	X	1	½	3½
6	Jones, T. P.	0	1	0	1	0	X		2
7	Wilson, J.	0	0	0	1	½		X	1½

⁶² *Shamrock*, no. 18 (midsummer 1908), p. 2.

⁶³ *Shamrock*, no. 24-5 (June 1911). In 1912 there were seven-player sections. These seem to have been played last in 1913 when J. Somers won a book prize.

⁶⁴ Most of the known games and the other section crosstables are in Harding, *Quarterly*, loc. cit.

British Correspondence Chess Association competitions, 1906-14

In the absence of some of the early publications of the B.C.C.A. (see pp. 178-9), there is little information about its tournaments until mid-1911. The first *Year Book* includes the rules for the Association Cup Tournament, divided into sections with a play-off between the first and second in each, and a Silver Queen tourney, also in sections with a play-off for the trophy. The Cup was to be held for only a year but the Silver Queen became the property of the winner, and a new one was obtained for the next year's competition. As membership grew, further types of tournament were introduced or replaced the original ones. From the surviving third and fourth magazines, it can be seen that V. A. Parnell won the 1907-8 Silver Queen, and the 1908-9 final was in progress between Rev Evan Griffiths and James Bland. E. M. Jones (who became Major Jones in the war) had won the 1909 Cup Tourney. However, these events were perhaps not regarded as the association's championship, and there were other competitions also being run.

The association's official history prints a 'roll of honour' of champions. The editor writes that from 1907 to 1939, the title 'was awarded to the winner of the top B.C.C.A. competition which for most of this period was the Trophies 1A Tourney'.⁶⁵ In each case the year stated by Rogers is the year the competition finished. He says the 1907 champions jointly were J. Solari and Rev B. Reed, followed in 1908 by Rev Griffiths and in 1909 by Rev P. Wolfers. His list continues with: 1910 E. Montague Jones, 1911 Griffiths, 1912 J. Jackson, 1913 Griffiths, 1914-5-6 (three successive wins) Rev F. E. Hamond. Then 1917-18 saw wins by Gunston, and in 1919 J. D. Chambers won.

The association's magazines show that the new Trophies series was inaugurated in 1910 with the players divided into classes, starting play on 19 February. The first class tournament (for a Silver King, to be held for a year) was what developed into the association's formal championship later. The first field for the Trophies had ten players.⁶⁶ Three of these later withdrew. Because issues 5-7 are missing, there are no available reports but this would have been the event Jones won.

Missing magazines, and confusion over the years of events, make it is hard to be sure, but it is certain that Griffiths had two successive wins following Jackson's win. So either there is a competition omitted from the Rogers list or else the club history has Jackson and Griffiths the wrong way round. Magazine 11 says Jackson won the 1911 Trophies; magazine 14 says Rev Griffiths won the 1912 competition,⁶⁷ holding the Silver King for a year. Magazine 17 says he won a third time so it became his property.⁶⁸ A new event starting in February 1914 was the first of Hamond's winning run. In the 1915-16 Trophies he won the game against Evill that concludes Appendix VIII.

⁶⁵ Rogers, *B.C.C.A.* (2006), pp. 85 (sentence quoted) and p. 86 (roll of honour for the early years).

⁶⁶ *B.C.C.A. Magazine*, no. 3 (Apr. 1910), p. 21.

⁶⁷ *B.C.C.A. Magazine*, no. 14 (Mar. 1914), p. 134.

⁶⁸ *B.C.C.A. Magazine*, no. 17 (Mar. 1914), p. 6. (Page numbers were reset to 1 with that issue.)

VI d) French tourneys with English participants, 1884-1904

These were, with the exception of a single player in a German event in 1907¹, the only foreign correspondence tourneys found which had British or Irish participants prior to the 1930s.

La Stratégie tourney-2, 1884-8

This tournament was announced in April 1884, open to subscribers resident in Europe and Algeria.² Erik Larsson has published an article about this tournament, including the crosstable shown below; he considered this to be the first international correspondence tournament.³ There were originally eleven players: one each living in Algeria, Belgium, England, Greece, and Hungary. The others were French. Each competitor had to play every opponent with both White and Black. One of the Frenchmen, Barrier, dropped out without completing a game and his score was cancelled. The English player, Alnod Ernest Studd, also retired but as he had played more than half his games, the remainder were scored to his opponents and he was included in the table.

Studd was principally a problemist,⁴ and was on the original editorial board of *British Chess Magazine*. He only played one other postal tournament: one in the *English Mechanic* series. The only other U.K. player to enter one of the *La Stratégie* tournaments in the 1880s was Irish boy Kenneth Rynd, who did not actually play, as mentioned on p. 266.

LS-2		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Pts
Laquière	ALG	X	½ ½	01	1 ½	0 ½	11	11	11	11	11	14
Amiros	GRE	½ ½	X	10	01	11	10	1 ½	11	11	11	13 ½
Bavoux	FRA	10	01	X	11	11	0 ½	01	½ ½	1 ½	11	12
Mayer	HUN	0 ½	10	00	X	01	11	11	1 ½	11	11	12
Duc	FRA	1 ½	00	00	10	X	00	11	1 ½	11	11	10
Zani	FRA	00	01	1 ½	00	11	X	½ ½	10	0 ½	11	9
De Kerchove	BEL	00	0 ½	10	00	00	½ ½	X	01	11	½1	7
Courci	FRA	00	00	½ ½	0 ½	0 ½	01	10	X	11	0 ½	6 ½
Desmarest	FRA	00	00	0 ½	00	00	1 ½	00	00	X	11	4
Studd	ENG	00	00	00	00	00	00	½0	1 ½	00	X	2

¹ S. Smith of Chinfeld, Sussex, finished fourth in the 1908-9 event run by Stuttgart magazine *Ueber Land und Meer* (see *Chess Mail*, i 4/1997, p. 23). One of his games appeared in the *Western Daily Mercury*, 24 Sept. 1909. He was possibly Dr S. F. Smith of the City of London Club.

² *La Stratégie*, xvii (Apr. 1884), p. 117.

³ Erik Larsson, 'Historical CC Tournaments', part 2, in *Chess Mail*, i (no. 8-9, 1997), pp. 46-8.

⁴ His obituary in *B.C.M.*, xxvi (1906), p. 313, only discusses his chess problem career.

Le Monde Illustré tourney-2, 1889-93

Joseph Blake of Southampton and Exeter solicitor Charles James Lambert played in the second international organised by the French pictorial weekly, *Le Monde Illustré*. The twenty-eight competitors had to play each other with both White and Black. Although some players were evidently weak, Prof. Johann N. Berger of Graz, Austria, had an international reputation as a player and analyst. He won fifty-one games, drew three and lost none. Blake won forty-five games, lost two (one to Berger) and drew seven to win the second prize of 280 francs (the sum of the entry fee money). This was a considerable achievement. No crosstable of this tournament has been published,⁵ but those scores appeared in *B.C.M.* and other publications.⁶ Lambert's final score is unknown. No British players entered either the first or the third *Le Monde Illustré* international.

Later *La Stratégie* tournaments

After its tenth tournament finished in 1894, the French magazine took a break from organising postal competitions but resumed them when they began number 11 in 1898, which ended in 1900. Of the three British players taking part in this, two were expatriates. Lambert won the second prize of fifty francs⁷

LS-11		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Pts
Gaspary	GRE	X	1 ½	½ ½	1 ½	11	½1	½1	11	11	11	15
Lambert, C. J.	ENG	0 ½	X	01	½1	1 ½	11	11	11	11	11	14 ½
Weissmann	FRA	½ ½	10	X	10	01	11	11	10	11	11	13
Clérissy	FRA	0 ½	½0	01	X	½0	½ ½	11	11	1 ½	1 ½	10 ½
Harvey, E.N.R.	ENG	00	0 ½	10	½1	X	01	½ ½	1 ½	11	11	10 ½
Gottesmann	AUT	½0	00	00	½ ½	10	X	11	10	11	11	9 ½
Grabbé	FRA	½0	00	00	00	½ ½	00	X	11	1 ½	0 ½	5 ½
Courel	FRA	00	00	01	00	0 ½	01	00	X	1 ½	½ ½	5
Callame	FRA	00	00	00	0 ½	00	00	0 ½	0 ½	X	11	3 ½
Audap, F.	ENG	00	00	00	0 ½	00	00	1 ½	½ ½	00	X	3

Both the twelfth and thirteenth tournaments began during 1899. In the twelfth, Harvey (who lived in Genoa) was joined by Rev R. O. Davies, chess correspondent of the *Ipswich Journal*, but

⁵ It may be possible to reconstruct a table from the more than two hundred individual results listed in the paper over four years. This task is being attempted by Eric Ruch for his forthcoming history of French correspondence chess.

⁶ *B.C.M.*, xiii (1893), p. 304. Also *Le Monde Illustré*, 13 May 1893, p. 316. At this point third prize had not yet been decided between three players, not including Lambert.

⁷ *La Stratégie*, xxxiii (1900), p. 273 (the result of one unfinished game was stated later).

they found it difficult.⁸ The leaders were known to be strong players over the board. Count Grabbé lived in Pau but may have been Russian. The tournament did not end until early in 1903, probably because Zybin lived in Gatschina (Russia). Humbert was in Davos and Guglielmetti in Rome. The smaller tourney -13, on the other hand, with three English players and no Russians, finished early in 1901.⁹ Platt was presumably not discouraged by his result as he played much postal chess in succeeding years and improved his performances.

LS-12		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Pts
Sittenfeld	FRA	X	½ ½	11	1 ½	1 ½	11	11	11	1 ½	13 ½
Zybin, I. A.	RUS	½ ½	X	01	11	11	½1	11	11	11	13 ½
Guglielmetti	ITA	00	10	X	½ ½	01	11	11	1 ½	11	10 ½
Gottesmann, L	AUT	0 ½	00	½ ½	X	½ ½	00	1 ½	11	11	8
Grabbé, Comte	FRA	0 ½	00	10	½ ½	X	00	11	½1	11	8
Weissmann, J.	FRA	00	½0	00	11	11	X	00	10	11	7 ½
Humbert, P	SUI	00	00	00	0 ½	00	11	X	½ ½	11	5 ½
Davies, Rev R.	ENG	00	00	0 ½	00	½0	01	½ ½	X	11	5
Harvey, E. N. R.	ENG	0 ½	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	X	½

LS-13		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Pts
Gaspar, P	GRE	X	11	11	½ ½	11	11	11	11	13
Lambert, C. J.	ENG	00	X	11	10	11	11	11	11	11
Weissmann, J	FRA	00	00	X	01	10	11	11	11	8
Davies, Rev R. O.	ENG	½ ½	01	10	X	01	½0	01	11	7 ½
Pape	FRA	00	00	01	10	X	01	11	11	7
Costin, V.	ROM	00	00	00	½1	10	X	01	11	5 ½
Parfait	FRA	00	00	00	10	00	10	X	11	4
Platt, Charles	ENG	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	X	0

The fourteenth tournament, which Lambert won, began at the end of 1900 or early in 1901, and finished during 1902.¹⁰ He failed in the fifteenth (1901-3).¹¹

⁸ The list for tournoi-12 appeared in *La Stratégie*, xxxii (1899), p. 115. The crosstable was in *La Stratégie*, xxxvi (1903), p. 177.

⁹ Tourney -13 list in *Stratégie*, xxxii (1899), p. 372; table in *Stratégie*, xxxiv (1901) p. 184.

¹⁰ Tourney -14 table in *Stratégie*, xxxv (1902) p. 228.

¹¹ Tourney -15 table in *Stratégie*, xxxvi (1903) p. 178, wrongly headed numbered 14. *Stratégie*, xxxiv (1901), p. 184 named Markoff and Fournier who must have withdrawn; they did not appear in the table later.

LS-14		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Pts
Lambert, C. J.	ENG	X	00	11	11	11	11	11	11	12
Weissmann, J.	FRA	11	X	½0	11	10	11	11	11	11½
Gaspar, P.	GRE	00	½1	X	01	01	11	11	11	9½
Guglielmetti	ITA	00	00	10	X	01	11	11	11	8
Goubeau, Dr	FRA	00	10	10	10	X	½½	11	1½	7½
Singer	FRA?	00	00	00	00	½½	X	½½	11	4
Fery, Dr	FRA?	00	00	00	00	00	½½	X	½½	2
Costin, V	ROM	00	00	00	00	0½	00	½½	X	1½

LS-15		1	2	3	4	5	Pts
Weissmann, J.	FRA	X	½1	10	0½	11	5
Barbier	FRA?	½0	X	½½	11	½½	4½
Gaspar, P.	GRE	01	½½	X	½½	½1	4½
Goubeau, Dr	FRA	1½	00	½½	X	10	3½
Lambert, C. J.	ENG	00	½½	½0	01	X	2½

Le Monde Illustré gambit tournament(s)

The last French-run event with a British participant was the *Le Monde Illustré* Rice Gambit tournament, 1903-4. This was a 'thematic' tournament to test a variation in the King's Gambit invented by the American, Professor Isaac Rice (1850-1915), who sponsored many over-the-board competitions with the dual purpose of testing his idea and providing patronage for professional masters. This tournament was unusual in that it was by correspondence and the players were amateurs and chess clubs. The veteran William Timbrell Pierce played in it along with several well-known amateurs. A table appeared in *La Stratégie*, showing only one result between each opponent; Pierce had two wins and a draw from eight games.¹² Since several games are known which prove that the contestants played each other with both White and Black, that may have counted as a second tournament, whose result is unavailable.

Russian master, S. Alapin, assisted the Marseille club, which was the winner according to the *La Stratégie* table. His countryman in this event, Captain P. N. Pervago, was soon afterwards killed in the battle of the Yalu river in the Russian-Japanese war. The other players were quite well known amateurs also. Meijer was a leading Amsterdam player. The Brussels club was represented by Alphonse de Joncker, in consultation with Count Schaffgotsch.

¹² *Stratégie*, xxxvii (1904) 21 Sept. 1904, saying the event began in Feb. 1903 and lasted 18 months.

VI e) Irish Correspondence Chess Championships, 1908-16

Mrs Rowland announced the first Irish Correspondence Championship in issue 18 (Midsummer 1908) of *The Four-Leaved Shamrock*. The qualification rule was that competitors should be natives of Ireland or of Irish parentage, irrespective of present residence in any part of the world. 'Competitors entering will be immediately paired with (if possible) players of their own strength. Two games to be played, preferably simultaneously, each player having White and Black pieces in their respective games. The player who loses to fall out of the tourney – if a draw the same players may play again.'

The trophy was a 'Silver Queen', which would be won outright by three consecutive victories. A few early entries were announced (although two then withdrew) but entries were accepted for several months. Eventually there were twenty-seven entries up to April 1909, when the tournament was closed for entries (*F.L.S.*, issue 22). The competitors were listed when the event ended, in the Autumn 1911 issue of *F.L.S.* (no. 36-7). Hugh T. Twomey of Cork won the final against W. J. Berryman of Derry, with a win and a draw. Because of the odd number of entries and staggered start, this was not quite a normal knock-out tournament.

Some details of the early rounds (i.e. who played who) are unclear, and some byes must have occurred. Working back from the final to earlier known results, the third round (quarter final) was: M. A. Prentice (Dublin) v. Berryman; Rev P. MacLoughlin (Tuam) v. P. A. MacMahon (Dublin); Twomey v. T. Patterson (Co. Down); F. U. Beamish (Cork) v. W. H. S. Monck (Dublin). The semi-finals were: Berryman v MacLoughlin and Twomey v Beamish.

Because of the long-drawn-out nature of this contest, the original intention to start a second event in 1909 was postponed. Mrs Rowland announced in issue 25-6 that the second championship would be played in all-play-all sections but as there were only seven entries, one group was sufficient. This began in 1910 and concluded late in 1911, not long after the first event finished. The winner was Thomas King-Parks, a Dubliner residing in Manchester who competed regularly in correspondence events in these years.¹³

The third Silver Queen championship, announced in issue 39 (Christmas 1911), met with a better response. By issue 42-3 (Summer 1912) three sections of six began play. The section winners played a final, James Septimus Armstrong (seventh son of Canon S. S. Armstrong) defeating the Leinster Champion, Charles J. Barry, and F. U. Beamish, who had tied in Section A. Issue 53 stated that A. Jones was also in the final; he had won Section B. James Armstrong, who was profiled in issue 56 of the *F.L.S.*, also won the fourth championship which began in May 1913 with only six players, including his father (see *F.L.S.* 51). When they both won their other four games, Canon Armstrong waived his claim to the title.

¹³ *Shamrock*, no. 38, p. 4.

The final issue of *F.L.S.*, no. 57 (July 1914) called for entries to Silver Queen 5. This was repeated in the *Cork Weekly News* on 25 July and the *Weekly Irish Times* on 1 August. Later reports in the Cork paper showed that an A section started with six players in September and there were only four players in Section B, commencing in November. Section A was eventually won in a tie with 4/5 by James Armstrong (losing to Beamish) and J. Somers, while Section B ended in a tie between W. M. Brooke and C. J. Barry.¹⁴ Armstrong's bid to win the title outright failed, perhaps affected by his 17-year-old brother William dying while it was in progress.¹⁵ The new champion was Brooke, who won all his games in the final.¹⁶ James Armstrong, then an undergraduate at T.C.D., joined the Veterinary Corps and, surviving the war, completed his medical studies afterwards.

Canon Armstrong entered the sixth (1915-16) championship, which was announced in the Cork paper on 27 November; in later years he succeeded in winning it. The other contestants in the event, beginning in December 1915, were: C. H. Waughby (Cork), W. Allen (chess editor of the *Belfast News-letter*), W. G. MacIntosh (Fairview), Rev P. MacLoughlin (Dunmore presbytery, Galway), and A. F. Falkiner (Governor's house, Limerick prison).¹⁷ In May 1916, Brooke was declared winner again, with 5½/6, although some games were unfinished as yet.¹⁸

In September, the seventh and last Silver Queen tournament was announced.¹⁹ Brooke won again and kept the trophy.²⁰ Mrs Rowland's last column had now ended and she retired, the Irish Correspondence Championship being run for the next few years by Allen from Belfast.

	Silver Queen – 7	1	2	3	4	5	6	Pts.
1	Rev Canon S. C. Armstrong	X	1	½	0	½	1	3
2	F. U. Beamish	0	X	0	0	½	1	1½
3	W. M. Brooke (holder)	½	1	X	1	½	1	4
4	A. F. Falkiner	1	1	0	X	½	1	3½
5	Rev P. MacLoughlin	½	½	½	½	X	1	3
6	J. Rowe (retired)	0	0	0	0	0	X	0

¹⁴ *Cork Weekly News* 24 Apr. & 8 May 1915.

¹⁵ *Cork Weekly News* 5 June 1915.

¹⁶ *Cork Weekly News* 9 Oct. 1915. Also *B.C.M.*, xxxv (1915), pp. 253-5.

¹⁷ *Cork Weekly News* 18 Dec. 1915.

¹⁸ *Belfast News-letter*, 25 May 1916.

¹⁹ *Irish Weekly Mail*, 2 Sept. 1916. There were six entries and the draw was listed on 14 Oct.

²⁰ *B.C.M.*, xxxvii (1917), p. 133, with the table shown here.

Appendix VII) Excerpts from rules and other documents

Introduction

THE following primary documents illustrate the development of rules and of correspondence chess organisation. Rules peculiar to correspondence chess were not standardised until late in the twentieth century, especially with regard to time and penalties. Nevertheless some of the principles established in the *London v. Edinburgh* match were universally accepted, viz. a move once despatched could not be retracted; players were bound by what they actually wrote even if it was not what they had intended to write; offers of conditional move sequences were binding unless the opponent chose to vary the play. Staunton was the first to publish rules for correspondence play, in itself a recognition that this form of the game was becoming popular. Correspondence chess being a doubly rule-governed exercise, organisers of competitions not only required agreement on the rules of chess itself but also rules for the conduct of their matches and tournaments.

A century before the establishment of FIDE, there was already broad agreement on most of the laws defining chess. There was no disagreement, nationally or internationally, over the basic moves of all the pieces, check and checkmate. These had not changed since c. 1470-1500, when a rapid succession of rule changes transformed the Arabic/mediæval game into modern chess with its powerful queen, enhanced bishop, castling, and the option to move pawns two squares on their first move. Nevertheless, some regional variations and grey areas remained. Some differences were merely procedural, such as who played with which colour and who started the next game after a draw. (See Chapter Two.) It was only about 1880 that it became universally accepted that the player moving first used the white pieces, and similarly in draughts it was only around that date that it was established that Black always moves first.

The main areas of potential dispute, can be summarised as follows:

1) The Italian rules of 'free castling' (additional options for placing the king and/or rook) and 'passar battaglia' (i.e. opting out of 'en passant'): only relevant to chess in Italy, once Hamburg Chess Club decided to fall in line.¹

2) Stalemate: draw or win for the stalemated player? (By 1824 it was accepted to be a draw except in a few backwaters and out-of-date books.)

3) Can a player who has no legal move other than to capture a pawn 'en passant' claim stalemate or are they obliged to make that move? (Those who still argued for stalemate in the 1850s found few to agree with them.)

¹ *C.P.C.*, viii (19 June 1847), pp. 191 -2; Von der Lasa seems to have been instrumental in persuading the Hamburg players to abandon the Italian rules.

4) Pawn promotion. (By now it was generally understood that a player could have multiple queens, but some formulations had the absurd consequence that a player could promote to a piece of his opponent's colour or refuse to promote, leaving an immovable 'dummy pawn' on the board. This will be discussed below.)

5) The 50-move draw rule.

6) The draw by repetition of position (or moves) rule.

7) The penalty for making an illegal move. (The player in error was often forced then to move the king, which could sometimes result in immediate defeat.)

8) Other penalties or possible sources of disagreement, e.g. touch-move or saying "check" when it was not check, or ambiguous moves in postal chess.

Points five and six proved the hardest to legislate for. Experienced players recognised the pointlessness of continuing games where it was impossible for either side to win (because of reduced material or perpetual check) but faulty formulations of rules that did not take account of 'hard case' exceptions led to some heated debates. Many mid-Victorian players took sides according to their view of Staunton rather than the objective worth of rules codes. The 'dummy pawn' issue, for example, had no impact on practical play, but the interpretation of the fifty-move rule caused a major dispute in a Canadian correspondence tournament of 1880.² Successive rules codes from that of the 1883 London tournament via the 'British chess code' of the 1890s and up to recent times attempted to find the best practical and verbal solutions.

Extracts from the Rules of the Manchester Chess Club, 1817

The Laws or Constitutions to regulate the Game, are originally established, either to prevent or decide contests; because, by defining what is capable of diversified construction, by determining points which, without explanation, would be uncertain, they prevent dispute. These statutes, founded in reason, countenanced by custom, confirmed by the practice of the best players, and the approbation of illustrious authors, may be reduced to the XVII following RULES, which the Society or Club of Chess in ENGLAND have adopted for their code...³

² Zehr & MacDonald, *Canada*, p. 45.

³ The original printed laws are in a booklet held by Manchester Central Library; the complete text may be found in Nowell (ed.), *Chess and Manchester*, pp. 1 -6. The above is the start of the preamble and some excerpts follow on the next page. The main part of the document deals with the conduct of the club, including the prohibition on smoking and eatables and 'to enjoin the propriety of there being no more than one glass of liquor ordered by any member in the course of an evening; and that wine in bottles be excluded'. Otherwise the laws of the club are most noteworthy for their attempt to justify the old stalemate rule against the continental innovation promoted by Sarratt and universally accepted today, i.e. that stalemate is a draw.

XVI. When one has nothing else to play, and his king being out of check, cannot stir without coming to a check, then the game is stalemate. In England he whose king is stale-mate wins the game, but in France, and several other countries, the stale-mate is a drawn game.

XVII. At all conclusions of parties, when a player seems not to know how to give the difficult mates, as that of a knight and a bishop against the king, that of a rook and a bishop against a rook, &c. at the adversary's request, fifty moves on each side must be appointed for the end of the game: these being accomplished without a mate, it will be a drawn game.

The following was a footnote to Law XVI in the booklet:

The good sense for which the English nation have credit is conspicuous in this rule: the player giving the *stale-mate*, has put the adversary into a position DIRECTLY THE REVERSE of *check-mate*. Mr Sarratt, nevertheless, wishes to import the neutralizing law, which makes a stale-mate a drawn game. As an unanswerable objection to the British principle, he says, that if it be established, every player might have a two-fold object in view, "that of check-mating his adversary, or that of compelling his adversary to stale-mate him."

But, according to his own rule, in a few *situations*, which he has mixed with some masterly ones adopted by him, the player may have a three-fold object in view: 1. TO CHECK MATE THE ADVERSARY; 2. Having failed with loss, to GET INTO A STALE; 3. Foiled in this, too, to GIVE A STALE.

It is extending indulgence to an unskilful or inadvertent mode of approach, to make it indifferent to the player which of the two last happens: and it is encouraging that party who CAN avoid it, to produce that relation of the adverse pieces, which is an opprobrium to the board. Conceive the white king to be at the adverse rook's square, a white pawn at the same rook's second; the black king at his bishop's square: the white has to move. The black king might have avoided giving such a stale-mate; shall we grant him indemnity for marring the game?

Announcement and rules of the *Home Circle* tourney, 1853

CHESS TOURNEY

We have much pleasure in announcing that the preliminaries of the Chess Tournament, referred to in previous numbers of the "HOME CIRCLE" have been settled, and that the conflict will commence forthwith. The following rules and regulations (for many of which we are indebted to the courteous suggestions of our subscribers) have been agreed upon by a committee appointed to undertake the management and arrangement of the details of the Tourney. The combatants, sixteen in number, will be paired by lottery, and their names (where permission has been accorded to us) published in an early No. of our Journal.

1. Each competitor, if he prefer it, may assume a *nom-de-guerre* before the public, but of course his name and residence must be publicly known in case he win a prize.

2. Two prizes will be played for, consisting of a set or sets of chess-men and board, or some useful works on chess, depending on the wishes of the winners. The first prize will be double the value of the second prize.

3. One game only will be played by each pair of antagonists, exclusive of drawn games, which will not count.

4. The winners of the first series of games being known, they will again be paired by lot and proceed as before (as in the Tournament of 1851.) until two players only are left, who shall then contend for the first and second prizes.

5. The two last players may either decide their contest by the result of one game, as in all the other matches, or they may, if desirous of doing so, extend it to the two first won games.

6. All the games, when finished, shall be forwarded by the winners, together with any fines that may accrue thereon, to the Editor of the "HOME CIRCLE," who shall be at liberty to publish them in that periodical, but he will not print the names of the parties unless they shall be winners, if requested not to do so.

7. The players will be at liberty to make any private arrangement amongst themselves as to any additional stake upon the game, or as to the payment of postage by the losers or otherwise.

The following rules, for the conduct of the games themselves, it is expected will be strictly adhered to:—

1. The players being paired, as already provided for, the right to the first move will also be decided by lot at the same time.

2. One clear day, exclusive of Sundays, will be allowed for each move, *i.e.*, a move received on the 2nd must be replied to on the 4th of the month, and so on; but three times in each game a player may take three clear days for the consideration of a move.

3. A fine of sixpence per day will be strictly enforced for delay over the stipulated time, and the amount of such fine must be forwarded to his antagonist by the player so delaying, with his next move, failing which, his adversary may decline to receive the move. In order that this regulation may be effectually carried out, it is expected that an accurate register shall be kept of the date of receipt and despatch of each move.

4. If on any occasion a player delay sending his move for one month, or twice in the game for a fortnight, his adversary may decline to proceed with the game, and claim to be regarded as the winner.

5. Any fines that may accrue are to be forwarded the winners to the Editor of the "HOME CIRCLE," who will apply them in augmentation of the value of the prizes.

6. In case of any dispute arising, reference shall be made to the Editor, PIERCE EGAN, whose decision shall be final.

It is earnestly requested that all parties will strenuously assist in carrying out these regulations, especially as to punctuality in sending their moves, and in paying and enforcing

payment of all fines incurred, as upon this regularity the success of the Tourney will mainly depend.⁴

Mott's rules for his first *Cassell's* tournament, 1856

The rules for the first new *Cassell's* tourney were very similar to those for Mott's *Home Circle* event, but incorporated some suggestions made by a reader, J. Anderson. As clauses 8 and 9, thus added, were taken directly from the rules of the *Birmingham Mercury* tourney (see the *Mercury* of 9 Sept. 1854), while the other rules of that event were based on those for the *Home Circle*, it is clear that a body of rules was being accumulated by precedent on the advice of active players.⁵

1. The players will be paired by lottery.

2. The right to the first move will be decided in the same manner.

3. One clear day, exclusive of Sundays, will be allowed to the consideration of each move—*i.e.* a move received on the 1st of the month must be replied to on the 3rd, and so on; but three times in each game a player may take three clear days for the consideration of a move.

4. A fine of 2*d.* per day will be strictly enforced for delay over the stipulated time, and the amount of such fine must be forwarded to his antagonist by the player so delaying, with his next move, failing which his adversary may decline to receive the move. In order that this regulation may be effectually carried out, an accurate register shall be kept of the date and despatch of each move.

5. If upon any occasion a player delay sending his move for one month, or twice in the game for a fortnight, his adversary may decline to proceed with the game and claim to be regarded as the winner.

6. Any fines that may accrue are to be applied in augmentation of the value of the prizes.

7. In case of any dispute arising, reference shall be made to the Editor of the FAMILY PAPER, whose decision shall be final.

* It is earnestly requested that the competitors will strenuously assist in carrying out the foregoing rules, especially as to punctuality in sending their moves, and in paying and enforcing payment of all fines incurred, as upon the observance of these points the success of the Tourney will greatly depend.

8. In order to save time each pair of antagonists shall play two games simultaneously: say, the first game A, and the second B. Should game A terminate without a draw, game B, of course,

⁴ *The Home Circle*, viii (5 Mar. 1853), p. 160.

⁵ *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper*, iii (7 June 1856), p. 183 published Proposed Conditions. On 12 July (p. 223) 'rules for the conduct of the games' appeared. The following week (p. 231) there were some points on the rules and a promise that Anderson's unspecified suggestions 'shall receive every consideration'. On page 255 (9 Aug.) the additional regulations were printed.

will not count, but in case of game A being drawn, B will decide the contest, provided that game be not also drawn. As a matter of course, the player having the first move in game A will have it in B.

9. Should a palpable oversight in committing any move to paper be made, the umpire may once in each game allow a player making such blunder to alter his move. This rule is added in order that the skill of each player may be fairly tested.

10. It will be legal for the competitors to consult whatever chess work they may wish during the progress of their games; but they may not seek or receive advice with regard to their moves.

Staunton's rules for correspondence chess, 1860

I. In playing a game by correspondence, the two parties should always agree beforehand in writing as to the persons who are to take part in the contest, as to the time and mode of transmitting the moves, as to the penalties to be inflicted for any breach of the contract, and as to the umpire or referee.⁶

II. In a game of this description, a move once despatched by the medium agreed on cannot be recalled. If a legal move, it must be abided by, and, if an illegal one, the party sending it will be subjected to the same penalty as for a false move played with an opponent *vis-à-vis*.

III. Neither party shall be obliged to send more than one move at a time, but, if either choose to send more, the moves so sent must be considered irrevocable if legal, and punishable in the manner before stated if unlawful.

IV. When several successive moves are sent at once, and one of them is found to be illegal, the sender must suffer the punishment for a false move and the game then proceed from that point. The subsequent moves, which were forwarded with the illegal one, must, however, in that case be cancelled.

V. If a player send hypothetical moves, that is moves on the assumption that his adversary will make certain others previously, they shall not be binding unless his adversary make the moves assumed.

VI. If a player send more than one move on the same turn to play, the adversary may select which he pleases.

VII. If either party in a game by correspondence accept the assistance of any player not originally engaged to take part in the contest, that party shall forfeit the game.

VIII. If a move bears more than one interpretation the player receiving it must announce, with his next move, which interpretation he adopts, or it must be interpreted according to the intention of the sender.

⁶ Howard Staunton, *Chess Praxis: a supplement to the Chess Player's Handbook* (London 1860), pp. 36-7. These rules focus on game situations; Mott's deal mostly with tourney organisation.

IX. A move not intelligibly described incurs the penalty of sending no move on the day appointed.

Prospectus of the Caïssa Correspondence Club, 1871

A correspondence chess club will be established under the above title.

Chess by correspondence has several advantages, viz. :-

1st. – It enables persons living in the country, at a distance from any existing club, to engage in games with good amateurs, and thus to keep up their practice, in addition to the pleasure derived from the individual games.

2nd. – It gives ample time to study and investigate the many beautiful positions that often occur in a game.

3rd. – It tests the soundness of any particular move more accurately than any off-hand game, as more care and thought is generally bestowed on the subsequent moves.

4th. – It gives the player an opportunity of analysing any variations that he wishes while the actual game is in progress.

5th. – It eliminates in a great measure all chance of absurd moves made hastily, and consequently renders the game more perfect.

The programme will comprise — Single-handed games, tourneys for prizes, handicap tourneys (as soon as the relative strength of the members can be ascertained), consolation tourneys, matches for the challenge cup, and matches with other clubs (if found practicable).

In order to make the club a perfect success and keep up the interest, reports will be sent to every member quarterly, giving the results of all games finished during the quarter, together with any other necessary information. It is also proposed to print a selection of the club matches with the annual report. At the end of the first season the members are requested to make any suggestions for the improvement of the club. The annual subscription will be 10*s.* 6*d.*, which includes admission to one prize tourney and the book of selected matches, together with all quarterly reports, &c. Book of rules 6*d.* extra (post free). Persons wishing to become members are requested to forward their subscriptions to the secretary as early as is convenient, as the tourney arrangements cannot be completed until it is known how many members are going to compete.

1, Railway-street, Hereford

C. F. GREEN (Hon. Sec.).⁷

⁷ *Land and Water*, xi (21 Jan. 1871), p. 55.

Rules of the London-Vienna correspondence match, 1872

1. The City of London Chess Club and Vienna Chess Club mutually agree to play two simultaneous games of chess by correspondence for one hundred pounds (£100) sterling a side.⁸

2. The total stakes shall be won by that club which scores at least one game more than its opponent; but should the match be drawn by each club winning a game, or both games being drawn, the match shall be considered terminated, each side withdrawing its stake.

3. Each club to have the first move and the white men in one of the games.

4. The British Chess Association Laws, as published in the Book of the Congress of 1862, shall be held valid.

5. The moves shall be sent by telegram, and confirmed on the same day by registered letter. In case of clerical error in the telegram, the text of registered letter shall decide the move; but in such event any move or moves sent in answer to such faulty telegram may be retracted, and another move or moves transmitted in their stead without loss of credit days; should, however, no registered letter be sent, the letter then cannot be considered faulty. Any telegram arriving after 7 o'clock (seven) p.m. shall be considered as having arrived on the following day, and if arriving on Saturday after that hour, shall be considered as having arrived on Monday.

6. Every telegram and registered letter shall contain at least one move in each game: but should any telegram or reg. letter contain the move for one game only, such telegram or letter shall be invalid (except as hereinafter provided by Rule 15), unless one game be already concluded.

7. Every move shall be answered within five (5) days after its receipt, Sundays excluded; for instance, either club receives a move on Wednesday, it then has Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Monday for consideration, and must forward its answer on Tuesday at latest, being four (4) clear intermediate days, exclusive of Sundays, between the receipt of move and dispatch of reply. This rule is subject to the context of Rules 8 and 9.

8. Should either club take a less number of days than (four) stipulated in Rule 7 before sending its moves, it shall be credited with the difference.

9. Should either club take a greater number of days than (four) stipulated in Rule 7, plus the credit days (if any have already accrued), before sending its moves, that club shall forfeit one pound (£1) sterling per day to its opponent.

10. Should, however, either club take a longer time than fourteen (14) successive days beyond those allowed by Rule 7, plus the credit days (if any), before sending its moves, that club shall be considered to have lost the game or games; but in such case no forfeit money can be claimed for those particular extra days.

11. The total number of credit days shall be mentioned in each registered letter.

⁸ *Land and Water*, xiii (8 June 1872), p. 382.

12. The last preceding move shall be mentioned in each registered letter.

13. Both games shall be adjourned during the meeting of the British Chess Association this year from 21st June to 21st July, and also during the Chess Congress of Vienna, 1873.

14. Each club shall bear its own expenses for telegrams, registration, postages, etc.

15. In case of adjourned games, the club which had the first move shall move last, so that each club moves last in the game it commenced.

16. In the event of any dispute arising between the two clubs, the same shall be referred to the decision of two umpires, one to be appointed by each club forthwith, who shall immediately elect a referee, to provide against the contingency of their not agreeing, and the decision of any two shall be binding.

17. Each club shall appoint three members to sign (on its behalf) the registered letters containing the moves, and shall acquaint its opponent with the names and signatures. Of the gentlemen appointed; no letter shall be considered valid unless it is subscribed by at least two of the three members, and countersigned by the secretary. Should any substitution of the signatures become absolutely necessary in either club a special notice shall be sent immediately to its opponent, duly authorising the substituted members or member to sign the future letters on its behalf.

Archdall and Nash's announcements & rules, 1876 and 1877

We have much pleasure in publishing the conditions of a Correspondence Tourney to be commenced forthwith under the able management of the Rev T. H. Archdall of Gateshead:—⁹

I. – The tourney to consist of 21 players, at an entrance fee of £1 1 s. each, play to commence in September, 1876.

II. – The first prize, a silver cup, value £10; 2^d prize, a set of chess men, value £5; 3^d prize, a set of chess men, value £3; 4th prize, a set of chess men, value £2; 5th prize, a copy of the German Handbook, value £1 1 s. These prizes may be changed for something else of the same value, as the winners may select.

III. – Each player to play one game with every other—draws counting half to each. Each player to contend with five others at the same time. The player making the highest total score to win 1st prize, 2^d highest score, 2^d prize; and so on.

IV. – A time limit of 72 hours between receipt and posting of moves will be strictly enforced. One postponement of a week allowed to each player during the course of each game; but a further postponement may be permitted under urgent circumstances, leave for which can only be obtained from the conductor of the tourney.

⁹ *Glasgow Weekly Herald*, 2 Sept. 1876.

V. – The games while pending not to be set up in any club-room, nor under any circumstances shown to any one, except to the conductor of the tourney, if that be necessary.

VI. – The winner of any game, and the player who had the first move in any drawn game, to send at once a copy of the game to the conductor of the tourney, who alone The entrance fees to be sent by P.O.O. or by cheque crossed National and Provin. Bank, Gateshead, to the Rev T. H. Archdall, 25 Denmark-street, Gateshead-on-Tyne, who will be responsible for the proper conduct of the tourney, and who shall settle any disputes that may arise during its progress. Players are requested to settle between themselves at the outset of each game whether clerical errors are to be punished. The conductor of the tourney retains to himself the right of refusing any entry he may think proper.

Nash's rules, a year later, were modelled very closely on the above, and differences probably reflect players' recommendations on the basis of Archdall's pioneering event.¹⁰ Firstly, Nash stipulated that four, rather than five, games were to be played simultaneously.

Nash's clause 7 stated that: 'All disputes will be settled in accordance with the strict rules of play, and private agreements between the players as to clerical or other errors will not be recognised in case of appeal.'

It seems likely that there were several withdrawals from Archdall's tournament because of the stress laid on this in Nash's conditions. First he stated that 'it is hoped that no player will retire from the tourney before he has completed all his games, as the result of the tourney might be seriously affected thereby'. Then a final clause read as follows.

'8. Should a player retire before he has completed all his games he shall forfeit 2s. 6d. for every unplayed game, unless a satisfactory reason for such retirement be given to the conductor of the tournament. The amount of such forfeits to be added proportionately to the prizes, which, with the exception of the first, can be changed, at the option of the winners, for anything of equal value. The conductor will take the opinion of the players, when the entries are complete, as to the way in which the unplayed games of retiring players (if any) shall be dealt with, and the wish of the majority shall guide him to a decision in the matter.'

Rules of the Postcard Match, U.K.-U.S.A, 1877

International Postal-Card Tourney. Chess-Players of Great Britain and Ireland v. the Chess-Players of the United States of America.

1st. Play to be conducted according to *Chess Praxis* by Staunton.

2nd. Intending players allowed one month from date of the publication of the announcement to enter. Envelopes to be marked "Chess" and addressed to "The Editor of *The News of the Week*, Glasgow".

¹⁰ *Glasgow Weekly Herald*, 27 Oct. 1877.

3rd. The editors of the *Hartford Times* and *News of the Week* wish applicants to state their experience in such contests, so that the pairing may be as even as possible on that basis.

4th. The time to elapse between receiving and posting replies to be two clear lawful days. In all cases the moves and date on which the moves are received to be alluded to in the replies, and the dates to be given in a record of the games at the close.

5th. If six weeks elapse and no reply be received, the player not receiving such reply may make a claim for the unfinished games by appeal to the editor under whom he entered; but the illness of a player or his departure for another country will be deemed a sufficient reason for cancelling such unfinished games.

6th. The players of each country to have the first move in two games, and they will arrange to number them 1, 2, 3, 4. The players representing the 'Old Country' will have the first move in Nos. 1 and 2, and it is suggested, in order to save about six months' time, that ten or a dozen of the opening moves on both sides be made up to a point where neither side has the advantage, and the party who selects the opening moves permits his opponent to take choice in positions.

7th. If, at the end of two years, any unfinished games remain, the players shall forward copies to the editors under whom they entered, and give diagrams of the positions, on which they shall give an analysis showing draws or wins. The editors will then communicate with each other, and should they not agree, such games to be cancelled.

Referring to Rule Sixth, intending players when they enter are expected to send the opening moves of their two games. These, with the full address of each, will be posted to Hartford, and the players on this side of the ocean will await replies to their openings and by same mail the opening moves of games 3 and 4.¹¹

Rules of Fraser's U.K. International Tourney, 1887

I. The number of players shall be eighteen.¹²

II. Each player shall play one game with every other competitor, and shall be required to meet not less than four opponents simultaneously.

III. Pawn to King's Fourth shall be played on both sides, as the opening move in each game.¹³
Drawn games shall count one half to each player.

¹¹ *The News of the Week*, 16 June 1877, pp. 12-13.

¹² *Dublin Evening Mail*, 28 July 1887.

¹³ Rowland copied this rule for the first four of his *Dublin Mail* tournaments. This was still the most popular way of opening a game in amateur chess, and saved one stamp in each direction, but did restrict the players' choice by ruling out the Sicilian and French Defences, Queen's Gambit etc.

IV. The maximum time-limit shall be forty-eight hours after receipt of opponent's move. Seven days' grace will be allowed to each player in the Tourney.

V. The five competitors who make the highest scores shall receive respectively prizes of £10, £5, £3 3 s, £2 2 s, and £1 11s. 6 d.

VI. If any player retire before the completion of his score, each competitor shall, for every game remaining unplayed, be credited with a fraction, representing the ratio of his score to the number of games he has actually played. In such case the entrance fee shall be forfeited.

VII. The entrance fee shall be one guinea.

VIII. The winners shall send copy of their games to the conductor immediately on being finished. In drawn games the *first* players shall be required to furnish copies.

IX. The games in this Tourney shall be played in accordance with the Rules in Staunton's *Praxis* regarding correspondence play.

X. Any question which may arise between the competitors shall be referred to the Editor of the *Illustrated News* whose decision shall be final.

G. B. FRASER, Dundee, Conductor.

James Pierce's rules for his fifth *English Mechanic* tourney, 1889

There are vacancies for a Game Correspondence Tourney about to be started. The rules are as follow:- [sic]

1. Number limited to 12.
2. Entrance fee £1.
3. The stakes, £12, to be divided among the first six in proportion to the number of games won.
4. Two games to be played simultaneously with each of two other competitors.
5. Time limit for move two days after receipt of opponent's move.
6. No move can be recalled after it has been once sent.
7. All points of dispute must be referred to the conductor whose decision will be final.
8. Drawn game score $\frac{1}{2}$ to each player.
9. Opponent can claim game if rule 5 is infringed.
10. Each player will play two games with every other player; but should any player withdraw before half his games are played his score will be cancelled. If after, those competitors with whom he has not played will score those games to their credit.

British Chess Company correspondence competition rules, 1901

1. The number of players is determined by the challenger, the odd numbers of the challenging team taking White.¹⁴

2. The player of White is required to make the first move within three days after the publication in his chess column of the name and address of his opponent; in default Black may score as for a win.

3. If no reply to a move is received before the fifth day after the date of despatch the sender may score as for a win.

4. If after the expiration of four calendar months from the date of the first move a game is still unfinished either player may claim that the position shall be adjudicated on.

5. The player when sending his move is advised to repeat the last move of his opponent, or to make use of a corresponding score sheet (to be had of the British Chess Company), on which each player enters his move with date, and which can be sent to and fro between the players in an unsealed envelope with a halfpenny stamp.

6. Play is governed by the laws of the British Chess Code (revised edition).

7. On the completion of a game the winner must forward his score to the editor he plays to.

8. Any dispute is to be referred to the two editors, and if they are unable to agree the British Chess Company's decision shall be final. An entrance fee of 6 *d.* is to be forwarded to the respective chess editors.

Major Murray's advice to postal players, 1904

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CORRESPONDENCE PLAY¹⁵

Now that our present tourney is over, a few remarks on the subject of Correspondence Chess may be useful to those who are about to enter the new Tourney.

In the first place, it should be recognised that correspondence play is, or should be, an education just as much as any other branch of study, as, for instance grammar.

In the actual game over the board, errors, and even blunders, are of frequent occurrence, not only amongst average players, but also in combats between the great masters. But in correspondence play, where every move should be subjected to a scientific investigation, and a close examination of the Principles of Chess, it should not be possible for a player to capture a rook or

¹⁴ Rules for British Chess Company correspondence matches between the readerships of chess columns, as printed in the *Dublin Evening Mail* of 19 October 1901.

¹⁵ Almost certainly written by Major Archibald K. Murray. Published in *Hobbies*, xviii (23 Apr. 1904 but misdated 16th), p. 70. This was advice to players who might enter his next tourney series.

knight from his opponent scathless, and for a player to lose his queen shows very careless conduct indeed. Several games in this tourney just closed were lost by blunders of this kind.

Errors of judgment are of course not alluded to in the previous remarks. They do, and, in fact, must occur, else every game would theoretically end in a draw. He who best applies the Principles, and defines most accurately the positional possibilities, will win most games. A slight error in the Opening, an unnecessary move, thus involving loss of time, hardly noticed, perhaps, when made, will between players of anything like equal strength, colour and affect the whole game; the one trying to evade or repair the consequences of his mistake, and his adversary pressing his advantage in every way.

Thus it is necessary, if the games in a correspondence tourney are to be satisfactorily conducted, to have a definite system of play. Usually the moves are sent by means of post cards, but a much better plan is to use the Chess score sheets, which can be sent in open envelopes to the players alternately. Each player thus sees the whole record at each move, so there can be no mistake about previous play. A plain sheet of paper ruled and numbered will of course answer as well.

In sending a move, players should be perfectly clear in the description thereof, and it is not generally wise to send conditional moves, e.g. *23 R-K2, if 23...PxR. 24 QxB* etc. In the first place, you very often indicate a path which it would be policy to avoid, and further, the risk of oversight is considerably increased.

Also be careful to write legibly, keep strictly to the rules of the game, adhere to the time limit, and finally, having carefully thought over and studied the move you intend to send, abide cheerfully and loyally by the result, however disastrous. In such manner only is proficiency and excellence of play to be obtained.

Extracts from the British Chess Company prospectus of 1905

BRITISH Chess Correspondence Tourney. All the year round.¹⁶

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT.

We have pleasure in announcing the commencement of a cheap popular Chess Magazine, which will be published monthly by the British Chess Co., 54 Wedmore Street, London N., in which all results of the BRITISH Chess Correspondence Tourney may be placed on record, and a means of communication with the numerous players established...

The aim of this Tourney is to encourage the practice of correspondence play, and to provide players with the means of securing opponents readily and at any time. Except in one particular we merely act as a means of communication between parties undertaking games by correspondence...

¹⁶ British Chess Company, *Prospectus of the British Chess Correspondence Tourney* (London 1905). Similar announcements appeared in chess columns, but the magazine did not actually start until October 1906 and was published from Stroud, Gloucestershire.

The instance in which we go beyond bringing players together is in connection with the Championship Matches...

VII. URBAN DISTRICT, COUNTY, AND LARGER AREA CORRESPONDENCE CHAMPIONSHIPS.

Each London Postal District ranks as a County. The "Larger Areas" are as follows:– (1) Northern Counties; (2) Midland and Eastern Counties; (3) Southern Counties, including Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire and Bucks; (4) Wales, including Monmouthshire; (5) Scotland; (6) Ireland; (7) the County of London; (8) England; (9) Great Britain and (10) the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

The legitimate method of deciding who shall be Champion Correspondence Player for any urban district, county, or other area would be by a contest between the various aspirants for the honour. Such a course would, however, occupy several years. We are, therefore, compelled to adopt a more practical plan, and ask players who are willing to undertake and defend the championship of any large town, city, county, or other area to forward names, each with chess record. These records will be submitted to Mr J. H. Blackburne (or other authority).

The player appointed must accept any challenges sent through us, each challenge for two games, one in which the champion plays White, the other in which he plays Black. A champion is not bound to engage more than three opponents simultaneously. The winner of two games from the champion to become champion, on the conditions stated above, for the urban district, or county, or other area.

Members willing to challenge any champion are requested to send names and particulars, together with the extra fee of 6 d.

Rules of the British Correspondence Chess Association, 1907

1–The Association shall be entitled "The British Correspondence Chess Association," and its objects shall be to encourage the playing of Chess by Correspondence [throughout the Country] and to foster and encourage Chess playing generally; also to promote and arrange matches by post with other Chess Clubs and Associations.¹⁷

2–The Association shall consist of President, Vice-Presidents, and Members [who shall be resident in the United Kingdom]. The Officers of the Association shall be a Chairman, a Deputy Chairman, a Match Captain, an Hon. Secretary, an Hon. Treasurer and if necessary a Match Conductor.

¹⁷ *The British Correspondence Chess Association Year Book 1907*, pp. 6. The words in square brackets in rules 1 and 2 were struck out in pen. It is unclear whether these were deleted before the document was circulated or reflect a later amendment permitting foreign members.

3–The Annual Subscription for membership shall be 5/-. Members have the option of becoming life members, the fee for which shall be two guineas. Membership shall date for one year from date of payment of subscription. All subscriptions should be sent to the Hon. Secretary.

4–The management of the Association shall be vested in a Committee, consisting of the Officers of the Association (*ex-officio*), the President, Vice-Presidents, and such other members of the Association as may be elected annually. The Committee shall meet in the months of January, April, July, and October, and on any other occasion on which they may be summoned by the Secretary.

5–The laws of the “British Chess Code” shall govern all play conducted by the Association.¹⁸ All disputes and questions shall be referred to the Committee whose decision shall be binding and final.

6–Three prizes shall be awarded annually to the members who shall win the greatest percentage of games in any year concluding on July 31st. (The Tournament games are not counted in connection with these prizes.) Members must play at least six games to be entitled to a prize under this Rule. All games unfinished by July 31st shall be adjudicated on by Mr. G. E. H. Bellingham or some other Chess Master. This does not apply to any game which both players are desirous [sic] of playing out, which will be included in the following year’s competition.

7–The reply to a move must be posted within 48 hours (exclusive of Sundays and Bank Holidays) of the time of delivery at the address of the recipient; BUT IT IS DESIRED THAT REPLIES BE SENT AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE. If a player exceed the time limit, his opponent must notify him of the fact, and on a repetition of the offence, must claim the game.

8–A move once posted cannot be recalled. Players when sending a move, must repeat the last move received from their opponent.

9–No consultation or discussion shall take place on any game in progress. THIS SHOULD BE MADE A POINT OF HONOR WITH EACH PLAYER. Players, however, are at liberty, if they choose, to refer to books or works on Chess.

10–Each player must keep a record of his game, and preserve his opponents’ post-cards (the latter for reference in case of dispute) and as soon as a game is concluded the winner of such game, or the player using the white pieces in the event of a drawn game, MUST COMMUNICATE THE RESULT WITH A COPY OF THE SCORE OF THE GAME TO THE MATCH CAPTAIN. The result must be communicated to the Match Captain *within fourteen days* of the conclusion of the game, or such game will not count in the competition.

11–Ladies are eligible for membership and Members can enrol at any time.

¹⁸ This refers to the British Chess Company, *The British Chess Code* (revised ed, London 1903), which said little about correspondence chess. The B.C.F. rules came into force a few years later.

British Chess Federation rules for correspondence play, 1911

1. The Laws of Chess for over the board play shall apply to correspondence play except when inapplicable.¹⁹

2. The first move in each game shall be sent on the day appointed for the commencement of such game, and each subsequent move shall be sent within 48 hours (Sundays and Bank Holidays not included) of the time of its delivery at the address of the recipient. The record sent of each move shall be properly dated by the sender.

3. Either player can once in each game claim an extension of 24 hours beyond the 48 hours aforesaid for sending a move, and can once in each game claim one week's complete cessation of play, but in each case written notice of such claim must be sent to the other player within the 48 hours aforesaid.

4. If a player exceeds the time limit his opponent must notify his own Match Captain and the defaulting player of the fact, and on a repetition of the offence must claim the game. If after receipt of a notice under this Rule, the defaulting player does not send his move within 24 hours, he shall forfeit the game.

5. A move once sent cannot be recalled.

6. If a player receive an illegal move he must call upon the other player to send a legal move of the piece or pawn named, or if no such legal move be possible, to move his King; if this be illegal then no penalty can be exacted, and the other player may substitute another move; if this second move be illegal, he shall forfeit the game.

7. If a player receive a move which is capable of more than one legal interpretation, he must on the first occasion require the other player to amend the record, so that it is capable of only one legal interpretation, and such amended move shall be sent immediately on receipt of the requirement, the time limit operating from the time of receipt of such amendment as for an original move. On subsequent occasions, the receiving player may select which interpretation he pleases, and the other player must abide by such selection, of which he shall be informed.

8. The record of a move which involves a capture must expressly mention that capture or the record shall be treated as that of an illegal move.

9. Conditional continuations of moves and replies may be sent by either player, but such continuations are binding only so far as they are accepted and replied to by the receiver.

10. Each player shall send a record of the last move received when sending his reply, and if this be omitted, his opponent shall forthwith require such record to be sent and shall not reply until it is received, the time limit operating from the time of such receipt as for an original move.

11. No player shall request or accept any extraneous assistance or advice, but may consult any books or works on chess.

¹⁹ British Chess Federation, *The Laws of Chess* (London 1912), pp. 20-2.

Appendix VIII) Selected Games¹

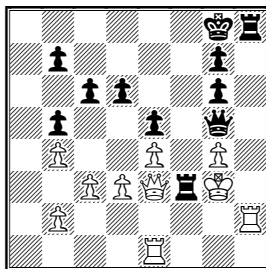
(1) Edinburgh Chess Club - London Chess Club

Bishop's Opening [C23]

London v. Edinburgh (1), 1824

William Lewis (in his book on the match) wrongly called the first game the second and vice versa, and made the same error with respect to the 3rd and 4th games.

1 e4 e5 2 Bc4 Bc5 3 c3 Qe7 4 Nf3 d6 5 d3 Nf6 6 Qe2 0-0 7 Bg5 h6 8 Bh4 Be6 9 Bb3 Bxb3 10 axb3 Nc6 11 Nbd2 Qe6 12 b4 Bb6 13 Bxf6 Qxf6 14 Nc4 Qe6 15 Nh4 Ne7 16 g4 Ng6 17 Nxc6 fxg6 18 0-0 Rf4 19 h3 Raf8 20 Nxb6 axb6 21 f3 Qf6 22 Kg2 c6 23 Rf2 b5 24 Qe3 h5 25 Kg3 Qg5 26 Re1 Kh7 27 Qe2 Rh8 28 Qe3 Kg8 29 Rh2 hxg4 30 hxg4 Rxf3+



31 Kxf3

Not 31 Qxf3 Rxh2 32 Kxh2 Qh4+ and 33...Qxe1.

31...Qxe3+ 32 Kxe3 Rxh2 33 Ra1 Rh3+ 34 Ke2 Rh2+ 35 Ke3 Rh3+ ½-½.

(2) London Chess Club - Edinburgh Chess Club

Scotch Game [C44]

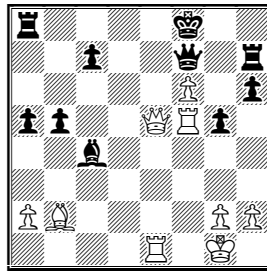
London v. Edinburgh (2), 1824-5

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 d4

This game was the origin of the opening's name Scotch Game, although 3 d4 was played by London, at the instigation of John Cochrane. It has been pointed out that he followed the Italian-influenced principles of Sarratt, which urged opening the game and using the half-open d-file, compared with Philidor's principle of playing c3 before d4 and recapturing on d4 with the pawn.

3...exd4 4 Bc4 Bc5 5 c3! Qe7? 6 0-0 dxc3 7 Nxc3 d6 8 Nd5 Qd7 9 b4! Nxb4 10 Nxb4 Bxb4 11 Ng5 Nh6 12 Bb2 Kf8 13 Qb3 Qe7 14 Nxf7 Nxf7 15 Qxb4 Ne5 16 f4 Nxc4 17 Qxc4 Qf7 18 Qc3 Be6 19 f5 Bc4 20 Rf4 b5 21 e5 dxe5 22 Qxe5 h6 23 Re1 Rh7 24 f6 g5 25 Rf5 a5

¹ This appendix employs the normal convention that ! indicates a strong move and ? a weak move.



Now a historic situation for the rules of correspondence chess arose.

26 Qc5+ Kg8

Lewis reports that London had prepared moves 26-28 in the belief that they won, i.e. they sent two moves as conditionals. After the letter was posted, the club members discovered the defence and asked to take the rook sacrifice move back but Edinburgh refused, setting a precedent for all time in correspondence chess.

27 Rxc7?

The fatal conditional move, sent in the first letter with move 26. Instead 27 Re7! would have won: 27...Qg6 (or 27...Qh5 28 f7+ Rxf7 29 Qd4 Kf8 30 Re1) 28 Qxc7! Rxe7 (28...Qxf5 29 Rg7+) 29 fxe7 Re8 30 Qe5 Qh7 31 Qf6 Bf7 32 h3 and Black is helpless, e.g. 32...Ra8 33 Qc6 Re8 34 Qxe8+ Bxe8 35 Rf8#.

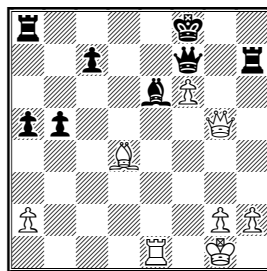
27...hxg5 28 Qxc7+ Kf8!

This is the defence the London players initially underestimated, reckoning only on 28...Kh8? 29 Re7 Rg8 30 Rxf7 Rxc7 31 Rf8+ Rg8 32 f7+ with excellent winning chances.

29 Bd4 Be6 30 Qc5+ Kg8!

30...Ke8? loses to 31 Qc6+.

31 Qg5+ Kf8



32 Bc5+?

As Staunton remarked when annotating the game later: 'It is rather surprising the London players did not avail themselves of this opportunity of drawing the game.' This was the last chance of doing so: 32 Qc5+ was correct.

32...Ke8 33 Qd5 Ra6!

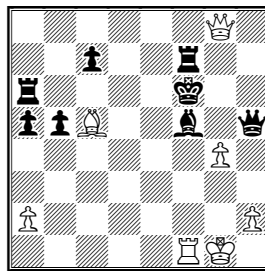
London had at first overlooked this resource, prepared by Black's 25th move.

34 Qb7 Qh5 35 f7+!?

London attempts to maintain the attack, but Edinburgh finds a sequence of accurate defensive moves.

35 Qxa6 would regain the rook, but Black has a probably winning attack by 35...Qxh2+ (35...Qxc5+ 36 Kh1 would still have drawn) 36 Kf1 Qf4+.

35...Kxf7 36 Rf1+ Kg6 37 Qe4+ Bf5 38 Qe8+ Rf7 39 Qg8+ Kf6 40 g4



40...Ra8! 41 Qxa8 Qxg4+ 42 Kh1 Rd7 43 Ba3 Kf7 44 Qc6 Rd1! 45 Qxb5

45 Rxd1 loses the queen to 45...Be4+.

45...Qe4+ 46 Kg1 Kg6 47 Qb2 Qg4+ 48 Qg2 Qxg2+ 49 Kxg2 Bh3+ 50 Kxh3 Rxf1 51 Be7 a4 52 a3 Rf5! 0-1.

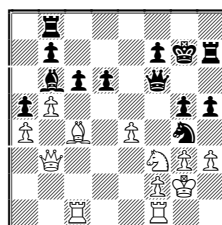
(3) Edinburgh Chess Club - London Chess Club

Scotch Gambit [C44]

London v. Edinburgh (3), 1824-8

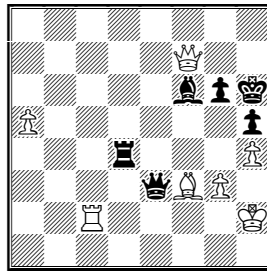
In Game 3, the replay of the drawn game 1, Edinburgh played the Scotch Gambit which they had been defending in Game 2. This game began on December 20, 1824 and ended on March 18, 1828. By that time the match stood 1-1 and Edinburgh was winning the fifth game.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 d4 exd4 4 Bc4 Bb4+ 5 c3 dxc3 6 0-0 d6 7 a3 Bc5 8 b4 Bb6 9 Qb3 Qf6 10 Nxc3 Be6 11 Nd5 Bxd5 12 Bxd5 Nge7 13 Bg5 Qg6 14 Bxe7 Kxe7 15 a4 a5 16 b5 Rab8 17 Nh4 Qf6 18 Nf5+ Kf8 19 Rac1 Ne5 20 Kh1 h5 21 g3 g6 22 Nh4 Ng4 23 h3 g5 24 Nf3 c6 25 Bc4 Rh7 26 Kg2 Kg7



Now White must not capture the knight because after 27 hxg4?? hxg4 28 Nd2 (or 28 Nh2 Rxh2+ 29 Kxh2 Qh6+ 30 Kg2 Qh3+ and 31...Rh8) 28...Rbh8 forces mate.

27 Be2 Ne5 28 Nxc5 Qxc5 29 f4 Qg6 30 fxe5 Qxe4+ 31 Bf3 Qe3 32 Qb1 Kh8 33 Rce1 Qg5
 34 h4 Qg7 35 Be4 Rh6 36 Rf5 dxe5 37 Rg5 Qf8 38 Qc1 Bd8? 39 Rxe5 Bf6 40 Rf5 Re8 41
 bxc6 bxc6 42 Rxa5 Kg7 43 Rc5 Re6 44 Qc4 Qe7 45 Re3 Qa7 46 Re2 Rd6 47 a5 Rd1 48
 Bf3 Bd4 49 Rg5+ Rg6 50 Qxc6 Bf6 51 Rxc6+ fxc6 52 Qb6 Qf7 53 Rc2 Rd7 54 Bc6 Qe6 55
 Kh2 Rd4 56 Qa7+ Kh6 57 Bf3 Qe3 58 Qf7



58...Rd2+

58...Qxf3?? loses to 59 Qf8+ Bg7 (59...Kh7 60 Rc7+) 60 Qxf3.

59 Rxd2 Qxd2+ 60 Kh3 Qf2 61 Bg2

London would have forced a draw in the event of 61 Qxf6 Qf1+ 62 Kh2 Qf2+.

61...Bd4 62 Qf4+ Kg7

London dare not exchange queens because their king is tied to the defence of the g6-pawn whereas the white king can march to b7 and eventually win the bishop for the a-pawn.

63 Be4 Ba7 64 Bd3 Bd4 65 Bc4 Kh7

This was the position when Game Four ended and Game Five began.

**66 a6 Kg7 67 Qe4 Qf6 68 Qf4 Bb6 69 Kg2 Bd4 70 Bd3 Ba7 71 Kh2 Qb2+ 72 Kh3 Qf6 73
 Qe4 Bd4 74 Qd5 Ba7 75 Bc4 Bd4 76 Qg8+ Kh6 77 Bd3 Ba7 78 Be4 Bd4 79 Qc8 Kg7 80
 Qd7+ Kh6 81 Bg2 Qf2 82 Qb5 Kg7 83 Be4 Qf6 84 Qd3 Qe6+ 85 Kh2 Qa2+ 86 Bg2 Qf2
 87 Kh3 Qf6 88 Bf3 Qe6+ 89 Kh2 Qe3 90 Qd1 Qf2+ 91 Bg2 Be5 92 Qd3 Qd4 93 Qe4
 Qxe4 94 Bxe4 Bb8 95 Kg2 Kf6 96 Kf3 Ba7 97 Bc6 Bb6 98 Be8 Ba7 99 Ke4 Bb6 ½–½.**

A letter in the Edinburgh Club papers, posted by London on 18 Mar. 1828 says 'Our Committee consent to draw the 3rd game as you propose.' (Game 5 was now at move 37.)

(4) Edinburgh Chess Club - London Chess Club

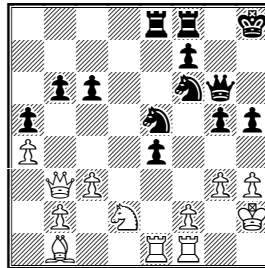
Bishop's Opening [C23]

London v. Edinburgh (4), 1825-6

**1 e4 e5 2 Bc4 Bc5 3 c3 Qe7 4 d3 d6 5 Nf3 Bb6 6 0–0 Bg4 7 Be3 Nd7 8 Nbd2 Ngf6 9 h3
 Bh5 10 Qc2 Bxf3 11 Nxf3 Nh5 12 a4 a5 13 Ba2 h6 14 Bxb6 Nxb6 15 Kh2 g5 16 g3 Nd7 17
 Ng1**

Edinburgh sent the illegal move 17 Nh2 and, by the rules of the day, was compelled either to move their king or to make another knight move. They proposed this and London agreed.

17...Qf6 18 d4 Qg6 19 Nf3 Nhf6 20 Nd2 h5 21 Kg2 b6 22 Qd3 0–0 23 Kh2 Kh8 24 Rae1 d5 25 Bb1 Rae8 26 Qb5 c6 27 Qb3 dxe4 28 dxe5 Nxe5



29 f4?

‘Unquestionably a very bad move’ – Staunton in *C.P.C.*, ii, p. 378.

29...gxf4 30 Rxf4 Rd8 31 Nf1 Rd3 32 Qxb6

32 Bxd3 is even worse, said Staunton in *C.P.C.*: 32...Nxd3 33 Re3 Nxf4 34 gxf4 Qf5 35 Qd1 Qxf4+ 36 Kh1 Rg8 and Black wins.

32...Nf3+ 33 Rxf3 Rxf3 34 Qd4 Kh7 35 Kg2 Re8 36 Qg1 h4 37 g4 Nd5 38 Qd4 Nf4+ 39 Kh1 Nxb3

‘This is much better than taking the Pawn with the Rook’ – Lewis.

40 Nh2 Nf2+ 41 Kg1 h3 42 Kf1 Nd3+ 43 Ke2 c5 44 Qg1 Rf2+ 45 Qxf2 Nxf2 46 Kxf2 Qd6 47 Nf3 Qf4 48 Rxe4 Rxe4 49 Bxe4+ Kg7 50 Bc6 h2 51 Kg2 Qh6 52 Nxh2 Qxc6+ 53 Nf3 Qxa4 54 Kg3 Qb3 55 Nd4 cxd4 0–1.

(5) Edinburgh Chess Club - London Chess Club

Scotch Game [C45]

London v. Edinburgh (5), 1826-8

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3

The papers of the Edinburgh club show that at this point they offered a long conditional beginning 2...Nc6 and extending to move 6, i.e. to follow the course of Game 3. London only accepted the first move of this sequence. This has not been mentioned in any comments on the match or annotations to the game.

2...Nc6 3 d4 Nxd4

The conditional sequence offered by Edinburgh, and rejected by London, continued: 3...exd4 4 Bc4 Bb4+ 5 c3 dxc3 6 0–0, i.e. a repeat of the opening sequence in Game 3.

4 Nxd4

Cochrane’s *Treatise*, p. 215, discussed only 4 Nxe5 here but on p. 254 he recommended the course Edinburgh adopted.

4...exd4 5 Qxd4 Ne7 6 Bc4 Nc6 7 Qd5 Qf6 8 Nc3 Bb4 9 Bd2 d6 10 Bb5 Bd7 11 Qc4 Bc5 12 0–0 0–0 13 Qd3

Here Edinburgh avoided a trap, as Lewis pointed out: 13 Nd5? Qh4! 14 Nxc7 (14 Bxc6 Bxc6 15 Nxc7 Rac8 16 Nd5 a6 17 Qd3 Bb5 Lewis shows this wins the exchange, because if 18 c4 Bxc4 19 Qxc4? Bxf2+) 14...Rac8 15 Nd5 (15 Bxc6 Rxc7) 15...Ne5 16 Qe2 Bg4 (16...Ng4 also wins) 17 Qe1 Nf3+! 18 gxf3 Bxf3 and Black wins – Lewis.

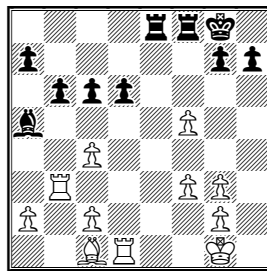
13...Ne5 14 Qg3 Bxb5 15 Nxb5 c6 16 Nc3 Nc4 17 Bg5 Qg6 18 b3 f6 19 Bc1 Qxg3 20 hxg3 Bd4 21 bxc4

Here the *Edinburgh Report* says: ‘The doubling of the pawns is in some respects a disadvantage, but here it is more than compensated by the opening given for the action of the Edinburgh pieces.’ However, Edinburgh has dissipated its early advantage and is in danger of reaching a lost endgame.

21...Bxc3 22 Rb1 b6 23 Rd1

The *Edinburgh Report* says: ‘This move is made with the view of driving the London Bishop back to Queen’s Rook’s 4th square, where he will be found to remain for a long time very much out of play’.

23...Rae8 24 Rb3 Ba5 25 f3 f5 26 exf5



26...Re2

Black tries to finesse the position. As Lewis indicated, London should have played 26...Rxf5! ‘and they would then have had the best of the game’ (as Staunton correctly observed in 1841). White now plays an ‘ugly’ move, recognising the attacking potential of the advanced pawn.

27 g4!

Playing for a win; the shape of the ultimate kingside breakthrough idea must now have been forming in Donaldson’s mind.

27...Rxc2 28 Bf4 Rxc4 29 Bxd6 Re8 30 Ra3!

This move is far from obvious; its point is that Black cannot now play ...Bc3 without losing the a-pawn. Otherwise the black bishop would soon come back into play, and White would be in danger of losing the endgame due to the passed c-pawn.

30...h6?!

Black wants to prevent g4-g5 and give the king a bolt-hole; not 30...Re1+ 31 Rxe1 Bxe1 32 Rxa7 winning a pawn. White now clears the way for his rook to penetrate.

31 Bc7 Re7 32 Rd8+ Kh7

This position was reached in London's letter of 18 December 1827. If instead 32...Kf7 33 Bd6 (threatening mate by Rf8 if Black is not careful) and if then 33...Re8 34 Rd7+ with a definite advantage to White.

33 Rc8

Edinburgh threaten mate in three moves by R-d3-d8-h8 but London are more concerned with their own threats.

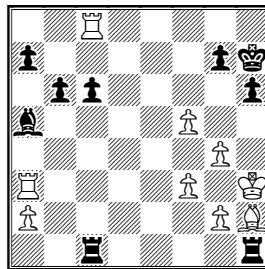
33...Rc1+

Move dated 15 Jan. 1828, with a conditional. London was not losing yet. 33...Rc2 has been suggested, while 33...c5 is also playable, since 34 Rd3 could then be blocked by 34...Rd4.

34 Kh2 Ree1 35 Kh3 Rh1+

This move appears strong but it opens a new route for the white queen's rook to the eighth rank, via e3. 35...Rc2 36 Rd3 Rd2 is not completely satisfactory since after 37 Rxd2 Bxd2 38 Bb8. Black will lose a pawn and be obliged to conduct a difficult defensive endgame. At this point London expected to win the bishop and the game. They failed to appreciate that they needed to exchange a pair of rooks to obtain drawing chances.

36 Bh2!



36...Bc3?

This, sent on 19 February, threatens ...Be5 but was possibly the losing move. Staunton gave the variation 36...Bd2 37 Ra4 Be3 38 Re4 Bg1 39 Ree8 'winning the game' (e.g. 39...Rxb2+ 40 Kg3) but 37...Bc3 is a better defence so that a rook exchange can be proposed on e1. Other critical defences are 36...Bb4 37 Rd3 Be7 38 Rd7 Bg5 and 36...c5 37 Rd3 Rcd1.

37 f4 Bd2

This move was sent on 18 March 1828, at the same time agreeing to a draw in Game Three. Only one game remained in play and perhaps Edinburgh had suggested (in a letter to London that does not survive) that no new game should start until the outcome of the present one was determined. The alternative 37...Bd4 loses material after 38 g5 hxg5 39 fxg5 Be5 40 g3 Rhf1 41 Re3 (41 f6!?) 41...Rxf5 42 g4 Bd4 43 g6+ Kh6 44 Rd3.

38 g3!

38 Rxa7 is only good enough for a draw at best, after 38...Bxf4.

38...Ba5

This was sent on 15 April 1828 with an apology for delay. This is the first clear gain for Edinburgh: the bishop is forced to retreat to its poor posting with loss of time. If 38...Rc2 (38...a5?? 39 Rd3 or 38...Bxf4 39 Kg2 Be5 40 Rxa7) 39 g5 Rxh2+ (39...hxg5 40 Rxa7) 40 Kg4! 'and must win' - Staunton, e.g. 40...h5+ 41 Kf3 Rc3+ 42 Rxc3 Bxc3 43 g6+ wins.

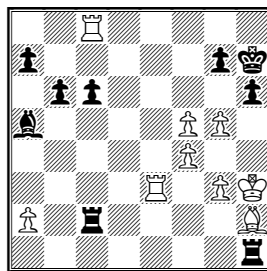
39 Re3!

London probably expected 39 g5 hxg5 40 fxg5 Rc2. Now they are lost, although this is far from immediately obvious as they capture a bishop with check. Edinburgh's deep plan was to sacrifice the piece to combine threats of mate and threats to advance his passed pawns while the a5-Bishop remains an onlooker. Most computers given this position to analyse do not see the point and find only a draw.

39...Rc2

London could still try to exchange a pair of rooks but they have lost time and might end up in a lost endgame.

40 g5!



40...Rh2+

Would it have made any difference to capture with the other rook? After 40...Rcxh2+ 41 Kg4 Black has to find a succession of 'only' moves: 41...h5+ 42 Kf3 Rf1+ 43 Ke4 g6 and now:

a) 44 fxg6+ only draws after 44...Kxg6 45 Rxc6+ Kg7 46 Kf5 Re1=, e.g. 47 Rxe1 Bxe1 48 Rc7+ Kf8 49 Kf6 (or 49 g6 Rd2 50 Rc8+ Kg7 51 Rc7+ Kg8 52 Rc8+ Kg7) 49...Re2 50 g6 Re8 51 Rxa7 Bxg3 52 Rf7+ Kg8 53 Rg7+ Kf8 54 Rf7+ etc.

b) 44 Rc7+! wins:

b1) 44...Kg8 45 Ke5 Rd2 (or 45...Rd1 46 Kf6 etc.) 46 Kf6 Rd6+ 47 Re6 Rxe6+ 48 fxe6 Re1 49 f5 Bb4 50 Kxg6 Bf8 51 Rxc6 Re4 52 f6 etc.

b2) 44...Kh8 45 Ke5 Rd2 46 Kf6 Rd6+ 47 Kf7 Rd8 48 Kxg6 Re1 49 Rd3 wins.

41 Kg4 h5+

The only move, but it does not save London.

42 Kf3 Rhf2+ 43 Ke4 g6 44 Rc7+ Kg8 45 Ke5 Rc5+

On 20 May, accepting Edinburgh's conditional move. Not 45...Bc3+ 46 Rxc3 Rxc3 47 Kf6!.

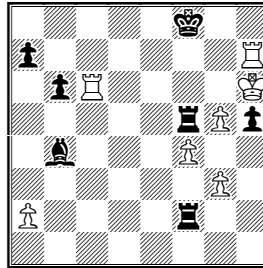
46 Kf6 Rxf5+ 47 Kxg6 Rf8 48 Rg7+ Kh8 49 Kh6! Bb4

If 49...Rd2 50 Re6! Rfd8 51 Rh7+ Kg8 52 Rg6+ Kf8 53 Rgg7 or 49...Rd8 50 Ree7 Bc3 51 Rg6 and White wins.

50 Re6 Rf5

London parries the mate in two and sets a final trap.

51 Rh7+ Kg8 52 Rg6+ Kf8 53 Rxc6



An exciting moment; White had to avoid 53 Rgg7? Ke8!

53...Rc5

If 53...Kg8 there follows the victorious advance 54 g6 h4 55 Rg7+ (but neither 55 g7 Rh5+ nor 55 g4 R5xf4 etc.) 55...Kh8 56 Rxa7 hxg3 57 g7+ Kg8 58 Rc8+ Rf8 59 gxf8Q+ Bxf8+ 60 Rg7+ Kh8 61 Rxf8 mate.

54 Rf6+ Ke8 55 g6! Rc3 56 g4! Bf8+

Or 56...hxg4 57 g7 and wins.

57 Rxf8+! Kxf8 58 g7+

Edinburgh avoids the last pitfall 58 Rh8+ Ke7 59 g7 Rc6+ and London can save the game.

58...Kf7 59 Rh8 Rc6+ 60 Kh7 1-0.

The London Club resigned the game and lost the match.

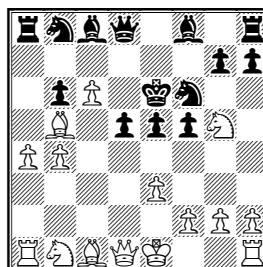
(6) Liverpool - Leeds

Queen's Pawn Game [D00]

Leeds-Liverpool first match, 1825

This game was published in *The Kaleidoscope*, 11 Oct. 1825.

1 d4 d5 2 e3 c5 3 dxc5 e5 4 b4 a5 5 c3 b6 6 Bb5+ Ke7 7 c6 axb4 8 a4 f5 9 cxb4 Nf6? 10 Nf3 Ke6 11 Ng5+



After a bizarre opening sequence, Liverpool already has a winning position.

11...Ke7 12 Qc2 Qc7 13 Bd2 Ke8 14 0–0 Bd6 15 g3 h6 16 a5 bxa5 17 Nf3 Kf7 18 bxa5 g5 19 a6? Qb6 20 Qb2 Bxa6 21 Rc1 Nxc6?? 22 Rxc6??

White should play 22 Rxa6 first.

22...Qxb5 –+ 23 Qc1 Rac8 24 Rxc8 Rxc8 25 Nc3 Qc6 26 Qa3 Ra8! 27 Nb5 Ke6 28 Qb2 Bxb5 29 Rxa8 Be2 30 Rh8 Bxf3 31 Rxh6 Qa4 32 Qc1 Qd1+ 33 Qxd1 Bxd1 34 e4 fxe4 35 Bxg5 Be7 36 Kf1 Kf7 37 Bd2 d4 38 h3 Bc5 39 g4 e3 40 fxe3 dxe3 41 Bxe3 Bxe3 42 Rh8 Bf3 43 Rc8 e4 44 Rc3 Nd5 45 Rb3 Ke6 46 g5 Bd1 47 Rb1 Bc2 0–1.

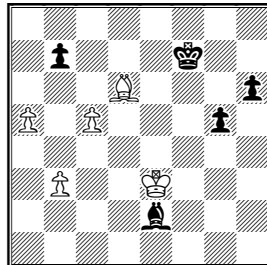
(7) Liverpool - Manchester

Irregular [C20]

Liverpool v. Manchester match (1), 1825-6

The *Manchester Guardian* reports of the two games in this match appeared on the following dates: 31 Dec. 1825; 7, 14, 21 & 28 Jan 1826; 4 & 18 Feb; 4 & 18 Mar; 1, 15 & 29 Apr. 1826.

1 e4 e5 2 c3 d5 3 Nf3 dxe4 4 Qa4+ c6 5 Qxe4 Bd6 6 Bc4 Nf6 7 Qe2 0–0 8 d3 Nd5 9 0–0 Bf5 10 Be3 Bg4 11 Nbd2 f5 12 h3 Bh5 13 g4 fxe4 14 Nh2 Qh4 15 hxg4 e4 16 f4 exf3 17 Rxf3 Qxh2+ 18 Qxh2 Bxh2+ 19 Kxh2 Rxf3 20 Nxf3 Bxg4 21 Ne5 Be6 22 Re1 Nd7 23 Nxd7 Bxd7 24 Bd4 Re8 25 Rxe8+ Bxe8 26 Bxa7 Bf7 27 Bxd5= cxd5 28 Kg3 Bg6 29 c4 dxc4 30 dxc4 Bb1 31 a4 Ba2 32 c5 Bb3 33 a5 Bc4 34 Kf4 Kf7 35 Ke5 Ke7 36 Bb8 h6 37 Bd6+ Kf7 38 b3 Be2 39 Bb8 Ke7 40 Kd5 Bf3+ 41 Kc4 Be2+ 42 Kd5 Bf3+ 43 Ke5 Be2 44 Bd6+ Kf7 45 Kd4 g5 46 Ke3



46...Bb5!

The *Manchester Guardian* of 29 April 1826 has ‘46...B to Kt’s 4th’. Secondary sources either have it wrong (saying 46...Bg4) or don’t give the game at all; it is not in *Chess and Manchester*. In his MS at Manchester Central Library, J. T. Boyd corrected this move. He apparently sent incorrect versions of both games to Bassi and only discovered his mistake later.

47 b4 Ke6 ½–½.

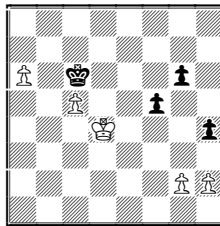
B.C.M. 1931 did not publish this game because ‘a few misprints have crept into the record and emendations which we might put forward would be purely conjectural’. There were only a couple of very obvious errors (e.g. omitting “adv”); the version here matches Boyd’s MS and the original *Manchester Guardian* reports.

(8) Manchester - Liverpool

Philidor's Defence [C41]

Liverpool v. Manchester match (2), 1825-6

**1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 d6 3 d4 exd4 4 Qxd4 c5 5 Qd1 Nc6 6 Bc4 Be7 7 Bf4 Be6 8 Bd5 Nf6 9 Bxc6+
 bxc6 10 Bxd6 Nxe4 11 Bxe7 Qxd1+ 12 Kxd1 Kxe7 13 Rf1 Rhd8+ 14 Kc1 f6 15 Nbd2 Nxd2
 16 Nxd2 c4 17 a4 Rab8 18 Ra3 Kf7 19 Re1 Rd7 20 Rae3 Bd5 21 Ne4 Bxe4?! 22 Rxe4
 Rdb7 23 Kd2 Rc7 24 Kc3 c5 25 Rxc4 a5 26 f3 h5 27 Rd1 g6 28 Rd6 Ra8 29 Rb6 Re8 30
 Re4 Rxe4 31 fxe4 Rd7 32 Rb5 Rd4 33 Rxa5 Rxe4 34 Rxc5 Rxa4 35 b4 Ke7 36 Ra5!
 Rxa5 37 bxa5 Kd6 38 Kd4 f5 39 c4 h4 40 c5+ Kc6 41 a6**

**41...f4**

The finish of the game in the *Manchester Guardian* has “KBP to adv. KB 4th”. Both Bassi and the version in Boyd’s MS have the correct finish but Pagni possibly followed *B.C.M.* 1931, p. 314, and so had it wrong: 41...g5 42 Ke5 (Pagni ends here.) 42...g4 43 h3 “and wins” says the *B.C.M.* article, which would not make sense because of 43 Kxf5.

42 Ke4 g5 43 h3 1–0.

(9) E. Houlston jr.– H. Houlston

Irregular [C20]

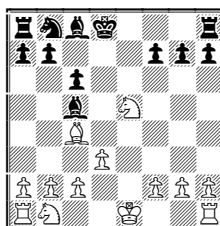
England, correspondence 1828-9.

Article in *B.C.M.* 1939, pp. 151–2 (where all moves are dated). Primary source unknown; see p. 229. Black moved first, but this has been normalised.

1 e4 e5 2 Qf3 Bc5 3 Bc4 Nf6 4 d3 c6 5 Bg5

There was an error here, either in the MS or a misprint in *B.C.M.* (“adverse Queen’s Knight’s 4 square”).

5...d5 6 Bxf6 dxe4 7 Bxd8 exf3 8 Nxf3 Kxd8 9 Nxe5



9...Re8 10 f4 g5 11 g3 f6 12 Nd2 fxe5 13 fxe5

There was also a notation error here.

**13...Rxe5+ 14 Ne4 Bf5 15 0-0-0 Be3+ 16 Kb1 Nd7 17 Rhe1 Bg4 18 Nd6 Kc7 19 d4 Re7
20 Rd3 Kxd6 21 d5 Rae8 22 a4 Nc5 23 Ra3 cxd5 24 Bb5 Bf2 25 Rc1 Rc8 26 Rf1 Ne4 27
Kc1 d4 28 b3 Rf7 29 Kb2 Nd2 30 Rb1 Nxb1 31 Kxb1 Be3 32 b4 Bf5 33 Bd3 Bxd3 34 Rxd3
Rf2 35 c3 Rxh2 36 Rd1 Rxc3 37 b5 d3 38 g4 Rb3+ 0-1.**

B.C.M. ends here. Black has mate next move with his Bishop.

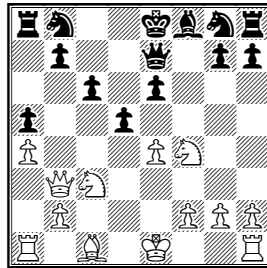
(10) Madras - Hyderabad

Bishop's Opening [C21]

Madras v. Hyderabad (1), India 1828

This game and the next are from the Ghulam Kassim book: see pp. 188-9.

**1 e4 e5 2 Bc4 d6 3 d4 exd4 4 c3 dxc3 5 Nxc3 c6 6 Nge2 a5 7 a4 Be6 8 Bxe6 fxe6 9 Nf4
Qe7 10 Qb3 d5**



11 Nxe6! Na6! 12 Nxf8

Better 12 exd5; now Black gets on top.

**12...Nc5 13 Qc2 d4 14 Na2 Nf6 15 0-0 Rxf8 16 b4! Ncd7 17 Bd2 axb4 18 Nxb4 c5?! 19
Nd3 b6 20 Rae1 Qe6 21 Nf4 Qe5 22 Nd5 Ng4 23 f4!**

White blocks the mate on h2 and takes the initiative again.

**23...Qd6 24 Qb3 Qc6 25 Qg3 Ngf6 26 Qxg7 Rf7 27 Nxf6+ Nxf6 28 Qh6 0-0-0 29 e5 Rg8
30 g3 Rfg7 31 Qh3+ Ng4 32 f5 Kb8 33 f6 Rf7 34 Rf4 Nxf6 35 exf6 Rxf6 36 Rxf6 Qxf6 37
Re6 Qf3 38 Rxb6+ Ka7 39 Rb2 Qd1+ 40 Kf2 Qg4 41 Qxh7+ Rg7 42 Qh6 Rb7 43 Rxb7+
Kxb7 44 Qf4 Qe6 45 h4 Qd7 46 Qf3+ Ka7 47 Qb3 Qc6 48 a5 c4 49 Qb6+ Qxb6 50 axb6+
Kxb6 51 h5 1-0.**

(11) Hyderabad - Madras

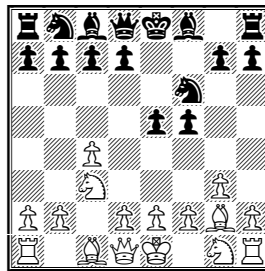
English Opening, by transposition [A21]

Madras v. Hyderabad (2), India 1828. Hyderabad moved first with the black pieces.

1 g3

'Many of the Indian players commence their Game in this way'.

1...f5 2 Bg2 Nf6 3 c4 e5 4 Nc3



This opening position would not be out of place in a twenty-first century tournament.

4...Be7 5 d4 exd4 6 Qxd4 c6 7 Nh3 Na6 8 a3 Nc5 9 Qd1 0-0 10 0-0 Nce4 11 Qc2 d5 12 Rd1 Be6 13 Ng5 Qc8 14 cxd5 cxd5 15 Ngxe4 fxe4 16 Be3 Ng4 17 Bd4 Bg5 18 h3 Nxf2! 19 Rf1 Nxb3+ 20 Kh2 Rd8 21 Qb3 h5! 22 Bxb3 Bxb3 23 Nxd5

The book says: 'It would seem as if the Black [i.e. Hyderabad], when they made this move, had calculated on the White not playing correctly. It is true the White are placed in a dangerous situation, should they not play the next move correctly, but if they do, the Black must lose.'

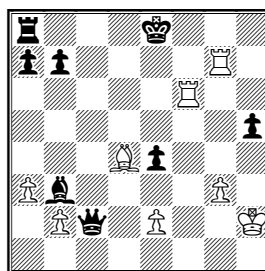
23...Be6 24 Rf5

'This is a pretty move. The Rook defends the Kt. and attacks the B. of the White which is undefended, while the Rook is itself unprotected, but cannot be taken by the White, without their losing their Q.'

24...Rxd5! 25 Rxd5 Qc6 26 Rxd5

'The Black cannot save the R and prefer giving up their Q, and continuing the attack with the two Rooks and the B.'

26...Bxb3 27 Rxd5+ Kf8 28 Rf1+ Ke8 29 Rf6 Qc2



30 Rh6

If 30 Kh3 Qd1! wins (not 30...Qxe2? 31 Bc5!).

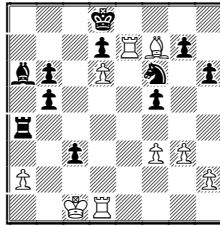
30...Qxe2+ 31 Kh3 Qf1+ 32 Kh4 Qf8 33 Rxb5 Bf7 34 Rxf7 Kxf7 35 Rf5+ Ke6 36 Rxf8 Rxf8 37 Bxa7 Kf5 38 Kh3 Rd8 39 Bb6 Rd3 40 Kh4 e3 41 g4+ Kf4 42 Bc7+ Kf3 43 g5 e2 44 Ba5 Rd1 45 g6 e1Q+ 46 Bxe1 Rxe1 47 Kg5 Ke4 48 g7 Rg1+ 49 Kf6 Kd4 50 Kf7 Kc4 51 a4 Kb3 52 a5 Kxb2 0-1.

(12) Nottingham Chess Club – Cambridge (Town) Chess Club

Scotch Game [C45]

Cambridge v. Nottingham match (2), 1837 -8

**1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 d4 exd4 4 Nxd4 Nxd4 5 Qxd4 Qf6 6 e5 Qg6 7 Nc3 Qb6 8 Qxb6 axb6
9 Nb5 Kd8 10 Bf4 c6 11 Nd6 Bxd6 12 exd6 Nf6 13 Bc4 Rf8 14 Be3 c5 15 f3 Ne8 16 0–0–0
f5 17 Bg5+ Nf6 18 b4 h6 19 Be3 Ra4 20 c3 Ne8 21 g3 Rf6 22 Bf4 cxb4 23 Be5 bxc3 24
Bxf6+ Nxf6 25 Bf7 b5 26 Rhe1 b6 27 Re7 Ba6**

**28 Bb3**

Not 28 Bg6 as often stated. *Bell's Life in London*, 18 Feb. 1838 clearly shows the move as 28 KB to Q Kt 3rd.

28...Ra5 29 Rxc7 1–0.

(13) Howard Staunton – Bristol Chess Club

Bird's Opening [A03]

Staunton v. Bristol match (2), 1839-40

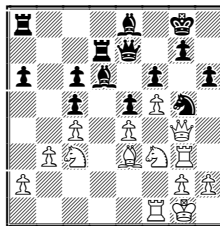
1 f4

Staunton in the *Court Gazette*, 31 Oct. 1840: 'This mode of opening the game is frequently adopted by the best players on the Continent, and may be practised with perfect safety'. Henry Bird (for whom the opening is named) only made his debut a few years later. This game is annotated in Keene and Coles's book on Staunton, where it is praised for its anticipations of modern strategies.

**1...d5 2 Nf3 c5 3 e3 Nc6 4 Bb5 a6?! 5 Bxc6+ bxc6 6 0–0 e6 7 c4! Nh6?! 8 Qe2 Bd6 9 Nc3
Qe7 10 b3 f6 11 d3 0–0 12 e4 dxe4? 13 dxe4 e5 14 f5! Nf7 15 Nh4 Bd7 16 Rf3 Rfd8**

Court Gazette: 'We are inclined to believe that the game of Black would have been improved by playing Q R to Q sq.'

17 Be3 Be8 18 Raf1 Ng5 19 Rg3 h6 20 Qg4 Rd7 21 Nf3!



21...Kf8 22 Nxc5 hxg5 23 h4 Bf7 24 hxg5 Ke8 25 g6 Bg8 26 Rh3 Kd8 27 Qe2 Kc7 28 Na4 Rdd8 29 Qf2 Kb7 30 g4 Qc7 31 Bxc5 Bxc5 32 Nxc5+ Kc8 33 Rd3 Rxd3 34 Nxd3 Qd6 35 Rd1 Kc7 36 Rd2 Qd4 37 Qxd4 exd4 38 Kf2 Rd8 39 Kf3 1-0.

Keene & Coles say 'and Black now resigned after a few more moves'. However the *Court Gazette* simply says 'and White [i.e. Bristol] resigned the game'.

(14) Liverpool Chess Club – Armagh Chess Club

Queen's Gambit Accepted [D20]

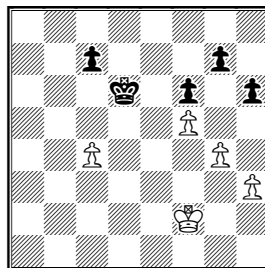
Armagh v. Liverpool return match 1841/2-3

This game was first published in *Bell's Life in London*, 19 Mar. 1843.

1 d4 d5 2 c4 dxc4 3 e3 e5 4 Bxc4 exd4 5 exd4 Nf6 6 Nc3 Bd6 7 Nf3 Nc6 8 0-0 0-0 9 h3 h6 10 Qd3 Na5 11 Bb5 Be6 12 Re1 a6 13 Ba4 b5 14 Bc2 Bc4 15 Qe3 Nc6 16 b3 Re8 17 Qd2 Rxe1+ 18 Nxe1 Be6 19 f4 Nb4 20 Be4 Nbd5 21 Bxd5 Nxd5 22 Nd3 Qh4 23 Nxd5 Bxd5 24 Qf2 Qxf2+ 25 Kxf2 Re8 26 g4 a5 27 Bd2 Re4 28 Be3 b4 29 Rc1 f6 30 Nc5 Re8 31 Re1 Kf7 32 Bd2

Liverpool proposed a draw here but Armagh (who wanted to level the match) declined.

32...Rh8? 33 Ne4 Be7 34 f5 Rd8 35 Nc5 Bxc5 36 dxc5 Bxb3 37 Bxb4 axb4 38 axb3 Rd5 39 Re4 Rxc5 40 Rxb4 Ke7 41 Rc4? Rxc4 42 bxc4 Kd6



43 Kg3! Kc5 44 Kh4 Kxc4 45 Kh5 Kd4 46 Kg6 c5 47 Kxg7 c4 48 h4!

Walker: 'Any other move loses the game. To see this is easy enough now, but to see it some time back necessarily through the shady vista of the intervening moves was by no means easy.'

48...c3 49 g5 c2

If 49...hxg5 instead then 50 hxg5 c2 51 gxf6 c1Q 52 f7 Qg5+ 53 Kh8 Qxf5 (53...Qf6+ does not seem to help.) 54 Kg8 Qg6+ 55 Kh8 is a book draw because of the stalemate after 55...Qxf7.

50 gxf6 c1Q 51 f7 Qc7

51...Qc5 also draws.

52 Kg8 Qg3+ 53 Kh7 Qd6 54 Kg8 Ke5 55 f8Q Qxf8+ 56 Kxf8 Kxf5 57 Ke7 ½-½.

Walker: 'The game was at last dismissed as drawn. It embodies some very interesting positions, and is highly creditable to the Armagh Club especially; that society being certainly weaker than their antagonists, if it came to playing over the board'.

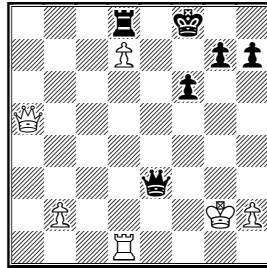
(15) Maidstone Mechanics' Institute – Rochester Mechanics' Institute

Bishop's Opening [C23]

Maidstone v. Rochester match (1), 1844

Maidstone Journal and Kentish Advertiser, 25 June 1844: 'The following game was played by correspondence between the members of the Rochester and Maidstone Mechanics' Institutions; it commenced on the 16th January, and terminated on the 20th June, 1844.'

1 e4 e5 2 Bc4 d6 3 d3 Nf6 4 f4 exf4 5 Bxf4 d5 6 exd5 Nxd5 7 Qe2+ Be7 8 Bxd5 Qxd5 9 Bxc7 Nc6 10 Nf3 0–0 11 0–0 Bg4 12 c3 Rfe8 13 Qd1 Bf6 14 Na3 Be5 15 Bxe5 Nxe5 16 d4 Nxf3+ 17 gxf3 Bh5 18 c4 Qf5 19 Nc2 Re7 20 Rf2 f6 21 Qf1 Bxf3 22 Rxf3 Qxc2 23 Rf2 Qe4 24 d5 Rae8 25 d6 Re5 26 Rd1 Rg5+ 27 Rg2 Rxc2+ 28 Qxc2 Qxc4 29 Qd2 Qxa2 30 d7 Rd8 31 Qd6 Qf7 32 Qc7 Qe7 33 Qxb7 a5 34 Qd5+ Kf8 35 Qxa5 Qe3+ 36 Kg2



36...Qg5+? 37 Qxc2 fxc2 38 Kg3 h5 39 Rd5 Ke7 40 Rxc2 Kf6 41 Rd5 Ke6 42 Rd3 g5 43 Kf3 Rxd7 44 Rxd7 Kxd7 45 Ke4 Ke6 46 b4 Kf6 47 b5 Ke6 48 b6 Kd6 49 Kf5 1-0.

'Black resigned. This amicable and scientific contest was carried on by both parties with the utmost good feeling. Black were the challengers, and gave White the first move, and while very handsomely acknowledging themselves beaten, expressed their readiness to play again whenever White feels disposed to renew the encounter.'

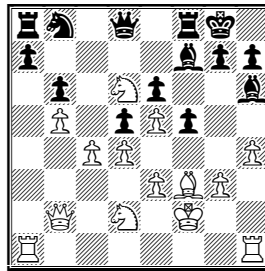
(16) Rochester Mechanics' Institute – Maidstone Mechanics' Institute

French Defence, by transposition [C02]

Maidstone v. Rochester match (2), 1844

Maidstone Journal, Kentish Advertiser and South Eastern Intelligencer, 19 Nov. 1844. 'A second game of chess has just been concluded between the chess clubs of the Rochester and Maidstone Mechanics' Institutions. After a long and spirited contest the Maidstone gentlemen reluctantly resigned the game. The following are the moves:'

1 e4 c5 2 Nf3 e6 3 d4 d5 4 e5 Nc6 5 Be3 c4 6 c3 Qb6 7 b3 Na5 8 b4 Nc6 9 a4 Nge7 10 a5 Qd8 11 Qa4 Bd7 12 b5 Nb8 13 Qb4 Nf5 14 Qb2 Nxe3 15 fxe3 Be7 16 Be2 Bg5 17 Kf2 f5 18 h4 Bh6 19 g3 0–0 20 Nfd2 Be8 21 Na3 Qxa5 22 Naxc4 Qd8 23 Nd6 b6 24 Bf3 Bf7 25 c4



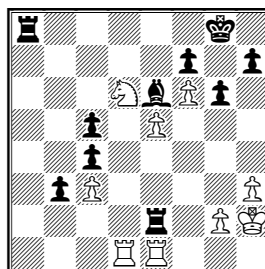
25...a5 26 cxd5 Ra7 27 Nxf7 Rxf7 28 dxe6 Rf8 29 d5 Qe7 30 Qb3 a4 31 Rxa4 Rxa4 32 d6 Qe8 33 e7+ Rf7 34 Bd5 1-0.

(17) Howard Staunton & Capt. Hugh A. Kennedy – George Walker

Bishop's Opening [C24]

Telegraph trial game, Vauxhall/Gosport, 09.04.1845

1 e4 e5 2 Bc4 Nf6 3 d4 exd4 4 e5 d5 5 Bb5+ c6 6 exf6 Qa5+ 7 c3 Qxb5 8 Qxd4 g6 9 b4 Be6 10 a4 Qc4 11 Qxc4 dxc4 12 Be3 Nd7 13 Bd4 a5 14 bxa5 Rxa5 15 Nd2 b5 16 Ngf3 c5 17 Be5 Nxe5 18 Nxe5 Bd6 19 f4 Bxe5 20 fe5 0-0 21 Ne4 b4 22 0-0 b3 23 Nd6 Rfa8 24 Rad1 Rxa4 25 h3 Ra2 26 Kh2 Re2 27 Rfe1



At this point Staunton signalled Portsmouth wouldn't continue. He afterwards insisted that it was always pre-agreed that either side could terminate the game as a draw whenever it wished. Walker published the game as a win for Black.

(18) Amateurs in London - Howard Staunton & Capt. Hugh A. Kennedy

Bishop's Opening [C23]

Telegraph promotional match, Vauxhall/Gosport, 10.04.1845

1 e4 e5 2 Bc4 Bc5 3 c3 Qg5 4 Qf3 Qg6 5 d3 Nc6 6 Be3 Bb6 7 Bxb6 axb6 8 Na3 Na7 9 Qg3 Qxg3 10 hxg3 d6 11 f4 Nh6 12 Nf3 f6

Staunton in *C.P.C.*, May 1845: 'About this period, considerable delay occurred at Gosport in consequence of an intimation from Southampton that a number of chess players had congregated there and required to have the moves telegraphed to them. Those already played were forwarded and every subsequent move was sent at the moment of its being played. This double duty, however,

seriously retarded the progress of the game, which would otherwise have terminated, we believe, in time for the players at Gosport to have reached London that night.'

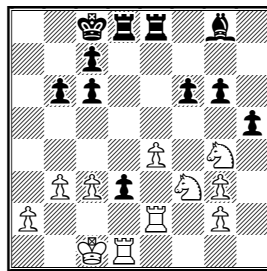
13 Kd2 Bg4 14 d4 0-0 15 f5? d5

'From this point the game is decidedly in favour of Black, who with ordinary time for circumspection, would not have had much difficulty in winning.'

16 Bxd5 Bxf5 17 Nh4 Bg4 18 Nc2 Rhe8 19 Rae1 Nc6?!

Hoping to shorten the game by an exchange of pieces. 19...f5 was better.

20 Bxc6 bxc6 21 Kc1 Be6 22 Nf3 Bg8 23 b3 Ng4 24 Re2 g6 25 Ne3 h5 26 Rd1 exd4 27 Nxc4 d3



28 Rf2!

Staunton's annotation said: 'We look upon this as the best move made by White throughout the game; indeed we see no other which would have relieved them from the embarrassment they laboured under. The merit of this excellent move is due to Captain Evans, the well-known inventor of the Evans Gambit.'

28...hxg4 29 Nd2 f5!?

'But for their anxiety to terminate the *partie*, Black would now have thought it prudent to protect the pawn they had won.'

30 exf5 gxf5 31 Rxf5 Re3 32 Rf2! b5 33 Nf1 Re2 34 Rd2 Rde8 35 Nh2 R2e3 36 Nxc4 Rxc3 37 Nf6 Ree3 38 Nxc8 Rxc8 39 Rf3 Rg3 40 Rdf2 Re2 41 Rxd3 Rxc2 42 Rxe2 Rxe2 43 Rd2 Re5 ½-½.

(19) Penzance - Reading

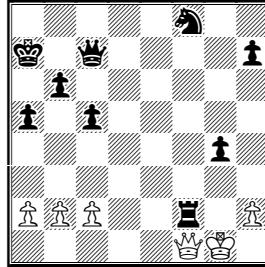
Bishop's Gambit [C33]

Penzance v. Reading match (1), 1849-50

C.P.C., 1850 pp. 86-7.

1 e4 e5 2 f4 exf4 3 Bc4 Qh4+ 4 Kf1 g5 5 Nc3 Bg7 6 d4 d6 7 e5 dxe5 8 Nd5 Kd8 9 dxe5 Bd7 10 Nf3 Qh5 11 Bd2 Ne7 12 Nxe7 Kxe7 13 Bb4+ Kd8 14 e6 fxe6 15 Bxe6 g4 16 Nd4 Re8 17 Bxd7 Nxd7 18 Qd3? Bxd4 19 Rd1 c5 20 Qb5 f3 21 Rxd4 fxg2+ 22 Kg1 gxh1Q+ 23 Kxh1 Qf7 24 Ba5+ Kc8 25 Rd6 b6 26 Bc3 Rf8 27 Qc6+ Kb8 28 Rf6 Qe7 29 Re6 Qd8 30

Be1 Rf1+ 31 Kg2 Rxe1 32 Rxe1 Qc8 33 Qd6+ Kb7 34 Re6 a5 35 Qd5+ Ka6 36 Rd6 Nf8 37 Qb3 Qb7+ 38 Kg1 Qc7 39 Qc4+ Ka7 40 Rf6 Rd8 41 Qf1 Rd2 42 Rf2 Rxf2



43 Qxf2 Ng6 0–1.

(20) 'Sybil' - George Brunton Fraser

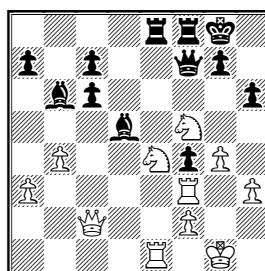
Italian Game [C54]

Home Circle challenge 1852-53

Match by correspondence between SYBIL (not otherwise identified) and Mr G. B. Fraser of Dundee, published week by week in the chess column of *The Home Circle*, starting at the end of volume v, 1852. Sybil chose Black but moved first.

This is the earliest published correspondence game played by a woman. It cannot be assumed that her name really was Sybil; this was the title of a recent novel by Disraeli.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bc4 Bc5 4 c3 Nf6 5 d4 exd4 6 cxd4 Bb6 7 Bg5 d6 8 h3 h6 9 Bxf6 Qxf6 10 Bb5 0–0 11 Bxc6 bxc6 12 Nc3 Qg6 13 Nh4 Qg5 14 g3 f5 15 Nf3 Qg6 16 Nh4 Qf6 17 e5 dxe5 18 dxe5 Qxe5+ 19 Qe2 Qc5 20 0–0 f4 21 g4 Bd7 22 Rad1 Rae8 23 Ne4 Qb4 24 Rfe1 Ba5 25 a3 Qb3 26 Rd3 Qf7 27 b4 Bb6 28 Rf3 Be6 29 Qc2 Bd5 30 Nf5



30...Be3! 31 Rxe3 fxe3 32 Rxe3 Kh8 33 f3 Qd7 34 Nc5 Qd8 35 Rxe8 Qxe8? 36 Kg2 Qe1? 37 Nd3 Qe8? 38 Nf4?!

Fraser had (perhaps deliberately) thrown away the fruits of his good play by his last three moves and now 38 Nc5 would be good for a draw.

38...Qf7?? 39 Ne7! Qxf4 40 Ng6+ Kg8 41 Nxf4 Rxf4 42 Kh2 Rxf3 43 Qa4 Kh7 44 Qxa7 h5 45 gxh5 Kh6 46 a4 Rf7 47 a5 Kg5 48 Qc5 Kxh5 49 a6 Rf1 50 Qe7 g5 51 Qh7 mate 1–0.

And after a few more moves White resigned. The following is analysis by Kling and Horwitz. They do not say which of the following lines, if any, actually occurred.

‘The position is now extremely difficult and leads to many variations of peculiar interest and beauty. We therefore give a diagram of the position after the 43rd move of Black. White now has three different modes of play.’

a) 44 b4 Ke3 45 b5 d3 46 Rd8 Rh7 47 Kf1 Rh1+ 48 Kg2 Ra1 49 b6 Rxa6 50 b7 Rb6 51 b8Q Rxb8 52 Rxb8 d2 and wins;

b) 44 Rd8 d3 45 b4 Ke3 46 b5 Rh7 47 Kf1 Rh1+ 48 Kg2 Ra1 and wins as in previous variation.

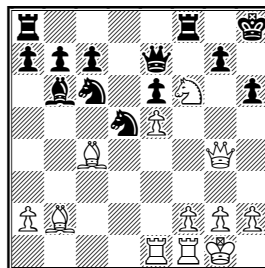
c) 44 a7 d3 45 Kd2 Rf2+ 46 Ke1 (Any other move would lead to an earlier defeat.) 46...d2+ 47 Kd1 Ke3 48 Rd8 Rf1+ 49 Kc2 Rc1+ 50 Kb3 Rc8 and wins.

(23) D. F. Ralli – W. N. Auten

Evans Gambit [C51]

Birmingham Mercury tourney rd. 2, 1855

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bc4 Bc5 4 b4 Bxb4 5 c3 Ba5 6 d4 exd4 7 0–0 d6 8 cxd4 Bb6 9 Bb2 Nf6 10 Nbd2 0–0 11 e5 dxe5 12 dxe5 Nd5 13 Ne4 Be6 14 Nfg5 h6? 15 Nxe6 fxe6 16 Qg4! Qe7 17 Rae1 Kh8 18 Nf6!



18...Qf7

18...gxf6 19 exf6 Nxf6! 20 Rxe6 Qg7! 21 Qh4 Bd4 22 Bxd4 Nxd4 23 Qxd4 Rad8 24 Qe5 Rde8 25 Re1 Rxe6 26 Qxe6 Re8 27 Qxe8+ Nxe8 28 Rxe8+ Kh7 29 Bd3+ and wins.

19 Bxd5 exd5 20 e6 Qe7 21 Nxd5 Qg5 22 Qxg5 hxg5 23 e7 Rfe8 24 Re4 Na5 25 h4 gxh4 26 Rxh4+ 1–0. Published in the *Birmingham Mercury* on 30/8/1856.

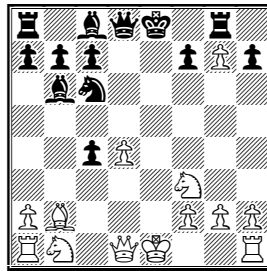
(24) George William Lyttelton – Wilson Bigland

Evans Gambit [C51]

Correspondence match, 1855

Published in the *Era*, 14/10/1855.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bc4 Bc5 4 b4 Bxb4 5 c3 Bc5 6 d4 exd4 7 cxd4 Bb6 8 Bb2 Nf6 9 e5 d5 10 exf6 dxc4 11 fxc4 Rg8



**12 0–0 Ne7 13 Nbd2 Rxc7 14 Kh1 Bg4 15 Rc1 Qd5 16 Re1 Bxf3 17 Nxf3 Kd7 18 Re5 Qd6
19 d5 Rg6 20 Qa4+**

‘White plays throughout with dashing energy.’ – Löwenthal.

20...c6 21 Ba3 1–0

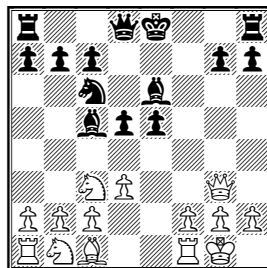
(25) George Frederick Pardon – J. T. of Manchester

Two Knights Defence [C57]

Correspondence game 1858-9.

Published in *The Review, The Country Gentleman's Journal* between 9 October 1858 and 5 February 1859. Pardon (‘Captain Crawley’) was the columnist and his opponent was identified only as J. T., described as ‘a well-known player of the Manchester Chess Club’. Alan Smith, in the local history *Chess and Manchester* (ed. Nowell, p. 25), mentions a J. Turner who attended a soirée at the club in 1852.

**1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bc4 Nf6 4 Ng5 Nxe4 5 Bxf7+ Ke7 6 Nxe4 Kxf7 7 0–0 d5 8 Qf3+ Ke8
9 Nec3 Be6 10 d3 Bc5 11 Qg3**



**11...g6 12 Bg5 Qd6 13 Nb5 Qd7 14 Bf6 Rf8 15 Bxe5 Nxe5 16 Qxe5 Qxb5 17 Qxe6+ Be7 18
Re1 Rf7 19 Nc3 Qc5 20 Nxd5 Qxf2+**

On 6 Nov. the column said an attempt to conduct this game by telegraph ‘has utterly failed’, blaming Manchester telegraph clerks for not being chess players.’

**21 Kh1 Kf8 22 Nxe7 Kg7 23 Qe5+ Kh6 24 Nd5 Raf8 25 Qe3+ g5 26 Qxf2 Rxf2 27 Rac1 a5
28 Kgl R8f7 29 Rf1 Rxf1+ 30 Rxf1 Rd7 31 c4 b6 32 g4 Kg7 33 Rf3 h6 1–0.**

The column of 5 Feb 1859 (p. 512) says ‘after a few more moves Mr J. T. resigned’.

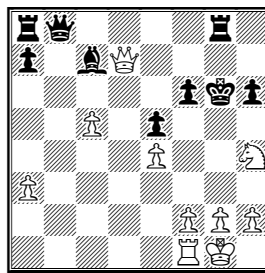
(26) Dundee (Angus Club) – Aberdeen (Bon-Accord Club)

Sicilian Defence [B21]

Aberdeen-Dundee (1), 1859

From G. B. Fraser, *200 Games* (1896), game 200.

1 e4 c5 2 d4 cxd4 3 Nf3 e5 4 Bc4 Qc7 5 Qe2 h6 6 c3 dxc3 7 Nxc3 Bb4 8 0–0 Nc6 9 Nd5 Qd6 10 Be3 Nf6 11 a3 Ba5 12 b4 Bd8 13 Bc5 Qb8 14 Rad1 b6 15 Nxf6+ gxf6 16 Nh4 bxc5 17 Bxf7+ Kxf7 18 Qh5+ Ke6 19 Qg4+ Kf7 20 Qh5+ Ke6 21 bxc5 Nd4 22 Rxd4 Bc7 23 Qf5+ Kf7 24 Rxd7+ Bxd7 25 Qxd7+ Kg8 26 Qe6+ Kg7 27 Nf5+ Kg6 28 Qd7 Rg8 29 Nh4+ 1–0.



White announced forced mate in twelve moves. Fraser wrote to John G. White: “The mate has been the subject of controversy in American chess circles, and so recently as 1888 was declared impossible by several able players and analysts. The modus operandi, not easily discoverable, is as follows, after 29 Nh4+ Kh5 (29...Kg5 allows mate in 3 by 30 Qf5+ Kxh4 31 g3+ Rxc3 32 hxc3.) 30 Qf7+ and now:

a) 30...Kxh4 31 g3+ Kg5 (best) 32 h4+ Kg4 33 Kg2 Qb2 34 Qe6+ and mate in 3: 34...Kh5 35 Qf5+ Rg5 36 g4+ Kxh4 37 Rh1.

b) 30...Kg4 31 Ng6 Qc8 32 f3+ Kh5 33 Nxe5+ Kg5 34 f4+ Kh4 35 g3+ Rxc3 36 hxc3+ and mates in 3.

c) 30...Kg5 31 f4+ exf4 (31...Kxh4 32 g3+ and mate in eight moves, while if 31...Kg4 32 Nf5! is quicker than Fraser’s proposed move.) 32 Nf3+ Kg4 33 h3+ etc.

(27) Newcastle - Berwick Chess Club

Italian Game [C54]

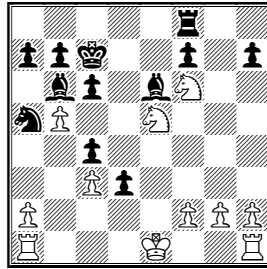
Berwick v. Newcastle match (1), 1859-60

Published in the *Norfolk News* on 18 April 1860, naming the chief players on each side as follows. Berwick: Rev T. C. Durham, Mr Macaskie (editor of the *Berwick Warder*) and J. White. Newcastle: Puncher, Mitcheson and Lloyd (chess editor of the *Newcastle Chronicle*).

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 d4 exd4 4 Bc4 Bc5 5 c3 Nf6 6 e5 d5 7 b4?!

This was Lloyd's idea (7 Bb5 being the usual move), but the *Chess Player's Chronicle*, 1860, thought it unsound. However, it was then analysed by Max Lange in the *Berliner Schachzeitung* and on p. 228 *C.P.C.* gave a translation of his analysis.

7...Bb6 8 exf6 dxc4 9 Qe2+ Be6 10 b5 Na5? 11 fxg7 Rg8 12 Qe5? Qd5 13 Bf4 Qxe5+ 14 Bxe5 Ke7 15 Nbd2 d3 16 Ne4 c6 17 Bd6+ Kd7 18 Ne5+ Kc8 19 Bf8 Kc7 20 Nf6 Rgxf8 21 gxf8=Q Rxf8



22 bxc6? Nxc6 23 Nxc6 Kxc6 24 Nxh7 Rg8 25 g3 Bd8 26 f4 f6 27 Kd2 Bd5 28 Nxf6 Bxf6 29 Rhe1 Rh8 30 h4 Rg8 31 Re3 Bd8 32 a3 Bb6 0-1.

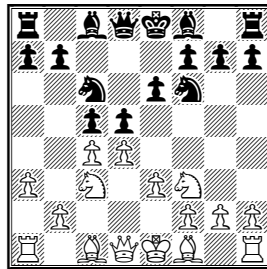
(28) Berwick Chess Club - Newcastle

Queen's Gambit [D40]

Berwick v. Newcastle match (2), 1859-60

This game, never reprinted since the nineteenth century, was found in both Rainger's column in the *Norfolk News*, 30/6/1860, and Mitcheson's column in the *Newcastle Courant*, 17 May 1878.

1 d4 d5 2 c4 e6 3 Nc3 Nf6 4 e3 c5 5 Nf3 Nc6 6 a3



6...a5 7 b3 cxd4 8 exd4 Bd6 9 Bd3 0-0 10 0-0 h6 11 Re1 Re8 12 Nb5 b6 13 Ne5 Bb7 14 Bf4 Bb8 15 Rc1 dxc4 16 bxc4 Re7 17 Re3 Kh8 18 Bb1 Bxe5 19 Bxe5 Nxe5 20 dxe5 Qxd1+ 21 Rxd1 Nd7 22 Red3 Bc6 23 f4 Bxb5 24 cxb5 Nc5 25 Rd6 Rb8 26 Rxb6 Ree8 27 Rxb8 Rxb8 28 Bc2 a4 29 Rd4 g6 30 Bxa4 Nxa4 31 Rxa4 Rxb5 32 Rb4 Rc5 33 Rb3 Rc2 34 h4 Kg7 35 Kh2 Rc4 36 g3 g5 37 Rf3 g4 ½-½.

It is not known whether James White was still a member of the Berwick club when the following match was played. By then he may have moved from Northumberland to Yorkshire.

(29) Edinburgh Chess Club – Berwick Chess Club

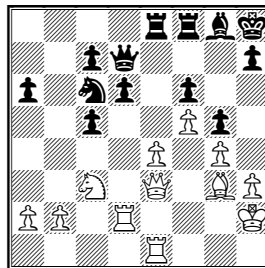
Scotch Gambit [C44]

Berwick v. Edinburgh match (1), 1860–2

Lange (1872), pp. 94-5, says the first two *Edinburgh v. Berwick* games began in November 1860. The moves were not found in the Edinburgh Club match book, but David Archibald found the following in the Edinburgh club papers; minutes of general meeting on 1 Nov. 1860:

Mr Webb moved that the challenge be accepted. Mr Dillward (?) seconded this motion. Mr Greenhill moved that the challenge be declined in accordance with the former practice of the club since the London Match. This motion not being seconded fell to the ground and the challenge was declared accepted. It was agreed that the match should consist of three games and that drawn games should not be counted. The meeting then proceeded to elect a committee to conduct the match and the following gentlemen were appointed; the Committee having power to add to their number: Mr Meikle, Dr Fraser, Dr Ormond, Col. Robertson, and the secretary for the time being in officio. At the same time it was agreed that any member of the Club should have the right to suggest a move to the Committee.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 d4 exd4 4 Bc4 Bc5 5 0–0 d6 6 c3 Bg4 7 Bg5 Qd7 8 Bb5 dxc3 9 Nxc3 f6 10 Bf4 a6 11 Bxc6 bxc6 12 Qd3 Ne7 13 Nd4 Bxd4 14 Qxd4 Ng6 15 Bg3 0–0 16 f4 Bh5 17 Rae1 Kh8 18 Rf2 Ne7 19 Rd2 Bf7 20 h3 Qe6 21 Bh4 c5 22 Qe3 Rae8 23 g4 Bg8 24 Kh2 Qd7 25 f5 g5 26 Bg3 Nc6



27 Qxc5 Ne5 28 Bxe5 Rxe5 29 Qe3 h6 30 h4 Re7 31 b3 Rh7 32 Kh3 Qg7 33 Rg2 gxh4 34 Qa7 Qg5 35 Qxa6 Qf4 36 Qf1 Qe5 37 Ne2 Bf7 38 Qf3 Rg8

These moves were in the *Berwick Warder*, 19 July 1861, saying the games would resume about 1 October. On 22 November the following further moves appeared, but then no more was found. Lange wrote (after move 12) that White eventually won the game, which Black resigned at move 61 in March 1862.

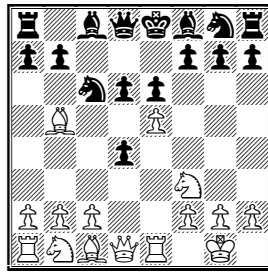
39 Qc3 h5 40 Qxe5 dxe5 41 Nc1 hxg4+... (1–0)

(30) Berwick - Edinburgh Chess Club

Alekhine's Defence [B02]

Berwick v. Edinburgh match (2), 1860–2*Berwick Warder*, 22 Nov. 1861.

1 e4 Nf6 2 e5 Ng8 3 d4 e6 4 Bd3 c5 5 Nf3 cxd4 6 0–0 Nc6 7 Re1 d6 8 Bb5



Lange gave the moves to here and wrote that White won on the 43rd move (Nov. 1861), but he did not state his source.

8...d5 9 Nxd4 Bd7 10 c3 Bc5 11 Be3 Bxd4 12 Bxd4 Nge7 13 Bxc6 Bxc6 14 Qd3 0–0 15 f4 Nf5 16 Nd2 Qh4 17 Rf1 a6 18 a4 f6 19 exf6 gxf6 20 Rf3 h6 21 Nf1 Qh5 22 Rh3 Qf7 23 Ng3 Qh7 24 Nxf5 exf5 25 Qe2 Rae8 26 Rg3+ Kh8 27 Qh5 Re4 28 Qh4 Rxd4 29 cxd4 h5 30 a5 Be8 31 Re1 Qd7 32 Rge3 Bg6 33 Qg3 Bf7 34 Re7 Qb5 35 Qc3 Bg6 36 Qc5 Qxc5 37 dxc5 Rb8 38 Rd1 Be8 39 Rxd5 Bc6 40 Rxf5 Rd8

The game was adjourned here.

41 Rxf6 Rd1+ 42 Kf2 Rd2+ 43 Kf1 1–0.

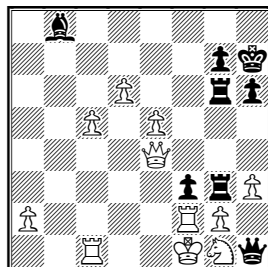
(31) Edinburgh Chess Club – Dundee Chess Club

Ruy Lopez [C77]

Dundee v. Edinburgh match (1), 1862-3

First in the *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 25 May 1863 (with long notes); then in *I.L.N.*, 20 June 1863, and *Bell's Life*, 20 Feb. 1864, with very brief notes — all with an incorrect finish. The corrected final sequence follows the MS game record in the Edinburgh Club match book.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bb5 a6 4 Ba4 Nf6 5 d3 Bc5 6 0–0 d6 7 Bxc6+ bxc6 8 Bg5 Bg4 9 c3 h6 10 Bxf6 Qxf6 11 Nbd2 0–0 12 Qa4 d5?! 13 h3 Bxf3 14 Nx f3 Bb6 15 Rae1 Rae8 16 Re2 Qd6 17 Rfe1 f6 18 exd5 cxd5 19 d4 e4 20 c4 c5 21 b4 Bc7 22 bxc5 Qf4 23 Kf1 dxc4 24 Qxc4+ Kh7 25 Ng1 f5 26 d5 Rf6 27 d6 Bb8 28 Qxa6 Rg6 29 Qb7 Qh2 30 f3 Qh1? 31 Rc1 Ree6 32 Rf2 Rg3 33 fxe4 f4? 34 e5 f3 35 Qe4+ Reg6



There is some mystery about what happened next. The above, and secondary sources, give a different finish in 39 moves, but the 40-move finish in the Edinburgh MS does make sense.

36 Rcc2!

36 Qxg6+ cannot be right. Although the *Courier and Argus* says: 'The most summary method of bringing matters to a termination', this is not correct. Maybe Fraser was writing from memory without the actual game record in front of him and passed on the false finish to London columnists, since in his version after 36...Rxc6 37 g4 the next move 37...Rxc6 is obvious nonsense. Probably he had forgotten to include the move pair 36 Rcc2 Ba7.

36...Ba7 37 Qxg6+! Rxc6 38 g4 Rxc6

This is bad here too, but all moves lose, which is not the case in the alternate finish.

39 hxg4 Qh4 40 d7 1-0.

(32) Dundee Chess Club - Edinburgh Chess Club

Scotch Gambit [C44]

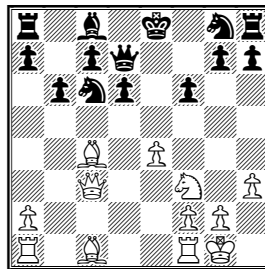
Dundee v. Edinburgh match (2, 1862-3)

The moves below are taken from Edinburgh Chess Club's match book. They were also found in the *Weekly Northern Whig*, 16 May 1863, only appearing in the Dundee paper on the 25th! Nothing was said in the *I.L.N.* etc. about this game except that Dundee played first and won it. Lange did not have the moves of this game.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 d4 exd4 4 Bc4 Bc5 5 b4 Bxb4+ 6 c3 Bxc3+ 7 Nxc3 dxc3 8 0-0 d6 9 Qb3 Qd7 10 Qxc3

The match book has 'Queen's Bishop's pawn doubled',

10...f6 11 h3 b6??



Fraser wrote in the Dundee *Courier and Argus* (25/5/1863): 'After so unaccountable an oversight the Black game is utterly hopeless, and winning now becomes a mere matter of time.'

12 Be6! Nge7 13 Bxd7+ Bxd7 14 Nh4 0-0-0 15 f4 Kb7 16 Nf3 Ng6 17 Re1 Rhe8 18 Bd2 Re7 19 Rac1 Rc8 20 Qc4 Nd8 21 Qd5+ Kb8 22 a4 Nb7 23 Nd4 c5 24 Nf5 Re6 25 Nxc3 Re7 26 Nf5 Re6 27 e5 fxe5 28 fxe5 Nxe5 29 Nxd6 Rxd6 30 Qxe5 Ka8 31 Bf4 Rg6 32 g4 Bc6 33 Qf5 Rcg8 34 Re6 Na5 35 Rxc6 hxg6 36 Qe6 Re8 37 Qxc6 Bxa4 38 h4 Nb3 39 h5 1-0.

The MS has a pencilled note 'Kt to Q5' but they resigned instead of playing it on 12 May 1863.

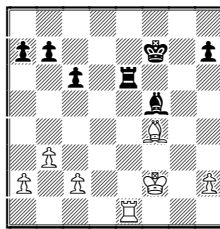
(33) 'Vesuvius' – James White

Centre Game [C22]

Cassell's tourney -4 rd. 2, 1864

Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper, 5 Mar. 1864; then the *Leeds Mercury*, 13 Sept. 1884, where White wrote "Vesuvius" was 'unknown, believed to be one of the Misses Rudge'.

1 e4 e5 2 d4 exd4 3 Qxd4 Nc6 4 Qe3 Nf6 5 Bc4 d6 6 Nf3 Be7 7 Nc3 0-0 8 Nd5 Be6 9 Nxe7+ Qxe7 10 Bd3 d5 11 0-0 Rad8 12 Ng5 dxe4 13 Nxe4 Nxe4 14 Qxe4 f5 15 Qf3 Bd5 16 Qh5 Rd6 17 f3 g6 18 Qh6 Qf7 19 b3 Rd7 20 Re1 Nb4 21 Qe3 Nxd3 22 Qxd3 Bc6 23 Qc3 Qf6 24 Qxf6 Rxf6 25 Bh6 g5 26 Bxg5 Rg6 27 Bf4 Bxf3 28 g3 Kf7 29 Kf2 Be4 30 Re2 Re6 31 Rae1 c6 32 g4 Rde7 33 gxf5 Bxf5 34 Rxe6 Rxe6

**35 Rxe6**

'Before exchanging this last rook, Vesuvius should have been quite sure of the safety of the queenside pawns.'

35...Kxe6

'Even if she now play 36 c3 Black will win a pawn in a few moves. The bishops being on different colours add to the difficulty of winning.'

36 c4 Bb1 0-1.

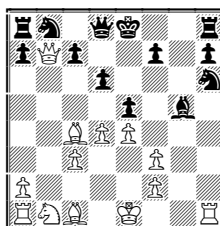
(34) G. J. Glen – W. H. Hawkes

Bishop's Opening [C23]

Third Glen-Hawkes match, game 1, 1865

Weekly Northern Whig, 6 May 1865: 'Game in the match by correspondence between W. H. Hawkes, London, and G. J. Glen, Belfast.'

1 e4 e5 2 Bc4 Bc5 3 b4 Bxb4 4 c3 Be7 5 Qb3 Nh6 6 Nf3 d6 7 d4 g5 8 h4 Bg4 9 hxg5 Bxf3 10 gxf3 Bxg5 11 Qxb7



Each player in turn now gives up both rooks!

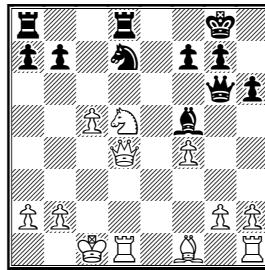
11...Nd7 12 Bxg5 Qxg5 13 Qxa8+ Ke7 14 Qxh8 Qc1+ 15 Ke2 Qxh1 16 Qxh7 Qc1 17 Nd2 Qxa1 18 Qxh6 Qg1 19 Qh7 Qg6 20 Qxg6 fxxg6 21 Bb3 Nb6 22 Nc4 Nxc4 23 Bxc4 exd4 24 cxd4 a5 25 f4 a4 26 a3 c6 27 Bd3 1-0

(35) City of London Chess Club – Vienna Chess Club

English Opening [A21]

London v. Vienna match (1), 1872-4

1 c4 e5 2 Nc3 Bb4 3 Nd5 Be7 4 d4 exd4 5 Bf4 c6 6 Nxe7 Nxe7 7 Qxd4 0-0 8 e4 d5 9 0-0-0 Be6 10 Nf3 Nd7 11 Ng5 h6 12 exd5 Bf5 13 Ne4 cxd5 14 Nc3 Nb6 15 Be5 Nc6 16 Qf4 Nxe5 17 Qxe5 Qg5+ 18 f4 Qg6 19 c5 Nd7 20 Qd4! Rfd8 21 Nxd5



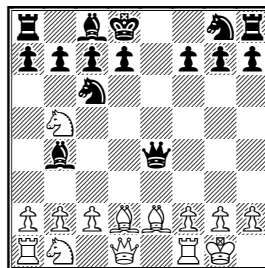
21...Kf8? 22 Ne3! Kg8 23 Bc4 Rac8 24 Rhe1 Be4 25 b4 b6 26 Qd6 bxc5 27 Qe7 cxb4 28 Rxd7 Re8 29 Qd6 Qxd6 30 Rxd6 Bxg2 31 Rd4 Bd5 32 Rxd5 Rxc4+ 33 Nxc4 Rxe1+ 34 Kc2 Re4 35 Rd8+ Kh7 36 Kb3 Rxf4 37 Ra8 g5 38 Rxa7 h5 39 Kxb4 g4 40 a4 Rf2 41 a5 h4 42 Rd7! Rxh2 43 Rxf7+ Kg6 44 a6 Re2 45 a7 Re8 46 Rb7 Ra8 47 Nb6 h3 48 Nxa8 h2 49 Rb6+! 1-0. Widely published: in *The Field, Land and Water, City of London Chess Magazine* etc. For notes, see T. Harding, *64 Great Chess Games*, pp. 13-18.

(36) Vienna Chess Club - City of London Chess Club

Scotch Game [C45]

London v. Vienna match (2), 1872-4

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 d4 exd4 4 Nxd4 Qh4 5 Nb5 Bb4+ 6 Bd2 Qxe4+ 7 Be2 Kd8 8 0-0



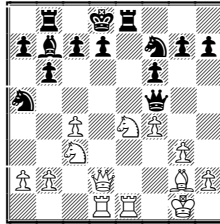
8...Bxd2 9 Nxd2 Qf4

Steinitz's novelty; 9...Qg6 had been played by French master Rosenthal against Fleissig, who was one of the players on the Vienna team.

10 c4 Nf6 11 Nf3 Ng4 12 g3 Qf6 13 Nc3 Re8 14 Nd2 Nh6 15 Nde4 Qg6 16 Bh5 Qf5 17 Bf3 b6!? 18 Bg2 Bb7 19 Qd2 f6 20 Rad1 Nf7 21 Rfe1 Rb8!

'The key move of the defence; for by its adoption we were subsequently enabled to exchange the B for the Kt without danger.'

22 f4 Na5

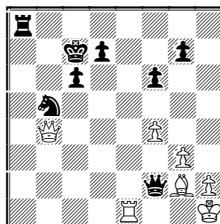


Steinitz: 'This marks another step towards freeing our game, as it brought our B into active operation, and ultimately forced the exchange of pieces so long desired on our part.'

23 Qd3 Nd6 24 b3 Bxe4 25 Nxe4 Re7 26 Kh1 Nab7 27 b4 a5 28 a3 axb4 29 axb4 Qe6

Steinitz: 'By this move we at last were enabled to assume the offensive. It is a rather curious coincidence that, widely different as the two games of the match were in other respects, positions should nevertheless have arisen in both games, and almost simultaneously, where we could offer the exchange of the Queen for two Rooks with advantage, which may be inferred from the fact of our opponents declining that offer in each case.'

30 c5 bxc5 31 Qb1 Qc4 32 bxc5 Nxe4 33 Rxe4 Rxe4 34 Bxe4 Kc8 35 Bd5 Qxc5 36 Qxh7 Qf8 37 Qd3 Qe8 38 Qc3 Nd6 39 Bf3 Qe6 40 Rc1 Nb5 41 Qd2 c6 42 Re1 Qf7 43 Qb4 Qa2 44 Bg2 Kc7 45 Rb1 Ra8 46 Rc1 Qe2 47 Bf1 Qf3+ 48 Bg2 Qe3 49 Re1 Qf2 1/2-1/2.



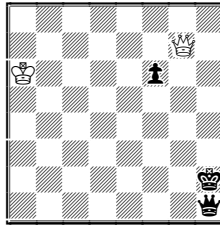
'At this point Vienna resigned the London game and proffered a draw in this game, a proposal tantamount, according to the conditions, to a resignation of the match. Their offer was accepted on our part, with the view of at once terminating the contest. Nevertheless, it must be apparent that the position of the present game, as it remains, shows a most striking advantage in favour of London, and that the game, if continued, could have had no other result than a victory for London.'

(37) R. D. Blackmore – Nelson Fedden

Scandinavian Defence [B01]

Blackmore v. Fedden match (1), 1873.*The Field*, xliii (31 Jan. 1874), p.114.

1 e4 d5 2 exd5 Qxd5 3 Nc3 Qa5 4 Bc4 e6 5 d3 Nf6 6 Bd2 Bb4 7 a3 Bxc3 8 Bxc3 Qh5 9 Qxh5 Nxh5 10 Be5 Na6 11 0–0–0 c6 12 d4 f6 13 Bg3 Nxc3 14 hxg3 b5 15 Bd3 h6 16 Bg6+ Ke7 17 Re1 Nc7 18 f4 Kd6 19 g4 Nd5 20 g3 Ne7 21 Bd3 Bb7 22 Rh2 Rae8 23 Rd2 Bc8 24 Rde2 Bd7 25 f5 exf5 26 gxf5 Nd5 27 Rxe8 Rxe8 28 Rxe8 Bxe8 29 Nf3 Bh5 30 Be4 Ne3 31 Nh2 Nc4 32 b3 Nxa3 33 c3 c5 34 dxc5+ Kxc5 35 b4+ Kd6 36 Bd3 Ke5 37 Nf1 Nc4 38 Nh2 a6 39 Kc2 Kd5 40 Kc1 Ne5 41 Kd2 Nxd3 42 Kxd3 Ke5 43 g4 Bxg4 44 Nxc3+ Kxf5 45 Ne3+ Kf4 46 Nf1 h5 47 c4 bxc4+ 48 Kxc4 h4 49 Kc5 h3 50 Kb6 Kf3 51 Kxa6 Kf2 52 Nh2 Kg2 53 b5 Kxh2 54 b6 Kg2 55 b7 h2 56 b8Q h1Q 57 Qb7+ Kh2 58 Qxg7 ½–½.



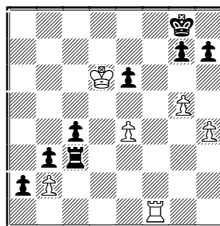
(38) Ipswich – Nottingham Chess Club

Philidor's Defence [C41]

Nottingham v. Ipswich match 1874-6 (game 2).*The Field*, 25 Mar. 1876, printed both unfinished games from this match without comment.

The complete record is only in the Nottinghamshire County Archive, reference: DD/MI/271/1.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 d6 3 d4 exd4 4 Qxd4 Bd7 5 Be3 Nf6 6 Nc3 Be7 7 Qd2 0–0 8 h3 Nc6 9 g4 Ne5 10 Nxe5 dxe5 11 Bd3 c6 12 Ne2 Re8 13 Ng3 Be6 14 Qc3 a5 15 Bc5 Bxc5 16 Qxc5 a4 17 g5 Nd7 18 Qe3 Qa5+ 19 Kf1 Qb4 20 Qc1 Nc5 21 a3 Nxd3 22 axb4 Nxc1 23 Rxc1 Red8 24 Ne2 Bc4 25 f3 Rd4 26 Ke1 Bxe2 27 Kxe2 Rxb4 28 Rb1 Rd4 29 Ke3 Rad8 30 Rh2 b5 31 h4 Rd1 32 Rxd1 Rxd1 33 Re2 b4 34 f4 c5 35 fxe5 c4 36 c3 Rd3+ 37 Kf4 b3 38 Rf2 a3 39 e6 fxe6 40 Ke5 a2 41 Rf1 Rxc3! 42 Kd6

*The Field* stopped here.

42...Rg3 43 Ke7 h5 44 gxh6 c3 45 bxc3 b2 46 h7+ 0-1

Here the Nottingham volume ends with no further explanation. Presumably Ipswich accompanied this move with a letter of resignation.

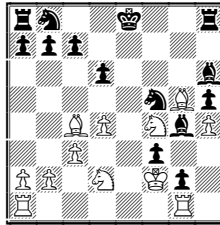
(39) 35th Royal Sussex Regiment of Foot – Minerva Club, Brighton

Kieseritzky Gambit [C39]

Sussex Regiment v. Brighton match (1), 1874-5

From the *Glasgow News of the Week*, 21/8/1875. The start of this match was noted in the *City of London Chess Magazine* vol. 2 (1874 p, 69), which also on pp. 35-6 had information about the soldiers' chess at the Curragh. Sgt-Maj. William McArthur was probably their strongest player.

1 e4 e5 2 f4 exf4 3 Nf3 g5 4 h4 g4 5 Ne5 h5 6 Bc4 Nh6 7 d4 Qf6 8 c3 d6 9 Nd3 f3 10 Bg5 fxg2 11 Rg1 Qf3?! 12 Qxf3 gxf3 13 Nd2 Bg4 14 Kf2 f5 15 exf5 Nxf5 16 Nf4 Bh6



17 Rae1+

'After this the "Royal Sussex" make it impossible for "The Minerva" to "Hold the Fort".'

17...Kf8 18 Ng6+ Kg7 19 Nxh8 Bxg5 20 hxg5 Kxh8 21 Re8+ Kg7 22 Ne4 Kg6 23 Rg8+ Ng7 24 Re1 a6 25 Nf6 b5 26 Re7 bxc4 27 Rcxg7+ Kf5 28 Nxc4 hxg4 29 Rf8+ Ke4 30 Rxc7 g3+ 31 Kg1 a5 32 Re8+ Kd3 33 g6 Ra6 34 g7 1-0.

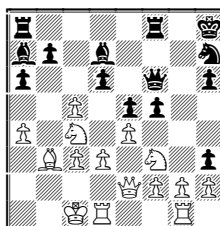
(40) Archibald K. Murray – H. Chicken

Italian Game [C50]

Correspondence game, probably played in Archdall's knock-out tourney, 1875

Glasgow Weekly Herald, 15 May 1875.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bc4 Bc5 4 d3 Nf6 5 Bg5 d6 6 c3 0-0 7 b4 Bb6 8 Bd5?! h6 9 Bh4 g5 10 Bxc6 gxh4? 11 Ba4 Nh7 12 Nbd2 f5? 13 Bb3+ Kh8 14 Qe2 Qf6 15 0-0-0 Bd7 16 a4?! a6?! 17 Rhg1 c5 18 Nc4 Ba7 19 bxc5 h3?



Archdall's notes said this move was made 'under a misapprehension as to the position of the pieces-indeed, it is only fair to say that Mr Chicken was in ill-health during the playing of this game, and that it is by no means up to his usual style of play.'

20 cxd6 hxg2 21 d4! exd4 22 e5 Qg7 23 cxd4 b5 24 axb5 axb5 25 Ne3 Rfc8+ 26 Kb2 Bc6 27 d5 Bc5 28 dxc6 Rxc6 29 Rxc2 Qa7 30 Nc2 Qa5 31 Qd3 Ba3+ 32 Kb1 Qc3 33 Qxc3 Rxc3 34 Nfd4 Bc5 35 Rdg1 Ng5 36 h4 Nf3 37 Rg8+ Rxc8 38 Rxc8+ Kh7 39 d7 1-0.

(41) Rev Thomas Hewan Archdall – Rev John Henry Ellis

Ruy Lopez [C77]

Probably played in Archdall's knock-out tourney, 1875

Notes by Zukertort appeared in the *City of London Chess Magazine* ii (July 1875), p. 182.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bb5 a6 4 Ba4 Nf6 5 d4 exd4 6 e5 Ne4 7 0-0 Nc5 8 Bxc6 dxc6 9 Nxd4 Be7 10 Nc3 0-0 11 Be3 f6 12 Qe2!

Improving on 12 exf6 as in a Barnes-Morphy game.

12...Qe8 13 exf6 Bxf6 14 Qc4+ Ne6 15 Rae1 Qf7 16 Ne4 Be5?

16...Bxd4 17 Bxd4 Nxd4 18 Qxd4 gives equal chances.

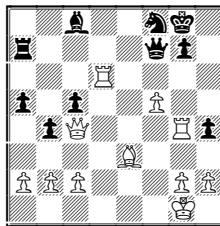
17 Rd1 Bd7?

17...Nxd4 was necessary, with equal chances.

18 Nf3 Bd6

If 18...Bxb2 19 Rxd7 Qxd7 20 Nc5.

19 Nxd6 cxd6 20 Rxd6 Bc8 21 Ne5 Qf5 22 f4 h5 23 Rf3 a5 24 Rg3 b5 25 Qc3 c5 26 Nc6 Rf7 27 Nd8 b4 28 Qc4 h4 29 Nxf7 Qxf7 30 Rg4 Ra7 31 f5 Nf8



32 Rxc7+ Kxc7 33 Qg4+ Kh8 34 Bxc5 Kh7 35 Qxh4+ Kg8 36 Rd8 1-0

(42) Arthur (?) Smith – Mrs Louisa Down

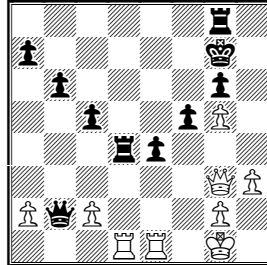
Three Knights Game [C42]

Down-Smith match, 1877.

Annotated by W. N. Potter in the *Westminster Papers*, x (1 Oct. 1877), p. 102: 'one of two correspondence games won by Mrs Down against A. Smith of Brighton.' (But possibly Mrs Smith?)

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nf6 3 Nc3 d6 4 h3 Be7 5 Bc4 0-0 6 d4 exd4 7 Nxd4 c5 8 Nf3 Be6 9 Qd3 h6 10 e5 Bxc4 11 Qxc4 dxe5 12 Be3 Nbd7 13 Nd5 b6 14 Nxf6+ Bxf6 15 Qg4! Qe7 16 Bxh6 e4

17 Nh4 Ne5 18 Qg3 Qe6 19 0–0 Kh7 20 Bg5 g6 21 Rfe1 Bxg5 22 Qxg5 f5 23 f4 Nf7 24 Qg3 Rg8 25 Nf3 Qf6 26 Ng5+ Nxg5 27 fxg5 Qxb2 28 Qh4+ Kg7 29 Rad1 Rad8 30 Qg3 Rd4



31 Qc7+

‘White’s best chance was 31 c3 and in reply Mrs Down would have had to make up her mind whether she would play to draw or win. The other game of the pair was I believe practically over by this time, so possibly she would have contented herself with a result that would still have left her the victress [sic] in the contest; on the other hand, judging by the form displayed by her in this *partie*, it seems just as likely that she would have scorned fear and gone in for further laurels...’

31...Kh8 32 Qxa7 Qxc2 33 Rxd4 cxd4 34 Qxb6 d3 35 Qd4+ Rg7 36 Qa1 Qd2 37 Rd1 Qe3+ 0–1.

‘And wins. I see no use in administering whipped cream to ladies more than to gentlemen in the matter of praise. Taking this game on its own merits I consider it much above the average of those which come under my notice.’

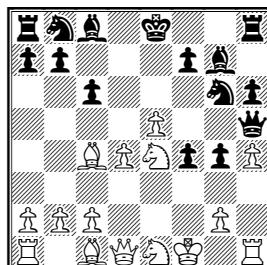
(43) H. Brewer – Eugene Delmar (USA)

Bishop’s Gambit [C33]

Postcard Match, U.S.A.-U.K., 1877-8.

From the *Ayr Argus & Express* 24 Aug. 1878 and *I.L.N.* 31 Aug. 1878.

1 e4 e5 2 f4 exf4 3 Bc4 d5 4 Bxd5 Qh4+ 5 Kf1 g5 6 Nc3 Bg7 7 d4 Ne7 8 Nf3 Qh5 9 h4 h6 10 e5 c6 11 Bc4 g4?! 12 Ne1 Ng6 13 Ne4!



13...0–0 14 Nd3 f3 15 Ng3 fxg2+ 16 Kxg2 Nxh4+ 17 Kf2 Qg6 18 Rxh4 Be6 19 Nf4 Qg5 20 Rh5 Qe7 21 Bxe6 fxe6 22 Qxg4 Na6 23 Kg2 Rfe8 24 Rxh6 Nc7 25 Ngh5 Rad8 26 Nf6+ 1–0.

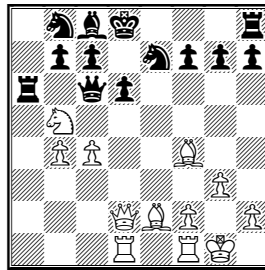
(44) William Coates – Max Judd (USA)

Scotch Game [C45]

Postcard Match, U.S.A.-U.K., 1877-9.

Hartford Weekly Times, 24 July 1879; *I.L.N.*, 26 July 1879, p. 95.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 d4 exd4 4 Nxd4 Qh4 5 Nb5 Bb4+ 6 Bd2 Qxe4+ 7 Be2 Kd8 8 0-0 Nge7 9 N1c3 Qh4? 10 a3 Bc5 11 g3 Qf6 12 Ne4 Qf5 13 Nxc5 Qxc5 14 Bf4 d6 15 c4 a5 16 Qd2 Ra6 17 Rad1 Nb8 18 b4 axb4 19 axb4 Qc6



20 Nxd6 Bh3 21 Ne4+

Duffy in the *I.L.N.*: 'All this is in the best style, and much better than taking the f-pawn, a move that would have frittered away the attack for very small blessings.'

21...Nd7 22 Bf3 Ra3 23 Ng5! Rxf3 24 Nxh3 f6 25 Rfe1 b5 26 cxb5 Qxb5 27 Bxc7+ Kxc7 28 Qd6+ 1-0.

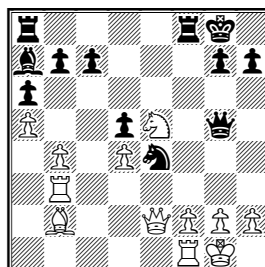
(45) Francis Eugene Brenzinger (USA) – Rev James T. C. Chatto

Italian Game [C54]

Postcard Match, U.S.A.-U.K., 1877-8.

Argus & Express 23/11/1878; *C.P.C.* 1879 p.8.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bc4 Bc5 4 c3 Nf6 5 d4 exd4 6 b4 Bb6 7 e5 d5 8 Bb5 Ne4 9 cxd4 Bd7 10 Bxc6 Bxc6 11 a4 a6 12 0-0 0-0 13 Ra3 Bd7 14 Nc3 Bg4 15 Ne2 f6 16 Bb2 fxe5 17 Nxe5 Bxe2 18 Qxe2 Qe7 19 Rb3 Qg5 20 a5 Ba7



21 b5? Qd2! 22 Qg4 Rae8 23 Qd7 Rxe5 24 b6 Nc5! 0-1.

If 25 dxc5 Qxf2+! 26 Rxf2 Re1+ and mate next move.

25 Be3 is best, but then 25...Nxd7 26 Bxd2 Re2 27 bxa7 Rxd2 with an extra piece.

(46) George H. D. Gossip – Mrs Ellen Gilbert (USA)

Ruy Lopez [C80]

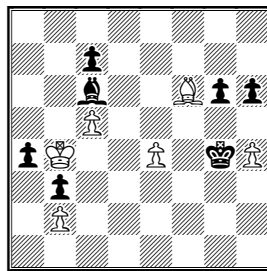
Postcard Match, U.S.A.-U.K., 1877-9.

Argus & Express 1 Nov. 1879. Annotated by Steinitz in *The Field*, 8 Nov. 1879.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bb5 a6 4 Ba4 Nf6 5 0-0 Nxe4 6 d4 b5 7 Nxe5 Nxe5 8 dxe5 Nc5 9 Bb3 Nxb3 10 axb3 d6 11 Qe2 dxe5 12 Qxe5+ Qe7 13 Bf4 Qxe5 14 Bxe5 Bb7 15 c4 0-0-0 16 Nc3? b4 17 Na4 Rd3 18 Rfe1 Rxb3 19 Re3 Rxe3 20 fxe3 Be7 21 Bd4 Rd8 22 Rf1 f6 23 Nc5 Bxc5 24 Bxc5 Rd2 25 Rf2 Rd1+ 26 Rf1 Rxf1+ 27 Kxf1 a5 28 g3?

‘If Mr Gossip hoped for more than a draw, he was certainly in error, and otherwise he lost sight of one of the finesses in playing against a majority of pawns with a bishop of opposite colour to the adverse one. It is mostly in such cases, not alone expedient, but even necessary, to force the adverse pawns on squares of the colour which the Bishop cannot attack...’

28...Kd7 29 Ke2 Ke6 30 Kd3 Kf5 31 Bf8 g6 32 Be7 Bg2 33 Kd4 b3 34 Kc5 a4 35 Kb4 Bf1 36 c5? Bb5 37 h4? Bc6! 38 Bd8 Kg4 39 Bxf6 Kxg3 40 Kc3 h6 41 Kb4 Kg4 42 e4 0-1.



‘At this point Mrs Gilbert announced mate in thirty-five moves. Without wishing in the least to disparage the credit of this extraordinary announcement, we feel bound to point out that, barring the last eight or nine moves, it amounts only to counting a number of forced moves. But the finale is certainly ingenious, and nicely calculated; and the American lady champion may well be satisfied with the merit of having discovered an exact and very clever method of forcing an extremely difficult ending, which presented all the appearance of a draw.’

Steinitz gave the following continuation:

42...g5 43 hxg5 hxg5 44 Bd8 Kf4 45 e5 g4 46 Bxc7 g3 47 e6+ Kf3 48 Be5 g2 49 Bd4 Ke2 50 e7 Kf1 51 Kc3 g1Q 52 Bxg1 Kxg1 53 Kd3 Kf2 54 Kd2 Kf3 55 Kd3 Kf4 56 Kc4 Ke5 57 Kb4 Ke6 58 Kc4 Kxe7 59 Kb4 Ke6 60 Kc4 Ke5 61 Kc3 Ke4 62 Kc4 Ke3 63 Kc3 Ke2 64 Kb4 Kd2 65 Ka3 Kc2 66 Kb4 Kxb2 67 Ka5 a3 68 Kb6 a2 69 Kxc6 a1Q 70 Kd7 Ka3

‘The only move to insure the speediest termination.’

71 c6 b2 72 c7 b1Q 73 c8Q Qd4+ 74 Ke7

‘All this is exact reckoning, and White’s best moves are anticipated. If the K move anywhere else, mate is effected sooner accordingly, either by Q from K8 or K Kt3, or to Q Kt3.’

74...Qh7+ 75 Ke6 Qg6+ 76 Ke7 Qdd6 mate.

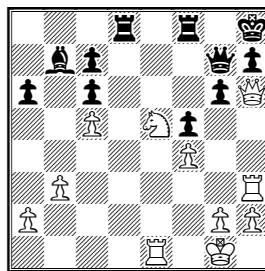
(47) Mrs Ellen Gilbert (USA) – George H. D. Gossip

Ruy Lopez [C80]

Postcard Match, U.S.A.-U.K., 1877-9.

Steinitz annotated this in *The Field*, 29 Nov 1879.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bb5 a6 4 Ba4 Nf6 5 0–0 Nxe4 6 Re1 Nc5 7 Bxc6 dxc6 8 Nxe5 Be7 9 d4 Ne6 10 Be3 0–0 11 Nc3 f6 12 Nd3 f5 13 Ne2 Bd6 14 f4 b5 15 Rc1 Bb7 16 c4 bxc4 17 Nc5 Bc8 18 Rxc4 Rb8 19 b3 Qf6 20 Qd3 Qg6 21 Ra4 Nxc5 22 dxc5 Be7 23 Nd4! Kh8 24 Qc2 Bh4 25 Bf2 Bxf2+ 26 Qxf2 Re8 27 Nf3 Bb7 28 Ne5 Qe6 29 Rc4 Rbd8 30 Rc3 Qf6 31 Rce3 Rf8 32 Qe2 Rd4 33 Qh5 g6 34 Qh6 Rdd8 35 Rh3 Qg7



Here White announced mate in 21 moves, to be carried out as follows.

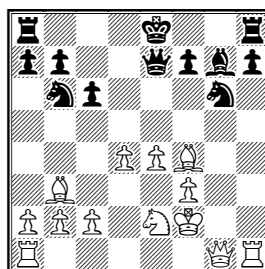
36 Nxc6+ Kg8 37 Qxc7+ Kxc7 38 Nxf8 Rxf8 39 Re7+ Rf7 40 Rxh7+ Kxh7 41 Rxf7+ Kg6 42 Rxc7 Ba8 43 Ra7 Bb7 44 Rxb7 Kf6 45 h4 Kg6 46 Rc7 Kf6 47 Rxc6+ Ke7 48 h5 Kd7 49 Rg6 Ke7 50 c6 a5 51 c7 Kd7 52 h6 Kxc7 53 h7 a4 54 h8Q axb3 55 Qh7+ Kc8 56 Rg8 mate 1–0. Steinitz expressed some doubt about whether mate could be done in exactly the number of moves specified, indicating 39...Kf6 40 Rxc7 Ke6 giving up the bishop to defer mate.

(48) Rev Charles Edward Ranken – William J. Berry (USA)

Bishop's Gambit [C33]

Postcard Match, U.S.A.-U.K., 1877-8.

1 e4 e5 2 f4 exf4 3 Bc4 d5 4 Bxd5 Qh4+ 5 Kf1 c6 6 Bb3 Bg4 7 Nf3 Qh5 8 d4 g5 9 Nc3 Bg7 10 Kf2 Nd7? 11 h4 Bxf3 12 gxf3 Ne7 13 hxg5 Qxg5 14 Ne2 Ng6 15 Bd2 Nb6? 16 Qg1 Qe7 17 Bxf4



17...Bf6

Steinitz, in *The Field*, 30 Nov. 1878, p. 707, wrote: 'Timid play. It was manifestly better to capture the QP checking, e.g. 17...Bxd4+ 18 Nxd4 Nxf4 19 Qg7 0-0-0 20 Bxf7 Qc5 21 c3 Nd3+ followed by ...Nxb2 with a good game.'

However, Steinitz overlooked 19 Rd1!, which refutes his suggestion.

18 e5 Nxf4 19 Nxf4 Bh4+ 20 Kf1 Bg5 21 Qg4 Bxf4 22 Qxf4 Rd8 23 Rh6! Nd5 24 Bxd5 Rxd5 25 Re1 Qb4 26 e6 f5 27 e7 Qc4+ 28 Re2 1-0.

(49) Rev Arthur B. Skipworth – William Nash

Four Knights Game [C48]

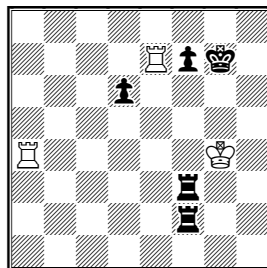
(Probably from) William Nash's first all-play-all tourney, 1877-80.

Hartford Weekly Times, 4 Mar. 1880.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Nc3 Nf6 4 Bb5 Nd4

Anticipating Rubinstein! Nash wrote: 'I have tried this move as an experiment on several occasions, invariably with success...'

5 Bc4 d6 6 Nxd4 exd4 7 Nd5 Ng4 8 0-0 c6 9 Nf4 Qh4 10 h3 Ne5 11 d3 h5 12 c3 dxc3 13 bxc3 Qf6 14 Bb3 g5 15 Nxh5 Nf3+ 16 Qxf3 Qxf3 17 gxf3 Rxh5 18 Re1 Bxh3 19 d4 Rd8 20 Rb1 Bg7 21 Ba3 b5 22 Bc1 Ke7 23 a4 b4 24 Be3 bxc3 25 Bc4 Rdh8 26 Bd3 c5 27 e5 cxd4 28 Bxd4 Bxe5 29 Bxc3 Kf6 30 Rbc1 Bxc3 31 Rxc3 Bd7 32 Bf1 Rh1+ 33 Kg2 R8h2+ 34 Kg3 Rh6 35 Kg2 Bxa4 36 Rd3 Kg7 37 Rd5 R1h5 38 Kg3 Bc6 39 Ra5 Bxf3 40 Rxa7 g4 41 Ree7 Rf6 42 Ra4 Rhf5 43 Bg2 Bxg2 44 Kxg2 Rxf2+ 45 Kg3 R6f3+ 46 Kxg4 0-1.



Black now announced mate in 17 moves. For the best sound solution of the position, Nash offered a copy of Gossip's *Chess Openings*.

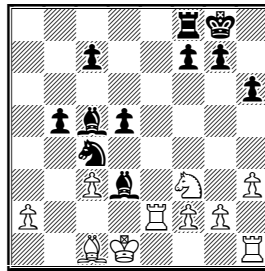
(50) John Cooper – Fred Thompson

Irregular [C20]

Telephone game, Belper, Derbyshire, Jan. 1878.

Derbyshire Advertiser, 1 Feb. 1878: 'The first game of chess played by telephone in Europe'.

1 e4 e5 2 c3 Nf6 3 d4 Nxe4 4 dxe5 d5 5 Be3 Nc6 6 Qa4 a6 7 Nd2 Nxd2 8 Bxd2 b5? 9 Bxb5 axb5 10 Qxa8 Nxe5 11 Be3 Nd3+ 12 Kd2 Nxb2 13 Qc6+ Qd7 14 Qxd7+ Bxd7 15 Re1 Nc4+ 16 Kc2 Be6 17 Bc1 Bc5 18 Re2 0-0 19 Nf3 h6 20 h3 Bf5+ 21 Kd1 Bd3



At this point the game was adjourned because both players had trains to catch. It was soon concluded by post. On 8 Feb. these moves were published:

22 Ree1 Bxf2 23 Re7 Bg3 24 Nd4 Bd6 ½–½.

With the comment from Thompson (the columnist): 'Black has the chance of winning the game if White refuses the draw; but will Black take the chance? He sleeps on it!' (Presumably he was thinking of 25 R7e1 Bg3 26 Re7 Bd6 etc.) No more was said in the column, so presumably a draw was agreed.

(51) William Henry Stanley Monck - Rev Charles Edward Ranken

Evans Gambit [C52]

William Nash's second all-play-all tourney, 1880–3.

Annotated by G.F. Barry in the *Irish Fireside* on 19 Nov. 1883, saying it was played 'in Mr Nash's Corresponding Tourney. Mr Ranken won all his other games to take first prize.' Barry said the game was played 1882 but it must have been 1880 or 1880–1 because MacDonnell had published the game during 1881 in the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*.

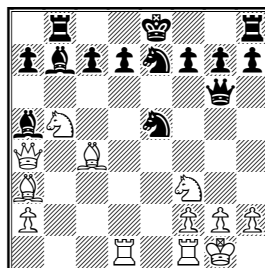
1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bc4 Bc5 4 b4 Bxb4 5 c3 Ba5 6 d4 exd4 7 0–0 dxc3 8 Qb3 Qf6 9 e5 Qg6 10 Nxc3

The usual sequence, but according to Barry, White's 10th and 11th moves were played in the reverse order.

10...Nge7 11 Ba3 b5 12 Nxb5 Rb8

12...0–0 is stronger (says Barry); it was played in Monck-Gossip from the same event.

13 Qa4 Bb7 14 Rad1 Nxe5



15 Bxf7+! Nxf7 16 Nxc7+! Kf8

'Capturing the Kt would have involved the loss of at least half his pieces' (MacDonnell).

17 Nh4 Qb6 18 Rxd7 Bc6 19 Rxe7 Bb4 20 Bxb4 Qxb4 21 Qxb4 Rxb4 22 Nf5 Re4 23 Ne6+ Rxe6

Otherwise 23...Kg8 White mates by 24 Re8+ Bxe8 25 Ne7. MacDonnell said Black resigned but the *Preston Guardian*, 3 Nov. 1880, gave a slightly longer version:

24 Rxe6 Bd7 25 Rb1 1-0.

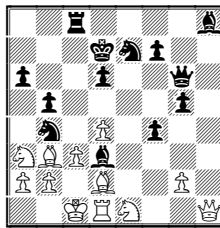
(52) William Henry Stanley Monck – Peter S. Shenele

Bishop's Gambit [C33]

Correspondence (tourney unknown), 1880.

I.L.N., lxxviii (1 Jan. 1881), p. 22.

1 e4 e5 2 f4 exf4 3 Bc4 g5 4 d4 Bg7 5 Qh5? Qf6 6 e5 Qg6 7 Qe2 Ne7 8 Nf3 d5 9 exd6 cxd6 10 c3 Nbc6 11 h4 h6 12 hxg5 hxg5 13 Rxh8+ Bxh8 14 Na3 a6 15 Bd2 Bf5 16 0-0-0? b5 17 Bd5 Bd3 18 Qe1 Kd7 19 Bb3 Rc8 20 Qh1 Nb4 21 Ne1



21...Bb1! 22 Nxb1 Qc2+! 0-1.

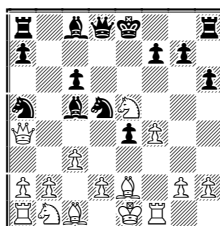
(53) F. A. Vincent – Charles D. Locock

Two Knights Defence [C59]

First *Vincent v. Locock* match, 1884.

James Pierce, in the *English Mechanic*, 10 Oct. 1884, called this a 'game between Messrs Locock and Vincent' but the moves clearly match Locock's description in *B.C.M.*, liii (1933), p. 7: '...Mrs Vincent, a strong correspondence player in the West of England, who taught me the unsoundness of my favourite 10...Q-Q5 and 12...Q-Q1 variation of the Two Knights Defence'.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bc4 Nf6 4 Ng5 d5 5 exd5 Na5 6 Bb5+ c6 7 dxc6 bxc6 8 Be2 h6 9 Nf3 e4 10 Ne5 Qd4? 11 f4 Bc5 12 Rf1 Qd8 13 c3! Nd5 14 Qa4



14...Bb6 15 b4! Nb7 16 Qxc6+ Kf8 17 Bc4 Ne7 18 Qxe4 Qc7 19 Bxf7 Bf5 20 Qc4 Qd8 21 Ba3 g6 22 Be6 Nd6 23 Qb3 Be4 24 b5 1-0.

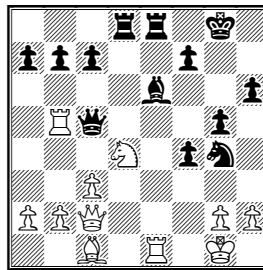
(54) Alnod Ernest Studd – Th. Amiros (Greece)

King's Gambit [C38]

La Stratégie tournament-2, 1884-8.

From *La Stratégie* 1886, pp. 48-9.

1 e4 e5 2 f4 exf4 3 Nf3 g5 4 Bc4 Bg7 5 d4 d6 6 c3 h6 7 Qb3 Qe7 8 0-0 Nd7 9 e5? dxe5 10 Re1 e4 11 Ne5 Bxe5! 12 dxe5 Nb6 13 Rxe4 Nxc4 14 Rxc4 Qxe5 15 Bd2 Nf6 16 Na3 0-0 17 Re1 Qd6 18 Qc2 Be6 19 Rb4 Rad8 20 Bc1 Ng4 21 Nb5 Qc5+ 22 Nd4 Rfe8 23 Rb5



White is lost anyway so maybe this was worth a try (instead of 23 h3 recommended in the magazine), but the move has a spectacular refutation.

23...Bc4!! 0-1.

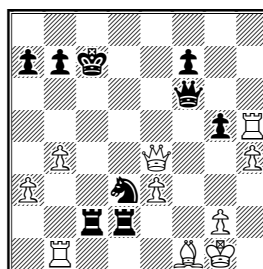
(55) Horace F. Cheshire – G. D. Soffe

Queen's Gambit [D40]

Sussex v. Ireland, 1885 -6 (board 3).

This was the game at the centre of the dispute between A. S. Peake and T. B. Rowland.

1 d4 d5 2 c4 e6 3 Nf3 Nf6 4 e3 c5 5 Nc3 Nc6 6 dxc5 Bxc5 7 cxd5 exd5 8 a3 0-0 9 b4 Bd6 10 Be2 Be6 11 Bb2 Ne4 12 Nxe4 dxe4 13 Nd4 Qf6 14 Nxe6 Qxe6 15 0-0 Rfd8 16 Qe1 Rac8 17 f4 exf3 18 Rxf3 Be5 19 Bxe5 Nxe5 20 Rh3 Rc2 21 Qh4 Rdd2 22 Qxh7+ Kf8 23 Qh8+ Ke7 24 Qh4+ Kd7 25 Bf1 g5 26 Qe4 Kc7 27 Rh5 Qf6 28 Rb1 Nd3 29 h4



29...Ne1?

29...Nc1! was apparently overlooked by everyone at the time. After the only reasonable reply, 30 Kh2, Black can win by 30...Kb6! (a truly counter-intuitive computer move) and even 30...Qxf1 31 Qe7+ Rd7 may also be good for Black.

30 Rxe1 Qf2+ 31 Kh2 Qxe1 32 Qe7+ Rd7

Around this point, when Soffe was slow to reply, Cheshire complained to Rowland, who was the original ICCA secretary and captain, but had resigned from the positions in the meantime. Rowland conceded the game and published it. Peake made huge issue of it in the press, saying (correctly) that Rowland should have forwarded the letter to him. He condemned Cheshire 'for having contrived as he did...to score a game against Mr Soffe, by means not soon to be forgotten.' (See the *Irish Chess Chronicle* 1st Oct 1887 p89, in a note to another game.)

Eventually Forsyth (Scotland) arbitrated, the game continued, and Cheshire won it anyway, but rather luckily as the following shows.

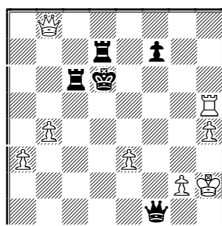
33 Qe5+ Rd6 34 Qe7+ Rd7 35 Qxg5 Qxf1

'He certainly has no time for this,' wrote Rowland, but actually he has; Black should draw.

36 Qa5+ b6

If 36...Kb8 White mates in four moves.

37 Qxa7+ Kd6 38 Qxb6+ Rc6 39 Qb8+



39...Rcc7??

An egregious blunder; after 39...Ke7 White has only a draw.

40 b5 1-0.

Dublin Evening Mail 26 Aug. 1886, and *Southern Weekly News* 4 Dec. 1886, and copied in *C.P.C.*, but contemporaries failed to notice the mistake at the end. Only this blunder meant the result was the same as if the original time default had not been cancelled.

(56) George Brunton Fraser – James Neill

King's Gambit [C25]

Ireland v. Scotland 1886-7 (board 1).

Fraser, *200 Games*, #114.

This game is referred to in some of Fraser's letters to John G. White, e.g. vol. 2 folio 41, 16 Oct 1886: 'I have as opponent the Champion of Ulster, Mr Neill but I don't think much of his style'.

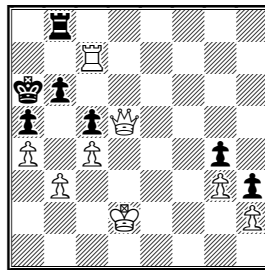
1 e4 e5 2 f4 exf4 3 Nc3 Nc6 4 Nf3 Be7 5 d4 Bh4+ 6 Ke2 Be7 7 Bxf4 d6 8 Qd3 Bd7 9 Rd1 g5 10 Be3 g4 11 Ne1 h5 12 g3 a6 13 Bg2 Qc8 14 Rf1 h4 15 Nd5 Bd8 16 b3 h3 17 Bh1 Rb8

**18 c3 Rh5 19 Qd2 Nce7 20 Nf4 Rh7 21 Ned3 c6 22 Rf2 b6 23 c4 Bc7 24 Rdf1 a5 25 Qc3 f6
26 d5 c5 27 a4! Kd8 28 Bd2 Ke8 29 Qa1 Kd8 30 Bc3 Rh6 31 e5! dxe5 32 Nxe5! Ke8 33
Nxd7 Kxd7 34 Ne6 Bd6 35 Be4 f5 36 Rxf5 Rxe6 37 dxe6+ Kxe6 38 Be5 Bc7**

There was a dispute over the finish, which Fraser doesn't mention in his book. See the *Irish Sportsman*, 21 May 1887, p. 342, the *Irish Chess Chronicle*, and *The Bohemian*, 21/5/1887. White announced mate in 22 moves; a note in Fraser books says it can be forced in 14 moves. However Neill requested that the moves were played out and near the end Fraser made a clerical error.

**39 Bxc7 Qxc7 40 Rf6+ Nxf6 41 Qxf6+ Kd7 42 Bf5+ Nxf5 43 Qxf5+ Kd8 44 Qd5+ Ke8 45
Qh5+ Kd7 46 Rf7+ Kc8 47 Qf5+ Kb7 48 Qd5+ Ka6 49 Rxc7 Re8+ 50 Kd2 Rb8**

On 28 Jan. 1887, Fraser wrote to White: 'The Game is one of the most curious ever played and I enclose a note of moves made to date. The "huddled up" position of my opponent's forces is most remarkable.' Then on 21 Feb: 'I am just about giving the Coup de Grace to my opponent, whose position all along has been ludicrously crowded.'



51 Qc6

Here Fraser should have written Q-Q7 (Qd7) and mate in two moves.

51...Rd8+ 52 Kc1 Rd1+! ½-½

'In answer Mr Fraser sent "52 K moves", meaning Ke3, which was previously set down by him, but Mr Neill, seeing that he could effect stalemate if the K were at c1, placed it so either as a joke or to outwit the "deil of Dundee", and demonstrated stalemate accordingly. Mr Neill insists on adhering to this move, but we fail to see why he should do so, considering that Ke3 was intended, and that the line of play leading to mate had been previously sent to him.'

The Bohemian of 21/5/1887 (it is unclear who was columnist at this date) gave an impartial view: 'The result of this game is still in dispute, but it appears to us perfectly clear that Black is justified in his contention. In Staunton's *Chess Praxis*, a code of laws for correspondence games is given, and unless a special code has been agreed to for the Scotland and Ireland match, Staunton's code ought to be adhered to. The eighth law in this code is:- "If a move bears more than one interpretation the player receiving it must announce, with his next move, which interpretation he adopts, or it must be interpreted according to the sender."

Fraser's letters never refer to his mistaken conditional and official result of game; he was always in denial over that.

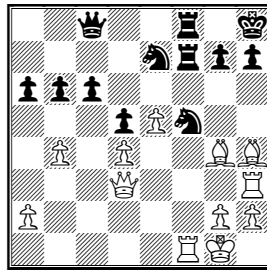
(57) North London Chess Club - Manchester

Scotch Game [C45]

Manchester v. N. London match 1886-7 (1), 1886.

Nowell (ed), *Chess and Manchester*, pp. 35-6 (in a chapter by Alan Smith) mentions this match. Manchester drew one game and lost the other, with the *Manchester Weekly Post* writing, 'The members have taken no interest in the contest.' This decisive game was published in the second issue of *The Bohemian* (15 Jan. 1887). The drawn game cannot be found.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 d4 exd4 4 Nxd4 Bc5 5 Be3 Qf6 6 c3 Nge7 7 Qd2 Bxd4 8 cxd4 d5 9 Nc3 Be6 10 e5 Qg6 11 Ne2 f6 12 Nf4 Qf7 13 Nxe6 Qxe6 14 f4 0-0 15 Be2 fxe5 16 fxe5 Kh8 17 Rc1 Rac8 18 Bf2 Nf5 19 0-0 Nce7 20 b4 Rf7 21 Rc3 c6 22 Ra3 a6 23 Rh3 Rcf8 24 Bg4 b6 25 Qd3 Qc8 26 Bh4 1-0.



(58) Joseph Henry Blake - Prince Nikolay Valerievich Urusov (Russia)

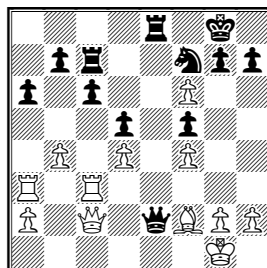
Scotch Game [C45]

Le Monde Illustré tourney-2 1889-93.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 d4 exd4 4 Nxd4 Bc5 5 Be3 Qf6 6 c3 Nge7 7 Qd2 Bxd4 8 cxd4 d5 9 Nc3 Be6 10 e5 Qg6 11 Ne2 f5 12 Nf4 Qf7 13 Nxe6 Qxe6 14 Rc1 0-0 15 Be2 Rac8 16 0-0 Nd8 17 f4 Nf7 18 Rc3 c6 19 Ra3 a6 20 Rf3 Ng6 21 Bf2 Rfe8

'Of course Black's idea is to plant a Kt at K5, and the beauty of White's play is that he appears to assist Black to accomplish it' – George Bellingham in the *Dudley Herald*, 5 Aug. 1893.

22 Rfb3 Rc7 23 Rc3 Nf8 24 Qc2 Nd7 25 b4 Nf6? 26 exf6 Qxe2



27 Re3!! 1-0.

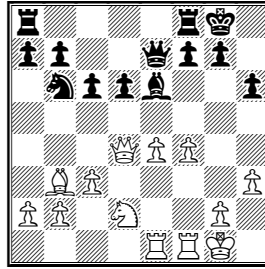
'Winning the black Queen for a Rook or forcing mate. A most elegant finish.'

(59) Mary Rudge – James Neill

Philidor Defence [C41]

Dublin Evening Mail tourney-2, 1890–2.*Dublin Evening Mail* 23 June 1892.

**1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 d6 3 d4 Nd7 4 Bc4 c6 5 Ng5 Nh6 6 c3 Nb6 7 Bb3 Qc7 8 0–0 Be7 9 h3 Bxg5
10 Bxg5 Ng8 11 Qd3 Ne7 12 Nd2 h6 13 Bxe7 Qxe7 14 f4 exd4 15 Qxd4 0–0 16 Rae1 Be6**



**17 e5 Rad8 18 exd6 Qxd6 19 Qxd6 Rxd6 20 Ne4 Rdd8 21 Bxe6 fxe6 22 Nc5 Rd2 23
Nxe6 Rf6 24 Rf2 Rxf2 25 Kxf2 Nd5 26 Kf3 b6 27 g3 Kf7 28 Nd8+ Kg6 29 Re6 Rxe6 30
Nxe6 Kf6 31 Nd4 Ne7 32 Ke4 g6 33 g4 a6 34 c4 b5 35 b3 c5 36 cxb5 cxd4 37 bxa6 Nc6
38 a3 Ke6 39 b4 1-0.**

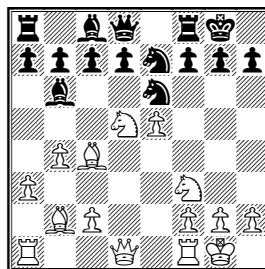
This game is illustrative of Mary Rudge's dry methodical style.

(60) Captain H. Weldon – W. Wallace

Two Knights Defence [C55]

Ireland v. West of England & Wales 1892–3.*Dublin Evening Mail* 20/4/1893: Weldon of Athy v. Wallace of Lewis.

**1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bc4 Nf6 4 d4 Nxe4 5 dxe5 Nc5 6 0–0 Be7 7 Nc3 Ne6 8 a3 0–0 9 Nd5
Bc5 10 b4 Bb6 11 Bb2 Ne7**



12 Nf6+!! Kh8?

Or if 12...gxf6 13 exf6 Ng6 14 Qd2 Ngf4 (14...Nef4 15 Bd3) 15 Bxe6 Nxe6 16 Qh6 Kh8 17 Ng5
and mate in three.

13 Qd3 gxf6

If 13...Ng6 14 Bxe6 dxe6 15 Qxd8 Rxd8 16 Ng5.

14 exf6 Ng6 15 Qd2 Rg8 16 Bxe6 dxe6 17 Qh6 Nf8

17...Qf8 18 Ng5!

18 Rad1 Qe8 19 Ng5 Bd7 20 Rd3 Rg6 21 Qh5 Ba4 22 Rh3 Bxc2 23 Nxh7 Rxc2+ 24 Kxg2 Nxh7 25 Rg3 Rd8 26 Qh6 Qf8 27 Rg7 Be4+ 28 f3 Bf5 29 Rd1 Be3 30 Rxh7+ Bxh7 31 Qg7+ Qxc7+ 32 fxg7+ Kg8 33 Rxd8 mate (1–0).

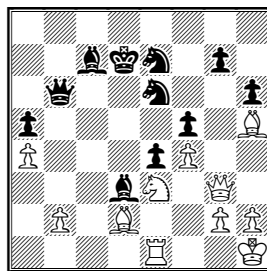
(61) Eliza Campbell Foot (USA) – William Steinitz

Two Knights Defence [C59]

Steinitz v. Foot friendly correspondence game, c. 1893-4.

Weekly Irish Times, 22/6/1912: 'An hitherto unpublished game played by correspondence by W. Steinitz'. Mrs Rowland may have obtained the score either from F. J. Lee or in the W. H. K. Pollock papers, which she edited (*Pollock Memories*). Foot was President of the New York Ladies' Chess Club. Lee wrote to Mrs Rowland on 4 Nov. 1896 mentioning this game (see the discussion in Landsberger's biography of Steinitz, pp. 276-7). It was played while Steinitz lived in Upper Montclair, New York State. Lee's source was Pollock, who may have stayed with Steinitz and worked as his secretary. That was after a shooting mentioned in the sources (which was in Nov. 1892) and probably before the first match with Lasker (1894), certainly before Hastings 1895 (when Pollock and Steinitz were in England). So a provisional dating of the game is 1893.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bc4 Nf6 4 Ng5 d5 5 exd5 Na5 6 Bb5+ c6 7 dxc6 bxc6 8 Be2 h6 9 Nf3 e4 10 Ne5 Qc7 11 f4 Bd6 12 d4 0–0 13 c3 c5 14 Na3 a6 15 Nc2 Bb7 16 0–0 Rac8 17 Qe1 Nd5 18 Ne3 Ne7 19 Qg3 cxd4 20 cxd4 Qb6 21 Nd7 Qa7 22 Nxf8 Kxf8 23 Bg4 Rc7 24 Bd2 Nac6 25 Kh1 Nxd4 26 Rac1 f5 27 Rxc7 Bxc7 28 Bd1 a5 29 Bc3 Ba6 30 Re1 Bd3 31 a4 Qc5 32 Bb3 Ke8 33 Bd1? Ne6 34 Bh5+?! Kd7 35 Bd2 Qb6



36 Nc4??

This puts the knight *en prise* yet the world champion does not take it! Perhaps a move pair is missing, but if White first played 36 Rd1 what is the missing black move? The most likely explanation is that Steinitz (who, Pollock told Lee, dictated the moves to his secretary without looking at the board) either failed to notice his opponent's blunder or gallantly continued to play for a loss. Why else not take the knight?

36...Qb8 37 Ne5+ Bxe5 38 fxe5 Qxb2 39 Qf2 Qd4 40 Qxd4+ Nxd4 41 Bxa5 Ndc6 42 Bc3 g6 43 Bd1 Nd5 44 Bb2 Nf4 45 Kg1 g5 46 Kf2 Na5 47 Bc3 Nc4 48 a5 e3+ 49 Kg1 Be4 50 a6 Bxg2 51 a7 1-0.

Black resigns, though there is no obvious reason to do so at this particular moment.

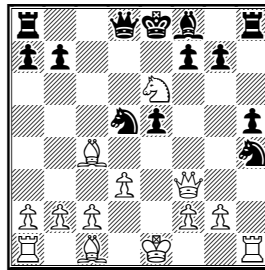
(62) Mrs Frideswide Rowland - Eliza Campbell Foot (USA)

Ruy Lopez [C65]

Ireland v America women's correspondence match 1893-5.

Dublin Evening Mail, 14 Nov. 1895.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bb5 Nf6 4 d3 Ne7 5 Nc3 Ng6 6 h4 h5 7 Ng5 c6 8 Bc4 d5 9 exd5 cxd5 10 Nxd5 Nxd5 11 Qf3 Be6 12 Nxe6 Nxh4



13 Nxd8?

Mrs Rowland intended Qxd5 but mistakenly wrote 'Kt takes Q' instead of 'Q takes Kt'. 13 Rxh4 would also have been strong.

13...Nxf3+ 14 gxf3 Rxd8 15 Bd2 Bc5 16 Rh2 Ne7 17 Be3 Bxe3 18 fxe3 Nf5 19 Bb5+ Ke7 20 Kf2 h4 21 e4 Nd4 22 Ba4 b5 23 Bb3 Nxb3 24 axb3 Ra8 25 Ra5 a6 26 c4 Rab8 27 c5 Ra8 28 b4 g5 29 Rh3 Ke6 30 Ke3 f5 31 d4 exd4+ 32 Kxd4 fxe4 33 Kxe4 Rhf8 34 Kd3 Rxf3+?? 35 Rxf3 1-0.

The game was commenced in August 1893 and terminated in August 1895. The *Dublin Evening Mail* of 7 Nov. 1895 announced Mrs Rowland's victory in the match, and the game also appeared in the *Lady's Pictorial* on 14 Dec. 1895. However, later Mrs Rowland wrote in the *Cork Weekly News*, 13 Feb. 1909, that Miss Foot eventually won a second game (not published).

(63) Prof. Philip Sandford – W. Brunton

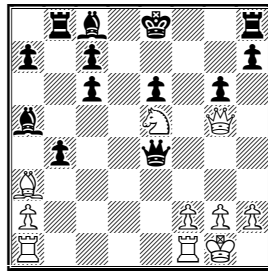
Evans Gambit [C52]

Dublin Evening Mail tourney-4, 1894

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bc4 Bc5 4 b4 Bxb4 5 c3 Ba5 6 d4 exd4 7 0-0 dxc3 8 Qb3 Qf6 9 e5 Qg6 10 Nxc3 Nge7 11 Ba3 Rb8 12 Nd5 Nxd5 13 Bxd5 b5 14 e6

Improving on 14 Rad1 of Chigorin-Mortimer, London 1883.

14...fxe6 15 Bxc6 dxc6 16 Ne5 Qe4 17 Qg3 g6 18 Qg5 b4



19 Rad1! 0–0 20 Bb2 Rb5 21 Nf7! e5

All this had happened before in Tarrasch-Kelz, Nuremberg 1889/90, but this was not generally known until Tarrasch's book *Dreihundert Schachpartien* was published in 1894. Sandford found the play from move 19 independently and came up with a more convincing final move than Tarrasch, who had played 22 Nh6+ Kh8 23 Rd8.

22 Qf6! 1-0.

Dublin Evening Mail 27 Dec. 1894 and republished many times. The identical game was repeated about two years later in another *Mail* postal game, H. Erskine-G. A. Thomas; apparently Erskine knew this game and the future British Champion did not.

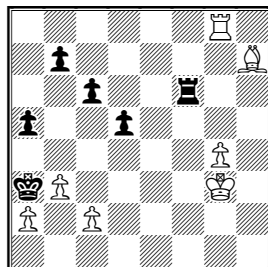
(64) Edinburgh Chess Club – Glasgow Chess Club

Boden-Kieseritzky Gambit [C42]

Edinburgh v. Glasgow match (1), 1898-9.

I.L.N. cxiii (22 Oct. 1898), p. 604.

1 e4 e5 2 Bc4 Nf6 3 Nf3 Nxe4 4 Nc3 Nxc3 5 dxc3 f6 6 0–0 Qe7 7 Re1 d6 8 Nd4 g6 9 f4 Bg7 10 Qf3 Kd8 11 b3 c6 12 Ba3 Kc7 13 Rad1 Rd8 14 Qd3 Bg4 15 Rd2 Qd7 16 h3 Bf5 17 Nxf5 gxf5 18 Qg3 d5 19 fxe5 fxe5 20 Rxe5 Bxe5 21 Qxe5+ Kb6 22 Qd4+ Kc7 23 Qf4+ Kb6 24 Be2 a5 25 Qf2+ Kc7 26 Bc5 Na6 27 Bb6+ Kb8 28 Bxd8 Qxd8 29 Bd3 Qg5 30 Re2 Kc7 31 Qxf5 Qxf5 32 Bxf5 h6 33 Re7+ Kb6 34 Rh7 Rf8 35 Bg6 Rf6 36 Rxh6 Nc5 37 h4 Ne4 38 h5 Kc5 39 Rh8 Nxc3 40 Rg8 Ne2+ 41 Kh2 Nf4 42 g4 Ne6 43 Kg3 Kb4 44 h6 Nf8 45 h7 Nxh7 46 Bxh7 Ka3



47 Rb8 1–0

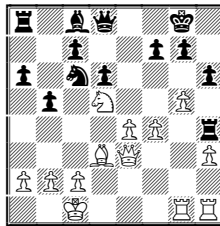
As in *I.L.N.*; the incorrect 47 Rg7 was in Pagni, whose source was Morgan's *Chess Digest*.

(65) Mrs Rhoda Bowles - Mrs Frideswide Rowland

Scotch Game [C45]

Hobbies tourney, Ladies' Division, 1900-1.Published with notes by Emanuel Lasker in *Womanhood*, April 1901.

**1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 d4 exd4 4 Nxd4 Bc5 5 Be3 Qe7 6 Nc3 Bxd4 7 Bxd4 Nf6 8 Bxf6 Qxf6
9 Nd5 Qd8 10 Qh5 0-0 11 Bd3 Re8 12 0-0-0 Re5 13 Qh3 d6 14 Qe3 a6 15 f4 Rh5 16 h3
b5 17 g4 Rh4 18 g5 h6 19 Rdg1**



‘The commencement of a brilliant attack.’

19...hgx5 20 Rxxg5 g6 21 Qg3 Rh6 22 e5 Nd4 23 Nf6+ Kg7 24 Rg1 Qh8 25 f5

‘Again an excellent manoeuvre, removing all obstacles in the shape of pawns.’

**25...Kf8 26 fxg6 Rxxg6 27 Rxxg6 fxg6 28 Qxxg6 Bb7 29 Nh7+ Ke7 30 Qf6+ Kd7 31 Rg7+
Kc6 32 b4**

Laying a trap into which the already weakened opponent had no need to fall in order to lose the game. As it was, the subtle idea was overlooked, and mate followed in 4, as the sequence shows.

32...Qe8 33 Be4+ Kb6 34 Qxd6+! Qc6 35 Qxd4+ 1-0.

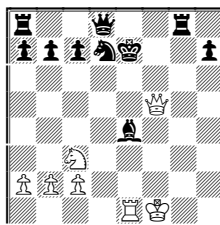
(66) Rev T. Hamilton – W. M. Brooke

King's Gambit [C37]

Rowland 'Crown' tourney-1, 1904

The Visitor, September 1904, p. 141.

**1 e4 e5 2 f4 exf4 3 Nf3 g5 4 Bc4 g4 5 Nc3 d6 6 0-0 gxf3 7 Bxf7+ Kxf7 8 Qxf3 Bh6 9 d4
Nf6 10 Bxf4 Bg4 11 Qf2 Bxf4 12 Qxf4 Rg8 13 e5 dxe5 14 dxe5 Nbd7 15 h3 Bxh3 16 Rad1
Bxxg2 17 e6+ Kxe6 18 Qf5+ Ke7 19 Rxd7+ Nxd7 20 Re1+ Be4+ 21 Kf1**



21...Rg1+! 0-1.

White resigns for if 22 Kxg1 Qg8+ soon wins the Queen, or if 22 Kf2 Rxe1.

(67) William Hewison Gunston – Rev Evan Griffiths

Ruy Lopez [C98]

B.C.M. Tourney Final 1910–12.

B.C.M., xl (1911), pp. 277–80.

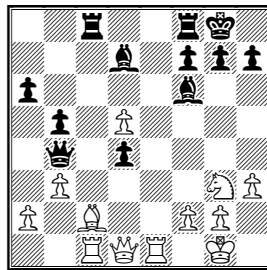
1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bb5 a6 4 Ba4 Nf6 5 0–0 Be7 6 Re1 b5 7 Bb3 d6 8 c3 Na5 9 Bc2 c5 10 d4 Qc7 11 Nbd2 Nc6 12 h3 0–0 13 Nf1 cxd4 14 cxd4 Nxd4 15 Nxd4 exd4 16 Bg5 Qc5!

Stronger than 16...h6 as played in the Lasker-Tarrasch match, 1908.

17 Bh4 Be6 18 Rc1 Qb4! 19 b3 d5

19...Rac8 first is correct.

20 Bxf6 Bxf6 21 exd5 Bd7 22 Ng3 Rac8



23 Nh5! Bg5! 24 f4 Bd8 25 Rf1 g6! 26 Ng3 Qd6 27 Qf3 f5 28 Bb1 Re8 29 Rce1 Rc5! 30 Rxe8+ Bxe8 31 Rd1 Qxd5 32 Qf2 Bb6 33 Kh2 Rc8 34 Ne2 Rd8 35 g4?

‘35 Nc1 and Nd3 would have made it more difficult.’

35...fxg4 36 hxg4 Bc6 37 Bd3 Re8 38 Rg1 Re3 39 Nc1 Rf3 40 Qd2 Bc7 0–1.

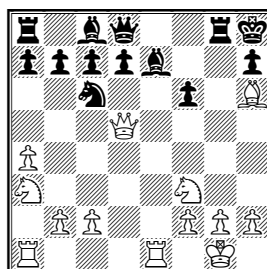
(68) Hugh Twomey – F. U. Beamish

Ruy Lopez [C67]

‘Silver Queen’ Irish Correspondence Championship–1 semi-final, 1910.

Weekly Irish Times, 14 Jan. 1911. Both men were from Cork (although Beamish may have been in England at this time). Twomey eventually won the championship.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 Bb5 Nf6 4 0–0 Nxe4 5 d4 Be7 6 Re1 Nd6 7 dxe5 Nxb5 8 a4 Na3 9 Nxa3 0–0 10 Bf4 f6 11 Qd5+ Kh8 12 exf6 gxf6 13 Bh6 Rg8



14 Rxe7 Nxe7 15 Ne5 Rf8 16 Qf7 1–0.

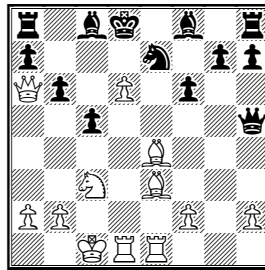
(69) Rev Frank E. Hamond – Rev. William Ernest Evill

Ponziani Opening [C44]

British Correspondence Chess Association championship 1915–16.

A famous correspondence chess queen sacrifice brilliancy, first published in the *British Correspondence Chess Association Magazine*, no. 20, Dec. 1915. Hamond, who had a late vocation (ordained 1908), had played in the British Championship of 1906 and on the last occasion he played in it (1929), he beat the winner, Mir Sultan Khan. He won the B.C.C.A. Championship three times in succession during the war.

1 e4 e5 2 Nf3 Nc6 3 c3 d5 4 Qa4 f6 5 Bb5 Nge7 6 exd5 Qxd5 7 d4 Bd7 8 Be3 exd4 9 cxd4 Ne5 10 Nc3 Nxf3+ 11 gxf3 Qf5 12 0–0–0 c6 13 Bd3 Qxf3 14 Rhe1 Kd8 15 Be4 Qh5 16 d5 c5 17 Qa5+ b6 18 Qa6 Bc8 19 d6



‘This wins. The possibilities are numerous.’

19...Bxa6 20 dxe7+ Kxe7

If 20...Kc7 21 Bf4+ Kc8 22 Rd8# or 20...Ke8 21 exf8Q+ with R, N and B against Q

21 Bxa8 Kf7

The toughest defence, 21...Bc4, is not in Hamond’s notes but White still wins. After 22 Bxc5+ Kf7 23 Rd7+ Kg6 24 Be4+ Kh6 (24...f5 25 Rg1+) 25 Be3+ g5 26 h4 Be6 (26...Qxh4 27 Rh1) 27 hxc5+ fxg5 28 Rd8 and White eventually wins back the queen by Rh1.

22 Rd7+ Ke6

The black Bishop cannot be saved. If 22...Be7 23 Bd5+ Kf8 24 Bf4.

23 Bc6 Bd6 24 f4 Bc8 25 Bxc5+ Be5 26 Re7+ 1-0.

After 26...Kf5 27 Be4+ Kxf4 28 Be3+ Kg4 29 Rxc7+ the Queen must interpose or mate in three follows.

Appendix IX) A-Z of Chess People

PEOPLE with variant names are listed under the name by which they were usually known in the chess world, with one exception. Following the *British Bibliographical Index*, married women are listed under their maiden surname, *where the full maiden name is known*.

For the sake of conciseness, dates are abbreviated in this appendix to British style (with months in the middle). The following abbreviations for main sources of dates and career information of people included have been used in this appendix but most facts are not individually attributed. (Where people are cited in several reference works, ones giving no additional information may be omitted.) For more on these sources, see the bibliography. Detailed sources are also stated in special cases, e.g. where obituaries provide more than basic information.

B.B.I. = *British Bibliographical Index*; *B.C.M.* = *British Chess Magazine*; *B.L.L.* = *Bell's Life in London*; Boase = *Modern English Biography*; *Bouquet* = *The Chess Bouquet* (Gittins); Burke = *Burke's Peerage & Baronetage*; *Century* = *A Century of British Chess* (Sergeant); Cokayne = *Complete Peerage*; *Columns* = *Chess Columns* (ed. Whyld); *Companion* = *Oxford Companion to Chess*; *C.P.C.* = *Chess Player's Chronicle*; Crock = *Crockfords Clerical Directories*; *D.N.B.* = *Dictionary of National Biography*; Edin = Edinburgh Chess Club correspondence and papers; *F.L.S.* = *The Four-Leaved Shamrock*; Foster = *Alumni Oxonienses*; Gaige = *Chess Personalia*; Hart = *Hart's Army Lists*; *I.L.N.* = *Illustrated London News*; *O.D.N.B.* = *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*; *T.C.D.* = *Catalogue of Graduates of T.C.D.* (but for graduates up to 1846, it means Burtchaell & Sadleir's more informative *Alumni Dublinenses*); Thom = *Thom's Irish Who's Who*, 1923; Times = *The Times* (London); Trinity = *Admissions to Trinity College Cambridge* (ed. Rouse Ball & Venn); Venn = *Alumni Cantabrigienses*; *W.W.W.* = *Who Was Who*.

a.k.a. = 'Also known as'. * = born; † = died. OTB = over-the-board chess.

A.

Abbott, Joseph William.

* 5.2.1840 Roxwell.

† 5.8.1923 London.

Problemist and chess editor, of *English Mechanic* (1872-6), *Ladies' Treasury* (1876-86), and *Illustrated London News* (1888-1923).

Adams, Rev Edward Aurelius.

* 2.12.1836 Newton Blossomville, Bucks.

† 7.9.1918 Brighton.

Correspondence chess player in Eastbourne, c. 1886-7.

Caius Cambridge 1856, B.A. 1860, ordained 1861; Perpetual Curate of St Johns, Eastbourne 1869-92 (formerly Bury St Edmunds and Marylebone); in 1895 retired to Brighton & Hove.

Sources: Crock, Venn, *Southern Weekly News* 22.5.1886; *Irish Sportsman* 6.8.1887 etc.

'A. E. of Manchester'.

See Eumorfopoulo.

Sources: *Birmingham Mercury*, 21.7.1855.

Alexandre, Aaron.

* 1766 (Hohenfeld, Bavaria).

† 16.11.1850 (London).

Rabbi, chess writer and teacher, took French citizenship. Removed to England c. 1837.

Initiated and played in the *Paris-Westminster* postal match, 1834-6.

Sources: Companion, Gaige; obituary in Berlin *Schachzeitung*, Jan. 1851, pp. 5-10.

Allan, Grant.

President of London Chess Club c. 1824-30.

Sources: London club membership list; Edin.

Angas, Silas a.k.a. 'Alpha', 'Sagna', 'S.A.'.

* 8.1.1814 West Brandon.

† 30.7.1867 Tynemouth.

Newcastle amateur, played in the *Home Circle* tourney. Often corresponded with chess editors.

Back in 1849 he had been involved in a consultation game 'played by Electric Telegraph, in the Polytechnic Exhibition, lately opened in Newcastle': *C.P.C.*, x (June 1849), pp. 278-9. In 1851 he had played in the Provincial Tournament of Staunton's 1851 London Chess Congress, but had drawn the strong opponent Samuel Boden (1826-82) in the first round, and was defeated 2-0.

Sources: Gaige; Howard Staunton (ed.), *The Chess Tournament* (London 1852), pp. 175-7.

Anthony, Edwyn.

* 23.8.1843 Madeley.

† 1.1.1932 London.

From Herefordshire.

Educated at Christ Church, Oxford, played top board in the second postal match v. Cambridge (1872), and in the first OTB varsity match, 1873. B.A. 1877; Barrister (Inner Temple) 1877.

Remained active in the chess world. Many years later he conducted a chess column in the *Hereford Times* and in 1890 published a booklet entitled *Chess Telegraphic Codes*. Brother of Charles

Anthony, the local newspaper proprietor. In *B.C.M.*, liii (1933), Locock [q.v.] described them as 'Steinitz's chief patrons'.

Sources: Foster, Gaige.

Archdall, Rev (later Canon) Thomas Hewan [a.k.a. Archdale].

* ??.1843 Ireland.

† 23.6.1924 Tanfield?.

Clergyman and chess expert; regular player in 1870s. Runner-up in the 1874 Counties Chess Association first class. Organiser of two postal tournaments, including the first European all-play-all correspondence tourney, 1876-7. Activity declined in 1880s; withdrew from Fraser's U.K. International, 1887.

The Archdalls are an Ulster family. In later years he changed the spelling of his name to 'Archdale', probably to indicate the pronunciation. Apparently he preferred to be known as 'Hewan' and gave one of his sons that name.

T.C.D. B.A. 1867; (3rd in 2nd cl; 1st in 1st cl. in Degree Exam and in Experimental Physics in Science and Art Dept., suggesting he was possibly a pupil of Monk [q.v.]).

Went to England: deacon 1868, ordained 1869; in Workington (1868-70, where he apparently met his wife), Bath (1870-3), Chester (1873-4; a member of Liverpool Chess Club at this time). 1870-4 was North of England Sec. for the Irish Society. Curate in Gateshead 1874. Vicar of Tanfield, Co Durham, from 1877 to at least 1915; patron of living was Ravensworth [q.v.]. Later Hon Canon of Durham.

Sources: *B.B.I.*, English censuses 1871-1901; Crock (especially 1876 edition), *T.C.D.*; *W.W.W.*; numerous chess sources.

Armstrong, James Septimus.

* 5.10.1891 Tubbercurry, Co. Sligo.

† ---.

Seventh son of Canon S. C. Armstrong [q.v.].

Twice Irish Correspondence Chess Champion.

T.C.D. undergraduate in 1914. Served in the Army Veterinary Corps from 1915; survived the torpedoing of the *Marquette* in the Aegean. Resuming his studies after the war, he was awarded the B.A. and B.A.O., B.Ch. and M.B. (medical degrees) 1924. Birth date above from Gaige, following Weenink, *The Chess Problem*, but *F.L.S.* said 1890.

Sources: *T.C.D.* (vol. 5, p.3), *F.L.S.* #56 (with photograph), *Cork Weekly News* 26.2.1916.

Armstrong, Rev James.

* ----.

† 30.4.1928 Castle Rock, Co. Derry.

T.C.D. B.A. 1864, ordained 1865. Incumbent of Castle Rock, Derry, since 1868.

Also a correspondence chess player, easily confused with above.

Sources: Crock, *F.L.S.*, *W.W.W.*

Armstrong [Rev Chancellor] Simon Carter.

* Aug. 1856 Manorhamilton, Co. Leitrim.

† 31.7.1942 Bray, Co. Wicklow.

Educated Rathmines School and T.C.D., B.A. 1885; ordained 1886 (Church of Ireland).

Rector of Kilrush 1911-23 (then retired to light duties in Finglas). Previously Incumbent of Templeberry, diocese of Killaloe (1894-1911). Canon of Lockeen in Killaloe cathedral 1909.

Chancellor of St Flannan's Cathedral, Killaloe 1917.

Correspondence chess player c. 1905-25; won the Irish correspondence championship at least once after the war; frequently mentioned in Mrs Rowland's chess writings. Father of James Septimus Armstrong [q.v.].

Sources: *B.B.I.*, Crock, *T.C.D.*, *F.L.S.* etc.

Aspa, Rosario.

* 1827 Messina, Italy.

† 1905 Leamington Spa.

Musician and member of Leamington club, but not a correspondence player. Friend of Bigland [q.v.]. Chess editor of the *Amateur Musician*, 1889 (three issues in the BL). His chess scrapbook is in the Cleveland Public Library.

Sources: Gaige, Memoirs in *B.C.M.* 1897 pp. 357-62; obit. *B.C.M.* 1905 p. 426.

Atkins, C. T.

Dates. education. career unknown.

Problem composer and correspondence player in the 1850s, probably played in the *Home Circle* tourney as 'Contentment'.

From 12 Feb. to 10 Dec. 1853, the *Southern Times*, of Weymouth, ran a chess column apparently edited by Atkins, including some postal games. In 1859 he moved to Norwich and was mentioned in Rainger's *Norfolk News* column on 29 Oct. He had problems published in several columns.

Atkins, Henry Ernest.

* 20.8.1872 Leicester.

† 31.1.1955 Huddersfield.

Educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge. Schoolmaster and master strength amateur player.

Winner of the British Amateur Championship (Newnes Challenge Cup) 1895, 1897 and 1900. Nine times British Chess Champion.

Only known involvement in correspondence chess was with the Cambridge University team in its 1892-3 and 1893-4 matches against Dublin University. Played first board for Cambridge v. Oxford in the 1891-4 varsity matches.

Sources: Companion, Gaige; *Dublin Evening Mail*, 9.6.1892; *B.C.M.* xiv (1894) pp. 340-1.

Auten, W. N. a.k.a. 'W. N. A.'

Dates. education.career unknown.

Plymouth player in 1850s. Competed in both the first two correspondence tournaments: *Home Circle* and *Birmingham Mercury*, being mentioned in both several times.

Ayre, F. F.

Dates. education.career unknown.

Hull chess player. On the English team in Fraser's U. K. International tourney.

Aytoun, Capt. M. W. C.

Member of the Edinburgh Chess Club committee against London.

Sources: Gaige p. 17 lists a James Aytoun (d. 1881 aged 84: death notice *The Times* 7 Apr 1881 p.1 col.1) ; he may be related, but 'James' does not match initials in Edinburgh papers.

B.

Baird, Frederick.

* 16.02.1880 Manchester.

† ---.

Co-editor of the short-lived *The Chess Review: a fortnightly magazine* in Aug. 1907.

Chess editor of the *Cricket and Football Field*.

Baird, Mrs W. J.

see *Winter Wood, Edith Elina Helen*.

Baker, Rev Abel Frank

West of England chess player, active member of the B.C.C.A. c. 1909-15 at least.

London B.A. 1881; Vicar of Egg Buckland, Devon 1901-1920 at least.

Sources: Crock; chess match lists in various columns.

Ballard, Charles H. R.

Personal details unknown.

Chichester. Winner of the *Hull Bellman* correspondence tourney.

Ballard,

Louisa Mathilda.

(Mrs J. G. Fagan)

* 9.1.1850 Naples.

† 11.08.1931.

Sources: Gaige (p. 113),

B.C.M., li (1931), pp.

456-7 (obituary with picture).



A sister of Dr William Robert Ballard (1846-1933), a prominent member of the St George's Club in London. Her husband was an army officer in India when she won the 1882 chess tournament of the Bombay Gymkhana (Sports Club). Contributed chess problems as 'Deesa' to the *Westminster Papers*. She was runner-up in the 1897 Ladies International, nominally representing Italy where she was born and had lived for some years.

Said to have had a chess column in *The Vegetarian* (not seen).

Balson, H.

Derby correspondence player, c. 1882-92; winner of some tournaments.

No other information.

Barry, Charles J.

Personal information unknown, *floruit* 1900-34. Probably unrelated to the following player.

One of the strongest Dublin players for ten or more years either side of the First World War, playing over-the-board and by correspondence. Dublin Chess Club member 1921. First Leinster Champion 1912; then lost the Irish Championship qualifying match to O'Hanlon [q.v.], who went on to beat Rynd). Leinster Champion again as late as 1934.

Sources: Dublin Chess Club papers; chess columns.

Barry, George Frith.

* c. 1837 Buttevant, Co. Cork.

† 14.2.1891 Dublin, aged 54.

Civil servant; international cricketer and chessist. See group photograph in Appendix IX.

Ger Siggins has calculated that Ireland teams played twenty -six cricket matches between 1858 and 1877; George Barry played in twenty -two of them and was captain on at least ten of those occasions. Already in 1860 he was one of nine amateurs included in Charles Lawrence's United Eleven of Ireland that toured Scotland. His brother Samuel also played both games to a good standard. George Barry remained an important figure in Leinster Cricket Club and Irish cricket in general until his death.

Runner-up in the second tournament at the 1865 Dublin Congress; third in the Irish tournament. First winner of Dublin Chess Club's Cordner Cup. Probable winner of the first Irish postal tournament, 1871. Runner-up in Fraser's U.K. International Correspondence Tourney. Chess editor of the *Irish Fireside*, 1883 -4.

Other sources: Lawrence's Irish cricket annuals; G. A. MacDonnell, *The Knights and Kings of Chess*, pp. 123-4; cricket reports in *The Field*; obituaries e.g. *B.C.M.* 1891 p. 171; Siggins & Fitzgerald, *Ireland's 100 Cricket Greats*.

Barry, Samuel.

Dates unknown.

Elder brother of George Barry [q.v.]; also chess and cricket player but appears to have given up both games in the early 1870s. Like his brother, Samuel Barry played in the Irish team that defeated the M.C.C. at Lord's on 26-7 May 1862. The brothers were also both involved in both the telegraph chess matches v. Belfast, 1861 -2.

Other sources: Lawrence's Irish cricket annuals; *Bell's Life in London*, 1 June 1862.

Battersby, A. F.

Competitor in *Hobbies* tournaments and B.C.C.A. member. In 1947 wrote the book *Chess for the Rank and File* (with W. L. Roche).

Baxter, Rev Arthur William.

* 1.1.1865 Manchester.

† 10.6.1922 Manchester or Rochdale?

Known to be playing correspondence chess, in Rochdale 1905. Disappears from Crock after 1915. Matriculated 19.10.1883 Lincoln Coll., Oxford; B.A. 1887. Curate in Bolton 1894, in Rochdale 1899-1903. Vicar St James Rochdale 1903-?; also Vicar University of Manchester 1904.

Sources: Crock, Foster, Gaige.

Baxter, Charles R.

Dates unknown.

A leading member of the Dundee Chess Club for many years. Won his game against a strong opponent in the 1886-7 *Ireland-Scotland* correspondence match. There were also (possibly

related) Daniel Baxter [q.v.] and Crichton M. Baxter, d. 1881 (*Hull Packet* 4 Feb. 1881, quoting *Dundee Advertiser*).

Sources: Walsh, *Story of the Dundee Chess Club*.

Beamish, F. U.

Dates unknown.

One of the three leading players in Cork, c. 1904-15, competing in numerous correspondence events and local matches. Possibly related to the brewing family. Also associated with Gloucestershire chess before World War One. Arrested on suspicion of spying in Cork in August 1914 when caught looking a pocket chess set in a park; soon released. Had a brother (Arthur E. Beamish) who also played chess.

Sources: *Cork Weekly News*; Rowland chess columns.

Beardsell, Thomas John. (sometimes seen as 'Beardsall')

* c. 1841.2 London.

† 1886 London.

Leading player in the working-class Bermondsey Chess Club, first winner of the W.M.C.I.U.'s first tournament for London working men's clubs. Also a member of the City of London Chess Club by 1874. Occasionally played by correspondence, but not in tourneys. Contributed an article about chess clubs to Bland's *Directory* (1882 edition).

Duffy noted that 'for many years past [he] has done good service in assisting the spread of chess in the working-men's clubs of the metropolis and its suburbs.' Beardsell can be found in the 1861, 1871 and 1881 censuses, living at various addresses in Bermondsey; he was born either in 1841 or 1842. Up to the 1881 census, he had not married but lived with his mother Jane (then 75) as in 1861; in 1871 he was a lodger in another household. In 1861 his occupation is given as 'messenger at wholesale stationers', in 1871 'stationer' and in 1881 'wholesale stationer'.

1880-1 Bermondsey was the most successful club in inter-club matches in London. The Staunton medal for the best individual result on behalf of the leading club was awarded to Beardsell that year; he had ten wins, two draws and two losses. (There was no London league at that time; the two biggest clubs, the City of London and St George's probably did not compete for this honour.) Potter wrote in *Land and Water* that:

The Bermondsey Chess Club has always stood very high in our estimation. Its members owe nothing to social advantages or to the patronage of anyone. Sturdy and independent, what their club is and what they as individual players are they owe to themselves alone.

Sources include: censuses; *I.L.N.*, lv (1869), pp. 443 & 523; *I.L.N.*, lxix (5 Aug. 1876), p. 143; *I.L.N.* obituary 27 Nov. 1886, p. 595; *The Field*, xlv (17 Oct. 1874) p. 419; *Land and Water*, xxviii (27 Dec. 1879) p. 551; *Land and Water*, xxxi (21 May 1871) p. 391, 28 May (p. 409), and 18 June (p. 469).

Bee, Rev Robert.

* ____.

† 1910.

Chess player in northern England. Played in 2nd *B.C.M.* Correspondence Tourney 1908.

St Aidan's 1875 (theological Coll.?); deacon 1877, ordained 1878. various curacies (Wigan mission, Grangetown, Glaisdale etc.). From 1906, Vicar of Garthorpe, diocese of Peterborough.

Sources: Crock; *I.L.N.* 3.9.1910 p. 372 (death).

Beechey, Frideswide Fanny

(Mrs T. B. Rowland).

* 18.4.1845 Galway.

(Most sources state 1843 or 1855; rounded down age in 1881 census.)

† 25.2.1919 Bray, Co. Wicklow.



See the case study in Chapter Seven. Problemist, chess editor, author, correspondence player, and tournament organiser.

Daughter of Rear-Admiral R. B. Beechey [q.v.]; grand-daughter of Sir William Beechey, society portrait painter. Lived principally in Plymouth from 1860s to 1882, then in Matlock (Derbyshire) before returning permanently to Ireland. Married Thomas Rowland [q.v.] on 5 June 1884; they had three daughters, of whom two died in early infancy.

Additional sources: Baptism record; birth, marriage and death certificates of self and children; will; Irish censuses 1901 and 1911. See also the sources cited in Chapter 7. On her father, see Denys Brook-Hart, *British 19th century marine painting* (Woodbridge 1974) and Walter G. Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, i (Dublin & London 1913), pp. 53-4. Also *O.D.N.B.*, iv, p. 804, as an appendix to an article on one of his brothers.

Belden, John G.

* 12.1.1833 Wethersfield, CT, USA.

† 14.5.1886 Wethersfield, CT, USA.

Sources: Gaige;

Hartford Times obituary.



Newspaperman and some-time county gaoler.

Influential American chess editor (*Hartford Weekly Times*) and organiser of the American side of the 1877-81 Postcard Match (see Chap. V).

Bell, Rev John.

* Feb. 1827 Uppingham.

† 24.4.1883 Brington.

Rector of Brington-cum-Old Weston-cum-Bythorne 1857-83 lived Brington rectory, Kimbolton.

Winner of the first *C.P.C.* Handicap Correspondence Tourney 1878-9.

Matriculated Clare Coll. Cambridge 1846, B.A. & Fellow 1850; deacon 1852, ordained 1854.

Assistant master at King Edward's School, Birmingham, 1856.

Sources: Crock; Gaige; Venn; *C.P.C.* 1879 p. 231.

Bellingham,

George Edward H.

* Sept 1874 Dudley, Worcs.

† ---

(possibly in First World War).

Sources: *Bouquet*; census;

Gaige; *Dudley Herald*.



One of the strongest English amateurs from about 1893-1904, when he apparently gave up chess soon after competing in the first BCF British Championship.

Runner-up to Blake in the third *Dublin Evening Mail* correspondence tourney.

Chess editor of the *Dudley Herald*, 25.4.1891-1.6.1895, organising a small postal tournament in 1893.

Bellingham played correspondence chess to a good standard while still a teenager: runner-up to Blake in the 3rd *Dublin Evening Mail* tournament. Thereafter he played over-the-board. He was on the British team for several of the cable matches (1897-1903) and finished fourth in the first B.C.F. Championship, 1904, and equal fourth with Blackburne in 1905. A solicitor in the 1901 census, he was living at home with his younger siblings and his widowed father, a surgeon.

Benbow, Charles W.

b 13.2.1842 Birmingham.

† 9.3.1908 Wellington, New Zealand.

Active Midlands chess player from about 1863 until his emigration to the antipodes, where he continued to play chess and from 1880 edited a chess column in the *New Zealand Mail*. Won one of the correspondence tournaments organised by *Young Men of Great Britain* (but it is uncertain which one).

Also played in the first correspondence draughts tournament of the *Gentleman's Journal*, 1870.

Sources: *The Field*, lv (17 Jan. 1879), p. 71; obituaries in *B.C.M.*, xxviii (1908), pp. 211 and 284. *The Field*, lv (17 Jan. 1879), p. 71; obituaries in *B.C.M.*, xxviii (1908), pp. 211 and 284; Gaige.

Bengough, Major-General Sir Harcourt Mortimer (CB).

* 25.11.1837.

† 30.2.1922 Gloucester.

President of the B.C.C.A., 1910-1922.

He was probably born around 1837 as he purchased a commission as Ensign in the 77th (East Middlesex) Regiment of Foot on 22 March 1855. He was promoted Lieutenant 3 Oct. 1855, Captain (by purchase) 30 Dec. 1864, passed Staff Coll. Dec. 1876, gazetted Major 1878, saw service in the Zulu war and was promoted Lieut-Col. 1881. He went on half-pay in 1882 when he served as Assistant Adjutant General in the Madras administration for several years, apart from a period in 1885-6 as quartermaster-general on the Burma expedition. Promoted Brigadier-General, 8 Nov 1886, in charge of various Indian districts and then in Jamaica (Oct. 1893), Major-General 13 Feb 1894; retired 1898 (*The Times*, 26 Nov. p. 12). KCB 1908.

According to the *Chess Amateur*, x (Mar 1916), p. 163, Bengough was 'the inventor of an ingenious war-game' called 'Bellax', probably during his retirement before World War One.

Sources include: Hart; *India Lists*; *The Times*, 1 Apr. 1922, p. 1; *W. W. W.*

Berry, Dr A.

First president of Edinburgh chess club, 1822-?.

Presented a gold cup for competition among members.

Not to be confused with a Dr Barry who was implicated in the Burke and Hare case.

Bigland, Wilson.

* c. 1825.

† 1855.

Son of Rear-Admiral Wilson Braddyll Bigland (1788-1855), and considered to be an accomplished player. Severely physically handicapped after an accident in his youth, but Aspa's account of his life is possibly romanticised: Bigland did not matriculate at Oxford.

Correspondence opponent of Lord Lyttelton. In 1855 he and Lyttelton also met over the board: *Era*, 22 July 1855 (with a correction on the 29th). Bigland died later that year.

Source: Aspa's memoirs in *B.C.M.*, xvii (1897), pp. 357-62.

Bilguer, Paul Rudolf von.

* 21.9.1815 Ludwigslust, GER.

† 16.9.1840 Berlin, GER.

Member (along with Bledow, Horwitz, v. d. Lasa and others) of the group of German players known as the 'Pleiades'. English chess-players often referred to subsequent editions of the *Handbuch des Schachspiels* as 'Bilguer' although he was long dead.

Bird, Henry Edward.

* 14.7.1830 Portsea, Hants.

† 11.4.1908 London.

Master strength chess player at his best. At first an amateur, and worked as statistics accountant. First as clerk 1846-57, then partner, for firm of Coleman, Turquand, Young and Company [Fraser said Turquand Colman], in where he helped to place Duffy [q.v.]. Apparently an expert on the economics of railways, on which he published two short monographs.

Said to have been '... much occupied in investigations in the crises of 1847, 1857, 1867; travelled in Canada and America 1860, 1862, 1865, 1866; gave evidence before Committee of Parliament on Amalgamations of Home Railways; thanked for framing the tables and statistics upon which the Great Eastern Railway was afterwards conducted.' (*W.W.W.* p. 64)

Resigned partnership under unclear circumstances according to Fraser correspondence; might be considered a 'shamateur' then.

Chess editor of the *Sheffield Independent* until Nov. 1883 and author of several unreliable chess books, including *Chess History and Reminiscences*. *W.W.W.* said 'memory unique even in old age'.

Sources: *B.B.I.*, Gaige; G. B. Fraser letters to J. G. White; *W. W. W.*; MacDonnell, *Knights and Kings*, pp. 43-48.

Birks, James.

Correspondence player (active 1890-1902 approx.); originally from Shropshire.

Played in several Fraser correspondence chess tourneys of the 1890s (games in Fraser's book).

Source: *B.C.M.*, xxvii (pp. 275-6) has photograph and profile – saying he had lived nearly all his life in Yorkshire & Durham. At about age 3, his parents moved to Sheffield. In 1872 he moved to West Hartlepool.

Blackburne, Joseph Henry.

* 10.12.1841 Manchester.

† 1.9.1924 London.

Leading professional chess player, famous for his exhibitions of blindfold play.

Entered a postal tournament in the *London Journal* (1859): see p. 340-1. Named on the City of London Chess Club committee v. Vienna, 1872, but soon withdrew.

Several sources printed Blackburne's birth date as 10 Dec. 1842 but in 1963 *B.C.M.* obtained a certified copy of his birth certificate showing that 1841 is correct.

Sources: *B.C.M.*, lxxxiii (June 1963), pp. 180-1 & July 1963, p. 219; Gaige; *Who was who 1916-27*.

Blackmore, Richard Doddridge.

* 7.6.1825 Longworth, Brks.

† 20.12.1900 Teddington, Surrey.

Educated at Blunden's School, Taunton, and matriculated Exeter Coll. Oxford 7.12.1843, aged 18.

B.A. 1847, barrister (Middle Temple) 7.6.1852. Barrister, teacher, novelist and horticulturalist; best known as author of *Lorna Doone*.

Social chess player, patron of Steinitz; member of the City of London Chess Club at one time.

Sources: Foster, *O.D.N.B.* biographies and critical works on Blackmore (see case study in Chapter 6); MSS in the British Library.

Blake, Joseph Henry.

* 3.2.1859 Farnborough

[or 1857 in one source].

† 11.12.1951 Kingston-upon-Thames.

Sources: Profiles in *B.C.M.*, xii (Nov. 1892) pp. 465-8, including a picture, and *Chess-Monthly*, xvi (Jan. 1894); *Century*; Gaige; BMD and census information.



Strongest English correspondence player of the nineteenth century but mostly competed only over-the-board after marrying and moving to London around the turn of the century. (A Southampton railway clerk, and son of a railway clerk, he was possibly promoted to Head Office or the Railway Clearing House.)

Successes included winning the 3rd and 4th *Dublin Evening Mail* postal tourneys, and second place in the second *Le Monde Illustré* postal tournament.

Winner of the 1887 and 1892 Counties' Association championships. Thereafter one of the leading London amateurs, tying with H. Atkins in the 1909 British Championship tournament, but losing the play-off. Enjoyed a remarkable 'Indian summer' of master-level performances against international opponents in English events 1922-3. For many years was Games Editor for *British Chess Magazine*. Probably (with help from Tattersall [q.v.]) the principal organiser of the 1908-12 *B.C.M.* correspondence tournament.

Blanshard, Charles Thomas.

* 26.1.1852 Leeds.

† Aug. 1924.

Chess editor and amateur player. Organised the two Anglo-Bohemia correspondence chess matches of 1905-8 and jointly edited the chess column in the *Western Daily Mercury*.

Later moved to Dudley; apparently in the carpet business. Also compiled, translated several minor chess books listed in the bibliography.

Bledow, Ludwig Erdmann.

* 27.7.1795 Berlin.

† 6.8.1846 Berlin.

One of the 'Pleiades' group. Compiler of the first published collection of correspondence chess games (see Bibliography).

Blunden, Sir John (3rd Bart.).

* 21.12.1814 Kilkenny.

† 17.1.1890 Kilkenny.

Admitted T.C.D. 2.12.1833, aged 19; B.A. 1837, barrister Lincoln's Inn Easter 1838, Dublin bar 1840 (later senior counsel).

Said to have been one of the Co. Waterford chess circle of the 1830s inspired by Capt. Evans.

Belonged to several chess clubs in Dublin; president of the (City and County of) Dublin Chess Club 1870 until his death. Said to have been (after George Salmon) the second strongest player in Ireland in the 1850s. Vice-President of the first British Chess Association, taking the chair at Bristol 1861 in the absence of Lyttelton [q.v.]. First board for the Dublin Library Club in the telegraph match against Liverpool on 26 Oct. 1861; Salmon 'was not able to attend'.

Sources: *T.C.D.*; *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage*; Boase supplement; *King's Inns Admission Papers* 1607-1867 p. 42; *Belfast News-Letter*, 30 Oct. 1861.

Boden, Samuel Standidge.

* 4.4.1826 Hull.

† 13.1.1882 London.

Strong English player, author of the anonymous book *A popular introduction to the study and practice and chess, forming a compendium of the science of the game, by an amateur* (London 1851). Edited the chess column of *The Field*, 1858-70 (approx.); see Appendix II. Then retired to concentrate on his hobby of painting.

Sources include: *Century*; *Columns*; Gaige; MacDonnell, *Knights and Kings*.

Bolland, Rev William Ernest.

* 26.5.1847 New Plymouth, New Zealand.

† 29.5.1919 Oxford.

Chess player, entered 2nd *B.C.M.* Correspondence Tourney 1908.

Clergyman, teacher, and writer.

Matriculated Merton Coll., Oxford 19.10.1867, aged 20. B.A. 1872, deacon 1875. Assistant master at Bedford Grammar School 1874-9 (where he would have been a colleague of James Pierce [q.v.]).

Head of Worcester Cathedral School 1879-96. Later Vicar of Embleton, Newcastle-on-Tyne and from 1905-? Rector of Denton, Norfolk.

Sources: Crock, Foster; Gaige; *Norwich Mercury* 1.7.1908; *B.C.M.* 1909 & 1919.

Bolton, Rev Horatio.

* 2.6.1793 Hollesley.

† 15.8.1873 Thorpe.

Clergyman and eminent chess problem composer. Godson of Admiral Nelson.

Rector of Oby & Vicar of Docking, Norfolk 1829-73.

Matriculated Caius Coll. Cambridge 24.2.1814; B.A. 1818, ordained 1821.

Sources: Boase, Crock, Gaige, Venn.

Bone, William.

* 31.8.1810

† 14.12.1874

Chess problem composer. George Walker's opponent in an early correspondence game, c. 1830.

Sources: *C.P.C.* 1874-5 p. 252; Gaige.

Bourdonnais, Louis-Charles Mahé de la *a.k.a.* Labourdonnais.

* 1797 La Réunion

† 13.12.1840 London.

French chess master. See Gaige p. 49.

Bourn[e], Thomas.

Dates and personal details unknown.

Whitby player, sometimes confused with Amos Burn [q.v.], apparently moved to south-west England in mid-1870s. Although possibly references to Thomas Bourn (Clifton) and Thomas Bourne (Clevedon) could be to different people, this seems improbable.

If it is one person, not two (or three), he was a very active postal player from about 1868-86.

Bourn of Whitby won 1868 private correspondence matches with Barry [q.v.] and Rynd [q.v.] and was winner of the first *C.P.Q.C.* tourney 1870-3.

Bowles, (Mrs) Rhoda A.

maiden name unknown.

* _____

† Dec. 1931.

Sources: interview in *Hearth and Home*, 1.4.1897;

profile and obit in *B.C.M.; Century*.



Player, organiser (London Ladies Club, London 1897 Ladies' International etc.), and chess editor of *Womanhood*. Ran the six *Womanhood* international tournaments. Wife of Harold L. Bowles of the Cambridge University and Metropolitan chess clubs.

Credited with inspiring Steinitz to his brilliant win against Von Bardeleben at Hastings 1895.

Boyd, John Thomson.

* 18.12.1878 Liverpool.

† 9.3.1962 Southampton.

Worked c. 1900 as a druggist's assistant in Westport, Co. Mayo, where he joined its first chess club. Played in the *Ireland v. Devon* correspondence match of 1908. Contributed a short article about his chess career to *B.C.C.A. Magazine*, Sept. 1949.

Compiled manuscripts on early Lancashire and Manchester chess, deposited in the Manchester Central Library. In the bibliography of his *Beginnings*, Harvey, who discovered these MSS, attributed these to 'Bryn' due to misreading the admittedly almost indecipherable signature. Possibly the same as the 'J. T. Thompson' who conducted some chess columns in Manchester between the world wars, discovering the information about the 1825-6 Leeds-Manchester match.

Brackenbury, Rev Edmond Bennet.

* c. 1842.

† c. 1915.

Clergyman. Played in the 4th *Dublin Evening Mail* correspondence tournament and at least one tourney organised by Fraser during the 1890s.

Matriculated Exeter Coll. Oxford 24.1.1863, age 19; B.A. 1867, no Irish angle. In minor clergy positions Bristol, Bournemouth etc. In 1895 p154 in Ashford, Kent, no church position. 1898-1901 Chaplain East Ashford Union. Went to Cannes as chaplain in 1901 and held various posts in diocese of Gibraltar (San Remo, Mentone). Disappears from Crock after 1915.

Sources: Crock, Foster; *Dublin Evening Mail* 24.1.1895 (placing him in Ashford).

Brand, John (sometimes 'Brande').

* c. 1792.

Educated Winchester School and Trinity Coll. Cambridge. Trinity shows admitted as a pensioner 28.12.1809, but matriculated 1811, B.A. 1814 so probably born about 1792?

Member of the London Chess Club committee against Edinburgh.

Surname appears as Brande in Babbage and some chess sources but as 'Brand' in Venn, *Alumni Cambridge*, and *Admissions to Trinity Coll. Cambridge* as well as the membership list of the London club.

Charles Babbage, grandfather of the computer, was his contemporary at Cambridge (he matriculated 1810) and often played chess with him.

Brand was declared a lunatic 'without lucid intervals' after several hearings in August 1830. One of the 'incontestable proofs' of his insanity was said to be that he 'squandered away about £1,300 upon one chess player', although this was possibly charity for Sarratt (q.v.) who had been in bad circumstances before his death. London Chess Club members Nathaniel Domett [q.v.] and Samuda (named as 'Ephraim Samuta') were among the witnesses who said Brand was not mad.

Sources: Babbage, *Passages from the life of a philosopher*; Trinity; Venn; 'Commission of Lunacy' in *The Times* 18.8.1830, 21.8.1830, 23.8.1830, 26.8.1830, and 2.9.1830.

Braund, Frederick Norman.

Dates and personal details unknown.

Correspondence games known from about 1885 -1911. (Unclear if a 'Feston Braund' sometimes mentioned latterly was the same person.) Sometimes submitted games against an anonymous opponent to the *I.L.N.*

Bremner, John C.

Dates personal details unknown.

Chess problemist and player from Broughty Ferry, Scotland. Played some correspondence events, e.g. on the Scottish team in Fraser's U.K. International. Active 1886-91 at least.

Bremridge, Rev Henry.

* Nov 1854 Morchard Bishop, England.

† 28.8.1913 (near) London.

Clergyman and chess player. Competed in the 2nd *Womanhood* correspondence tourney 1902 and captained the Devon correspondence team against Ireland 1907-8.

From Devon; matriculated St John's Coll. Oxford 18.4.1874; B.A. 1878, ordained 1880. Vicar of Winkleigh, Devon, from 1887. Crock 1905 mistakenly marked him as recently deceased.

Sources: Crock, Foster (as 'Brembridge'), Gaige; *Weekly Irish Times* 25.4.1908.

Brewer, H.

Personal details unknown.

A mystery. Played in correspondence draughts tournament organised by the *Boy's Journal* in 1864. Strong correspondence chess player in the 1870s (living in Bournemouth), won one game from American master Eugene Delmar in the Postcard Match. Then disappears from view around 1879, coincident with his collapse in the first *C.P.C.* Handicap tournament. He possibly had a personal crisis or emigrated. William Nash was unable to contact him in 1881 to check his results.

Apparently re-emerges (assuming it is the same person) as a strong postal player between 1901-11, first in Herne Hill (London) and then in Devon.

Bridgwater, W.

Dates.personal details unknown.

Birmingham amateur. Won the first *B.C.M.* correspondence tourney 1882-3.

Brien, Robert Barnett

* 25.1.1827 London?

† 9.6.1873 London.

Matriculated at Balliol Coll. in 1845 but took his B. A. in 1850 through Lincoln Coll., which seems to have been the heart of the Oxford University Hermes Chess Club. Brien was named on their committee that won the 1847-8 correspondence match against Trinity Coll. Cambridge.

Editor of *Chess Player's Chronicle*, approx. Aug 1854-6, for which he previously wrote sometimes as 'Oxoniensis'. Possibly associated with the 1859 revival of the magazine.

Sources: Foster, Gaige.

Briggs, Rev Hugh Curren.

* 26.5.1846 Rockfield, Monmouth.

† 30.1.1915 Paignton.

Playing correspondence chess events 1892-6 and 1904-5 at least, always described as 'Rev H. C. Briggs'. Assuming this is the right man, and the Plymouth residence in 1892 matches (by 1895 he was in Birmingham), the question arises why he disappears from *Crockford* by 1895? Possible explanations are that he left the Anglican communion for another church, or that he continued to call himself Rev while holding no clerical position. (The family website that provided his birth date has no details of his later life but mentions that his father's family had been dissenters.).

Hugh Curren Briggs (the only possible match in *Crock* 1885-90) was from Monmouth, matriculated Worcester Coll. Oxford 8.6.1865, age 19; B. A. 1868, ordained 1870. After various curacies, was Curate of All Souls Plymouth 1882-90 at least.

Sources: Crock, Foster; obituary *Cork Weekly News* 13.2.1915; various chess columns; www.stowell.org.nz/surnames.briggs203d.html.

Brooke, William Montagu.

* 1861 London.

† 28.6.1939 Southborough, ENG.

Said to be a T.C.D. man but took no degree as he is not listed among graduates. Mrs Rowland said he was from a distinguished Dublin family, which is perhaps only in apparent contradiction with the above information from Gaige.

Tunbridge Wells amateur; mentioned several times in *The Field* as participating in Kent events. Kent Champion 1906 and 1923. Correspondence player 1899-1916 at least. Won the first Silver

Queen trophy for the Irish Correspondence Chess Championship outright by three successive wins, 1914-16.

Chess column (says Whyld) in the *Kent and Sussex Courier* and (post-war) the *Tunbridge Wells Advertiser*.

Other source: *Times* 30.6.1939.

Brown, Bertram Goulding.

* 5.7.1881 London.

† 22.8.1965 Cambridge?

Educated Westminster School and Cambridge. Matriculated Trinity Coll. 1900, B.A. 1903.

Director of studies in History at Emmanuel Coll. and Downing Coll.; chess writer. Contributed a chapter to the posthumous Murray *Short History of Chess*.

Played in the 1902-3 North v. South of England correspondence match, and for Cambridge v.

Oxford in the 1901-4 varsity matches.

Sources: Gaige, Venn.

Brown,

Isaac McIntyre.

* 13.8.1858.

† 29.6.1934 Bradford.

Yorkshire player and

Editor of *B.C.M.* from Dec. 1893-Dec. 1919.



Brown, John *a.k.a.* 'J. B. of Bridport'.

* 30.5.1827 Bridport.

† 17.11.1863 Bridport.

Problemist. Posthumous book of his compositions was edited (anonymously) by Rainger [q.v.].

Brown, Reginald A. *a.k.a.* 'G. D. of Leeds'.

* 20.6.1812 Doncaster.

† 1879 London.

Leeds chess player and problemist in the early Victorian period. On the Leeds club committee for the correspondence matches with Liverpool, 1838-41.

Author of *Chess Problems* (1844), which also includes the fullest account of those matches.

Other source: Gaige.

Brown, Valentine.

See Cecil de Vere.

Brownsmith, Telemachus (pseud.).

Name on the title page for the *Westminster Chess Club Papers* (first volume of the *Westminster Papers*), which was afterwards edited by Mossop [q.v.] with numerous chess contributors, principally Duffy, Potter and Zukertort (all q.v.).

Bryan, Hugh.

floruit 1875-80.

Ayr. Scottish chess editor (*News of the Week* etc.) and correspondence chess organiser.

Captain of the U. K. side of the 1877-81 Postcard Match (see Chap. V).

Bryning, Isaac.

Police superintendent in Blackburn, Lancashire.

Bryning gave evidence in the celebrated Maybrick poisoning case; he was the officer who arrested Florence Maybrick.

Bryning competed in many postal tournaments and his name often appears in the *Preston Guardian* and other chess columns, sometimes using the nickname 'Enul' or 'Lune'.

Sources: chess columns; *Chess Amateur*, xv (1920-1) p. 174; *The Times* reports on Maybrick case.

Buckle, Henry Thomas.

* 24.11.1821 Lee, Kent.

† 29.5.1862 Damascus.

Historian; author of the unfinished *History of Civilisation* (only two volumes appeared). Winner of the first English chess tournament at the Divan in London, 1849, beating C. F. Smith [q.v.] in the first round. Usually avoided formal matches but was considered one of the strongest players in England in the 1840s and 1850s.

Burn, Amos.

* 31.12.1848 Hull.

† 25.11.1925 London.

One of the strongest British players from the early 1870s to 1909 or later, competed in several international tournaments with some success. Officially an amateur. Involved in several private and

inter-club correspondence matches, but never played in a postal tournament. (Although, as noted in Chapter Five, he entered one that was not played.) Chess editor of *The Field*, 1913-25.

Source: Forster, *Amos Burn*, is an exhaustive treatment of the life and career.

Burnard, Richard a.k.a. 'R. L. B. of Stoke'.

Correspondence player of the 1850s, mentioned often in the *Home Circle*, *Birmingham Mercury* and *Cassells* chess columns as 'R. L. B. of Stoke' but reports of a correspondence match with A. Kempe tally with *The New Chess Player*, iii, p. 302, showing his real name was Burnard, and in *Bell's Life*, 10 Apr. 1853, calling him R--- B---d.. This corresponds to a man in the census in Staffordshire in 1851.

Burt, John Norman.

† 11.4.1888 Bristol, age 53.

Bristol amateur of the 1870s-80s; compiler of the Bristol & Clifton Chess Association club history. Involved in some correspondence games.

Butler, Henry William.

* _____

† 10.3.1935

Thornton Heath.

Sources: *Brighton Guardian*; *Sussex Chess magazine* (frequent advertisements for his sign-writing business); H. W. Butler, 'A Declaration', in *Sussex Chess Journal*, ii (no. 32, Aug. 1891).
Obituary in *B.C.M.*, lv (1935) p. 215.



Leading Sussex player and chess organiser in 1880s and 1890s. Learned chess at the age of nineteen; he did not divulge the year. For nearly two years, in 1881-2, he edited a chess column in the *Brighton Guardian* but gave it up because he was too busy. He did complete the tournament. When the column ended, Walter Mead briefly (1882-3) edited a *Sussex Chess Magazine*, in which advertisements appear for Butler's window ticket/ show card business; it appears he was a commercial artist, calligrapher and/or business printer.
Sussex Champion 1888, 1890 and 1894; Butler continued to play an important role in Sussex chess into the 1890s.

C.**Cadman**, Robert.

Vice-President of Leeds Chess Club c. 1837; and player in their 1834 lost match v. Doncaster and successful match v. Liverpool, c. 1838.

Carden, Kate (Mrs Arthur Smith).

* c. 1849 Brighton.

† 1944 Brighton.

Married Arthur Smith 1868 (5 May?) in Brighton; the founders of a dynasty of Sussex chessists.

Grandparents of Canon Arthur Eric Smith (1908-94), a noted player in the county.

Brighton chess player; wife of chessist Arthur Smith [q.v.]; organiser of the ladies' branch of the Sussex Chess Association in the 1880s and 1890s.

Sources: correspondence with Margaret Smith; *Lady's Pictorial*, 8.6.1895 (with photograph).

Carew, Lady Jane.

See Cliffe, Jane Catherine

Carnsew, Rev Thomas Stone.

* 9.10.1820 Stoke Newington.

† 21.1.1891 Constantine.

Played in some of the 1870-2 *C.P.C.* correspondence tourneys.

Matriculated St John's Cambridge 1851, B.A. 1855, ordained 1856. Vicar of Poughill, Bude, Cornwall 1857-87; Vicar of Constantine 1887-91 (Cornwall?).

Sources: Crock, Venn, *C.P.C.*

Cazenove, John.

* 12 May 1788 London.

† 15 August 1879 London.

Compiler of the privately published and very rare book *A Selection of curious and entertaining games at Chess, that have been actually played* (London 1817). *O.D.N.B.* describes him as 'a merchant and political economist' and a friend of Malthus.

A member of Lloyds from 1819, he was later secretary of the Family Endowment Society (1843-58): see their advertisements in *The Times*, 1 Jan. and 16 June 1836.

Probably responsible, with others (e.g. Selous, q.v.), for bailing William Lewis [q.v.] out of his financial difficulties.

Sources: *O.D.N.B.*

Chambers, John D.

* 1842 Glasgow?

† June 1930 Cardiff.

Winner of the first Scottish Chess Association correspondence tourney 1885 -7. Also played in the second and in the U.K. International. After the 1880s, apparently played exclusively over-the-board. Travelled extensively on business and later had strong connections in South Wales.

Sources: Gaige; *B.C.M.* 1907 pp. 504-5; 1926 p. 319; 1930 p. 366.

Chamouillet [first name unknown].

c. 1780 -1873.

Involved in the *Paris v. Westminster* match.

Charleton, John.

† 1878, in forty-fourth year.

Leading Tyneside chess-player and Chess editor of the *Newcastle Weekly Chronicle* 1873-5.

Played in numerous postal tournaments.

Mitcheson [q.v.] wrote that 'for upwards of twenty years he was one of the most prominent players in the Newcastle & Gateshead Chess Club... a quiet, studious, unostentatious and well meaning man, and his place in the club will be missed.'

Sources: *Newcastle Courant*, 23.8.1878; *B.C.M.* 1888 (p. 230) had a line about his 'cadaverous countenance' and Duffy managing to make him smile; *International Chess Magazine*, i p. 40.

Charlick, Henry.

* 8.7.1845 London, emigrated as a boy.

† 26.7.1916 Adelaide, Australia.

Involved in several correspondence matches in Australia and with Benbow [q.v.]. Winner of the first Australian Championship, Adelaide 1887. Organiser of the first major chess tournament in Australia, which included some New Zealand players.

Sources include: Obituary in *B.C.M.*, xxxvi (1916), p. 335.

Chatto, Rev James Thomas Chipperfield.

* 30.4.1854 London.

† 11.2.1907 Blunsdon St Andrew.

Clergyman. Chess writer and editor (with little success).

Matriculated Oct. 1874 Trinity Coll. Cambridge, B.A. 1877; played v. Oxford in the varsity matches 1876-8. Deacon 1878, ordained 1879. First was curate of E. Coatham, Redcar and assistant master of Coatham High School, 1878-81; various other positions followed. 1885 -6 Vicar of Stourton Caundle, Dorset. Then Vicar of St Cuthbert's, Thetford. 1889 Rector of Kirklington, Cumberland.

Vicar of E. Kennett, Wiltshire 1896-1900. Rector of Blunsdon, Bristol 1900. See Venn for full details of church appointments.

Organiser of many correspondence tournaments and active correspondence player. Was involved in the 1877-81 match against the United States.

In 1872 Chatto was the chess editor of *Puzzler's Manual* which only lasted one issue. His *Amateur Chess Magazine* ran from 1872-4, with chess and draughts postal tournaments. During 1874-5 he briefly ran a chess column in *Lads of the Village* and started a correspondence tournament. Other minor columns followed, with associated correspondence tournaments.

Sources: *Century*, Crock, Gaige, Venn.

Chepmell, (Capt.) Claude Herries.

* 2.6.1864 Paris.

† 18.11.1930 Bristol.

Matriculated at Cambridge but left without taking a degree. Played in the 1885 varsity chess match and was Cambridge president in 1886 but 'could not play in the match' according to Sergeant (sent down?). Artillery officer, in India and Mauritius for some years. Served in the First World War, probably as a gunnery instructor.

Played in *Brighton Society* correspondence tourney c. 1897, holding rank of Captain at that time.

Played in the first BCF British Championship, Hastings 1904.

Sources: *Century*, Venn, Hart's Army Lists; India Lists.

Cheshire, Horace Fabian.

* 1854 London.

† 8.11.1922 Hastings.

Leading member of Hastings Chess Club, one of the organisers of the 1895 international congress there, and editor of the tournament book. Sussex Champion 1896. Later wrote a book on *Go*.

Cheshire played much correspondence chess between 1882-1901. He won a tournament arranged by Nash and was the *Hobbies* champion in 1901 (see Appendix, VI b). He was on the English team in Fraser's U.K. International. He also played in the wartime correspondence tournament organised by the B.C.F. in 1918.

Chigorin, Mikhail Ivanovich.

* 12.11.1850 Gatchina, Russia.

† 25.1.1908 Lublin (both dates old style).

Russian chess writer and grandmaster. The leading Russian player from about 1880, at his peak the world's second strongest player (after Steinitz, whom he beat in a two-game correspondence match). Played in numerous correspondence matches as an individual and leader of the St Petersburg committee, e.g. against the British Chess Club of London.

Chinn, Rev William.

Dates unknown, approx. 1867-1912.

Known as a correspondence chess player 1905-8.

London B.A. 1889, ordained 1892. Various curacies, then Rector of Whitchurch, Herefordshire (in 1910). Disappears from Crock after 1912.

Source: Crock. 1911-12.

Chisholm, Colonel William.

* 1837.

†21.10.1901 Cheltenham.

Served in Madras Native Infantry from 1855, mutiny medal, retired 1885. Cheltenham was popular with Anglo-Indian veterans. He lost to the Irish Champion, Rynd (qv), in the *Ireland v. West of England* match (1892-4); around the same time, headed the Cheltenham team in 20-a-side correspondence match with Hastings in which he drew both games with Cheshire [q.v.].

Sources: Gaige; *B.C.M.* 1901, p. 479.

Churchill, Lord Randolph Henry Spencer.

* 12.2.1849 London.

† 24.1.1895 London.

Conservative Party politician. Third son of the seventh Duke of Marlborough and brother of the eighth Duke.

Founder member of the revived Oxford University Chess Club. A pupil of Steinitz but probably not a very strong player. Played friendly correspondence matches with Ravensworth [q.v]. Honorary Member of Dublin Chess Club; played in one of Zukertort's simultaneous displays in Dublin, 1879.

Sources: Cokayne; *O.D.N. B.*; Steinitz, *International Chess Magazine*; biographies of Churchill (by Foster and by Sir Winston Churchill).

Cliffe, Jane Catherine (Lady Jane Carew)

* c. 1798 New Ross?

† 12.11.1901, age 103.

Lady chess player, said to have enjoyed a game on her 100th birthday. Lived in three centuries, but the anecdote that she attended the Brussels ball on the eve of Waterloo is denied. Believed to have been one of the chess circle in Co. Waterford inspired by Captain Evans [q.v.] and including Sir John Blunden [q.v.]. Some of the published games by women players mid-century may be attributable to her. The daughter of Major Anthony Cliffe of New Ross, she married on 16.11.1816 Robert Shapland Carew, 1st Baron Carew (d. 1856).

Cluley, William.

* c. 1811.

† between 1857 and 1861.

Surgeon in Ashton-under-Lyne, Lancashire.

Present in 1852 at the amalgamation soirée of two Manchester clubs and played for Manchester in the third over-the-board match against Liverpool on 20.2.1856.

Lost in the first round of the first *Cassells* tourney.

Author of *The Philosophy of Chess* (1857).

Sources: *Chess and Manchester*, pp. 25-6; chess columns; censuses.

Coates, William.

* c. 1840.

† 1887 Cheltenham.

Active correspondence player, *floruit* 1863-1882. Defeated American master Max Judd +1 =3 in the Postcard Match.

Sources: Gaige, chess columns.

Cochrane, George.

floruit 1840-1855.

Armagh, IRL.

Leading member of the Armagh Chess Club and active correspondence player 1840-3, especially in the *Armagh v. Liverpool* match.

Probably contributed the articles on chess in 1841 in the *Newry Commercial Telegraph*.

Sources: *Bell's Life in London, C.P.C.* at various dates.

Cochrane, James.

* c. 1770.

† 8.8.1830 Cheltenham.

Civil servant in Madras. Involved in *Madras v. Hyderabad* correspondence match.

Probably a cousin of John Cochrane [q.v.].

Source: Gaige.

Cochrane, John.

* 4.2.1798 Scotland?

† 2.3.1878 London.

Scottish barrister (member of the Inner Temple). Spent two long periods in India. Served in the Navy during the Napoleonic wars and was a midshipman on the *Bellerophon* when it had Napoleon

on board. This is undoubtedly plausible as he was a relative of Admiral Lord Dundonald, but the popular book *Billy Ruffian* does not mention him.

Member of the London Chess Club committee against Edinburgh until he left for India after a few months.

Author of *A Treatise on the Game of Chess* (1822).

Sources: Gaige; obituary in *The Field*, li (9 Mar. 1878) p. 287.

Colborne family.

In the 1880s.1890s there were two chess-playing Colborne brothers in Sussex, Henry C. S. and Dr John G., who both played some correspondence chess. There was also a possibly unrelated George Francis Colborne in South Wales. Sources conflict on whether it was J. G. or G. F., or yet another (E. Colborne) who played in the 1892-4 *Ireland v. West of England and Wales* match.

Dr Colborne's daughter also played chess: see *Lady's Pictorial*, 28 Nov. 1896 which published a game by her but said she was not ambitious enough to play in tournaments.

Cole, Harold Godfrey.

* 1878 Canterbury.

† 2.2.1922.

Civil servant in Ireland for several years. Strong postal player, competing in the *B.C.M.* tournament, *Chess Amateur* championship etc. Also strong OTB player: Essex Champion 1910; joint second with Yates in the 1912 British Championship. Played in the chief tournament of the 1919 Hastings victory congress (won by Capablanca), finishing last of twelve players with 1½ points.

Sources: *Century*; Gaige; chess columns.

Collins, Francis Charles.

* 19.2.1843 London.

† 29.7.1898.

Chess problem expert, chess editor of *Brief*. Played correspondence tournaments in the early 1870s.

Sources: Gaige; chess columns.

Collins, R. C. H.

Dates unknown.

Introduced chess to the Dublin Mechanics' Institute c. 1847-8 and active in Dublin chess into the 1860s. Treasurer in 1862 of the Dublin Chess Club (formerly Victoria club), meeting at the Northumberland Hotel, reported in the *Weekly Northern Whig* on 8 Nov. 1862.

Comrie, J.

Alloa, Scotland.

Played in the U.K. International and some other correspondence games.

Conroy, J. A.

Dates unknown, *floruit* 1854-1890.

Dublin and (later) Listowel. Played in the *Birmingham Mercury* postal tourney (1854) and contributed problems to columns, e.g. *Home Circle*, x (1854), p. 128, and *Cassells*, iii (10 May 1856), p. 151. Hon. Sec of Dublin Library Club for several years. Reputedly edited the first Irish chess column in the *Irish Sporting Times*. Chess editor of the *Irish Sportsman*, 1887-90.

Sources: *Irish Sportsman* 19.1.1889 p. 782; MacDonnell, *Knights and Kings*, p. 168; various other chess columns.

Constable, Rev Thomas.

* c. 1848 Currie, Midlothian SCO.

† c. 1913-20? (marked as no information in *Crock* of 1913-20; this does not necessarily mean dead but they had probably forgotten to remove him...)

Matriculated Magdalen Hall Oxford 13.4.1869, aged 21; migrated to Hertford Coll. B.A. 1876; Vicar of High Hurst Wood, dio. Chichester 1881. Played for Oxford in the first team postal match v. Cambridge, 1871. Author of *The Great French Triumvirate: Corneille, Racine, Moliere* (1898).

Sources: *Crock*; Foster; *The history of the Oxford University Chess Club*.

'Contentment'

Nom-de-guerre of a player in the *Home Circle* postal tournament, 1853. Possibly C. T. Atkins [q.v.]

Cook, William.

* 1850 Bristol.

† 25.8.1917 Bristol.

English player and chess author; lived in Birmingham for some years. Dates from Gaige.

Coppinger, Stephen.

* c. 1794.5? (Co. Cork).

† 1851 or later.

Eldest son of Thomas Stephen Coppinger of Leemount, near Macroom, Cork.

Barrister (eventually Senior Counsel). Secretary of the Dublin Library Chess Club 1833-45 approx. Admitted T.C.D. 2.3.1812; Roman Catholic. B.A. 1815. Admitted Middle Temple 4.5.1816: a contemporary of Benjamin Keen [q.v.]. Called to the Irish bar 1818 (says *T.C.D.*) or Jan. 1819 (*King's Inns Admission Papers*). 1851 is the latest year he was listed as a barrister in the Dublin directory.

Other sources: *T.C.D.*; Thom's Directories.

Cordner, Rev Edward James.

* 1795 Dublin.

† 13.12.1870 Dublin.

B.A. T.C.D. 1816. *Church of Ireland Directory* 1868 gives his address as 'Derramore, Lisburn' but no longer held a living; had probably retired to Dublin by then.

On 14 Dec. 1861 he played against G. F. Barry for Belfast in its first telegraph match against Dublin. First Chairman of the city and County of Dublin Chess Club (1867), presented the Cordner Cup for competition among members. Fell ill in 1868 and took no further part in its affairs.

Sources: Gaige, Irish church directory, *T.C.D.*; Dublin Chess Club papers; Luce, *Dublin Chess Club*; *Belfast News-Letter*, 16 Dec. 1861.

Cosgrave,

Dr Ephraim MacDowel.

* 1846 Dublin.

† 16.2.1925 Dublin.

Sources include:

Weekly Irish Times, 21.2.1925 (obituary);

Chess with living pieces; the Dublin club of living chess at the Masonic F.O.S. centenary fete (Dublin 1892).

Photograph courtesy of the Royal College of Physicians in Ireland.



Prominent doctor, temperance campaigner (Dublin Total Abstinence Society), freemason, and prolific writer. Closely associated with the Dublin Coffee Palace, Townsend Street (home of the City Chess Club), and founder, with T. B. Rowland (q.v.), of the Club of Living Chess, which gave fundraising displays of this spectacle in the 1890s. One of the founders of the Georgian Society, and author of a guide book to Dublin. Sometime President of the Royal College of Physicians in Ireland.

Crake, J.

Personal details unknown.

Hull player and chess editor. Column in the *Hull Miscellany* (where he ran a correspondence tourney) transferred to the *Hull Bellman* but was discontinued before the completion of the event.

Crake also wrote on draughts for the *Bellman* (that column did not transfer).

Played in the *Amateur World* second correspondence tourney and the Postcard Match v. America.

Crawford, William.

Personal details unknown.

Edinburgh Chess Club vice-president during match against London; member of playing committee.

Crawley, Captain Rawdon.

Fictional gamester in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*.

Pseudonym of Pardon [q.v.] when writing on games.

Cremorne, Lord

[Richard Dawson,

later first Earl of Dartrey].

* 7.9.1817.

† 12.5.1897.

Sources: Bateman, *Landlords* (1883);

catalogue of his library in N.L.I.;

Cokayne, *Peerage*; Foster;

MacDonnell, *The Knights and Kings of Chess* (London 1894), pp. 106-8, with this picture on p. 107.



Irish landowner, inherited an Irish title at age ten. In 1847 he became Baron Cremorne in the U.K. peerage. On 12 July 1866 he was created first earl of Dartrey (Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, iii:528 and iv: 92-3). Bateman, *Landlords* (1883), shows that Dartrey owned 30,107 acres in four counties of Ireland, and his mother had five acres in Devon; total annual value £21,699. He matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1835 but took no degree (Foster, *Alumni Ox.*, i, p. 356).

According to Rev G. A. MacDonnell, Cremorne 'was a great favourite with the Queen' and Lyttelton 'once observed in serio-jocose tones, that Lord Cremorne owed his promotion to the earldom to his skill and services as a chess player': Cokayne, *Peerage*, shows he was Lord in Waiting from 1857-8 and 1859-66 and that, a Liberal, he finally split from Gladstone over Home Rule. He was a competitor in 1861 in the St. George's Club tournament (including Lord Arthur Hay, Sir John Trelawney, Count Koucheloff, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, and Saburov (q. v.)): *I.L.N.*, 23 Feb. 1861.

Crosse, Rev Edward Ilbert.

* 1854.

† 6.5.1896 Bournemouth.

Editor of the *Southern Counties Chess Journal*, 1893-Jan 1896 which ended with his death (probably suicide). Not a correspondence player.

Originally from Devon; matriculated Exeter Coll. Oxford 19.3.1872, age 18; B.A. 1875 (2nd class hon. jurisprudence). Practised as solicitor from 1878-82; deacon 1882, ordained 1883. Curate in charge of Shipley, in Chichester diocese since 1884. Vicar Long Wittenham, Abingdon 1887-90. No more church jobs; apparently moved to Sussex.

Sources: Crock, Foster, Gaige; *Southern Counties Chess Journal*; email from Brian Denman.

Crum, John.

* 1842.

† 27.4.1922, aged 80, Edinburgh.

Sources: *Century*, Gaige; photograph in Edinburgh Chess Club; birth registry image of Agnes Crum supplied by Alan McGowan.



Problem editor of *C.P.C.* 1877-8. Winner of Archdall's pioneering round-robin correspondence tourney but no games by him appear to have survived from this. Principal Glasgow player in the club's unsuccessful match with Copenhagen. Played in the *Ireland v. Scotland* match 1886-7. His daughter Agnes Margaret Crum (* 10/3/1879 in Lanarkshire) was until well into the twentieth century an active member of the Scottish Ladies' Chess Association (and one of the leading lights of the Glasgow Ladies' Chess Club).

D.

Daily, D.

From Dundee. Scottish correspondence player in 1870s.

Daniel, Arthur William.

* 30.9.1878 Stoke-on-Trent.

† 13.2.1955 Ilford.

Problem composer and correspondence player.

One of the strongest chess players in Edwardian Wales (when was pharmacist in Bridgend). Winner of the *Cricket and Football Field* correspondence tourney.

(Another A. Daniel played in the *Croydon Guardian* 1882-3 postal tourney but nothing has been discovered about that player.).

Sources: Gaige; *B.C.M.* 1953, 1955; *Cricket and Football Field*, 1908-10.

Dartrey, Earl.

See *Cremorne, Lord*.

He is only referred to in chess sources as Dartrey towards the end of his life.

Davies, Rev (Dr) Robert Owen.

* 18.8.1857 Llanrwst, Denbighshire.

† 7.1.1929 Wickham Market, Suffolk.

Writer on chess (column in the *Ipswich Journal*) and correspondence player. Played in several postal tournaments organised by *La Stratégie* and *Hobbies*. (Winner of the *Hobbies* championship 1898-9.). Rector of Kettleburgh, Suffolk from 1887 to death.

Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society (1883). Prominent freemason.

Matriculated Jesus Coll. Oxford 27.10.1877, age 20, but B.A. non-Coll. 1881. Despite only obtaining 4th class honours he became a Doctor of Divinity in 1893! Also had connections with T.C.D. (LL.B. and LL.D., 1902) and University of Durham. Priest 1883, curate in Birkenhead from 1883, in Surrey 1885-7. Still Rector 1915 but now also address in Westminster (retiring?).

Sources: *B.B.I.*, Crock, *W.W.W.* 1929.

Dawson, Richard.

See Cremorne, Lord.

Deane, Rev [Canon] Arthur Mackreth a.k.a. 'East Marden'.

* 1.1.1837 Knutsford.

† 4.7.1926 Appledram.

Important person in the early development of Sussex chess. Played a few Sussex correspondence matches. Best known as a composer of chess problems and correspondent to chess columns under the pseudonym 'East Marden'; also sometimes referred to as Prebendary A. M. Deane: Prebendary of Middleton in Chichester Cathedral 1883.

Matriculated Emmanuel Coll. Cambridge 1855, B.A. 1859, ordained 1861, Vicar of Marden 1870-88; formerly in Cambridge, Stafford, Leek, and Heywood (Manchester). From 1888 Vicar of Ferring.

Sources: Crock, Gaige, Venn; *W.W.W.*

De Mattos Harding Francis.

see Harding, Francis de Mattos.

Deschappelles, Alexandre-Louis-Honoré-Lebreton a.k.a. Monsieur Le Breton.

* 7.3.1780 Ville d'Avray, FRA.

† 27.10.1847 Paris.

French chess master. Also known for the 'Deschappelles coup' in whist. See Gaige p. 91.

De Soyres, John.

* 26.4.1849 Bilbrook, Somerset.

† 3.2.1905 Halifax, Canada.

Person largely responsible for the revival of undergraduate chess when at Cambridge, founding the Staunton Club (later renamed as Cambridge University Chess Club). Arranged correspondence matches with Exeter and with Oxford. Also played in the first two over-the-board varsity chess matches, 1873 and 1874.

Matriculated Caius Coll. Cambridge Oct. 1869, B.A. 1876.

He had a varied career as a barrister (Middle Temple 1874), Anglican clergyman (ordained 1878) and academic. Curate of Much Hadham, St Albans 1879; chaplain in St Petersburg, Russia (1880-1). Author of *The Montanists and the Primitive Church* (1878); contributor to *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Biography*, &c. Professor of Modern History at Queen's Coll. London 1881-6.

Emigrated in 1888 to St John, New Brunswick, Canada, where he was rector. In 1903, on his last visit to Europe, he entered a big chess tournament in Hilversum, Netherlands, but withdrew after a few rounds.

NB: Gaige says born 1849, although Venn has 1847. Also Crock says he kept his chair to 1888; Venn has 1886. We follow the more recent reference works, but not with absolute confidence.

Sources: Crock, Gaige (p. 400), Venn.

De Vere, Cecil (real name: Valentine Brown).

* 14.2.1845.

† 9.2.1875 Torquay.

The first English chess champion, died of consumption. Not a correspondence player. Chess editor of *The Field* in 1871-2, or at least for part of that period (Fraser to White, 28.6.1877). K. Whyld, *Columns* (p. 144), put De Vere down for 1871 only and stated Boden was involved in 1871-3.

Sources: Gaige; Owen Hindle & Bob Jones, *The English Morphy?: The Life and Games of Cecil de Vere First British Chess Champion*

Dickinson, Harold T.

Dates unknown.

A founder member and earliest secretary of the B.C.C.A., co-edited at least two of its early magazines, c. 1909-10. Edited the short-lived *British Chess Bulletin* in 1910-11.

Domett, Nathaniel.

Dates unknown.

London Chess Club secretary at the time of the match with Edinburgh. Gave evidence in the lunacy hearing relating to Brand [q.v.].

Donaldson, (Bailie) James.

† Dec. 1848, Edinburgh.

Convener of the Edinburgh Chess Club committee against London.

Probably wrote the various Edinburgh reports and replies to Lewis [q.v.] about the match. Contributed the article on chess published in the 7th and 8th editions of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*

Donaldson, James.

Dates unknown.

Edinburgh advocate; son of Bailie Donaldson (q.v.). Probably the author of the article on the match in *Blackwood's* and letters to the *Glasgow Citizen*, see Chapter Two.

Source: Grant, [Sir] Francis J., *The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland 1532-1943 with genealogical notes* (Scottish Record Society, Edinburgh 1944).

Donaldson, Rev John a.k.a. 'Delta'.

* 27.3.1817.

† 19.4.1892 Edinburgh.

Clergyman in Dumfriesshire.

Sources: Gaige; memoirs in *B.C.M.* 1891

Donisthorpe, Wordsworth (nickname 'Adonis Thorpe').

* 24.3.1847 Leeds.

† 30.1.1914 Shottermill.

Barrister; prominent London amateur player, c. 1882-90. Lost a match to Gossip for £22 in 1882 at Simpson's Divan. Drew up the rules for the London 1883 tournament. Member of the British Chess Club, involved in the first 'over-the-board' inter-club match in Paris in 1885, and in the club's correspondence match against St Petersburg 1886-7. Connected with the circle of secularists and freethinkers around Charles Bradlaugh MP and Annie Besant. A campaigner for free love (and separated from his wife by 1891), he became president of the Legitimation League, which was closely linked to a publication called the *Adult*.

Sources: census data; *Century*; Gaige; E. Royle, *Radicals, Secularists and Republicans*, pp. 237, 247, & 253.

Down (family).

There were at least four members of this family associated with, indeed central to, the Ladies College Chess Club in Holborn, London, in the late 1870s.

(1) Mrs Louisa Down, mother of the other three.

(2) H. F. Down, president of the City of London Chess Club 1866-72.

(3) Florence Down, later Mrs Zanzig (or Zantzig).

(4) Nelly Down, later Mrs Julius Manning.

Sources: *Century*; G. MacDonnell, *Knights and Kings of Chess*, pp. 117-19; chess columns.

Duffy , Patrick Thomas.

* 14.9.1834 Dublin.

† 17.4.1888 Hastings.

Principally resided in Newcastle (in his youth) and then London, where he worked for the accountancy firm Turquand Colman.

Chess journalist of distinctly acerbic, witty and xenophobic tone; antagonist of both Staunton and Steinitz. Principal chess gossip writer for the *Westminster Papers*; chess editor of several papers, ultimately the *I.L.N.*

Sources: *Century*; Gaige; G. B. Fraser letters to J. G. White.

Dunscombe, Parker.

* c. 1831, Co. Cork.

† 16.1.1914 Dublin, aged 82.

Irish chess-player and cricketer, probably involved in founding a chess club in Cork c. 1862 and certainly in the one of 1878. Came to Dublin the early 1880s. Probably homosexual — in view of reports that he liked to initiate 'young swains' into the delights of chess and cricket.

Sources: obituaries in the *Evening Herald* and *Cork Weekly News* chess columns; also mentioned in sources for Irish cricket history.

Durlacher, Mrs.

Maiden name and dates unknown.

The only woman to compete in a final of one of the *Womanhood* correspondence tourneys.

Nothing else known about her.

E.

Earnshaw , Rev Samuel Walter.

Baptised 31.7.1833.

† 20.10.1887 Ellough.

Correspondence chess in 1880 at least. Great friend of Boden.

Educated at St John's Coll. Cambridge; B.A. 1857, ordained 1858. Hemsworth Grammar School headmaster 1869-77. Rector of Ellough (near Lowestoft) from 1877.

Sources: Crock, Venn; MacDonnell, *Knights and Kings*, pp. 192-4.

Edge, Frederick Miln(e)s.

* 29.5.1830.

† 28.5.1882 London.

Controversial amanuensis and chronicler to Paul Morphy [q.v.] on his 1858-9 European visit. Author of *The Exploits and Triumphs in Europe of Paul Morphy the Chess Champion* (New York, 1859); English edition entitled *Paul Morphy the chess champion*

Sources: Gaige; Lawson, *The Pride and Sorrow of Chess*.

Ellis, Rev John Henry.

* 14.3.1840 Clapham, London.

† 21.11.1912 Kensington, London.

Clergyman. Correspondence chess organiser in 1870s, and later chess author (*Chess Sparks*).

Matriculated Trinity Coll. Cambridge 16.4.1858; B.A. 1862; ordained 1864. Various curacies, then Rector of Stourton, Bath, Somerset 1874-87. Retired to London.

Sources: Crock, Gaige, Venn.

Elwell, Francis J. H.

†1953 Southampton, age 83.

Played correspondence chess sometimes from 1890s onwards.

Won one of the *Womanhood* tournaments.

Source: Gaige, citing *B.C.M.* 1953, pp. 160 & 213; *Chess*, June 1953 p. 184.

Erskine, Henry.

Dates unknown.

Active correspondence player approx. 1882-1909. The only player to enter both the *B.C.M.* correspondence tourneys (of 1882 and 1908) but withdrew from the former. He apparently had poor health and was unable to work.

Also had a chess-playing brother in Sussex, O. Erskine.

Sources: Brian Denman emails and his book on Brighton chess; numerous references in chess columns and magazines.

Eumorfopoulo, Aristides a.k.a. 'A. E. of Manchester'.

Dates unknown. Manchester player of 1850s.

The *Era* chess column named 'Eformopolous' on 12 Mar. and 'Eumorhopoulo' on 16 Apr. 1854.

Alan Smith has plausibly identified him as shipping merchant A. Eumorfopoulo, who had a company at 10 Greenwood Street mentioned in the *Manchester Mercantile & Manufacturing Annual Directory* for 1854-55, p. 127.

We found that in the 1851 census Aristides Eumorfopoulo, born about 1826 in Greece, was a lodger at Cheetham, Lancs; one of three Greek shipping merchants at the same address.

Sources: *Era*, *Birmingham Mercury*; 1851 census; conversation with Alan Smith.

Evans, Captain William Davies.

* 27.1.1790 Pembrokeshire.

† 3.8.1872 Ostend, Belgium.

Inventor of the Evans Gambit. Participated at the London end of the first official English telegraph chess game.

Naval captain, first in Napoleonic Wars, then in the postal service on the Milford to Dunmore route from 1819. Master of the *Vixen* steam packet from 1824. Afterwards in the Mediterranean and Cape Verde Islands. Credited with establishing the first chess club in Co. Waterford.

Sources include: *Gentleman's Journal monthly supplement* (June 1872), p. 159; W. R. Thomas, 'Captain Evans' in *B.C.M.*, xlviii (1928), pp. 6-18; Thomas letters to Harold Murray, Oxf. Bodl. MS H. J. Murray 67 & 159; Irish directories; *The Cambrian*. POST 5.5, f. 138 and POST 30.1241-2 at the British Postal Museum and Archive; *B.L.L.*, 6 Mar. 1842.

Evill, Alfred.

* 1833.4?.

† 1920 or later.

Originally of Bath, matriculated Lincoln Coll. Oxford in 1851, aged 17; B. A. 1855, deacon 1857, ordained 1858. Rector of Bibbenden 1912-17 (then retired?)

Possibly involved in the 1855 Oxford Hermes losing match against Trinity Cambridge: named as such, with Quilter [q.v.] in *C.P.C.* 1856, pp. 26-9, but not in the other account of the event. There is not necessarily a contradiction here; they were at the same college with Wormald so may have helped even if they were not on the official Hermes committee. Still listed in Crock 1920.

Sources: Crock, Foster.

Evill, W.

Of Wandsworth. Played in the *Birmingham Mercury* correspondence tournament 1855.

Probably the same person (variously described as 'W. E.' and 'E. W.') who played two correspondence games with Wormald [q.v.] which appeared in the *Southern Times* in 1853 (one reprinted in the *Home Circle*).

Presumably some relation to Alfred Evill, above, or actually the same person.

Source: *Birmingham Mercury* 14 Apr. 1855.

Evill, Rev William Ernest.

* 1852.

† 22.8.1935.

Clergyman and religious author. Kent Chess Champion 1907.

B.C.C.A. member; loser of famous correspondence chess brilliancy to Hamond [q.v.] in 1914.

Second son of Alfred Evill [q.v.]. Admitted Trinity Hall Cambridge 22.5.1871, aged 18. B.A. 1875, deacon 1879, curate in Battersea; ordained 1880.

Vicar of St Dunstan's, Canterbury (from 1894), later Rector of Bibbenden, Canterbury 1914.

Sources: *B.B.I.*, Crock, Venn; *The Times* 29.8.1935.

F.

'F. H. of Torre'

Pseudonymous correspondent with the *Home Circle* and competitor in several *Cassell's* correspondence tourneys. Positively identified as Harvey, Francis [q.v.]

Fagan, Mrs.

See Ballard, Louisa.

Falkbeer, Ernest.

* 27.6.1819 Brno (Brünn), CZE.

† 14.12.1885 Vienna.

Austrian chess master and editor, lived in London c. 1858-64, where he conducted a chess column in *The Sunday Times* and edited the *Chess Player's Magazine* from 1863-4. A counter-gambit in the King's Gambit keeps his name immortal (1 e4 e5 2 f4 d5!?).

Sources: Gaige; MacDonnell, *Knights and Kings*, pp. 80-3. In group picture in Appendix X.

Farrow, G. H.

Dates unknown. Hull schoolmaster (*Hull Bellman*, 8 Mar. 1879).

Active in postal chess from 1856 (first *Cassell's* tourney) to the early 1890s (Fraser tourneys). Played in numerous tournaments. Was on the British team for the Postcard match v. USA but, for an unknown reason, his games were not completed. Mentioned in many chess columns.

Fawcett, Rev Richard Henry.

* c. 1858.

† c. 1905.6.

Church of Ireland clergyman. Correspondence chess matches 1889-91. B.A. Cork 1879, late vocation: deacon 1885, ordained 1886. Curate of Clontarf from 1896: so would have worked with Lindsay [q.v.]; Curate of Kilbrogan, Cork from 1903.

Sources: Crock (last entry 1906, marked as probably deceased).

Fedden, Nelson.

* c. 1836. (aged 5 in 1841 census).

† 1915 Bristol, aged 79.

Industrialist, first in Wales (where he was the strongest player in the late 1860s and early 1870s) and later in the Bristol area, where he became president of the club. Played occasionally after 1900. Played private correspondence matches with Thorold, Ranken, and Blackmore (all q.v.) but apparently never in postal tourneys.

Late in life, he (or somebody with the same unusual name) contributed a story, 'Stolen by Gipsies: A Tale of the Hampshire Downs' to number 223 (January 1915) in the periodical *Books for the Bairns*, mentioned in Sally Wood, 'W. T. Stead and his *Books for the Bairns*' (Edinburgh 1987), www.attackingthediabol.co.uk.worksabout.bairns.php (4 Aug. 2007).

Sources: Gaige; obituary in *B.C.M.*, xxxv (June 1915), p. 210.

Finn, (Miss) Kate Belinda.

* 16.12.1870 Cork.

† 8.3.1932 London.

Sources: *The Field*, cx (13 July 1907), p. 88; cxi (20 June 1908), pp. 1061-2; cxvii (1 Apr. 1911), p. 613; *B.C.M.*, xxxiv (1904) pp. 399-400 (profile & picture) and cii (1932), pp 167-8 (obituary); Gaige.



Withdrew from the 1897 Ladies' International due to ill health. First British Ladies Chess Champion, 1904 and 1905 (never competed again). Tied first in the Ostend Ladies' International 1907 with Mrs Curling (formerly Miss Ellis, the Ostend 1906 winner and much later won the playoff, held in London 1908).

Apparently retired after winning the San Remo Ladies' International, 1911.

In the 1901 census (RG13, 19, 16, p. 24) she was living 'on her own means' with her widowed mother in a Kensington terrace so apparently they were well provided for. She was the daughter of a Cork doctor: *Weekly Irish Times*, 25 Feb. 1905.

Fisher, Bernard William.

* c. 1837 Derbyshire (Age 34 in 1871 census).

† ———

Strong amateur player who occasionally played correspondence chess.

T.C.D. B.A. 1864. Ran a school in Malvern, Worcestershire, in the early 1870s. Organised the Counties Chess Association Congress while there and must have known Ranken well. The school transferred to Cheltenham in 1874. (Apparently Fisher sold it or it failed, because he was in Dublin again approx. 1881-3, a member of the Dublin Chess Club.)

Returned to England by the spring of 1883; runner-up in the Vizayanagaram tournament (international amateur championship) at the London 1883 congress. He was said to be in Cornwall then. Afterwards played in the 1883 Counties Chess Association, losing play-off to Thorold, and appears to have abandoned chess after that.

Possibly the Bernard W. Fisher who died Holborn 1914 (June quarter 1b 576), but not found in the 1891 and 1901 English censuses, so could have been back in Ireland.

Sources: *B.C.M.*, ii (1882) p. 53; *CPQC* iv (Feb. 1874), p. 38; Dublin club records; Gaige; *T.C.D.*

Flear, Frederick W.

* 1859.

† 10.11.1949.

Active Middlesex player (including correspondence chess) in the early 1900s. Sergeant credits him with being the principal organiser of the Middlesex County Chess Association in 1907. Continued active in chess between the wars.

Other source: Gaige.

Fonblanque, Albany William.

* 1793.

† 13.10.1872 London.

Journalist and social chess player. Admitted Middle Temple 24.1.1814 but not called to the bar.

Political writer and editor of the *Examiner*. Later head of the Statistical Dept. of the board of Trade.

Sources: Middle Temple records; *O.D.N.B.*

Foot, (Miss) Eliza Campbell.

Floruit 1895-1900.

President of the New York ladies Chess Association (founded 1894).

Played correspondence matches with Frideswide Beechey (Mrs Rowland) and Steinitz. Has been described as a relative of Steinitz but Landsberger (*The Steinitz Papers*, p. 286) says she 'was not related to Steinitz but was a good friend'.

Forsyth, David.

* 16.5.1854 Alness, SCO.

† c. 30.12.1909 Dunedin, NZD.

Sources: Scottish chess columns; Gaige.



Scottish chess organiser (first Hon. Treasurer of the Scottish Chess Association). Columnist (*Glasgow Weekly Herald* and later the *Weekly Scotsman*). Eventually emigrated to New Zealand and was New Zealand Champion 1901. Remembered as the inventor of the 'Forsyth notation': a compact way of describing a chess position, which is still used today.

Forth, Charles.

* ——— probably Co. Waterford.

† 27.7.1845 Waterford.

Carlow businessman who apparently often visited Dublin and England, and was one of the most active Irish players in the early 1840s. Probably knew Captain Evans and was the source of the *C.P.C.* article on early Irish chess which mentions Evans's circle of players in Waterford. (This article appeared in *C.P.C.* appeared soon after Forth was a guest at the Liverpool Chess Club dinner). Died soon after winning his last match against the Dublin player Stephens, his chief rival, who also died in the summer of 1845. Gaige has year of death wrong (saying 1846).

Source: Frequently mentioned in *C.P.C.*; death notice in vi, p. 281 (this volume is 1845!).

Foster, Edith Margaret

(Lady Thomas).

* c. 1854 Brickhill, Beds.

† 29.2.1920 London.

Sources: Gaige, *Debrett's Illustrated Baronetage*; *Woman's Life*, 18 Jan. 1896 (quoted by Edward Winter www.chesshistory.com.winter.index.html, 14.8.2008).



Married (9 May 1874) Sir George Thomas (6th baronet) and was mother of the 7th baronet, George Alan Thomas [q.v.]. Winner of the Hastings 1895 Ladies' tournament; competitor in the London 1897 Ladies' International.

Foster, William Erskine.

* 21.10.1847 Hanover?

† 24.3.1881 Zanzibar.

Matriculated University Coll., Oxford 19.10.1867, aged 19. B.A. 1872, barrister (Inner Temple) 1874. Played in the first and second team postal matches v. Cambridge, 1871 and 1872.

Sources: J. Foster, *Alumni Ox.* (also mentions working in Zanzibar); Gaige.

Francillon, Edith a.k.a. H. J. Francillon.

* c. 1845.

Leading player in the Caïssa correspondence chess club, 1872-5. Also played in the B.C.A. postal tourney, but unknown as a chess player later

Her father James Francillon was a county court judge who died quite young; her elder brother Robert Edward Francillon was a barrister turned novelist. In the 1901 census she was a spinster in St Mary's, Gloucester, niece of the head of the household, age 57, 'living on own means'.

Fraser, George Brunton.

* c. 1831.

† 1.12.1905, aged 74, Wormit, Fife, SCO.

Wine merchant. Bankrupt (discharged) 1873.

Leading Dundee and east of Scotland chess player c. 1851-1900. Scottish OTB champion 1898.

Active correspondence player for half a century.

Chess editor of the *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 1862-4. Contributor of articles to chess magazines.

Chief organiser of 1867 Dundee chess congress. Compiler and self-publisher of *A Selection of 200 games of Chess, played by correspondence* (Dundee 1896).

Sources: obituary in *B.C.M.* 1906, p. 15; correspondence with John G. White.

Frazer, Dr James Cunningham (or Fraser).

† 6.8.1876 Edinburgh, aged 49.

Leading Edinburgh player for several years. Sixth in the 1867 Dundee international. Rarely played by correspondence.

Sources: Edinburgh club papers; Gaige; *Glasgow Weekly Herald* 12.8 ('one of the first chess players that Scotland has produced') and full obituary 9.9.1876.

Frazer, William (or Fraser).

Member of the London Chess Club committee against Edinburgh.

Surname spelled with 'z' in London chess club records.

'Fred R— of B—'

Pseudonymous player in the *Home Circle* and *Birmingham Mercury* tournaments. Possibly therefore from Birmingham. *The Chess Player* i (13 Dec 1851) p. 174 printed a letter about chess notation from Fred R of B. He was possibly also the 'Mr R' who played in the first Cassell's CC tourney, 1856.

Freeborough, Edward.

* 18.08.1830.

† 14.09.1896 Hull.

Chess columnist and writer.

Chess editor of the *Hull Packet*, 1880-2. Best remembered as co-editor with Ranken [q.v.] of *Chess Openings Ancient and Modern* (4 editions from 1889, the last posthumous). Apparently not a correspondence player, except in Hull club match committees. At one time perhaps the strongest player in Yorkshire (he took top board against Lancashire in an early match).

Sources: Gaige p. 126; chess columns.

Freeman, Dr James.

Dates unknown, *floruit* 1855-76.

Birmingham club player.

Long-time correspondence opponent of Lord Lyttelton.

G.

Gerahty, E. F.

Dublin player in the 1880s. Personal details unknown.

Runner-up in one of Nash's correspondence tourneys. Played in the U.K. International.

Ghulam Kassim.

† 1844 India.

Principal Madras player in correspondence match with Hyderabad, 1828.

Devised the Ghulam Kassim Gambit, analysed in booklet *Analysis of the Muzio Gambit, and Match of Two Games at Chess, played between Madras and Hyderabad...* (See Chapter Five).

Gilbert, Mrs J. W.

See Strong, Ellen.

Gilchrist, John.

† 12.4.1907, aged 71, Clincart, SCO.

Reputedly one of the strongest Glasgow players for decades (possibly originally from Newcastle-upon-Tyne) but rarely played competitive events by correspondence. A postal game won against G. B. Fraser was published by *Reynolds's Miscellany* on 20.8.1864 (taken from *Newcastle Journal*) and in *C.P.C.* 10 Apr. 1895, p. 60 he was described as 'the West of Scotland champion'. His *B.C.M.* obituary (1907, p. 212) said he was 'a very sound and correct player... He was also one of the Committee in charge of the correspondence games recently concluded with the Liverpool C. C. and his advice (and analysis) was often of much value to the Scottish side.'

Glass, James.

Chess editor of *The Cambrian*, Swansea, in the 1890s.

Glen, George J.

Belfast club player of the 1860s.

Several postal games were published in the *Weekly Northern Whig*.

Gossip, George Hatfeild Dingley.

* 6.12.1841 New York.

† 11.05.1907 Liphook, Hants.

Sources include: Numerous references in chess columns and magazines;

G. H. Diggle, 'The master who never was', in *B.C.M.*, lxxix (Jan. 1969), pp. 1 -4.



Journalist and chess writer, who lived much of his life in England, but also spent some adult years in the USA, in Australia, and in Canada.

Winner of a minor correspondence tournament organised by *C.P.C.* in the 1870s and played other postal events with less success.

He was famously whitewashed by Ellen Gilbert in the Postcard Match.

Possibly the grandfather of a First World War air ace of the same name, from Australia, but this was found on a website and requires independent corroboration.

Gray, Rev Robert Daniel Horace.

* c. 1850.

† c. 1914?.

Matriculated Brasenose Coll. 13.6.1867, aged 17. B.A. 1871, ordained 1873.

Played for Oxford in both the first two postal team matches, 1871 and 1872.

Vicar of Briercliffe, Lancashire, 1878. Rector of Selham, dio. Chichester 1908. Disappears from Crock in 1914.

Sources: Crock; Foster.

Green, C. F.

No personal details.

Secretary of the Caïssa Correspondence Chess Club, c. 1870-5.

Originally in Hertford; by 1875, Green had moved to Dundrum Lodge, County Dublin.

Green, Robert Frederick.

* 9.5.1856

† ———

Liverpool player. Editor of *B.C.M.* Nov. 1887 -93.

Green, Valentine.

* 27.12.1831 Knipton.

† 31.01.1877 London.

Had a long chess career, although never a very strong player.

Matriculated at Oriel College in February 1850 but apparently transferred to Merton.

Played in the *Home Circle* tournament, 1854. On the Oxford Hermes club team that lost to Trinity Cambridge in 1855.

Spent some time in India and then returned to London chess circles.

Sources: Foster ii, p. 558; Gaige, chess columns.

Green, Rev William Charles.

* 6 Nov. 1832.

† 28 July 1914.

Played correspondence chess while at Cambridge, 1868.

Said to be 'a good musician and chess player' who 'took interest in and was a fair proficient in most outdoor games; fishing; natural history, especially ornithology and entomology.'

Probably knew Wayte [q.v.] as his father was a master at Eton, and he too was educated at Eton & King's College (admitted 9 Aug.1851, B.A. 1856).

Assistant master at Rugby school 1870-84 and classics lecturer at various colleges. Then Rector of Hepworth, Diss.

Sources: Crock, Venn, *W.W.W. 1897-1915*, p. 294.

Griffith, Richard Clewin.

* 22.7.1872 London.

† 11.12.1955.

Chess expert and writer (co-editor of *Modern Chess Openings* etc.).

Played in correspondence events before First World War.

Griffiths, Rev Evan.

* c. 1875 Llangendeirne, Wales.

† 1956, aged 80.

Sources: *B.C.M.*, xxxii (1912), pp. 368-70.

B.C.C.A. Magazine. Personal information on Rev Griffiths supplied by Martyn Griffiths and (for his Sussex years) by Brian Denman.



Clergyman and teacher. Curate of St Annes, Lewes from 1908. After World War I he became more active in the Sussex chess scene and was one of the strongest county players.

Winner of the 1908-12 *B.C.M.* postal tourney and three times B.C.C.A. champion. Editor of the *B.C.C.A. Magazine* approx 1912-18. Temporary chaplain to the armed forces 1915-17.

Headmaster of Lewes Grammar School, Sussex (1917-32). Continued to work in that area for a time afterwards. Last ref 1941. Denman also says he was a freemason.

Grignon, Montague Findlater.

Fourth son of William Standford Grignon of Montego Bay, Jamaica, and younger brother of the next entry. Matriculated at Pembroke Coll., Oxford, in Dec. 1845, aged 17, B.A. 1850.

On the Hermes club team that defeated Trinity Cambridge in 1847-8.

Sources: Foster, Walker, *History of the Oxford University club*.

Grignon, Rev William Stanford.

* 1.1.1824 Jamaica; came to England in 1830.

† 7.1.1907 Torquay.

On the committee that lost the correspondence match to the Oxford Hermes Club in 1847-8.

Probably arranged it with his brother, above.

Third son of William Standford [sic] Grignon of the West Indies. Admitted to Trinity Coll, Cambridge 13.7.1841, matriculated 1842. Scholar 1845, B.A. 1846. Admitted to the Inner Temple 1843. Assistant Master at Brighton College 1850. Headmaster of a proprietary school at Sheffield 1852-5. Ordained deacon 1853, ordained 1855. Headmaster of Felsted School 1856-75 (school with a chess connection); then retired and took private pupils.

Sources: Crock, Venn, *Times* 11.1.1907.

Guest, Anthony Alfred Geoffrey.

* 1856 Staines.

† 29.1.1825 London.

Chess editor of the *Morning Post*. Winner of the British Amateur Championship (Newnes Challenge Cup) 1888.

Sources: *Bouquet*; *Century*; Gaige.

Guest, Thomas.

* 2.9.1843 Pensnett.

(No relation to Anthony Guest.).

Thomas Guest, who played in the B.C.A. correspondence tourney of 1873, was one of the chess problem composers featured in the book *The Chess Bouquet*. He assisted in forming a working men's club for artisans resident in the town of Wednesbury, where he went at age of 17 (c. 1860) to work for an engineering firm. At this club, at the age of 19, he learned chess. Having had an accident to his left hand, which prevented him working for a period, he went to the reading room of the club where he met a young member called Coley who had recently learned the game. Their conversation turned to chess and when Guest 'was obliged to confess ignorance' Coley taught him the moves. They played a game, which Guest won. This led to a chess club being formed with him as honorary secretary; they had a tourney with 16 players.

Source: *Bouquet*, pp. 177-8.

Gümpel, Charles Godfrey.

* c. 1833 Germany? (census).

† 1921 ? (Gaige guess).

Came to London some time before 1861, when the census shows him living in Lambeth with an English-born wife and baby. In 1863 he played in the fourth *Cassell's* correspondence tournament but met an experienced opponent and was beaten in the first round. Manufacturer of artificial limbs. Later inventor and impresario of 'Mephisto', the chess automaton often operated by Gunsberg [q.v.].

Gümpel may have been related to people of that name from Bradford: Asa Briggs, *Victorian Cities* (London 1963), p. 152, mentions the 'little Germany' in Bradford and says 'Names like... Gumpel... can be found in Ibbetson's *Directory* of 1845.'

Sources: census, *Oxford Companion*.

Gunsberg, Alfred Isidore.

* c. 1885 (aged 6 in 1891 census).

† ———

Eldest son of grandmaster Isidor Gunsberg [q.v.] and his first wife, Jane. Played in the early *Womanhood* correspondence tourneys.

Gunsberg, Isidor.

* 2.11.1854 Budapest;

came to England about 1863.

† 2.5.1930 London.

Sources: censuses, BMD records, death and marriage certificates; information from Gunsberg family researchers Peter Backman, Margaret Saunders, and Elizabeth Tansley; *B.C.M.* obituary; MacDonnell, *Knights and Kings*, p. 76.



Hungarian-born Jewish grandmaster, who lived most of his adult life in England. His professional chess career began in 1878 as the hidden operator of the 'automaton' Mephisto, invented by Gümpel [q.v.]. Briefly in the world top ten players in the 1890s when he played a match with Steinitz. Thereafter lived as a chess journalist and lecturer. Naturalised British subject in 1908. He experienced financial difficulties at various times.

Isidor Gunsberg had three wives, all of whom bore him children. The first was apparently not a chess player. They married in a synagogue but he converted to Christianity before his second marriage. Probably he met his later wives either through his journalistic work or chess contacts.

(1) Isaacs, Jane (married 15.11.1879, said to be aged 24 but probably older); d. 8.5.1891, aged 38 (the same age as given on the census shortly before).

(2) Clarke, Miriam (married 16.12.1893, said to be aged 31; died 8.9.1897, said to be aged 39, another contradiction). Chess editor of the *Lady's Pictorial*, 1895-7.

(3) Ramage, Agnes Jane (married 1.3.1898, aged 33; survived Gunsberg). Played in the first *Womanhood* correspondence tourney.

Gunston, William Hewison.

* 9.9.1856 London.

† 25.1.1941 King's Lynn.

Can be seen in a group picture in Appendix X.

Played correspondence chess at a high level between 1879-1933 at least.

Educated at St John's Cambridge, matriculated 1875, B.A. (4th Wrangler) 1879, Fellow 1879-85; afterwards a private tutor. Played v. Oxford in the varsity matches 1877-80 (at first below J. N. Keynes; top board in the last two years). Son of a London pork butcher, so he was perhaps a scholarship boy.

Gunston played his first postal tournament in 1879 and gradually became more successful. He won the third Nash all-play-all tournament, the second *Dublin Mail* tournament, the first two *Womanhood* tournaments and some other O.T.B. competitions. Played in the B.C.F. British

Championships of 1905 and 1913. In 1917 he won the first of his six B.C.C.A. championships (one shared), the last of which was in 1931, and in both 1924 and 1928 he won the British Chess Federation's postal championship, a record only exceeded by MacDonald, who won the BCF version three times and the B.C.C.A. championship seven times.

Sources: Gaige, Venn; D. J. Rogers, *History of the British Correspondence Chess Association*.

H.

Halford, John.

Strong Birmingham player in the 1870s.

† (of tuberculosis) 26.11.1881 Tipton.

Would have won the 2nd C.P.C. Handicap correspondence tourney but for his fatal illness. The organiser (Ranken) presented him with the first on his deathbed, and later had to re-pay it out of his own pocket to the official winner, Snelgrove [q.v.]. Possibly related to the J. T. D. Halford who was a Shropshire player later in the nineteenth century.

Sources: Gaige; *The Field* 3.12.1881 p. 808; C.P.C. 6.12.1881, p. 589.

Hamel, Sigismund.

* 1823.

† 1897 Bingham.

Prominent Nottingham player, probably originally from Germany. Sometimes went to the continent, e.g. went to Breslau to see Anderssen.

Played one of the games in Nottingham's correspondence match with Derby, and probably involved in the Ipswich match also.

Hamond, Rev Francis Edward (Frank).

* 1869 Walsingham.

† 8.2.1932 Eastbourne.

Edwardian clergyman and strong player by correspondence and over-the-board (played in some British Championships). He had a late vocation but his previous profession is unknown.

Entered Church Missionary College, Islington, 1905. Played in the British Championship at Shrewsbury 1906 (one of his wins appears in *I.L.N.*, 1 Sept 1906, p. 302).

Obituary in *The Field* says he was a well-known Norfolk player with an attacking style. Competed several times for British Championship (first in 1906) and on the last occasion (1929) he beat the winner, Mir Sultan Khan.

March 1914 *B.C.C.A. Magazine* noted he had recently joined the association. Won the famous correspondence game against Rev W. Evill [q.v.] in 1915 (see Appendix VIII).

Sources: *Century*, Crock, Gaige; *The Field* 27.2.1932.

Harding Francis de Mattos.

† 1911.

Early B.C.C.A. Secretary.

Source: *B.C.C.A. Magazine*, 8 (June 1911), p. 68; Rogers, *History of the B.C.C.A.*.

Harrwitz Daniel.

* 29.4.1823 Breslau (now Wroclaw).

† 9.1.1884 Bozen (now Bolzano, ITA).

German chess master, resident in England for several years. Edited the *British Chess Review* (1853-4) and a column in the *Family Friend*.

Sources: *Century*; Gaige.

Hart, Tom Gedney.

* 1857 Patrington.

† 30.5.1921 Withernsea.

Yorkshire player (in Hull at least at some period). Tied first in the 5th *English Mechanic* correspondence tourney and played some tourneys in 1890s.

Sources: Gaige; *Leeds Mercury*; Fraser, *200 Games*.

Harvey, Ernest Louis.

* 31.3.1866 Belfast.

† 1900.

B.A. (Royal University of Ireland) 1888; called to the Irish Bar 1892. Practised law in Belfast.

Played an unfinished match with J. Rynd [q.v.] for the Irish Chess Championship.

Played in some postal matches.

There was at least one other Harvey playing chess in Belfast in the 1890s, and E. N. R. Harvey of Genoa, who played in French postal tourneys at the turn of the century, was somebody else again.

Source: Ferguson (ed.), *King's Inns Barristers*; Gaige; conversation with David McAlister.

Harvey, Francis *a.k.a.* 'F. H. of Torre', 'F. H. of Torquay'.

Personal details unknown.

A player often described in early 1850s chess columns as 'F. H. of Torre' (which is a place in Torquay), he is elsewhere named as Harvey, e.g. *Norfolk News* 14 Apr. 1860 and then *Cassells* 19 May 1860, in connection with games from the latter's postal tourney.

Hawkes, W. H.

Active 1860s correspondence player in London. No personal details known.

Healey, Percy H. (NB: Gaige has Percy E.).

* 1873 London (death details unknown).

Son of prominent chess problem composer **Frank Healey** (1828-1906), Percy Healey sometimes played correspondence chess, e.g. in the *B.C.M.* tourney 1908 where he was placed in the strong preliminary section 1, eliminating O'Hanlon but losing to Cole.

Healy, [Canon] John.

Kells, Ireland 1902-11.

* 1850.

† ---.

Canon and antiquary (author of works on Irish ecclesiastical history); son of a Dublin alderman. T.C.D. B.A. 1875; Rector of Kells 1887 -1917. Afterwards held a diocesan post and resided at Drakestown rectory, Navan. His son Rev Theodore Healy also occasionally played postal chess.

Sources: B.B.I. Crock, Rowland chess columns; T.C.D.; *Thom's Irish Who's Who 1923*.

Heitman, W.

Dates unknown.

In 1892 some Welsh players were involved in the hundred-a-side postal match, *Ireland versus the West of England*. They included 'Herr W. Heitman' of Pontypridd, who beat the strong Dublin player Woollett: *Dublin Evening Mail*, 9 Mar. 1893. Martyn Griffiths says Heitman was a jeweller.

Heywood, George Carm Heywood.

* 22.10.1853 Winkleigh, Devon.

† 1894? Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Active correspondence player in the 1870s (like his elder brother Mark, who also played postal chess). By trade a printer-compositor (1871 census). Moved to London. After a financial crisis, moved to Newcastle where he made an impression on the local chess world until he suddenly died.

Sources: *B.C.M.* 1891 pp. 402-3, 1893 pp. 507-12 (profile and photograph); *C.P.C.* 13.3.1895.

Hill, Rev Hans Stevenson.

Ardee, Co Louth.

Regular player in Rowland chess competitions 1886-1904 at least.

T.C.D. B.A. 1869, ordained 1871. Curate of Ardee from 1870.

Sources: Crock, T.C.D., chess columns.

Hincks, [Rev Dr] Edward.

* 19.8.1792 Cork.

† 3.12.1866 Killileagh, Co. Down.

Orientalist, philologist; some-time T.C.D. Fellow, clergyman.

Son of orientalist Rev T. Dix Hincks (1767 -1857), a Presbyterian minister.

Probably a founder member of the Dublin Philidorean Chess Club and certainly a member of the proto-club that pre-existed it. An *Irish Sportsman* article on old Irish chess clubs (probably by J. A. Conroy), 19 Jan. 1889, p, 782, mentioned Hincks in connection with the Philidorean. On 22 Feb. 1835, *B.L.L.* said Dr Hinckes [sic] was the best player in Belfast.

Admitted T.C.D. 1807, age 15, scholar 1810, B.A. 1812, fellow 1813, MA 1817, BD 1823, DD 1829.

Resigned his fellowship in 1819 to become Rector of Ardtrea. Later Rector of Killileagh (1826).

Sources: Alfred Webb, *Compendium of Irish Biography*, pp. 251-2; *T.C.D.* p. 400; McDowell & Webb, *Trinity*, p. 109, and *T.C.D. 1877 Calendar*, ii, p. 212. **Also** *D.N.B.*, ix (1908) pp. 889-90; *O.D.N.B.* xxvii, p. 258 (but chess not mentioned in either).

Hoffer, Leopold.

* 1842 Budapest.

† 28.8.1913 London.

Sources: Gaige,

MacDonnell, *Knights and Kings*, pp. 49-51.



Chess organiser and journalist. Not very active as a player. Chess editor of *The Field*, 1882-1913, and briefly of *Black and White*. Secretary of the second British Chess Association.

Holloway, Alfred.

* 11.1.1837 Bristol.

† 4.7.1905 Gawler, South Australia.

Chess correspondent of *Bristol Daily Post* c. 1861-4; later of an Australian paper.

Played much correspondence chess, in *Cassell's* tourneys etc.

Sources: Gaige, chess columns.

Holt, Locke.

* 1852 Lancashire.

† 1907 Wrexham?

A skilled iron worker and strongest chess player in north Wales, especially in the 1880s.

Sources: census data; chess columns; information from Martyn Griffiths.

Hooke, George Archer.

* 28.2.1857 London.

† 8.12.1934 Barnes.

Strong London amateur player; occasionally played correspondence chess (e.g. *Brighton Guardian* tourney 1882) and was on the British team for the 1903 cable match with America.

Brother of **Miss Alice E. Hooke** (c. 1862-1942) who played in the 1897 Ladies' International.

Hopwood, Thomas Henry a.k.a. 'Toz'.

* 20 Aug 1828 Manchester.

† ———.

Chess entrepreneur (probably unsuccessful), producing various kinds of chess accessories over a long period, after editing the *Household Chess Magazine* (three issues in 1865).

Horwitz, Bernhard.

* 10.5.1807 (year uncertain) Neustrelitz, GER.

† 29.8.1885 London.

Originally from the Berlin region, was a professional painter.

Collaborator of Kling [q.v.], with whom he compiled the book *Chess Studies* (1851?) and afterwards edited the *Chess Player* magazine (1851-3). Was involved in the London Chess Club committee in some of the games v. Amsterdam.

Named on the City of London Chess Club committee v. Vienna, 1872, but soon withdrew.

Sources: *Century*, Gaige, chess columns.

Hunt, Dr Joseph William.

* 1851 Canada.

† 17.4.1920 Wolverhampton.

Dr Hunt conducted a chess column in London: in the *Shoreditch Citizen* (1887-9), *East Central Times* (1889-90) and the *Hackney Mercury* (1891-4). These are never mentioned as having correspondence chess content, but an American collector made a bibliographic note: 'The three columns succeeded one another under the same editorship, the Problem and the Game numbering sequence being maintained in all.' (*MS Catalogue of Chess Newspaper Columns Library of James Seguin*, at the John G. White Collection, Cleveland, Ohio.)

It seems Dr Hunt then moved to the south coast and from December 1894 to January 1902 he wrote on chess in *Brighton Society*, in connection with which he ran some correspondence tournaments. Finally he edited a chess column to about 1903 in the *Kentish Mercury*. He was probably unusual; most doctors were probably too busy to conduct chess columns.

Sources: Gaige, *Whyld Columns*.

Hutchison-Stirling Miss Florence

Leading Scottish female player, *floruit* 1905-27. Won the first Scottish Ladies' Championship in 1905. Played first board for the Scottish Ladies' Chess Association in its correspondence match with the B.C.C.A. 1910-11. Best post-war result was 3rd in the 1923 British Ladies' Championship. Competed in the first Women's World Championship tournament in 1927.

Sources: *Century*, Gaige, Edinburgh Ladies' Chess Club papers.

Huttmann, J. H.

Chess café proprietor, publisher of early chess periodicals in 1840-1. See Chapter Three.

Source: Charles Tomlinson, 'A Reminiscence of Mr Huttmann's Chess Soirees', in *The Chess-Player's Annual for 1856*.

I.

Isaacs, P.

From Bath.

Played in William Nash's 1885 correspondence tourney.

Source: *Southern Weekly News* 4 July 1885.

Israel, S.

London, possibly a member of the Jewish social club in Aldgate.

Played in some of William Nash's correspondence tourneys in the 1880s.

Sources: *Land and Water*, 26 Aug. 1882, and other chess columns.

J.

Jacobs,

Herbert Levy.

* 16.6.1863.

† 11.2.1950 London.

Sources: Gaige p. 190; *The Chess-Monthly*,

Feb. 1890;

The Jewish Chronicle, 4 Jan. 1901.



Jewish barrister and campaigner for women's rights. Husband of famous singing teacher Agnes Larkcom (see Chapter Seven). Strong amateur OTB player, competed in a few correspondence events. In 1883 he played a match with W. T. Pierce; he played the first *Norwich Mercury* tournament of 1888, and in 1900-1 played a match against the Manchester Jewish Working Men's Club Chess Society.

Jacobs was also one of the strongest amateur players in London from the 1890s to the First World War. According to Sergeant, *Century*, p. 370, Jacobs won the Surrey Chess Championship in 1884, 1885, 1887, and 1889, and the City of London Club Championship in 1894 and 1899. He also played the Anglo-American cable matches of 1897, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1903, and 1909, as well as the British Championships of 1904 and 1909, also post-war.

Jenkin, John.

Glasgow chess-player; edited the column of the *Glasgow Weekly Herald* in its early years, then *C.P.C.* for three issues in 1876. Winner of the Counties' Chess Association championship in 1877. Gaige only says 'fl. 19th Century'.

Sources: *Century*; Fraser correspondence with White.

Johnson,

Richard Wright.

* 24.4.1844 Ulverston, Lancs.

† ----.

Sources: *Bouquet*, Gaige, chess columns, censuses.



Prominent Liverpool club player, correspondence chess specialist, involved in events from 1872-1906 at least, including Archdall's pioneering tourney 1876-7. Won one of the *Womanhood* tournaments although his results in earlier years had been poor.

In the 1881, 1891 and 1901 censuses he is described as 'Architect & Illuminator' [sic], which probably means he was an expert on lighting rather than a decorator of books. In 1871 he was an 'architectural draughtsman'.

In all these years he was married to the same woman, Helen, and they had at least four children. He played in numerous postal tournaments for at least thirty years (1872-1902 or later). He was also involved in chess problems and *The Chess Bouquet* has an extensive profile of him, pp. 164-7.

Jones, (Major) Edgar Montague OBE.

* 11/6/1866 Bristol.

† 30/6/1938 London.

Prominent B.C.C.A. member in the early years, once winning its championship, and active in chess organisation post-war.

Educated at New College, Oxford (MA, mathematics) where he was a prominent athlete.

Headmaster of St Albans School from 1902, where he became one of the founders of the Officers' Training Corps, held rank of Major and served briefly in Flanders with the 4th Guards Brigade.

Sources: Gaige; *WWW*, iii (1929-40), pp. 723-4; B.C.C.A. magazines; *B.C.M.*, lviii (1938), pp. 354-7 & 366; obituary in *The Times*, 1 July 1938.

Jones junior, Peter.

Dublin club secretary in the mid-1860s; very active in that period. Played in correspondence and telegraph events. Founder member of the City and County of Dublin club in 1867. No personal information known. Peter Jones senior, whoever he was, is not known for chess.

K.

Kassim.

See Ghulam Kassim.

Keeble, John.

* 27.8.1855 Norwich.

† 19.2.1939 Norwich.

Problem expert; chess editor of *Norwich Mercury* before First World War, and other papers (see Whyld's *Columns*). Played in the second *Preston Guardian* correspondence tourney.

Sources: *Columns*, Gaige, correspondence with Harold Murray in Bodleian.

Keen, Benjamin.

Probably born c. 1790-98.

Only son of Benjamin Keen (deceased) of St Dominica, West Indies.

† Aug? 1839.

Admitted Middle Temple 29.1.1816, called to the bar 21.5.1830.

Bell's Life in London 28 Aug. 1826 printed one of two games played simultaneously by Keen in Bristol. His obituary in *B.L.L.*, 4 Aug. 1839, said: 'By the recent death of Benjamin Keen, Esq., the handful of veteran chess-players loses a member. Mr Keen was in his day, a very fine player, and several times conducted a game without seeing the board.'

Other sources: London club list; *Register of Admissions to the Middle Temple*.

Kempe, Alfred.

Active player in 1850s and 1860s (OTB and postal) but no personal information. Sometimes described as of Jersey, sometimes of Exeter and sometimes King's College, London.

Kempson, S. G.

† c. 1880.

Kempson, at one time secretary of Birmingham Chess Club, was in the drinks business. An advertisement in the *Birmingham Mercury* early in 1857 shows he had just been appointed Birmingham agent by the important Derbyshire business Burton Ales (brewers of Ind Coope and East India Pale Ales); Kempson was described (*Birmingham Mercury*, 10 Jan. 1857, advertisement on p. 1.) as 'wine merchant and wholesale twine and paper dealer'. His death is mentioned in *C.P.C.* His wife also played in at least one Counties Chess Association congress and he was possibly related to S. G. Kempson, who played in the third *Dublin Evening Mail* correspondence tourney. S. G. Kempson died in Dursley, Gloucestershire, on 20 June 1894 (reported in *Dublin Evening Mail* 19 July 1894).

Kennedy, Captain Hugh Alexander.

* 1809 Brighton?

† 22.10.1878 Reading.

Army officer and writer. Associated with both the Brighton and Bristol chess clubs (president?). Author of articles on chess and satirical essays, some being collected in his book *Waifs and Strays, chiefly from the Chess-board* (1862). Answered chess enquiries for *Notes and Queries*. Friend of Staunton [q.v.], with whom, in Gosport, he conducted the telegraph games of April 1845 against players in London. Can be seen in a group picture in Appendix X.

Sources: *Century*, Gaige, obituaries.

King, Captain (pseudonym?).

Byline on apparently syndicated chess columns, seen so far in the *Bridlington Free Press* and *Western Daily Mercury* (1903-4, copy identical to Bridlington in weeks sampled), and *Middlesex County Times* (1911). Contact address very similar to the Athletic News Agency in London. Captain King is not mentioned in Whyld.

King-Parks, Thomas.

* 20.4.1884 Dublin.

† 23.11.1918 Manchester.

Chess problem composer and correspondence player (second Irish champion).

Sources: Gaige, *The Four-Leaved Shamrock*.

Kingsmill, Henry Charles.

* c. 1843 Letterkenny, Co. Donegal.

† 17.7.1909 Hobart, Tasmania.

Educated at home (son of a clergyman); admitted Caius Coll., Cambridge (the same as De Soyres) 4 Feb. 1867, aged 24; B.A. 1870. Played board two for Cambridge Staunton v. Oxford in the first team postal match, 1871. After tutorial appointments in England, emigrated to Australia and became government meteorologist in Tasmania.

Sources: Venn, *Times* 25 Aug. 1909.

Kling, Josef [Joseph in 1851 census].

* 19.3.1811 Mainz.

† 1.12.1876 London.

A musician born in Mainz, Germany, who turned to running Kling's Chess Rooms in Oxford Street. Colleague of Horwitz [q.v.] on *Chess Studies*, and their journal *The Chess Player*. Played correspondence game against Dundee club in the *Home Circle*.

Sources: Gaige, chess columns etc.

L.

Labourdonnais, see Bourdonnais.

Lambert, Charles James.

Exeter solicitor. Dates unavailable.

Can be seen in two group pictures in Appendix X, one from 1890 and the other from 1903.

Lambert, who played in numerous postal and other chess events, was born in 1850 or 1851. His earliest published postal game was in the *Gentleman's Journal* in March 1872 and the latest was in the North-South match of 1900-1. He did quite well (7th) in the Vizayanagaram tournament, 1883; only a few acknowledged masters and strong amateurs finished ahead of him.

He was the other Englishman who played with Blake in the second *Monde Illustré* marathon (1889-93) but his final score has not been found. He later competed in tournaments won by *La Stratégie* and won one of them (see Appendix VI).

The 1891 census shows him unmarried and living with his widowed mother Emmeline at 6 The Crescent, St Leonards, Exeter. The family was in the same house in 1871, when Charles was an articled clerk and his father a solicitor; he is not found in the 1901 census but may just have been abroad. He probably never married and it is unknown when he died. He never had a *B.C.M.* obituary and his name is too common to identify in the censuses.

Sources: census, Gaige, chess columns.

Larminie, William Rea.

* 1849 Castlebar, Co Mayo.

† 1900.

Poet and folklorist. Civil servant in India Office in London. T.C.D. MA 1871 (B.A. 1860, scholar 1857). Played in the first Irish correspondence tournament, 1870-1.

Living 1893-4 in Southsea when competing in the 3rd *Dublin Evening Mail* tourney.

Sources: *Dublin Evening Mail*; *T.C.D.*; Robert Welch, *Concise Oxford Companion to Irish Literature* (2000), p. 189.

Lasker, Dr Emanuel.

* 24.12.1868 Berlinchen (Prussia, now POL).

† 11.1.1941 New York.

World Chess Champion 1894-1921. Resident in Britain 1892-1902. Edited the *London Chess Fortnightly*, largely in absentia. Not to be confused with his brother Berthold (who wanted to play correspondence chess with English opponents in the 1890s) and another chess master, Edward Lasker, a cousin, who lived in England for some years up to the First World War and then emigrated to the U.S.A., where he qualified for a doctorate in mathematics.

Sources: Gaige.

Latta, David Miller.

* Sept. 1833 Edinburgh.

† 7.6.1895 Leith(?).

Leith solicitor. As a consequence of having a leg amputated at the age of ten, Latta perhaps preferred correspondence chess when he could get it. He played in some of the earliest Scottish events in the 1870s.

Later he won the second postal tournament of the Scottish Chess Association in the late 1880s, but also became Edinburgh Club champion on one occasion. He often acted in secretarial capacities for chess organisations and also composed problems.

Sources: Gaige, obituary in *B.C.M.*, xv p.303, copied from Scottish papers.

Lennox, George W.

* c. 1860 Hythe, Kent.

† 1908 Cardiff (last quarter).

At the end of the 1880s, the strongest player in South Wales; his Scottish father was a minister of religion (probably Presbyterian). He was in Cardiff by 1887 and in 1901 he was a 'printer and stationer, employer' in Wales.

Sources: chess columns, census, further information from Martyn Griffiths.

Lewis, William.

* 9.10.1787 Birmingham.

† 22.8.1870 London.

Principal member of the London Chess Club committee against Edinburgh.

Author of numerous works on chess (see bibliography for some examples).

Sources include: *Century*; Eales, *History*; Gaige p. 248, *O.D.N.B.*, Harold Murray, *History* and profile of Lewis in *B.C.M.* Can be seen in a group picture in Appendix X.

Liddell, Henry Thomas.

See Ravensworth.

Lindsay, Ven. (Archdeacon) Thomas Somerville.

* ?.? 1854

† 6.9.1933.

T.C.D. B.A. 1878, ordained 1879. Rector of Malahide 1889-1926. Archdeacon of Dublin 1918-26.

Amateur chess player. Editor of *The Visitor*, organ of the Church of Ireland Temperance Society, in which a column by Mrs Rowland briefly appeared in 1904.

Sources: *B.B.I.*, Crock, *T.C.D.*, *W.W.W. 1929-40.*

Linton, Rev Edward Francis.

* c. 1848.

† 1928.

Matriculated University Coll. Oxford 13.10.1866, aged 18; B.A. 1871; played v. Cambridge in the first team postal match 1871. Priest 1873. Rector of Edmonsham, dio. Sarum from 1901.

Church positions in Manchester, Norfolk, and Salisbury before that.

Sources: *B.B.I.*, Crock, Foster.

Locock,

Charles Dealtry.

* 27.9.1862 Brighton.

† 13.5.1946 London.

Sources:

Reminiscences in *B.C.M.*,

liii (Jan. 1933), pp. 7 -12;

croquet reports in *The Field* before WWI;

obituaries.



Educated University Coll. Oxford. Played first board v. Cambridge in the 1883 -6 varsity matches. Strong amateur player (including much correspondence chess in his youth). Winner of the British Amateur Championship (Newnes Challenge Cup) 1887. Played in four cable matches v. America, 1896-9, but retired from competition around 1900. Promoted chess in girls' schools and organised competitions for women up to the mid-1940s. Expert croquet player and translator of poetry.

Long Thomas.

* _____

† 10.05.1907 Dublin.

Irish civil servant: registrar of the Board of Works at retirement.

Dublin chess organiser, player, and writer.

Possibly also briefly Hon. Sec. of the Leinster Cricket Club.

In the 1860s played a long series of correspondence matches with a Glamorgan player, probably Wakeford [q.v.], and afterwards played further matches and tournaments, but apparently ceased active play in the 1870s.

Chess columnist of the *Rathmines School Magazine*.

Sources: Dublin Chess Club papers; chess columns including the *Dublin Evening Mail*; obituary in *Weekly Irish Times*, 25 May 1907; Lawrence's cricket handbooks.

Longfield, (Judge) Mountiford.

* 1802 Cork.

† 21.11.1884 Dublin.

Jurist and economist; amateur chessist. Admitted T.C.D. 2.11.1818, aged 16, B.A. 1823, Fellow 1825, LL.D 1831, first Professor of Political Economy 1832, Professor of Feudal & English Law 1834; Judge of Landed Estates Court 1858.

Briefly secretary of the merged Philidorean/Library Chess clubs but remained with the Library when a split occurred in the 1860s.

Sources: *O.D.N.B.*; *T.C.D.*; J. B. Howell, *A History of the Dublin Library Society*.

Lowe, T. H.

† 1857 or 1858.

Chess editor of the *Birmingham Mercury*, organising its correspondence tournament (the second to be played) having been a first-round loser in the *Home Circle* tourney.

Löwe, Edward a.ka. 'old Lowe'.

* 23.9.1794 Prague.

† 25.2.1880 London.

Coffee-house chess professional and later hotel proprietor in Charing Cross (Moufflet's Hotel?).

Won a match in which Staunton gave him odds, afterwards concealing the result, which was revealed in *Bell's Life in London*. This led to a small match against Captain Kennedy [q.v.].

Sources: Gaige.

Löwenthal, John Jacob [Johann Jacob]

* 15.7.1810 Budapest.

† 21.7.1876 London.

Son of a Jewish merchant, one of the trio who won the correspondence match for Pesth against Paris. A supporter of Kossuth, he was a political refugee, travelling to the USA in 1849. Came to London for the 1851 tournament and stayed, working as a journalist and paid chess organiser. Central figure in London chess for many years. Can be seen in a group picture in Appendix X.

Sources: *Century*, Gaige, *Men of our Time* (9th ed., 1875), p. 665.

Lyttelton, (Lord) George William, 4th Baron Lyttelton of Frankley.

* 31.3.1817 Hagley.

† 19.4.1876 London.

Resided Hagley Hall, Worcestershire.

Educated Eton and Trinity Coll. Cambridge.

Educationalist, writer, and social reformer. Served briefly in one of his brother-in-law W. E. Gladstone's administrations. President of the British Chess Association.

Can be seen in a group picture in Appendix X.

Sources: see Chapter Four case study footnotes: family histories, Solly memoirs etc.

M.

Surnames beginning with Mc or Mac are placed in order of the next letter.

McArthur, Sergeant-Major William.

* c. 1840, Glasgow. [Gaige's 'Feb. 1829' does not match censuses.]

† 9.3.1888 Chichester.

Chess problem composer and correspondence chess expert. Also entered the second correspondence draughts tournament of the *Bristol Draught Player*.

McArthur's greatest success was winning the first postal tournament of the *Preston Guardian*, 1879-81, and he was also involved in one of the earliest telephone matches in England. He was born in Glasgow and his first wife Sarah was from Mullingar. The 1871 census shows them in Bradford; in 1881 their various children were born in Hampshire, Yorkshire, Ireland and Chichester. When he died, he left eight children and his (second) wife was pregnant; over £20 was collected by a subscription among chess players throughout Britain. A McArthur Cup competition is still played annually in Sussex.

Sources: chess columns, especially obituary in *Southern Weekly News*, 17.3.1888. NB: Gaige, p. 275, confuses him with a G. McArthur, born in 1829.

McCombe, Alexander George

* ——— SCO.

† 14.4.1903 Melbourne.

Chess editor, according to Whyld, of first the *Glasgow Citizen* (1847-51) and later the *Australasian* (Melbourne, c. 1868-70). Played correspondence match v. Dundee in 1848.

Sources: *Columns*, Gaige.

Macdonald Dr Ronald Cadell.

* 4.7.1868 Inverbrothock, SCO.

† 26.1.1942 Inverness.

Leading Scottish player and correspondence chess champion, active from about 1895-1935.

Apparently he started playing postal chess in tournaments conducted by G. B. Fraser in the 1890s and won the last *Dublin Evening Mail* tournament (1896-8).

An army surgeon by career, he became Scottish over-the-board champion in 1901 but broke off his participation in the first *Womanhood* postal tournament to sail to South Africa. Played in the first (1904) BCF British Championship.

MacDonald was Scottish Champion again in 1904-5-6 and again 1927-8, but after the First World War he concentrated mostly on postal chess.

(Sometimes confused with Edmond MacDonald, who was the 1902 Scottish champion.)

Sources: *Century*, Gaige, chess columns; Rogers, *History of the B.C.C.A.*

McDonnell, Alexander (sometimes written M'Donnell).

* 22.5.1798 Belfast.

† 14.9.1835 London.

Member of a wealthy Belfast merchant family with interests in the Caribbean; lived many years in Demerara. Strongest Irish chess player of the early nineteenth century. Lost to Captain Evans [q.v.] the game traditionally considered to be the first played with the Evans Gambit. Played the celebrated matches with De la Bourdonnais [q.v.] in 1834. Died of Bright's Disease.

Sources: *O.D.N.B.*, Gaige; Utterberg, *De la Bourdonnais versus McDonnell*.

MacDonnell, Rev George Alcock.

[a.k.a. Hiber, Mars].

* 16.8.1830 Kilkenny

(says T.C.D.; Gaige has Dublin).

† 3.6.1899 London.



Other sources: *Century*; Crock; Gaige;

The Times 9 Jan. 1863 (separation from wife), 7 Mar. & 12

Dec. 1867; 5 Aug. 1872 (Kempe marriage case); *T.C.D.*

graduates records.

Irish-born chess player and journalist, Anglican clergyman. Prominent in the London chess world from the 1860s; one of the strongest amateur players. Did not play by correspondence. Officiated at the wedding of the Rowlands [q.v.].

Chess editor of the *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News* Author of *Chess Life-Pictures* and *Knights and Kings of Chess* (mostly based on his articles in the paper). The picture shown here is the frontispiece from that book.

Son of a clergyman, admitted T.C.D. 6 Nov. 1845. aged 15. B.A. 1852 (according to T.C.D. records, 1853 in some sources), deacon 1854 (Meath), ordained 1855 (Dublin), moved to London in 1857 (Curate of St Peter's Walworth).

Lost that position after performing a marriage ceremony for a divorced person. Other curacies followed.

Eventually found a new curacy in London; then Vicar of Bisbrooke, nr Uppingham, from 1887.

Mackenzie, J.

Dates unknown.

From Islay, Inner Hebrides, Scotland.

Played in the first S.C.A. correspondence tourney.

Mackersy, Lindsay.

Member of the Edinburgh Chess Club committee against London.

Accountant, added to the match team after the start, elected 9 May 1825.

Source: club minute book.

MacLoughlin, Rev Paul.

Dates unknown.

Irish Catholic priest (Dunmore presbytery, diocese of Tuam).

Postal player 1907 -16 at least.

Madan, Falconer.

* 15.4.1851 Cam, Gloucestershire.

† 22.5.1935 Oxford.

Bodley's Librarian (1882-1912) at Oxford, after being number two for many years to Nicholson [q.v.]. They both played against Cambridge in 1873 and Madan also played in 1874.

Madan was described as the 'last of the scholar librarians', being an expert on both manuscripts and early printed works.

His scrapbooks relating to chess: 'Collections relating to chess, twentieth century' (Oxf. Bodl. MSS Eng. Misc. d. 258-9) include reminiscences of the first varsity match in London, being his notes for the speech he gave at the dinner for the 50th match in the 1920s.

He also possibly wrote 'The Chess Club', in *The Oxford Undergraduates Journal*, 24 Apr. 1873, p. 5 (his papers refer to it.).

Sources: Sir Edmund Craster, *History of the Bodleian Library 1845-1945* (Oxford 1981), p. 157; *O.D.N.B.* xxxvi, pp. 56-7.

Mahood, J.

Dates unknown, *floruit* 1900-1914.

Northern Ireland player, moved to England.

Won the 1900-1 *Hampstead Record* postal tournament and played in some correspondence matches, e.g. *North v. South of Ireland*, 1913-14.

Runner-up to Yates in the 1913 British Championship.

Mair,

[Dame] Sarah Elizabeth Siddons.

* 23.9.1846 Edinburgh.

† 13.2.1941 Wendover, Bucks.

Sources include: *O.D.N.B.*; Edinburgh Ladies

Chess Club papers; Rae, *Ladies in Debate*.

The picture, from that book, shows her at about age 30.



Edinburgh educationalist, feminist, and chessist.

Honorary LL.D. 1920 (Edinburgh). Created D.B.E. 1931.

Played against J. P. Murray for the Scottish Ladies' Chess Association in its correspondence match with the B.C.C.A. 1910-11.

Marriott, Arthur Towle.

* 1859 Nottingham.

† 21.11.1884 Nottingham.

Strongest player in a family of noted Nottingham middle-class chessists. Died of tuberculosis when on the brink of becoming one of England's leading players. Winner of the 2nd *Preston Guardian* correspondence tournament (the strongest played up to that date).

Sources: Chess columns; Gaige; MacDonnell, *Knights and Kings*, p. 185; Nottingham club papers; additional information from A. J. Gillam.

Maude, Aylmer.

* 28.3.1858 Ipswich.

† 25.8.1938 Great Baddow.

English businessman in Moscow. Later (with wife) translator of Tolstoy's works. Edited the first Moscow chess column in *Zritel* (Spectator), 1881. Frequently contributed games to English chess editors. Returned to England in 1890s.

Sources: *O.D.N.B.*; Maude's *Life of Tolstoy*.

Mauvillon, Friedrich Wilhelm von.

* 1.5.1774 Kassel.

† 29.6.1851 Coburg.

Army officer, Lived thirty years in the Netherlands until retirement 1822.

Became chess writer.

Correspondence chess pioneer (Games played in 1804: see Chapter One).

Sources: Gaige; obituary in Berlin *Schachzeitung*, Aug. 1851, pp. 272-4.

Meiklejohn, Hugh Cree.

Edinburgh Chess Club secretary and committee member against London.

Meyer, Heinrich Friedrich Ludwig

* 6.6.1839 Anderten.Hannover.

† 15?1.1928 Letchworth.

Problemist and chess editor, e.g. *Gentleman's Journal* and *Boy's Own Paper*.

Source: Gaige; chess columns.

Millar, (Misses) Clara and Marian (sisters).

Floruit 1906-14.

Manchester Ladies Club players and B.C.C.A. committee members.

More research should be done on them.

Millard, Henry.

* 1824.

† 1891 Ilkley, Yorks.

Matriculated T.C.D. 1846, B. A. 1850 (*Alumni Dub*, i, p. 398; ii, p. 576).

Strong Yorkshire player, blind for much of his life. Millard spent four years in Northern Ireland as tutor to sons of Mr Blackett, agent to Lord Bessborough, and while there he became friendly with Sir John Blunden. This seems to have been in late 1840s or early 1850s since he afterwards had about seven years as a tutor in Yorkshire and then married in 1860 when he opened a preparatory school for boys. He went blind two years after his marriage, gave up chess for thirteen years but on taking it up again he attained 'very nearly the same force as had characterized it when he met his opponents under equal physical conditions'.

In the 1882-3 *B.C.M.* correspondence tourney, he won the second prize, losing to the winner Bridgwater after hurriedly posting an 'ill-considered move'. He at once wired a correction and the telegram reached his opponent before the letter containing the fatal move, but by the rules of play the correction was inadmissible and he resigned.

In Jan 1891 he had commenced a match with Leather [q.v.]. He won an Evans Gambit and the other, defending a KG, was not completed.

Sources: T.C.D.; death notice in *B.C.M.*, xi (June 1891), p. 289, and obituary in July, pp. 337 -40.

Mills, David Yarnton.

* 29.8.1849 Stroud.

† 18.12.1904 London.

English insurance salesman. executive. One of the strongest postal and OTB players in Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century, although his obituary said he 'did not play serious chess until he was 26 years of age'. He started out as a 'commercial clerk and bullion broker' (1871 census) and worked for Sun Life and the Clerical, Medical and General insurance companies until he joined Equitable Life, of which he was joint secretary at the time of his death. Spent some time in Paris and two long spells in Scotland.

Eight times Scottish champion: 1885, 1887, 1892, 1895-6-7 and 1899-1900. Winner of the British Amateur Championship (Newnes Challenge Cup) 1890. Played some correspondence chess and won one of Nash's tourneys. Mills was a leading member of the British Chess Club committee in the correspondence match v. St Petersburg. Played in the cable matches v. America, 1896-1903.

Sources: Gaige; Obituary in *B.C.M.*, xxv (Jan. 1905) pp. 708.

Miniati, N. T

* 1863.

Strong Manchester amateur. Edited *The Chess Review* in 1892-3: five issues only.

Sources: Gaige; Nowell & Smith, *Chess and Manchester*.

Mitcheson, William a.k.a. 'Nemo Chits'.

* 1834 Newcastle.

† 4.7.1888.

Active as a chess player from the 1850s to late 1870s.

Member of the Newcastle and Gateshead chess club.

Mitcheson was a teacher and librarian. His first chess problem was published by the *Home Circle* in 1851. He conducted a chess column in the *Newcastle Journal* 1863-7 (says *B.C.M.*) and from 1876-8 in the *Newcastle Courant*

Sources: Gaige, *B.C.M.*, viii (1888) p. 362; chess columns.

Mocatta, Abraham.

* 1830 London?

† 25.12.1900 London.

Prominent member of Sephardi Jewish community in London; stockbroker. President of the City of London Chess Club 1893-7 (a member for many years previously).

Also associated with the chess club in the first London Jewish Working men's Club, Aldgate. Not a correspondence player.

Sources: *American Chess Magazine*, ii (no. 6, Dec. 1898) p. 257; *Century*; Gaige; *Jewish Chronicle* AND *Jewish World*, 4 Jan. 1901 (obituaries).

Monck, William Henry Stanley

(usually known as 'Stanley').

* 21.4.1839 (probably in Co. Kilkenny).

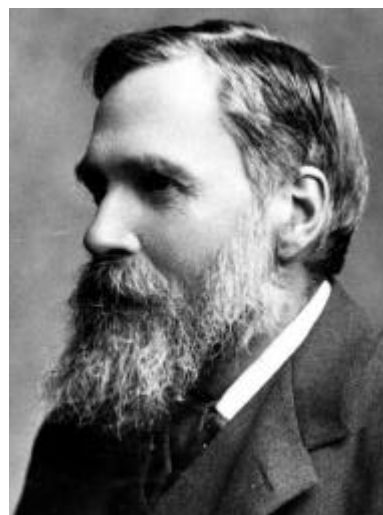
† 24.6.1915 Dublin.

Sources include: T.C.D. alumni records and calendars;

obituaries in *Cork Weekly News* 3.7.1915;

Irish Book Lover, vii, p. 16; *Irish Times*, 26.6.1915 and 3.7.1915;

Kings Inns Barristers; conversations with Irish astronomer Ian Elliott; MS letters to Lecky and W.E. Thrift in TCD Library.



Scholar of Trinity Coll. Dublin, and B.A. (1861). Philosopher, amateur astronomer, writer, and barrister (King's Inns 1873). Author of books on philosophy and solar astronomy.

Professor of Moral Philosophy, T.C.D. 1878. Chief Registrar to the Court of Bankruptcy in Dublin, c. 1890 (retired 1912). Campaigner for legal reform.

Active correspondence chess player for about forty years, e.g. in the Postcard Match with the USA (started 1877). Conducted chess columns in *Our School Times* and *Common Sense*.

Profiled in the *Dublin Evening Mail* chess column, 20 Feb. 1890, under the heading 'Diorama'.

Mongredien, Augustus.

* 17.3.1807 London.

† 30.3.1888 London.

President of both the London and Liverpool clubs.

Involved in last Liverpool correspondence match v. Leeds and also in the drawn game for London Chess Club (of which he was President) v. Amsterdam. Loser of Morphy's last match.

Author of some books on economics. Can be seen in an group picture in Appendix X.

Sources: *Century*; Gaige; articles in *B.C.M.* etc.

More, John.

Member of the Edinburgh Chess Club committee against London.

Christian name is in 1824 club membership list.

Morgan, William Wray.

† 23.6.1893 London?

Chess goods dealers and publishers. Gaige, *Personalialia*, p. 290, said 'fl. 1880-1900' but there were two people of this name, father and son. Gaige, *Personalialia*, p. 290, has no dates, just 'fl. 1880-1900'. The elder was certainly in business by 1878, as he became publisher of *C.P.C.* then. Whyld said he died in 1893. The son still had a chess business in the early 1900s, advertising in the *Chess Chronicle* 1901-2. In 1908 he provided Gunsberg with a reference when the latter was seeking naturalisation; they apparently lived in adjacent streets in New Barnet and were stated to have known each other for about thirty years. The six-week break between issues 426 and 427 of *C.P.C.* in 1891, said (in the latter issue) to be because the proprietor was moving to New Barnet, may signify when Morgan senior retired and his son took control of the business and magazine.

Sources: K. Whyld, *Quarterly for Chess History* 8 (nominally 2002), p. 461; *C.P.C.* covers and advertisements; information from Kew supplied by Peter Backman; conversation with Tony Gillam.

Morphy, John *a.k.a.* J. Murphy, *a.k.a.* J. Moriarty.

floruit 1881-1895.

Born Ireland c. 1860, emigrated to New York in 1894 'without a testimonial'.

Leading Dublin player for several years; a game against Steinitz from some of the latter's 1881 simultaneous displays is extant. Proprietor of Morphy's Chess Divan in Grafton Street, c. 1888-92. Played in some correspondence chess matches, and the patrons of his Divan played a match with Edinburgh Chess Club 1891 -2.

Probably left Ireland because of debts. The name change from Murphy was probably to promote the business, and then to Moriarty to evade creditors. Known at the Brooklyn Chess Club in 1895.

Sources: *Dublin Evening Mail, Irish Sportsman, St Patrick's Chess Club Pamphlet.*

Morphy, Paul.

* 22.06.1837 New Orleans.

† 10.07.1884 New Orleans.

American chess player, lawyer.

Winner of the first American Chess Congress, New York 1857.

Won matches in Europe 1858-9 against Löwenthal, Harrwitz, Anderssen, and Mongredien (all q.v.) and reckoned the world's best player at this date. Staunton declined to play a match with him.

Never played high-level chess again but was regarded by many as unofficial world champion; while he lived, no attempt was made to institute a championship. Did not play by correspondence.

Sources: Gaige p. 290; Lawson, *The Pride and Sorrow of Chess.*

Mortson, J. N.

Hull player (leading member of the Catholic Institute club), moved to Yarmouth about 1880.

Losing finalist of the *Hull Bellman* correspondence tourney.

Mossop, Charles?

* 1833? (if he was the Charles Mossop, solicitor, in *B.B.I.*)

† October 1901 (*Chess Chronicle*, i, 9 Oct. 1901, p. 85 says 'last Tuesday').

Editor of the *Westminster Papers* after the first volume. He probably wrote much of the content on card games (except the contributions by 'Cavendish', q.v.) but not the chess.

The forename Charles is found in MacDonnell, *Knights and Kings*, p. 112.

Mott, Henry Cook.

born c. 1818.9 Stepney.

† 25.3.1875 London.

Civil servant: a clerk in the Poor Law offices, Possibly connected with the Mott piano family.

Edited *Chess Studies* for Kling and Horwitz [q.v.]. Chess editor of the *Home Circle* (1849-54) and of *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper* (1853-67).

Mott was the pioneer in the development of correspondence chess tournaments, running seven events in total, mostly through his second column.

Obituary by Wormald: 'Wee regret to announce the death of Mr H. C. Mott after a lingering illness. Though not a chessplayer of the first rank, Mr Mott was a diligent and devoted lover of the game; and, as an examiner of problems and end-games, had few equals for patience and accuracy... His kind heart and genial disposition endeared him to a large circle of friends, by whom his loss will be deeply felt.' *I.L.N.*, lxvi (10 Apr. 1875), p. 355.

Other source: *Newcastle Courant*, 5 Jan. 1877; censuses; death certificate.

Muff, ?.

President of Leeds Chess Club, and player in their 1834 lost match v. Doncaster and successful match v. Liverpool, c. 1838.

Murray, [Major] Archibald Keir.

* c. 1834-5? (Glasgow)

† May 1907 (London).

Hobbies chess editor and correspondence chess organiser 1898-1907. B.C.C.A. founder member and first President. In the 1870s, Murray was one of the most active chess players in the west of Scotland, his name often being mentioned in the *Glasgow Weekly Herald* chess column between 1872-9. In 1872 he was named as 'pro. tem' secretary of the proposed Scottish Chess Association, which did not materialise then. He was on the council of the Glasgow Chess Club from 1873-7 and so may have been involved in its postal match against Dublin (1873-4). He was hon. sec. when it organised the annual congress of the Counties Chess Association in 1875, and he played in the *England-Scotland* match held on that occasion. Associated on the business side with the C.P.C. in 1876-7.

Murray played in several postal chess competitions, including Archdall's two tournaments. Moved to London by 1881 and apparently was inactive in chess then until the late 1890s.

Author of *History of the Scottish Regiments in the British Army* (Glasgow 1862). He was a Major of the Ninety-seventh Lanarkshire Volunteer Guards, and should not be confused with the Archibald James Murray who became a general.

Sources: *Land and Water*, xiv (9 Nov. 1872), p. 317; *Glasgow Weekly Herald*, C.P.C. etc.; census information; *Hobbies*, *Womanhood* columns; B.C.C.A. minutes.

Murray, Harold James Ruthven.

* 24.6.1868 London.

† 16.5.1955 Midhurst.

Educated Mill Hill School. Eldest son of lexicographer Sir James Murray. Headmaster of Ormskirk Grammar School, latterly schools inspector. Author of *A History of Chess* (1913) and other writings on games. Played some friendly correspondence games.

Sources: Papers and book collection in the Bodleian Library, and O.U.P. file on Murray's books, both in Oxford; Gaige p. 295; K. E. M. Murray (his daughter), *Caught in the web of words*. Can be seen in a family photograph in Appendix X.

Murray, John Paul.

Son of A. K. Murray [q.v.], aged 17 in 1881 census. B.C.C.A. founder member.

N.

Nash, William.

* 23.2.1841 Barton, Bedfordshire.

† 22.3.1922 Islington, London.

Important correspondence chess tourney organiser in the 1870s and 1880s. Nash was an active player and problem composer from 1871-88 at least.

Lived mostly in St Neots, Huntingdonshire (now Cambridgeshire), where he was first clerk to a land agent and then landlord of the "Half Moon" Hotel.

When he gave up that hotel, he took a boarding house at Hastings.

Said to have been also an expert billiards player.

Sources: censuses; Gaige p. 298, *B.C.M.* obituary *St Neots Advertiser*, *Hunts and Beds News*, Friday 31 Mar. 1922 p3.

Neville, Francis Henry.

* 2.12.1847 Exeter.

† 5.6.1915 Letchworth.

Matriculated Sidney Sussex Coll. Cambridge 1867; B.A. (15th Wrangler) 1871. College lecturer in chemistry and physics, and scientific author; F.R.S. 1897.

Played in the second postal team match v. Oxford, 1872, and in the first OTB varsity match, 1873.

Sources: *Century*, Venn.

Newham, Samuel.

* 24.6.1796 Wilford.

† 24.3.1875 Nottingham.

Leading Nottingham (Bromley House Club) player from 1830s. Played correspondence match with Harry Wilson [q.v.] in 1840.

Sources: Gaige, *Bell's Life in London*; Nottingham club papers.

Newnes,

(Sir) George (M.P.).

* 13.3.1851 Matlock, Derbyshire.

† 9.6.1910 Lynton, Devon.

Sources include: *Bouquet*; *O.D.N.B.*;

MacDonnell, *Knights and Kings*, pp.108-9;

Hulda Friederichs, *The Life of Sir George Newnes, Bart.*;

Kate Jackson, *George Newnes and the new journalism in Britain*.



Publisher and politician. MP. Baronet 1894.

Newnes was the principal patron of chess events in England from the 1880s to 1914. In his early years as an entrepreneur in Manchester, he was a mainstay of the Manchester Chess Club, whose library was founded on the collection he donated them when he moved south.

The biography by Friederichs, who worked for Newnes for many years, shows him to be an innovator in other ways: he was one of the earliest businessmen in London to have electricity installed in his offices, one of the very first to buy an automobile, which he went to Paris in person to collect and drive home. A child who died young was playing correspondence chess.

Liberal MP for Newmarket 1885 -95 and for Swansea 1900 -1910.

Nicholson, Edward Williams Byron.

* 16.3.1849 St Helier, Jersey.

† 17.3.1912 Oxford.

Second president of the reformed Oxford University Chess Club (previously Secretary). The correspondence matches against Cambridge were probably his idea; he played in both. He also played as a substitute in the first OTB varsity match.

Matriculated Trinity Coll. Oxford 12 Oct. 1867, aged 18; B.A. 1871. Librarian of the London Institution 1873-82. As Bodley's Librarian (1882-1912), chiefly responsible for modernisation of the library and its cataloguing.

Sources: Foster; Sir Edmund Craster, *History of the Bodleian Library 1845-1945* (Oxford 1981); *O.D.N.B.* xl, pp. 809-11.

Nightingale, Rev William Ridgely.

CC in East Preston, Worthing, West Sussex 1893-5.

Crock 1885 p. 877 has: C in Brighton since 1884; theology at KCL, B.A. 1880, ordained 1882

Chichester, so was probably in club there before going to Brighton. No change 1890, 1895, 1900.

Crock 1905 i:1015 now V of Selmeston w Alciston, dio Chich. 1904-16; was V of E. Dean w Friston 1900-04.

Crock 1910 & 1914-15 no change. In 1920 has retired but alive still, in a home in Surrey.

O.

O'Farrell, (Captain) Patrick.

* 1832 Co. Cavan.

† 21.12.1902 Washington DC.

Belfast club player in the early 1860s; defeated in round 1 of the third *Cassell's* tourney (1860).

Emigrated to the USA, eventually settled in the Connecticut state capital, Hartford, where he resumed active chess play. Played on the USA team v. Canada in the first Postcard Match, 1876-7.

B.C.M. noted in 1901:

Many of our Irish readers will be interested to learn that Captain O'Farrell was formerly a member of the Belfast Club and holder of that Club's Championship Medal as far back as 1862, in which year he left Ireland for America to join the Union Army, in which he enlisted as a private, served throughout the war, and retired with the rank of Captain. After leaving the Army he settled in Hartford, Connecticut, resumed the practice of chess, and proved his ability as a player by winning the State Championship. He now for the third time again emerges as champion, in the 68th year of his age. He is an old friend and subscriber to this journal, and we trust that he will long be spared to enjoy many a chess fight before reaching the final life-game, which all must play and resign.

Sources: *B.C.M.*, xxi (1901), p. 416 (for the above quotation; also a photograph); Gaige; also the *Weekly Northern Whig* in the 1860s (he sent them American chess news) and the *Hartford Weekly Times* (late 1870s).

Ogden, Charles Burdett.

* ———

† 10.12.1923.

From Leeds. Magdalene Coll. Cambridge. B.A. (28th Wrangler) in 1872 and became a schoolmaster. Played for in the second postal team match v. Oxford, 1872, and in the first two OTB varsity matches of 1873-4. He 'died suddenly, Dec. 10, 1923, whilst playing a game of chess'.

Sources: *Century*, Venn.

O'Hanlon, John J.

* 1874 Portadown.

† 20.2.1960 Dublin.

Strongest Irish player in the first half of the twentieth century. Won the Irish Championship in a match against J. Rynd 1913 after winning qualifying match with Charles Barry. Later Irish Champion on further occasions. First appears in chess columns as a problem solver in the 1890s,

and played many correspondence matches and tourneys 1900-15. Played in the 1921 British Championship. Won on first board for Ireland in 1925 correspondence match v. USA.

Sources: Gaige p. 310; D. McAlister (internet articles & personal discussions); Rowland columns.

Owen, Rev John. a.k.a. 'Alter'.

* 8.4.1827 Marchington.

† 24.11.1901 Twickenham.

Well-known Liverpool player, with an original style, favouring openings such as 1 e4 b6 (now called the Owen Defence) which only began to be played again in the 1970s. One of the strongest 'fighting reverends' in the Victorian chess world, clearly of master strength at his best, ca. 1858-1875.

Educated Trinity Coll. Trinity Cambridge, B.A. 1850 (probably played in some of their postal matches); ordained 1852; Perpetual Curate of Hooton 1862-1901, formerly curate in Putney.

Sources: Crock, Gaige, Venn.

P.

Palmer, James Thomas.

* 17.4.1853 Sheffield?

† 24.8.1929 Rochdale?

Chess editor, player and correspondence tournament organiser.

Police officer who lived in Hull, Preston and finally Rochdale (with rank of Superintendent).

He was involved in the Berry murder case in Liverpool (concerning the first woman to be hanged at Walton jail) and that he was a colleague in the Lancashire police of Superintendent Isaac Bryning, from Blackburn [q.v.].

Sources: *Chess Amateur*, xv (1920-1) p. 174; Gaige.

Pardon, George Frederick a.k.a. Captain Crawley.

1824-1884.

Writer and journalist. Editor of several chess columns, usually of short duration (or handed over to others); see Chapter Three. Began several correspondence tournaments. Author of several books on indoor games including chess and billiards.

Sources: *O.D.N.B.*

Parnell, John Howard.

1843-1923.

Elder brother of Charles Stewart Parnell.

M.P. 1895-1900. Played for the Commons in several chess matches. Afterwards City Marshal of Dublin. Mentioned playing chess in James Joyce's *Ulysses* (Wandering Rocks episode).

Parnell, Hon. Victor Alexander Lionel Dawson.

* 25.8.1852.

† 6.1.1936.

Educated Christ Church Oxford. Played in the 1875 varsity match v. Cambridge. Took up chess again later in life.

Barrister. The third son of Henry William, 3rd Lord Congleton, making him a second cousin of the Irish politicians Charles Stewart & John Howard Parnell. One of the leading members of the B.C.C.A. in its early years. Runner-up in the 1908-12 *B.C.M.* postal tourney.

Sources: *B.B.I.*; Burke (107th ed. p. 876, under 'Congleton');

Parratt, Sir Walter.

* 10.2.1841 Huddersfield.

† 27.3.1924 Windsor.

Already a well-established musician, who was already one of the strongest amateur chessists in Yorkshire, when he got the call to Oxford.

Played for Oxford in the first Varsity match, London 1873. Later a famous organist (Master of the King's Musick, 1893-1924), who sometimes played chess blindfold while playing the instrument.

Sources: chess sources; *O.D.N.B.*, xlii, pp. 858-9.

Peach, Rev James Legard.

* 3.7.1861.

† 8.4.1921.

Played correspondence chess in Yorkshire, 1900-4 at least.

Uppingham School; matriculated Trinity Coll. Cambridge 1880, B.A. 1883; not on team in varsity matches. Vicar of Appleton-le-Street, Yorks 1887-8, after which went to India with Oxford University Mission. Principal St James' School Calcutta to 1896 approx.

Sources: Crock, Venn.

Peake, Alfred S. a.k.a. 'A. S. Blake'.

floruit 1879-97.

Strong Dublin player until his emigration to London, Jan. 1897; occasionally mentioned as a player in England thereafter. Chess editor of the *Weekly Irish Times* 1879-82 and of the *Irish Sportsman* in 1886; then edited the *Irish Chess Chronicle* in 1887. Hon. Sec. of the Irish Chess Association 1886-89 and of Dublin Chess Club 1891-6. Occasionally seen in London chess thereafter.

Peart, E?.

Tyneside player in the 1870s.

Winner of Archdall's knock-out correspondence tourney, 1875-6.

Perigal, George.

† 1 Apr 1855, London?, aged 48.

Secretary London Chess Club from 1830.

Not a correspondence player.

Source: Gaige p. 324.

Philidor, François-André Danican.

* 7.9.1726 Dreux, FRA.

† 28? 8.1795 London.

Music composer. Greatest chess player of the eighteenth century. Author of *Chess Analysed* (1750) and later editions.

Philidor's date of death is a matter for further research. It is nowadays usually stated to have been 31 August, e.g. in the *ODNB*. Both Koch in the *Handbuch* ('Philidor und Sein Zeit'), and Murray's *History*, p. 865, had followed Allen in stating 24 Aug., but Murray later preferred 31 Aug. (*Short History*, p. 67). Most, like Dr Carroll and Gaige p. 328, have followed this. Twiss, *Miscellanies*, is alone in correctly stating that Philidor's death was reported in London newspapers on Saturday 29 Aug. Two newspapers in the British Library's Burney Collection, the *St James's Chronicle or the British Evening Post* and the *Whitehall Evening Post*, both confirm this, saying he had died the previous day. Later reports, upon which the other writers relied, copied from these and are misleading about the date. Further research is desirable to confirm whether the 28th or an earlier date is correct, but the 31st can definitely be ruled out.

Sources include: Gaige p. 328; Allen, *Life of Philidor*; Twiss *Chess and Miscellanies*; Carroll series of articles in *BCM*, 1961.

Pierce, James.

* 1.7.1833 London.

† 27.4.1892 Teignmouth (Venn)

or Brighton (Gaige).

Sources include: Gaige, Venn, *English Mechanic* obituary, 12 May 1892; *B.C.M.* obituary.



Matriculated Corpus Christi Cambridge 1852, B.A. (16th Wrangler) 1856. Mathematical master at Bedford Grammar School 1866-80. Retired, apparently due to ill health.

Poet, problemist and chess writer, sometimes with his brother, W. T. Pierce [q.v.]. They co-authored *English Chess Problems* (1873) and *Pierce-Gambit, Papers and Problems* (1888). James Pierce also published two volumes of his poems: one entitled *Stanzas and Sonnets*, and the other *In Clouds and Sunshine*.

From October 1876, he conducted the weekly chess column in the *English Mechanic*, running several correspondence tournaments as mentioned in Chapter Six. He wrote an article for *B.C.M.* on how to run a postal tournament (see appendix) and a postal chess short story, reprinted in *The Write Move* (ed. Harding). He also contributed to *British Chess Magazine*.

Pierce,

William Timbrell.

* 30.3.1839 London.

† May 1922 Shiplake.

Brother of James Pierce [q.v.].



Sources include: *Bouquet*; census data; Gaige; Whyld, *Columns*; profile and picture in *The Chess-Monthly*, June 1894.

Architect, retired by 1891.

Sussex Chess Champion 1884 and 1885. Played his earliest known correspondence game in 1865 and he was still active with the B.C.C.A. when he died, having completed a span of activity exceeding even that of Fraser. Timbrell Pierce was particularly interested in chess openings analysis and, in his earlier years, in chess problems, on which he wrote two books with his brother. Conducted a chess column in the *Brighton Herald*, 1878-81. Succeeded Crum [q.v.] as problem editor of the *C.P.C.* in 1879; later wrote for *B.C.M.* Staunch advocate of the algebraic chess notation when it was highly unfashionable in Britain.

Pilkington, Richard

* 1834.

† 11.7.1894 Penzance.

One-time President of the City of London Chess Club before retiring to the West Country. Not a strong player, finishing next to last in the 1883 London Vizayanagaram tournament. Afterwards took up postal chess, and participated in the Fraser U.K. International and several other events.

Source: Gaige.

Platt, Charles.

* 28.5.1865.

†———

Carlisle; regular correspondence player from the late 1890s to the First World War.

Played in *La Stratégie*, *Hobbies* and Rowland events; became committee member of the B.C.C.A.

Plunkett, Rt. Hon. Sir Horace Curzon

* 24.10.1854.

† 26.3.1932 Weybridge.

Third son of Edward, Baron Dunsany, and uncle of the writer Lord Dunsany (Edward Plunkett: who was one of the prominent Irish chessists of the 1920s, and author of a short story, *The Three Sailors' Gambit*).

Educated at Eton and Oxford (matriculated University Coll. 1 Oct. 1873); B.A. 1878. Patron of chess in Ireland from 1890s to First World War. Played chess v. Cambridge in the varsity matches 1874-7 (top board v. J. N. Keynes on the last three occasions). Played chess for the House of Commons in several matches, e.g. v. U.S. Congress (by cable) in 1897.

Cattle rancher in U.S.A. 1879-89. Then promoted agricultural development in the U.K.; Founder of the Irish Co-operative movement. Member of Parliament 1892-1900. K.C.V.O. 1903. Numerous posts and honours. Senator in Irish Free State 1922-3. Obituaries published by mistake in 1920.

Sources: *Century*; *W.W.W.*; *O.D.N.B.*; chess columns.

Portilla, V[incent] N.

Admitted Emmanuel Coll. Cambridge 1869.

Played for Cambridge Staunton v. Oxford in the 1871 postal match.

Described by Venn as a 'Spanish-Mexican', he did not graduate.

Potter, William Norwood.

* 27.8.1840 London.

† 13.8.1895 Sutton, Surrey.

Strong London amateur player in the 1870s. Acted as assistant to Steinitz on the City of London Chess Club committee v. Vienna, 1872-4.

Editor of the *City of London Chess Magazine*, Feb. 1874-Jan. 1876, and later of the chess column in *Land and Water*.

Sources: Gaige p. 338. Obituary and picture in *The Chess-Monthly*, Apr. 1895.

Pratt, Peter.

* c. 1770 London.

date of death unknown.

Member of the London Chess Club committee against Edinburgh. Writer of miscellaneous works including books on chess.

Sources: Eales, *Chess*; Gaige p. 340.

Prior, Rev Charles Herman.

* 1850 Greenwich.

† 31.10.1899 Cambridge.

Harrow and Cambridge: matriculated Caius Coll. 1869; B.A. 1873 (3rd Wrangler); Fellow of Pembroke 1873-99.

Priest 1875; Curate of St Benet's, Cambridge 1875-81.

Played in the first Cambridge Staunton team v. Oxford in the 1871 postal match.

Source: Venn.

Q.

Quilter, Rev Frederic[k] William.

* 1831.2?

† c. 1910.11 (disappears from Crock after 1910 ed.).

Matriculated Lincoln Coll. Oxford 26.6.1851, aged 19; B. A. (2nd class Natural Sciences) 1855.

Possibly involved in the Oxford Hermes losing match v. Trinity Cambridge in 1855 [see under Evill, Alfred].

Sources vary on final k, seems to drop it in Crockfords.

Priest 1856. In Tasmania 1857-67, as ordained and teacher e.g. headmaster of grammar school in Launceston 1860-4, incumbent of New Town, Tasmania 1864-7; back to England, C. of Wycombe, Bucks; eventually Rector of Waddington, Lincs, 1904-c. 1910.

Sources: B.B.I., Crock, Foster.

Quilter, Rev Rowland Palmer.

English correspondence player, c. 1908-18.

Son of the above (born Kempsey, Worcs.).

Played correspondence chess c. 1908-18.

London B.A. 1888, ordained 1891, curate Kempsey (for his father).

Rector of W. Heslerton, York 1899-1903. Diocesan priest York 1903-6, chaplain at a Bridlington convalescent home 1905-6, and similar posts followed in Windsor, London etc.

Source: Crock; chess columns.

R.**'R. D. of Bolton'**

Pseudonymous player in Cassell's fourth correspondence tourney, reaching the last eight of 128-player event. Surname was probably Dunderdale.

'R. L. B. of Stoke'

Pseudonymous player in the *Home Circle* and other early correspondence tourneys. Positively identified as Burnard, Richard [q.v.]

Rainger, Frederick George.

b.1829.

† 5.8.1871 Norwich.

Prominent Norfolk player in 1850s/1860s: contributor to many chess columns. Chess editor of the *Norfolk News*. Beaten in round one of the 1860 B.C.A. Cambridge tournament.

Sources: Gaige, history of the Norwich and Norfolk club; chess columns.

Ralli, D. F.

Dates unknown, lived Manchester c. 1851-6, presumably a merchant of some kind or shipping agent. (Alan Smith says he was from a merchant family.) Probably Greek, as later censuses show people of that surname born in Greece. One of the strongest players in the Manchester club in the mid-fifties. Played over-the-board and by correspondence with Löwenthal [q.v.], occasionally winning. Played in the *Birmingham Mercury* postal tournament (resigning due to emigration) and also in the first over-the-board match between the Manchester and Liverpool clubs.

Sources: *Era*, *Birmingham Mercury*; 1851 census; conversation with Alan Smith.

Ranken,

Rev Charles Edward.

* 5.1.1828 Bridlington.

† 12.4.1905 Malvern.

Sources include: censuses; Crock, Foster; Gaige; obituaries.



One of the central figures in Victorian amateur chess: player, writer, and organiser of correspondence tourneys. Associated with Lord Randolph Churchill [q.v.] in the Oxford University Chess Club revival in the late 1860s; first President of the club. Edited the *Chess Player's Chronicle* from 1877-80, afterwards contributing to *B.C.M.* and co-editor with Freeborough [q.v.] of *Chess Openings Ancient and Modern*.

As a correspondence player, he won the 1873-5 B.C.A. tournament, played in the Postcard match against America, was runner-up to Skipworth [q.v.] in Nash's first all-play-all tourney and won the second in the series. Organiser of the two *C.P.C.* handicaps and the 1882 *B.C.M.* tournament.

Matriculated Wadham College, Oxford, 1845; B.A. 1850; ordained 1853 and held various curacies in Burton-on-Trent (1852-4), Tooting 1854-6, Cheltenham, and Richmond. Vicar of Sandford-on-Thames, diocese of Oxford 1867-71. Then Curate of Great Malvern 1871-5. After that he appears to have held church position: in the 1881 census he described his occupation as a clergyman 'without care of souls'. Presumably had private income or gave tuition.

Ravensworth, Lord (Henry Thomas Liddell).

* 10.3.1797 Durham.

† 19.3.1878.

Eton & St John's Coll. Cambridge, matriculated 1814, did not graduate. Writer and sometime MP (1826-30, 1837-47, 53-5 when succeeded father) as second Baron Ravensworth (created earl in 1874). Writer and translator. Patron of chess, e.g. bestowed the living of Tanfield on Archdall. Correspondence chess opponent of Lord Randolph Churchill in the 1870s.

Ravensworth was the elder brother of Henry George Liddell, the dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and therefore uncle of Lewis Carroll's Alice, who played chess through the looking glass.

Sources: *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage* (London 1873 ed.), p. 958; Cokayne's *Complete Peerage*, iv, p. 746. *O.D.N.B.*, xvi, p. 422; Venn.

Rhodes, John.

* 26.8.1814 Leeds.

† 16.5.1898 Leeds.

Leeds player in match v. Liverpool, c. 1838. Active in the first Yorkshire Chess Association.

Sources: Gaige, R. A. Brown *Problems* book

Robertson, (Col.) James Alexander.

* _____.

† 1.9.1874 Edinburgh.

One of the strongest players in the Army; as Captain Robertson, played an early postal match with Elijah Williams, 1840-1. Last in line of a Perthshire family, retired from army c. 1859. Had travelled from Carmarthen to the 1851 London Congress, to compete in the provincial tournament.

Eventually retired with the rank of Colonel, returned to Scotland. Played in the 1867 Dundee international. President of Edinburgh Chess Club at death.

Sources: Obituary in the *Glasgow Weekly Herald*, 5.9.1874.

Rose, James.

Member of the Edinburgh Chess Club committee against London.

Christian name is in 1824 club membership list.

Rowland, Frideswide Fanny (Mrs T. B. Rowland).

See *Beechey*, *Frideswide Fanny*.

Rowland, Thomas Benjamin.

* 1.6.1850 Dublin.

† 13.8.1929 Bray, Co. Wicklow.

Chess journalist, problem composer, and organiser. Husband of Frideswide Beechey [q.v.] and chess editor of the *Irish Sportsman* (1883-5) and then the *Dublin Evening Mail* (1885-1902) and other columns, with her assistance. Together they wrote *Chess Fruits*, *The Problem Art* etc. First secretary of the Irish Chess Association (1885) but resigned 1886 after personal animosity developed with Alfred Peake [q.v.]. After the collapse of the I.C.A., Rowland and J. A. Rynd [q.v.] launched the Hibernian Chess Association which survived only a year or two. In the 1920s Rowland became involved in chess again, starting a column in the *Evening Herald* and organising correspondence matches, but clashed with the Irish Chess Union.

Sources: *Bouquet* (whose picture of him is in Appendix X); baptism register, marriage & death certificates, Irish 1901 & 1911 census records; chess columns and Rowlands' own publications.

Rudge, Emily Harriet.

* c. 1839 Leominster, Herefordshire.

† 7.7.1873 Leominster.

Played in some correspondence tournaments with her sister Mary [q.v.]; see Chapter Seven.

Winner of the Third Class for Ladies at the Counties Chess Association congress, Malvern 1872.

Sources: *Amateur Chess Magazine*; *Recreationist*; other chess columns.

Rudge, Mary.

* 6.2.1842 Leominster

(not 1845 as usually stated).

† Dec. 1919 London.

Sources: *Westminster Budget*; birth certificate; John Richards, John, 'Mary Rudge: Bristol's world chess champion', in *The Regional Historian* 13 (Spring/Summer 2005), pp. 33-7, at humanities.uwe.ac.uk/Regionhistory.rhissue13.pdf.



Youngest daughter of Dr Henry Rudge and sister of Emily Harriet Rudge [q.v.].

After her father's death she moved to Clifton, Bristol, and also spent extended periods in Dublin in the 1890s, playing successfully one season for Clontarf Chess Club.

Strongest woman player c. 1880-1900; winner of the first Ladies' International, London 1897. Joint runner-up in the 2nd *Dublin Evening Mail* postal tourney.

Virtually retires after 1900 due to poor health; last heard of playing chess with wounded soldiers in a home, 1915. See Chapter Seven.

Russell, John.

† 14.7.1919, aged 66?

Glasgow (Paisley) player.

Winner of several correspondence tourneys, mostly in the 1880s, but apparently resumed playing by post with the BCCA just before the First World War (if it is the same person). Not to be confused with James Russell MA (of Glasgow, 1869-98) who apparently did not play by post.

Source: Gage, chess columns.

Rymer, Miss [Louisa?].

* c. 1859?

Birkbeck chess class winner at age 18; member of the Ladies College Chess Club. Disappears from London and the chess world about 1880; see Chapter Seven.

Apparently came from an unorthodox household.

The probable census match is Louisa Florence Rymer, aged ten in 1861, living with her siblings, her father (Francis C. Rymer, lithographic artist), and his partner Annette Solly (both named as head of household) at 22 Brighton Terrace in Brixton.

Sources: *Land and Water*, xxvi (28 Sept. 1878), p. 271, & xxvii (1 Mar. 1879), p. 187; *Westminster Papers*, xi (1 Mar. 1879), pp. 229-30.

Rynd, James Alexander a.k.a. 'Porterfield Rynd', 'R. Porterfield', and 'J'Adoube'.

* c. 1847 Dublin.

† 19.3.1917 Dublin.

First Irish chess champion.

Speculative 1855 birth year in Gaige is clearly wrong as he was said to be 18, not 10, when he won the third (national) tournament at the 1865 Dublin Chess Congress.

Came into dispute with the City and County of Dublin Chess Club over the Corder Cup and financial issues; was expelled from the club on 1 Oct. 1872.

Called to the Irish Bar 1874, English Bar in 1916.

'Behold a man of soulfull [sic] eyes, sanguine temperament, withal greatly self-possessed, slightly above the middle stature, strongly built, of lithe and easy motion. His wistful, penetrating glance, his depth of forehead tell of brain power, while his powers of concentration are indicated by a general reticence and tendency to muse. This is Mr Porterfield Rynd, or giving him his fuller title, Mr. James Alexander Kenneth Porterfield-Rynd, BLL.' — *Dublin Evening Mail*, 16 Jan. 1890.

Sources: Dublin Chess Club papers; marriage cert (7.9.1869 to Anna Cranwill, relative of a chess club member); Ferguson, *King's Inns Barristers*; obituary *Irish Law Times* 245.3.1917; discussions with David McAlister.

Rynd, Kenneth Arly.

* 9.10.1873 Dublin.

† 1914 Dublin.

Son of J. A. Rynd (above). Very active player in his teenage years, e.g. assisting at his father's blindfold simultaneous displays, probably involved with the *St Patrick's Chess Club Pamphlet*, and briefly with the *Irish Sportsman* column, even attempted to play in a correspondence tournament organised by *La Stratégie*.

Won the 1893 Craigside tournament at Llandudno. Appears to have dropped out of chess after this. Career unknown (NOT a barrister).

Death was apparently unconnected to the war.

Sources: *Century*; birth and death certificates, probate calendar for 1914; chess columns.

S.

Saavedra, Fr Fernando [C.P.].

* 1847 Seville.

† 1.5.1922 Dublin.

Dublin Chess Club records show they elected Saavedra a member on 22 Nov. 1890 but he is missing from the membership list in Luce's club history. A Spaniard who is buried at Mount Argos in Dublin, he is famous in the chess world for composing a brilliant endgame study, although its

originality has been disputed by Harrie Grondijs, *No Rook Unturned, A tour around the Saavedra study* (2nd ed., The Hague 2004). He also lived in Scotland.

Saburov, Petr Aleksandrovich [Peter Alexandrovich Sabouroff].

* 3.4.1835 Elatma, Russia

† 10.4.1918 Petersburg (old style dates from Gaige).

Russian diplomat and chess-player.

According to Edward Winter (1 June 2008) at www.chesshistory.com/winter.extra.saburovs.html, Peter Alexandrovich Saburov was a diplomat based in London from 1859-70. His son Peter Petrovich Saburov (1880 -1932) was also a chess player.

In 1860, receiving knight odds, he beat Löwenthal into second place in the tournament of the St James's Club (*The Field*, 26 May 1860, p. 430).

The *Field* described him as 'secretary to the Russian embassy'. In 1861 some of his games v. Lord Arthur Hay and v. Kling were published in Löwenthal's chess column in the *Dial*. This was possibly in the St. George's Club tournament mentioned in *I.L.N.*, 23 Feb. 1861.

Grodzensky says he lived in Saint Petersburg. He took part in matches *St Petersburg v. London* (1886-7) and *St Petersburg v. Paris* (1894-5) by telegraph. In 1896-9 he gained first place in the 5th correspondence tournament of *Shakhmatny. Zhurnal* (Chess Magazine).

Zhurnal (Chess Magazine).

Saint-Amant, Pierre Charles Fournier de.

* 12.9.1800 Chateau Latour, FRA.

† 29.10.1872 Algeria.

Wine merchant. Involved in the *Paris v. Westminster* postal match, 1834 -6.

Played two matches with Staunton: winning a short one in London, but losing the major return match in Paris, Dec. 1843.

A second match planned for Dec. 1844 was not played due to Staunton catching pneumonia in Paris. After this, they fell out.

Edited the second series of the French *Palamède* chess magazine.

Salmon, Rev Dr George.

* 25.9.1819 Cork.

† 22.1.1904 Dublin.

Mathematician and theologian. Admitted T.C.D, 1834 (age 17), scholar 1837, B.A. 1839, fellow 1841, B.D. and D.D. 1859; various posts followed. Provost of Trinity Coll. Dublin, 1888 to death.

Active chess player c. 1848-58; won his first round match against Colonel Szabo in Birmingham, August 1858, then took a board in Morphy's blindfold simultaneous display. Thereafter usually only

played socially, but was successful in a consultation game against Steinitz [q.v.] in 1881. Arguably the man who inspired Staunton to organise the tournament of 1851 (see Chapter One.)

President of TCD Chess Club (see group picture in Appendix X) and, after the death of Sir John Blunden, of the Dublin Chess Club.

Sources: Gaige, *O.D.N.B.*; Dublin Chess Club papers; Salmon papers in T.C.D. library and college histories; various chess reports from the 1840s and 1850s.

Samuda, Abraham.

Founder member of London Chess Club in 1807.

Member of the London Chess Club committee against Edinburgh.

In 1808 Sarratt [q.v.] dedicated his *Treatise on the Game of Chess* to Samuda, a Jewish merchant who was one of the first members of the club. Samuda resigned his membership on 25 March 1830 (A.LCH.1), and on 15 May 1830 *The Times* listed him as insolvent. See *B.C.M.*, cxxvii (Jan. 2007) Q&Q 5791 p. 50. Son Joseph restored family fortunes and became an MP: see *O.D.N.B.*

Sandford, (Prof.) Philip George.

* 1855 Dublin?

† 1903 Galway?

Irish amateur player, involved in many postal competitions, especially *Dublin Evening Mail* tourneys. 'An enthusiastic freemason'.

Sources: Gaige, chess columns; obituary *Weekly Irish Times*, 15.8.1903.

Sarratt, Jacob Henry.

* c.1772.

† 6.11.1819.

Chess author, teacher etc. Lieutenant in the Napoleonic wars; author of a diatribe against Napoleon. Described by Hazlitt as 'one of the fancy', which some have mistakenly understood to mean he was a prize-fighter.

Author of *A Treatise on the Game of Chess* and other works. His rules were used in the *London v. Edinburgh* match.

Sources include: Gaige p. 372; *O.D.N.B.* (article on his second wife Camille Dufour); Hazlitt, 'On Coffee-house politicians', in *Table Talk*, ii (London 1822).

Schomberg, Reginald Brodrick.

* c.1849.

Matriculated New Coll. Oxford 18.10.1867, aged 18. B.A. 1871; barrister (Lincoln's Inn) 1875.

Played v. Cambridge in the 1871 postal match, and in the first OTB varsity match, 1873.

Sources: *Century*, Foster; *The history of the Oxford University Chess Club*.

Scott, Rev Dr Charles Brodrick.

* 18.1.1825 Dublin.

† 7.12.1894 Bournemouth.

Eton, Trinity Coll. Cambridge 30.9.1842, age 17; matriculated 1844, B.A. 1848, ordained 1854, DD 1867. Headmaster of Westminster School 1855-83.

On the losing side in the 1847-8 Trinity Cambridge v. Oxford Hermes match.

Source: Venn.

Selous, Frederick Lokes (or 'Slous').

* 1802 London.

† 16.7.1892 London.

Strong, but not very active, London chess player, of Huguenot descent. He wrote a cryptic poem about chess in his book *Leaves from the scrap book of an awkward man* (1844), pp. 23-30. One source said the concealed moves were from the first *London v. Amsterdam* correspondence match but that was later the publication of the book, which says *Includes a Game taken from 'he Calabrois'* [i.e. G. Greco], but it is nonetheless possible that he was involved in that match.

One of his sons was a famous big game hunter, Frederick Courteney Selous, and another was an ornithologist Edmund Selous (for both, see *O.D.N.B.*).

Sergeant, Philip Walsingham

* 27.1.1872 London.

† 20.10.1952 Guildford.

Educated at Trinity Coll. Oxford. Played v. Cambridge in the 1892-5 varsity matches. Played in the 1908 *B.C.M.* tourney and some other postal chess events before the war, and in the 1908-9 cable matches v. USA. Played in the 1921 British Championship.

Writer of many popular histories and books on chess.

His cousin Edward Guthlac Sergeant (1881-1961) was also a first-class amateur player (3rd in 1920 British Championship), but did not play correspondence chess.

Shenele, Peter S. (In the 1851 census, his surname is 'Shenhele').

* c. 1843 Devon

† 10.11.1883 London.

Inspector in Metropolitan Police, based in Barking, Essex. He had been a copper miner, like his father and elder brother. After some time in the Plymouth police, he joined the Metropolitan Police on 23 Apr. 1867 and rose through the ranks. Became active in postal chess in late 1870s. Although his chess career lasted only a few years, he had won the last two out of three postal games he played against Blake.

Sources: *B.C.M.*, iv (1884) p. 54 & p. 249; British National Archive, MEPO 4.2 and 4.488.

Sherrard, Charles Hugh.

† 28.5.1906 Cairo.

Strong English amateur player around turn of the century; London University graduate. Took up teaching post in Egypt in 1902; died of fever.

Sources: Gaige; *Western Daily Mercury* of 1 & 8 June 1906.

Simeon, Rev Philip Barrington.

* c. 1846.

† ---- unknown

Matriculated 18.5.1864, aged 18. Christ Church Oxford, B.A. 1868. Priest 1871. Vicar of Milverton, dio. Coventry from 1871, still in Crockford's 1920. Was in South Africa 1884-1900.

Active B.C.C.A. member (joined Aug 1911), playing in several of their matches.

Sources: *B.C.C.A. Magazine*, Crock, Foster.

Simon, (Sir) Robert Michael.

* c. 1850 Hamburg.

† 22.12.1914.

Matriculated Caius Coll. Cambridge 1 Oct 1870, aged 20. B.A. 1874, MB 1877, MD 1888.

Played in the first two postal matches for Cambridge v. Oxford, 1871-2, and in the first OTB varsity match, 1873. The son of a Nottingham merchant, became a doctor and a professor at Birmingham, and was knighted in 1910. He served in the Great War as a Lt-Col., R.A.M.C.

Source: Venn, *W.W.W.*

Skipworth, Rev Arthur Bolland.

* June 1830, Laceby.

† 27.11.1898 Horncastle.

Matriculated from St John's Coll. Cambridge 1851; B.A 1856 (1st prizeman Maths honours); ordained 1858; curate to 1860; vicar of Bilsdale, Yorks. 1860-72; inspector of schools for Lincoln diocese 1872-5; 1875-98 rector of Tetford, Lincs.

Prominent but somewhat contradictory figure in Victorian chess, active over a long period.

Probably quite wealthy: subsidised various chess competitions. Secretary of the local club in Caistor, Lincs. in 1854. Became one of the strongest amateur players outside London (winner of Nash's first all-play-all correspondence tourney) but prone to withdraw from OTB tournaments after losing a game or two. Edited the *Chess Player's Quarterly Chronicle*, 1868-75, but not very well. Prime mover in the Counties Chess Association but very reluctant to let others take a share in its organisation or establish a true national chess association. Married in 1859 but no children. Apparently separated from his wife some time between the 1871 and 1881 censuses.

Sources: censuses, *Century*, Crock, Gaige, Venn; *Era*, 12 Nov. 1854; *Northern Figaro*, 9 June 1888; misc. chess columns. Can be seen in a group picture in Appendix X.

Slous, F. L. See 'Selous'.

Smith, Rev Algernon Howell.

Baptised 4 May 1845.

† 1.6.1930 Tunbridge Wells. *The Times* 7 June 1930.

Won on first board for Cambridge Staunton v. Oxford in the first inter-varsity postal team match, 1871; also played in 1872. Unknown whether he played chess later. Admitted Caius Coll. Cambridge 28.6.1865, B.A. (5th wrangler) 1869; ordained 1871. Vicar St Peter's, Tonbridge Wells 1875-85; Rector of St James, Dover 1885-1906; Rector of Wittersham 1906-26.

Smith, Arthur.

* c. 1846 Brighton?

† 1912 Brighton.

Brighton chessist, active correspondence player, like his wife whom he married 1868. Surveyor.

Sources: chess columns; correspondence with Brian Denman and Margaret Smith.

Smith, Mrs Arthur. See *Carden, Kate*.

Smith, C. F. (sometimes given as 'C. J. Smith').

Personal details unknown.

Strong amateur player in the late 1840s (a rival to Bird) and 1850s, and won the *Home Circle* postal tourney. Withdrew from the 1858 B.C.A. Birmingham tournament after a first round bye.

Smith, Egerton.

* 19.6.1774 Liverpool.

† 18.11.1841 Liverpool.

Sources: *Liverpool Mercury* 26.2.1841;

R. McMillan, 'Liverpool Worthies', in *Liverpool Weekly Mercury* 13.12 & 27.12.1890.



Journalist, publisher, and Whig social reformer (Concentric Society etc.). Ardent supporter of progressive movements such as the Mechanics' Institutes and Rowland Hill's postal reforms. Responsible for the first chess columns (*Liverpool Mercury* and *Kaleidoscope*) and the first draughts column (*Kaleidoscope*) in periodicals. Although probably not involved in the 1825 Liverpool correspondence matches against Leeds and Manchester, he may have formed or belonged to an early Liverpool chess club.

Snelgrove, J. W.

From Heytesbury. Personal details unknown.

Secretary of the Albion Corresponding Chess Club (late 1870s, early 1880s).

Winner of the 2nd C.P.C. Handicap correspondence tourney, thanks to a generous handicap.

Soyres, John de.

See: De Soyres.

Spens, Walter Cook.

* 1.2.1842 Glasgow

† 15.7.1900 Edinburgh.



Sources: Gaige etc.

Sheriff in Glasgow and poet. Finished last in the 1867 Dundee international (early in his career) but became one of the most prominent Glasgow chessists in the latter nineteenth century. Scottish Champion 1894. Edited the chess column of the *Glasgow Weekly Herald* at one time (1890s).

Stirling Sir Samuel (Bart).

Member of the Edinburgh Chess Club committee against London.

Staunton, Howard.

* 1810 (details uncertain: possibly not his original name?)

† 22.6.1874 London.

Leading English player from 1840-58. Founder of the *Chess Player's Chronicle* and its editor to 1854. Later editor of *The Chess World* magazine. Chess editor of the *I.L.N.* from Feb. 1845 until

death. Organised the first telegraph chess match in Europe. Author of *The Chess Player's Handbook*, *Chess Praxis* and other books. Editor of Shakespeare.

The nature of the imputations about his birth are never hinted at, but were possibly connected with the persistent but unproven allegation that Staunton was the illegitimate son of the fifth earl of Carlisle, as asserted in Frederic Boase, *Modern English Biography*, iii (Truro 1901), p. 715. Charles Tomlinson, in *B.C.M.*, xi (Feb. 1891), pp. 46-54, hints that he believes the story about Staunton's ancestry: 'Rumour... assigned a different name to our hero when he appeared first as an actor and next as a chess amateur'. The difficulty in knowing what to believe stems from Staunton's unpopularity; many oral traditions about him lack documented foundation.

Sources: plentiful secondary sources, but more primary research is needed into his early years. Levy's book on Staunton is still the best available at present. See group picture in Appendix X.

Steinitz, William.

* 17.5.1836 Prague.

† 12.8.1900 New York.

The first official World Chess Champion. Lived in London 1862-82. Winner of the Dublin Chess Congress 1867, and also briefly visited Dublin in Jan. 1881.

Chief player for the City of London Chess Club in the correspondence match against Vienna 1872-4; also played a match by telegraph against Chigorin (which he lost) with pre-agreed openings, and later played some correspondence matches for money against individuals and clubs.

Chess editor of *The Field*, 1873-82 and of other columns. Author of *The Modern Chess Instructor*.

Sources: Gaige; Landsberger, *Steinitz*; MacDonnell, *Knights and Kings*, pp. 33-42.

Stokoe, T. Y.

* 1831.

† 1.7.1905 Leeds.

Tyneside player who later went to Yorkshire. Played several postal events.

Source: Gaige, chess columns.

Stonehouse, James.

* 17.3.1810 Washington, ENG.

† Feb. 1883 Sunderland.

Sunderland 'aristocrat of labour': blacksmith, shipyard worker, and landlord. Chess problemist and columnist.

Played in several postal tournaments in the early 1870s. For three years (1859-62) he was in South America but returned when he found the climate unsuitable. Then he worked in one of the great shipyards, where he held a responsible position as foreman for many years and became quite wealthy, owning several properties. His recreations were chess (which he learned around 1853),

draughts and painting. Several of his chess problems were published and he edited a chess column in the *Sunderland Times* in 1878-9.

Sources: Obituaries in the *Leeds Mercury Weekend Supplement*, 10 Feb. 1883. Also *Land and Water*, xxxv (10 Feb. 1883) p. 116 and *The Field*, lxi (17 Feb. 1883) p. 229.

Strong, Ellen

(Mrs J. W. Gilbert).

* 30.4.1837 Leverett,

Massachusetts.

† 12.2.1900 Hartford,

Connecticut.



Sources: Obituaries in Hartford,

Connecticut, newspapers;

chess columns and magazines.

The picture is from *Brownson's Chess Journal*.

School-teacher and then housewife. Strongest female player in the USA in the nineteenth century.

See the account of the Postcard Match in Chapter Five.

Studd, Alnod Ernest.

* 1857.

† 14.5.1906 Eastbourne.

NB: 'Alnod' is an old English name; this is not a misprint.

Problemist. Member of the *B.C.M.* editorial board 1881 -7. Played a few correspondence tournaments, including the 2nd La Stratégie (the first international).

Possibly in the army at one time (described as 'Lt' in Gaige.)

T.

Tattersall, Creassey Edward Cecil.

* 7.9.1877 London.

† 26.10.1957 Lyme Regis.

Admitted Trinity Coll. Cambridge 1.10.1896; B.A. 1899. Played for Cambridge v. Oxford in the 1897-1900 varsity matches (first board on the last three occasions).

Played in the first (1904) BCF British Championship. Compiler of book on *1000 End Games*.

A leading expert in Persian carpets, on which he published much, he became Keeper of the Department of Textiles at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Sources: *Century*, Gaige, *W.W.W.*

Thomas, Lady Edith Margaret.

See Foster, Edith Margaret.

Thomas, (Sir) George Alan (7th Bart).

* 14.6.1881 Istanbul.

† 23.7.1972 London.

Educated at Wellington Coll. Served as Lieutenant in the Hampshire Regiment (saw action in Iraq).

Succeeded father in 1918.

Competed at Wimbledon in lawn tennis post-war. Was a badminton champion and involved in organisation of that sport.

International Master 1950 (the first year the title was awarded by FIDE). British Champion 1923.

Sources: *Century*; *Debrett's Illustrated Baronetage*; Gaige.

Thompson, Fred[erick].

* 1835 Derby.

† 1906 Derby.

Derby player and chess editor. Organised and was involved in playing the first telephone chess game played in Europe, at Belper (see Chapter Five) in Jan. 1878.

Other source: *Derby and Derbyshire Gazette*; *Derbyshire Advertiser*; Gaige.

Thornhill, Henrietta ('Minnie') [afterwards Mrs Charles Pearson Downe].

* 1847.

† 1921.

See p. 280-1. Lambeth Sunday school teacher and diarist.

Social chessist. Cousin of Dame S. E. S. Mair [q.v.]. Married 1881.

Sources: Thornhill diaries (see picture in Appendix X); Kerr, *The Dispossessed*.

Thorold, Edmund.

* 8.9.1832 Barnby Moor.

† June 1899 Bath.

One of the five British players outside London who could be considered to be of master strength in the 1870 and 1880s (the others were Burn, Fraser, Owen and Skipworth). He entered only one postal tournament but played private matches on at least three occasions, undoubtedly selecting opponents he had met personally and whom he thought strong enough to give him a good game: Charleton in 1872, Burn and Archdall of Liverpool in 1873, and John Halford of Birmingham in 1873 and possibly again in 1878.

Born in Nottinghamshire and first active as a player in Yorkshire, he moved to Bath. In the 1881 census, he was a childless widower, describing himself as 'M.A. Oxon Private Tutor (Classics Math & English)' and in 1891 he was living alone, still a private tutor.

Sources: Obituary in *B.C.M.* ix (1899), pp. 337-9 (with correction in the next issue); 1881 census. References for his published postal games are *Young Men of Great Britain*, v. (1870) p. 142; *I.L.N.*, lxi (30 Nov. & 14. Dec. 1872), lxii (22 Mar. & 21 June 1873), lxiii (2 Aug. 1873), lxv (21 Nov. 1873: two games), & lxxii (20 Apr. 1878); *Land and Water*, xvi (15 Nov. 1873); *C.P.C.* Aug 1873 (pp. 294-6) & Oct. 1873 (pp. 342-3); *The Field*, xliii (17 Jan & 7 Feb. 1874).

Thorold, Eliza Mary.

Baptised 25.7.1835 Blyth, Notts.

† 1904 (Jan. -Mar. quarter) Bridlington.

Sister of Edmund Thorold; never married.

Won the ladies' prize in 1866 at the North Yorkshire and Durham Chess Association meeting in Redcar (probably the first ladies' chess tournament).

She is probably the youngish woman next to Staunton in the front row of the photograph of Redcar chess-players (see Appendix X).

Played in several other tournaments including the 1897 Ladies' international (third prize). Only played one known postal match: v. Thomas Bourn of Clifton.

Sources: Various chess columns; also emails from Chris Williams.

Thursby,

(Sir) John Ormerod Scarlett

(2nd Bart).

* 27.4.1861 Burnley.

† 26.12.1920 Grenoble FRA.

Sources: Betts; *Century*;

Debrett's Illustrated Baronetage; Gaige; Venn.



Chess editor of the *Burnley Express* 1881-2, starting (and abandoning) a postal tourney.

Chess problem composer. President of the British Chess Federation at death.

Educated Eton & Trinity Coll. Cambridge, played in the 1881 varsity match. B.A. 1884, barrister (Lincoln's Inn 1891). Succeeded his father 1901.

High Sheriff of Lancashire 1905; Steward of the Jockey Club 1915.

Tomlin, C. (or 'Tomalin').

Member of the London Chess Club committee against Edinburgh.

Tinsley, Edward Samuel

* 1.12.1869

† 11.9.1937 Worcester.

Chess correspondent of *The Times* from 1903, jointly with two younger brothers (solely from 1912), the sons of Samuel Tinsley (1847 -1903), the previous chess compiler for *The Times*. Had trained as a jeweller but left the business after the First World War and became clerical assistant at Woolwich Arsenal.

Source: Gaige; *TLSCentenary Archive*.

Tomlinson,

Prof. Charles FRS.

* 27.11.1808 London.

† 15.2.1897 London.



Sources: Gaige; *O.D.N.B.*; Charles, Tomlinson, *The Chess-Player's Annual for the Year 1856*; memoirs in *B.C.M.*, xi (Nov. 1891), pp. 489-502; Mary Tomlinson, *The Life of Charles Tomlinson*.

Science teacher and writer on Dante.

Chess columnist and author.

Not apparently a correspondence player, but observed Joseph Woods [q.v.] and members of the London club at their deliberations.

'**Toz**' (pseud.).

See *Hopwood*.

U.

Uber, H. B.

Croydon, Surrey. No personal information available.

Strong London club player c. 1900-14.

Played in some of the *Hobbies* correspondence tournaments. Played in the 1912 and 1913 British Championships, also post-war.

Source: *Century*; *The Field*, 27 Jan. 1906.

V.**Vernon**, Rev James Edmund.

* 1837.

† 1928.

Played correspondence chess in 1892 when at Aldmondsbury, Glos. Probably knew Mary Rudge as he was curate of St Paul, Clifton, from 1877-85.

Matriculated Wadham Coll. Oxford 2.5.1855, aged 18; B.A 1859. Vicar of Olveston 1885-1918, then retired to Kew Gardens.

Sources: B.B.I., Crock, Foster.**Vincent**, F. A.

Dates and gender unknown.

An enigma. Fairly strong correspondence player in the 1880s from Dursley, Gloucestershire.

Member of the Albion Corresponding Club from the late 1870s. Possibly female (see Chap. Seven and game in Appendix VIII) in view of Locock's testimony. There is no clear match in the census for an F. A. Vincent of either sex.

The most plausible candidate in 1881-91 is Mrs Adelaide Vincent (née Williams, widow of a sailor, Joseph, who was alive in 1871), who lived in St Briavels, Forest of Dean (not far from Dursley but across the Severn).

Vinogradoff, Sir Paul (Pavel Gavrilovich Vinogradov).

* 30.11.1854 Kostroma, RUS.

† 19.12.1925 Paris.

Historian of mediaeval Britain: professor of history first at Moscow University and later at Oxford. Between 1901 and the Russian Revolution, divided his time between England and Russia. Knighted 1917. Organised and played in the first Russian correspondence chess tournament (*Shakhmatny Zhurnal*, 1882) and thereafter in several other Russian events. He beat the future world champion Alexander Alekhine 2-0 in the 7th *Shakmatnoe Obozrenie* postal tournament 1903-4 (Alekhine was only about eleven years old then) but lost at least one of their games in the 17th S.O. tournament that began in November 1909. Only one postal game played by him in England has so far been found: *B.C.M.*, xxxix (Jan. 1919), p. 17; Vinogradoff winning against a strong amateur. His illustration in *O.D.N.B.* is apparently a painted portrait showing him playing chess.

Sources: Sergey Ya. Grodzensky in 64, 1978.31 p. 10; other Russian sources; *O.D.N.B.***Vivian**, Mrs ? (née Haig; Christian name unknown).

* possibly c. 1840 (Cudapah, India) .

† Dec. 1901 London.

One of the first members of the London Ladies' Chess Club, who played several correspondence games towards the end of her life (so possibly played others earlier without giving her name). The daughter of James Haig, first Judge in the Madras Civil Service.

Possibly a Bath or Bristol player originally? Mrs Rowland's obituary of her said she had 'played and won games with Lowenthal, Thorold, and many of the leading lights of the past'.

Won two correspondence games against Mary Rudge. *Lady's Pictorial*, 14 Nov. and 5 Dec. 1896; played in the *Hobbies* ladies' Division and first *Womanhood* tournaments. *Womanhood* mentioned her entertaining players in her home; she was possibly a widow. Her maiden name is unknown but (if it's the same person) a lost game by her in the Third Class of the Counties Chess Association Clifton meeting of 1874 is in Burt, *History of Bristol Club* pp. 168-9.

Sources: *Womanhood* Jan. 1902 p. 149 reports that she died in December 1901; most details are from *Kingstown Society*, Feb. 1902.

Von Mauvillon, Friedrich Wilhelm von.

see Mauvillon.

W.

Wakley, Dr Thomas.

* 11.7.1795 Membury, Devon.

† 16.5.186 London.

First editor and proprietor of the medical journal, *Lancet*, whose chess articles he probably compiled. See Chapter Three. Later a Member of Parliament (from 1835).

Sources: *O.D.N.B.*, S. Squire Sprigge, *The life and times of Thomas Wakley* (London 1897).

Walker, George.

* 13.3.1803 London.

† 23.4.1879 London

One of the most important figures in the development of British chess in the 1830s, 1840s and to a lesser extent in the 1850s.

Associated with the Westminster Chess Club in its various early forms, and then the St. George's Club, but ultimately rejoined the London Chess Club. Chess author, publisher, and chess editor of *Bell's Life in London*, 1835-73 (See Chapter Three). Later a stockbroker.

Sources: Gage, Murray, columns. Can be seen in two pictures in Appendix X.

Walker, Rev William Neish.

† 8.9.1927 Dundee, aged 78.

Vicar of Cupar, Scotland. Dundee expert. One of the founders of the Scottish Chess Association in 1884. Scottish champion in 1890 and 1893.

Source: *B.C.M.* xlvii (1927), p. 429; Gaige; *Story of the Dundee Chess Club*; Pritchett *Centenary*.

Waller, George.

floruit 1840s, Dublin.

Inventor of a variation in the Evans Gambit known as the Waller Attack. Probably the person admitted T.C.D. 1821, aged 17, left with no degree (*Alumni Dub.*, p. 851).

Watkinson, John.

* 5.2.1833 Huddersfield.

† 19.12.1933 Huddersfield.

Strong Yorkshire amateur player; not a correspondence player apparently.

Edited the *Huddersfield Coll. Magazine* (initially perhaps only the chess parts) and then from 1881-Oct. 1887 the *British Chess Magazine*. Donated his chess books to Edinburgh Central Library.

Watson, Miss.

A Bath player of this name in 1860s.1870s. Probably not the same Miss Watson who played in the London 1897 ladies international and was active in chess for some years afterwards.

Wayte, Rev William.

* 4.9.1829 Calne.

† 3.5.1898 London.

Frequent contributor of articles to *B.C.M.* Not a correspondence player (no examples in his scorebooks at the Cleveland Public Library).

Educated Eton & King's Cambridge; then fellow of King's; assistant master at Eton 1853; editor of Plato's *Protagoras*. Professor of Greek at Univ Coll. London from 1876-9.

Sources: Crock, Gaige.

Weaver, B.

Secretary of the City Road Chess Club, Islington, c. 1861. Played in the fourth *Cassell's* postal tourney and probably involved in his club's match against the Hanley Mechanics' Institute. Not to be confused with an L. Beaver, who was also a player in the 1850s. Personal details unknown.

Welsh, Right Rev John Francis.

* c. 1856 Huddersfield.

† 21.7.1916, age 60, Trinidad? (Gaige says Warminster).

Lecturer of St Bees, Cumberland 1883-6. Principal Warminster Missionary Coll. from 1886-1904.

Anglican Bishop of Trinidad 1904-16. Matriculated Christ Church Oxford 8.6.1878, age 21, B.A. 1881, ordained 1882. Played for Oxford v. Cambridge in the 1881 and 1883 varsity matches. Played some postal matches, as did the Francis James Welsh (apparently a relative) whose funeral was reported in *B.C.M.*, 1908. They can both be seen in the 1903 Plymouth photograph in Appendix X.

Sources: *Century*, Crock, Foster, Gaige, *W.W.W.*

White, [Colonel?] Dr Charles, a.k.a. 'C. W. of Sunbury'.

* 7.11.1840.London.

† 9.5.1905 London.

Chess problem composer and frequent correspondent to chess columns. An army doctor who spent a long time in India. Late in the 19th century he had a chess column in *The Schoolmaster*; although he is not mentioned as one of its editors in Whyld's *Columns*.

Sources: *Bouquet*, Gaige.

White, James.

* 20.6.1835 Stroud Vale.

† 17.1.1907 Leeds.

Sources: Picture and profile in *Bouquet*, where his striking resemblance to Steinitz was noted; Gaige; obituary in *The Leeds and Yorkshire Mercury*, 18 Jan. 1907.



Head master of St Peter's-square school, Leeds, and from 1879-1905 was Chess Editor of the *Leeds Mercury Weekend Supplement*.

Chess editor, correspondence tournament winner and tournament organiser. One of the most ubiquitous individuals in mid-Victorian correspondence chess. According to the book by Gittins, *The Chess Bouquet*, p. 117, Mitcheson [q.v.] 'declared at a public meeting in the North, "Mr White has played, and won, more games by correspondence than any amateur, living or dead".'

He won the first two correspondence tourneys of *Cassells Illustrated Family Paper* and was named (in the *Norfolk News*, 18 Apr. 1860) as being on the Berwick club's committee for its match with Newcastle (1859-60). He then spent some time in Newcastle before moving to Leeds. He was chess editor (starting correspondence tourneys) in *The Recreationist* and Sutherland's *Edinburgh Magazine* in the early 1870s. Then he was chess editor of the *Leeds Mercury* from Dec. 1879-Dec. 1905. Whyld, *Columns*, also names him as chess editor of *The British Amateur* (1872), possibly a manuscript magazine, which is unknown to the *Waterloo Directory*.

White, John Griswold.

* 10.8.1845 Cleveland, Ohio

† 27.8.1928 Jackson Lane, Wyoming.

American lawyer and chess collector. Conducted extensive correspondence with several important figures in the chess world, e.g. advisor to Harold Murray. One of the City Fathers of Cleveland, he was instrumental in the established of the Cleveland Public Library, where his collection of chess, draughts, and orientalia holds pride of place: the world's largest chess library in public hands.

Sources: Gaige; John G. White Collection.

Wilbraham, Henry.

* 25.7.1825 Cheshire.

† 13.2.1883.

Named as being on the losing Trinity Cambridge committee v. Oxford Hermes 1847 -8. Educated Harrow. Matriculated Trinity in 1842, B.A. (7th Wrangler) 1846, Fellow 1848. Adm. Lincoln's Inn 1848, called to the bar 7.5.1851; became conveyancer in Cheshire.

Source: Venn.

Wild, Charles Owen Thompson.

* c. 1850.

Matriculated Christ Church, Oxford 16.10.1868, aged 18. B.A. 1872; Adm, Lincoln's Inn 1871 but not called to the bar.

Played in the first and second team postal matches v. Cambridge, 1871 and 1872.

Sources: Foster; *The history of the Oxford University Chess Club*.

Wildman, Frank P.

--?.

† 30 Oct 1910.

Yorkshire Champion 1891 and 1901.2.

H. T. Dickinson's obituary in the *British Chess Bulletin* (no 3, Dec., 1910), p. 21, called him:

'possibly the best-known chess player in the North of England, and he was easily the most popular leader of the game in Yorkshire.' Twice Yorks champion e.g. 1902, belonged to attacking school 'and openly derided the "modern" tactics in vogue'... would have been up to amateur champion standard but for habit of occasionally making obvious blunders.

Wilkinson, Rev Michael Marlow Umfreville.

* 1831.2 Isle of Wight.

† 22.3.1916 Norwich, aged 84.

Matriculated Trinity Coll. Cambridge 1850, B.A. (5th Wrangler) 1854, Fellow 1855, ordained 1858.

Rector of Reepham 1864-1916.

M. M. U. Wilkinson was named as being on the winning Trinity committee v. Oxford Hermes 1855, in a letter from 'an old Oxford chess-player' (not definitely identified but probably Green or Wormald), in *Land and Water*, xv (5 Apr. 1873) p. 335. His helper was named as Jones, but in *Admissions to Trinity Coll., Cambridge*, there is more than one Jones whose dates would fit.

Sources: Venn; *Times* 25.3.1916; *W.W.W.*

Williams, Elijah.

* 7.11.1809 Bristol?.

† 8.9.1854 London.

Bristol Club President (apothecary?), later moved to London as a chess professional.

Chess correspondent first in the *Bath and Cheltenham Gazette*; leading Bristol player in the 1839-40 postal match against Staunton. Also played a postal match against Robertson [q.v.]. After moving to London, he wrote in the *Historic Times* and then *The Field*. Collected games played in London's leading commercial chess salon under the title *Horae Divanianae*. Had a reputation for slow play, especially after the 1851 London tournament.

Sources: Burt on the Bristol club; Gaige.

Willshire, J. (or 'Wiltshire').

Member of the London Chess Club committee against Edinburgh.

Wilson, [Captain] Harry, R. N.

† 1851.

Of Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight. Officer in the Royal Navy.

Regular opponent of Capt. Evans [q.v.], when he was a Lieutenant probably in the early 1820s: *Gentleman's Journal*, v. (supplement for June 1872), p. 159. Rank of captain (retired?) when Staunton's second for his match with Saint-Amant in Paris, 1843.

Played a postal match in 1840 with Newham [q.v.].

Involved in setting up the Portsmouth club?

Winter Wood, E. J.

* 1847 Brixton, Devon.

† 21.6.1920 Paignton.

The Winter Woods were a prominent Victorian chess dynasty whose other principal members were E. J.'s brother Carslake (1849-1924), his sister Edith [q.v.], and father Thomas (1818-1905).

E. J. Winter Wood was a writer on chess, with a column in the *Hampshire Magazine* 1884 (not seen). He won the *Croydon Guardian* correspondence tourney.

Sources: *Bouquet*, Gaige.

Winter Wood, Edith Elina Helen (Mrs W. J. Baird).

* 22.02.1859 Brixton.

† 01.02.1924 Paignton.

Leading chess problem composer (perhaps the only one whose compositions were considered to be on a par with the top men over a long period from the 1890s. Daughter Lilian Baird also composed some problems.

Not much known as a player.

Sources: Gaige, *Lady's Pictorial* 18.5.1895, *W.W.W.* 1916.

Wisker, John.

* 30.5.1846 Hull.

† 18.1.1884 Melbourne, Australia.

Played in the fourth *Cassell's* postal tournament, 1864. Master strength by 1870.

Winner of the British Chess Association Challenge Cup 1870 and 1872 (after play-offs).

One obituary stated that in 1862 he was 'apprenticed as a pupil-teacher to Farrow [q.v.] but proved to have rare qualities'.

Named on the City of London Chess Club committee v. Vienna, 1872, but withdrew. Varied editorial career in England and Australia, where he went in 1876 on account of tuberculosis, and maybe to escape debtors, having failed with the *City of London Magazine* after one issue of volume 3.

Sources: *Century*, Gaige, *Leeds Mercury* 22.3.1884 and other chess columns.

Withers, John.

† 24.3.1882, aged 77, in France.

Bristol player and club secretary involved in match with Staunton, 1839-40.

Sources: Burt, *Bristol*; Gaige.

Womersley, Frederick William.

* c. 1839-40.

† 1911 Hastings.

Sussex businessman, beginning as an upholsterer (employing eight people in 1881), then became an accountant, and eventually manager of the East Sussex Building Society, before being murdered in a melodramatic case.

One of the organisers of the Hastings 1895 international tournament.

Played in the fourth *Cassell's* correspondence tourney, 1864, and some postal events in the 1890s.

Sources: censuses; obituary in *B.C.M.*, xxxi (1911), p. 375; *Chess Amateur*, vi (Oct 1911), p. 389; Edward Winter, 'Chessplayer Shot Dead in Hastings' (2003), downloaded 3 Aug. 2006 from www.chesshistory.com.winter.extra.womersley.html.

Woodmass, Francis.

Newcastle club player who competed in some postal tournaments, gave his occupation as 'miner' in the 1871 census.

Woods, Joseph (not 'Wood' as sometimes seen).

* 24.8.1776 Stoke Newington.

† 9.1.1864 Lewes.

Architect and botanist. Member of the London Chess Club committee against Edinburgh; at that time, first employer of Charles Tomlinson [q.v.].

Sources: *B.B.I.*, *O.D.N.B.* Tomlinson memoirs in *B.C.M.*

Wooll, Rev Charles William.

* 12.12.1849 Upwell, Norfolk.

† 12.5.1910 Upwell.

Matriculated St John's Coll., Cambridge 1868, B.A. 1872, ordained 1875. Vicar of Ditton, near Widnes, 1884-1910. Played in the 1871 postal match v. Oxford.

Source: Venn.

Wormald, Robert Bownas (known as 'Tommy').

* 1834 Bramham.

† 4.12.1876 London.

Matriculated 2.6.1852 Lincoln Coll., Oxford, aged 18. B.A. 1857. Active correspondence player in the 1850s, playing for the Oxford Hermes club and in the first two tourneys.

Journalist and chess writer, said by MacDonnell to have edited *Bell's Life in London* for a time. *I.L.N.* chess editor in succession to Staunton, July 1874-Dec. 1876; saw his posthumous book through the press. Author of a book on chess openings, the second edition of which was viciously attacked by Steinitz.

Sources: Foster, Gaige, *Westminster Papers* obituary; MacDonnell, *Knights and Kings*, pp. 141 -2.

Wright, Rev Roger John.

* 31.3.1849 Mattishall.

† 1924 East Preston.

Played correspondence chess when in Worthing c. 1894-7.

Educated at Cambridge 1868-72 but did not play on university team. B.A. 1872,

Queens Cantab B.A. 1872, ordained 1875, Rector of Bonnisfarney, Kings County [Offaly] 1878.9-85, then returned to England (Isle of Wight)? Author of a scientific paper.

Sources: Crock, Venn, *Brighton Society*, *Southern Counties Chess Journal*.

Wyllie, David.

Member of the Edinburgh Chess Club committee against London.

Christian name is in 1824 club membership list. Not to be confused with the draughts champion, James Wyllie, 'The Herd Laddie' (1821-99).

Y.

Yates, Frederick Dewhurst.

* 16.1.1884 Birstall.

† 11.11.1932 London.

British Champion 1913, 1921, 1926, 1928, & 1931. Correspondence chess early in career: Ireland-Yorkshire 1908-9, *B.C.M.* tourney. Recommended postal chess in *F.L.S.* (Autumn 1911).

Sources: *B.C.M.*, *Century*, Gaige.

Z.

Zachary, Francis Daniel.

† 1870, aged 57 Martley, ENG.

Probably a friend or acquaintance of Lord Lytton [q.v.]. Living in Kidderminster, Worcestershire, when playing a postal game with Bigland [q.v.] in *I.L.N.*, 17 Sept. 1853.

Sources: Boase, vi, c.985; *I.L.N.* 28.1.1871 p. 91; Gaige p. 475.

Zukertort, Johannes.

* 7.9.1842 Lublin.

† 20.6.1888 London.

Winner of the London 1883 international tournament. Loser of the first World Championship match to Steinitz [q.v.]. Co-editor of *The Chess-Monthly* with Hoffer [q.v.]. His only certain correspondence game was played against an unnamed German club in 1868, before he came to live in England (ref *B.L.L.*, 30 Sept. 1871). He may have played a correspondence game in 1873 with Hamel [q.v.] but this could be an error in the source (*I.L.N.*, 7 June 1873); it is more likely an over-the-board game played when both men were in Glasgow.

Sources: *Century*, Gaige, chess columns.

Zytogorski, Adolf.

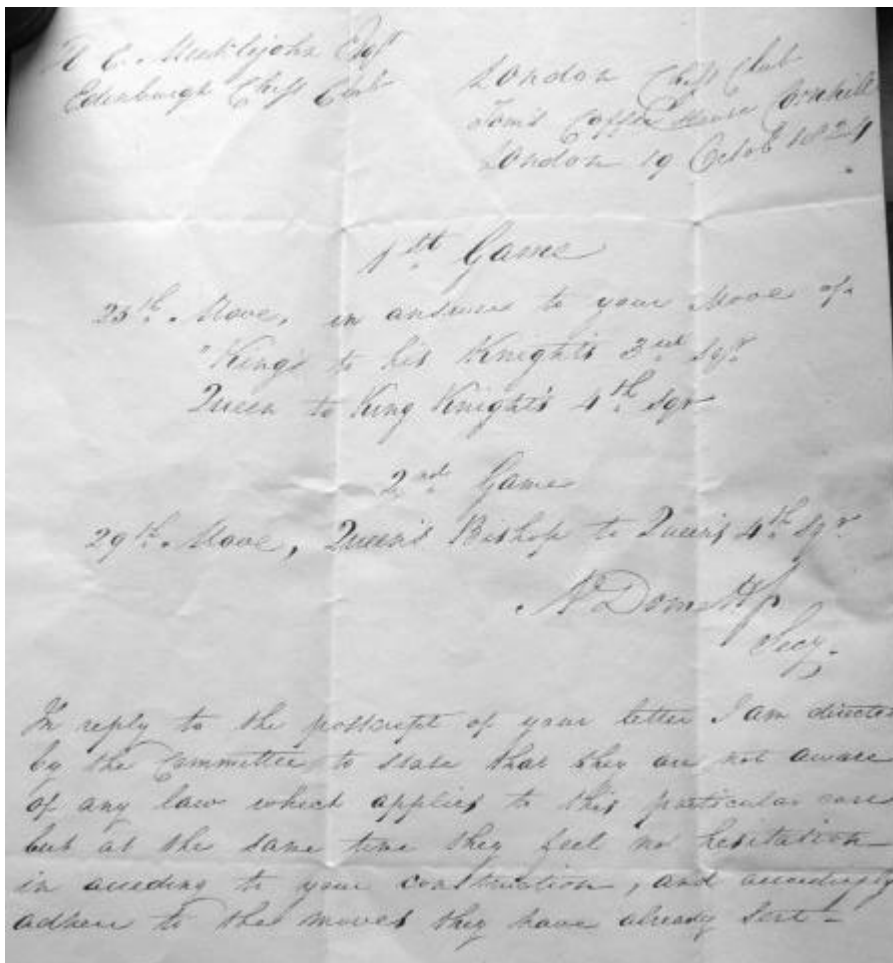
* 1807.

† 27.2.1882 London, aged 75.

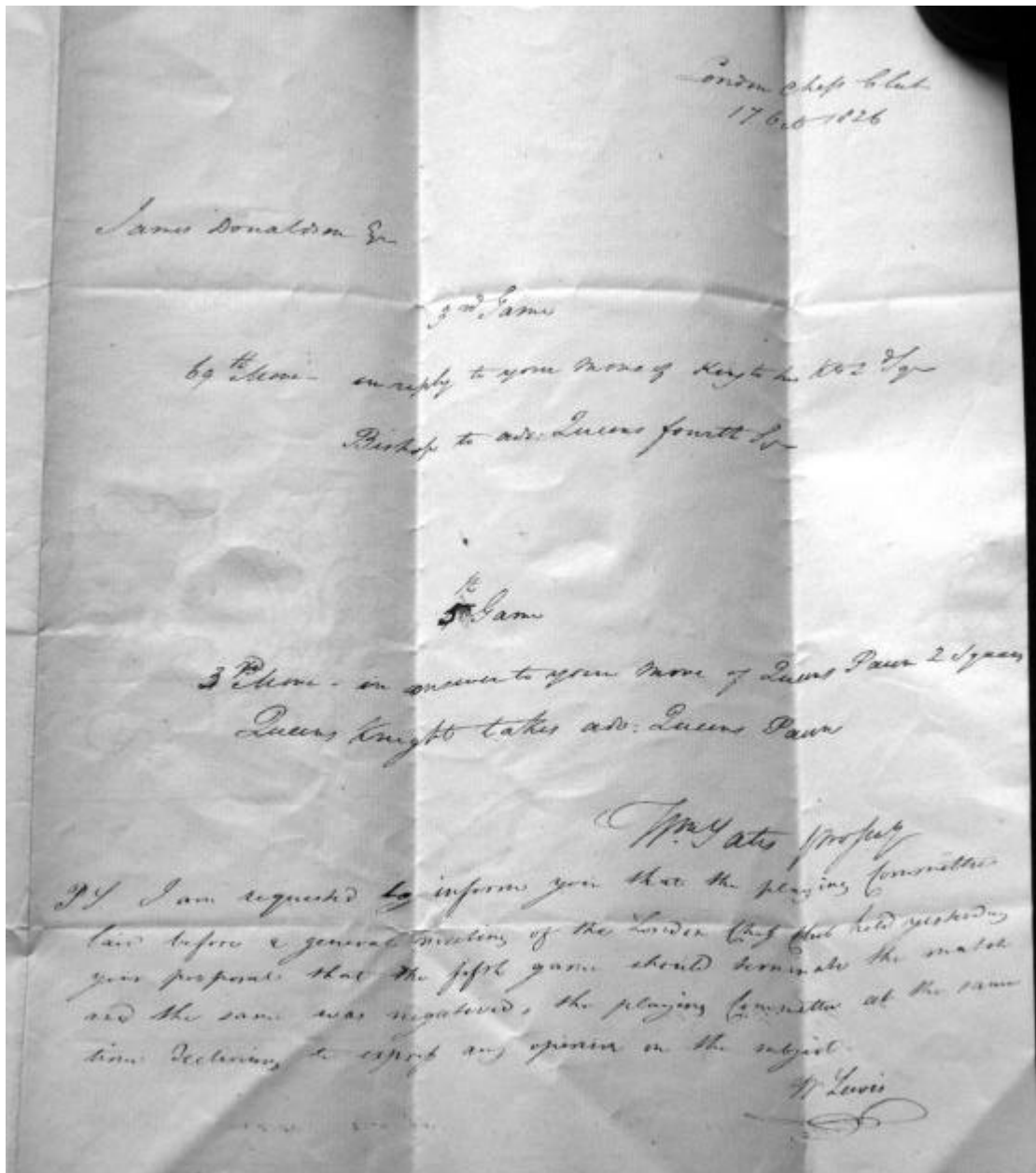
Edited *C.P.C.* (with associates), 1859-62.

Sources: *B.B.I.* (under 'Zytagorsky'), *Century*, Gaige.

Appendix X) Scanned Images



The dispute in Game Two is resolved: the letter from London Chess Club to Edinburgh, dated 19 Oct. 1824, in which London say that 'they were not aware of any law which applies to this particular case' but felt 'no hesitation in acceding to your construction and accordingly adhere to the moves they had already sent'. See pp. 72-3. (Document in the possession of Edinburgh Chess Club.)



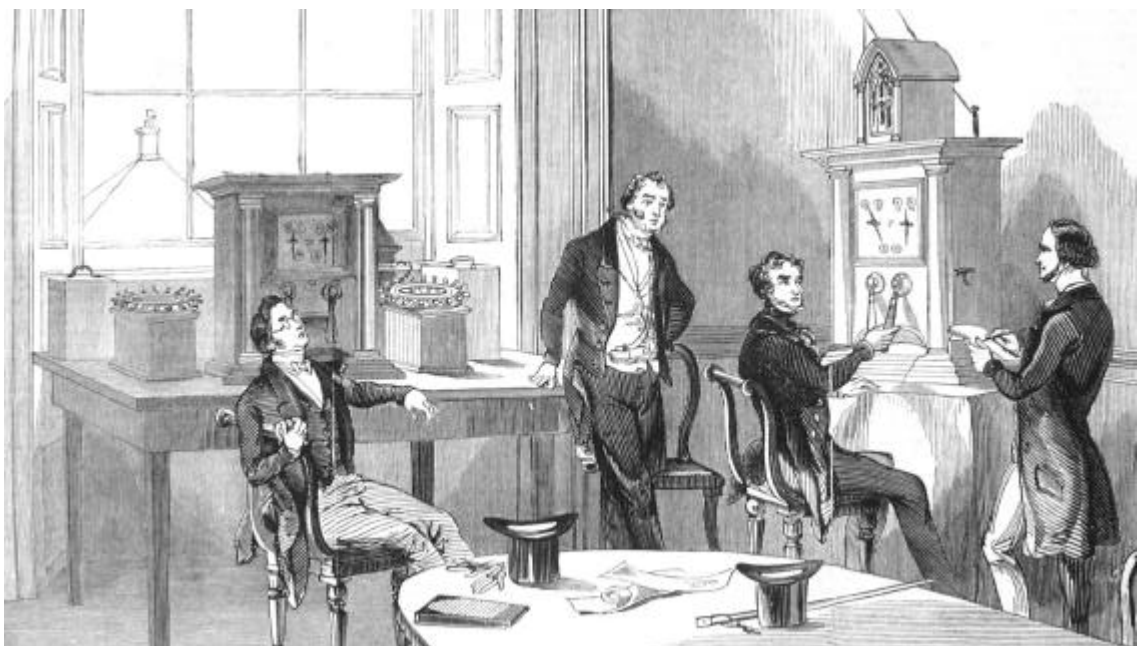
The letter of 17 Oct. 1826, signed by William Lewis, in which he and the playing committee disclaim personal responsibility for the London Chess Club's decision. A club meeting had decided to reject a proposal that the fifth game, whatever the result, should terminate the match. See p. 69. (Document in the possession of Edinburgh Chess Club.)



This early photograph of chess-players by Fox-Talbot has been reprinted in several modern books with no agreement about the date (except that it was in the 1840s). See p. 131.



Engraver H.B.'s version of Daniel O'Connell as 'Satan playing chess with man for his soul' (1837). From the John Johnson Collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. See p. 32.



George Walker (seated left) sending his first move in the 1845 telegraph trial game: *I.L.N.*, vi (12 Apr. 1845), p. 433: 'The game of chess played between London and Portsmouth through the electric telegraph of the South Western Railway, 9th April... Nine Elms Telegraph, 20 minutes past 4 o'clock p.m. — transmission of Mr Walker's first move, "53 to 37".'



Chess players of both sexes at the Berkshire and Reading Chess Club soir ee, in the New Hall, Reading – *I.L.N.*, xviii (18 Mar. 1851), p. 195 (and text report on p. 196).



At the Leamington chess meeting of 1855, from left: J. J. L owenthal, Arnous de Riviere, Marmaduke Wyvill MP, Ernest Falkbeer, Howard Staunton, Lord Lyttelton, and Captain Hugh A. Kennedy. This famous engraving was possibly based on a photograph taken by Rosario Aspa.



An often-reproduced engraving of William Lewis and George Walker with Augustus Mongredien, President of the Liverpool and London Chess Clubs.



Redcar chess meeting of 1866. Howard Staunton is fifth from left in the front row. The woman on his left may be Eliza Thorold, who won the ladies' prize. Reproduced in Roger Taylor and Edward Wakeling (eds.), *Lewis Carroll, photographer: the Princeton University Library albums* (Princeton 2002), but the photograph is believed not to have been taken by Dodgson himself.

60, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.
Dec. 1867.

The Chess World Magazine

Was established, as a Prospectus which heralded its appearance intimated, to restore the diminished and fast diminishing reputation of the British School of Chess. How far during its career of nearly three years it has contributed to this end, is now well known; but it is not known that all which it has accomplished has been done, in the main, at the expense in time and money of two or three individuals. But this is the fact, and those already acquainted with it feel, as doubtless others will do when it becomes known to them, that it would be ungenerous in the extreme for this state of things to continue.

An organ exclusively devoted to the game is found to be indispensable wherever Chess is much practised, and the expense of its maintenance should be shared by those who participate in its advantages.

By the energy and liberality of the gentlemen alluded to, "THE CHESS WORLD" has already taken a position which warrants our assuming that, with very little encouragement from those whose cause it has espoused, it will shortly become self-supporting.

To ensure this, about 200 or 250 additional subscribers are all that are really required. Of that number about 40 have already signified their desire to subscribe. Amateurs wishing to follow their example, are requested to sign and transmit the annexed Form, addressed to

"H. STAUNTON, Esq., DULWICH, S. NEAR LONDON,"

Who has undertaken to become Treasurer.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

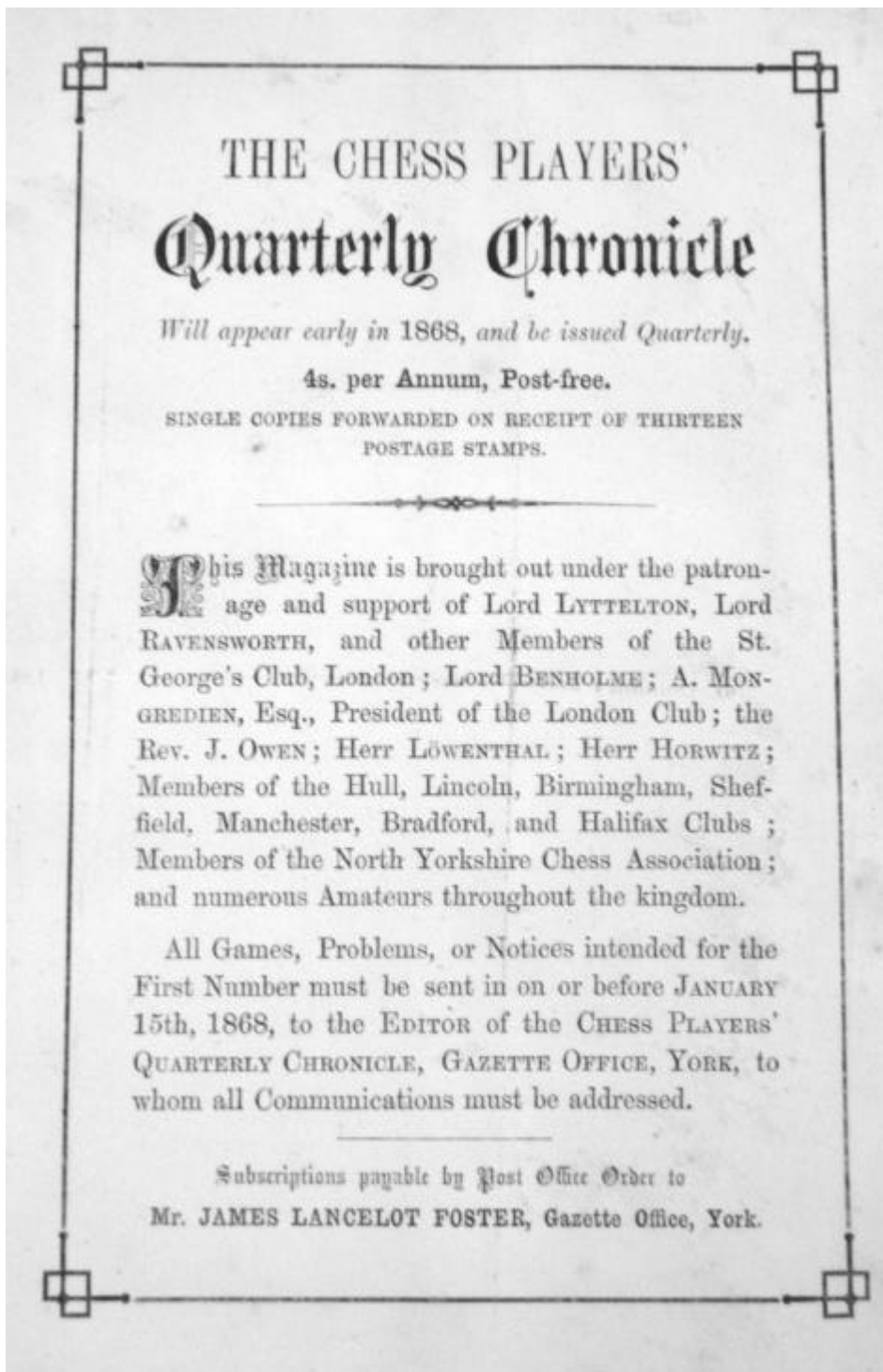
Truly yours,

THE EDITORS OF THE CHESS WORLD.

A single specimen number forwarded on receipt of Twelve Stamps.

P.T.OVER.

Circular promoting Staunton's chess magazine (1867), found in Thomas Long's scrapbook, in the possession of Dublin Chess Club. See p. 87.



Circular launching a new chess magazine in competition with Staunton's *Chess World* (1867). Also from Thomas Long's scrapbook: see p. 87.



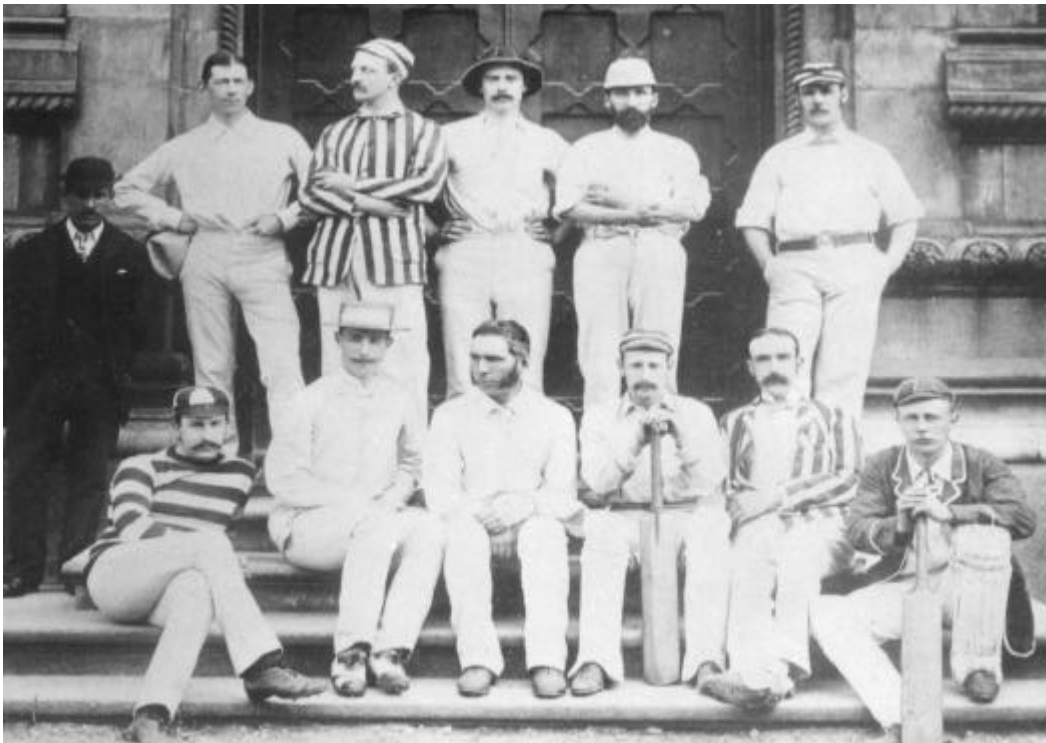
Henrietta Thornhill playing chess with a friend, from her 1868 diary at the Minet Library, Lambeth.



'Patriarchal' faces at the first Oxford-Cambridge match in London, from the *I.L.N.*, lxii (5 Apr. 1873), p. 325. See Chapter Five, p. 208; the likenesses of the players cannot be guaranteed but it may be Walter Parratt on the right. He was several years older than the rest.



Frideswide Rowland (née Beechey) and Thomas Rowlands in the 1890s. From *The Chess Bouquet*.

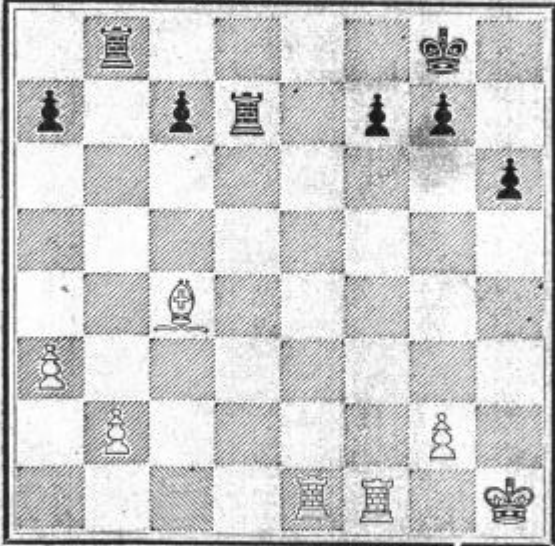


G. F. Barry (third from left in the front row) with the Leinster C.C. cricket team, 1884. Photograph in the possession of Leinster Cricket Club, Dublin.

*St Patrick's Chess Club
Pamphlet*

*Being a re-issue in compliance with popular
demand of the only numbers ever published
of that interesting Dublin Chess Weekly.*

*Game Ending
Black*



White (to play + win)

*Solution:—32 R×P! R×R 33 R·K7 QR·KBog (or A) 34 R×P P·Kt4
[if 34..... P·QR4 35 R·R7 P·Kt4 36 R×P K·Kt2 37 B×R R×B
38 P·Kt4 wins] 35 R×P K·Kt2 36 R×Rch R×R 37 B×R K×B
38 P·Kt4 wins. (A) 33..... R×P 34 R×R R·QB7 [if 34.....
R·Kt8ch 35 R·Boq disch: and if 34..... R·Kt8q 35 R×BP disch
K·R8q 36 R×RP wins] 35 R·B4 disch K·R8q 36 R·B8ch
K·R2 37 B·Q3ch wins. (See also page 140 note f.)*

Complete and bound in cover with frontispiece

Front page from the reissued booklet of the manuscript magazine

St Patrick's Chess Club Pamphlet. Original in Cleveland Public Library.



From the *Pictorial World* of July, 1890 and probably taken at Mr Gastineau's garden party of that year. Reproduced in the *Kingstown Monthly*, April 1895, p. 13.

There the people in the photograph were identified by Mrs Rowland as follows:

SEATED (from left): Rev A. B. Skipworth, J. H. Blake, Mary Rudge, W. H. Gunston.

STANDING (probably not in this order): W. Trenchard, C. J. Lambert, A. R. Roper, Cambridge University.

W. Trenchard is presumably H. W. Trenchard. All except Roper (of Cambridge University) were successful postal players; he is probably the man in the light coloured jacket.

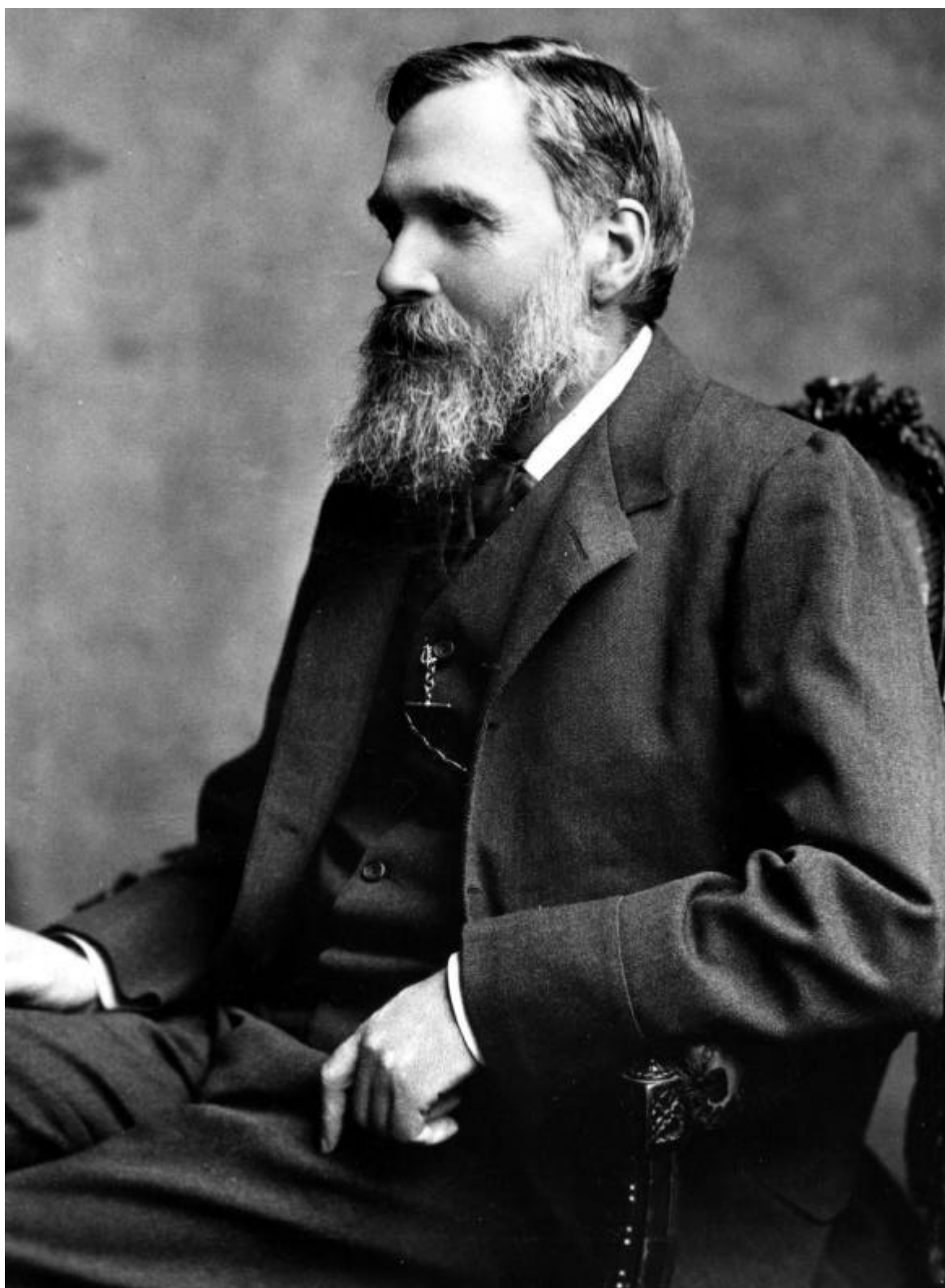
Lambert appears to be the man with the moustache on the right, by comparison with the 1903 photograph shown below in which he also appears.



Dr George Salmon (centre) and unidentified members of the Dublin University Chess Club, 1892, from a photo by Robinson & Son, Dublin, 1892, in the TCD Tercentenary book.



A cigarette advertisement on a chess theme from the time of the Boer War: *I.L.N.*, cxvi (7 Apr. 1900), p. 491. Kruger has been outplayed by General Roberts.



William Henry Stanley Monck



Chess players at the Southern Counties Congress, Plymouth 1903, by a local photographer, Heath, reproduced in *B.C.M.*, xxiii (Oct. 1903). Several postal players and significant persons appear. George Bellingham is seated on the floor, left, at the feet of Mrs Rhoda Bowles (*Womanhood* chess editor) and R. F. B. Jones; Mr Bowles is behind Jones and Blanshard is on Jones's left. Rev J. F. Welsh is second right in the middle row; his relative F. J. Welsh is rear left.



Lexicographer Sir James Murray and Lady Murray with their eldest son, chess historian Harold Murray (on the right of Sir James), and his siblings. By permission of Oxford University Press.

1906.
 Dec 8th Meeting
 Present. H. J. Dickinson
 F de M. Harding
 W. Friedland
 J. P. Murray.
 R. Alexander

Messrs R. Alexander & W. Friedland
 elected to serve on the Committee. Proposed
 by H. J. Dickinson. seconded. F de M. Harding - carried.
 decided that the Association should henceforth
 be called the British Correspondence Chess
 Association. proposed by H. T. Dickinson.
 seconded. F de M. Harding.
 decided that the competitors in the "Association
 Cup Tournament" 1907 shall be divided
 into sections of not less than five & not more
 than six.
 decided that the sections shall be drawn by lot
 decided that there shall be no limit of time within
 which a game shall be finished
 decided that the B.C.C.A. should challenge
 some other club or association to a match
 by correspondence.
 4-3-07 Arch K Murray

An early entry in the B.C.C.A. minute book (1906) showing Major Murray's signature