

An Exception in War and Peace: Ipswich Town Football Club, c. 1907-1945

Richard Mills, University of East Anglia*

This essay explores the development of a football club as a means of understanding its late adoption of professionalism and its unusual wartime conduct. Ipswich Town were the only Football League team not to kick a ball for the duration of the Second World War. Arguably, the underlying causes of the club's inactivity in both global conflicts can be found in the patriotic and staunchly amateur ethos which permeated the organisation, resulting in a very late conversion to the professional game in 1936. When the Amateur Football Association (AFA) seceded from the Football Association (FA) in 1907, Town sided with the gentlemen amateurs and competed in the socially-exclusive Southern Amateur League until the season before the club adopted professionalism. The unique nature of Town's evolution offers an opportunity to explore the decline of this branch of the game in the face of professional football, the protagonists who were caught up in it, and the relationship between football and civic pride. In wartime, the human and social continuities between the professional company and its amateur predecessor arguably proved to be more influential than the ruptures that resulted from a controversial inter-war abandonment of cherished amateur principles.

Keywords:

Football, War, Gentlemanly Amateurism, Professionalism, AFA

The Chairman ... proposed and it was unanimously resolved that the Club be closed down for the duration of the War.

Ipswich Town FC Minute Book, 13 September 1939

The decision that Ipswich Town should abandon all football activities for the duration of hostilities was taken at a special meeting of the club's directors only ten days after Britain declared war on Germany. Over the coming seasons a tenacious adherence to this resolution would set Ipswich apart from every other Football League club in the country. The contracts of players and staff were frozen, while the manager and many supporters appealed to the directors to reconsider. It was all to no avail.¹ In this way, Town became the first professional club to suspend activities.² When the Second World War ended in 1945, it stood as the only Football League side not to have kicked a ball for the duration of the conflict.

Tracing the evolution of the club over the previous four decades, one of the objectives of this essay is to offer an explanation as to how such inactivity – which closely resembled the team's First World War experience – came about. It will become clear that Ipswich Town's wartime conduct was just one of a number of ways in which the club stood apart from those of

* The author would like to thank Ipswich Town Football Club and the staff at Ipswich Record Office, as well as Dr Peter Funnell, Dr Sharon Goddard and all those involved in the Ipswich Football Archive Project. I am grateful to the editor of this journal and the two anonymous referees for their generous advice. This research was partially funded by the Ann Ashard Webb bequest.

comparable size during these formative years. In this regard, the second objective is to ask why Town shunned professionalism for so long, at a time when it was being adopted enthusiastically across the country. Since 1907 the majority of its members had remained steadfast in their support for the principles of ‘gentlemanly amateurism’ and by the 1930s Ipswich was one of the last strongholds of this ethos beyond the London area. Yet the tensions created by this course had a highly divisive impact in a town increasingly aware of football’s importance for civic pride. A heated inter-war debate eventually resulted in the adoption of the professional game and a swift ascent to the Football League. However, the nature of Town’s transition – decades after that of the majority of League sides – was such that the company continued to be somewhat atypical in terms of its human composition and conduct. Though Town’s experience was unique in many ways, the forces that acted upon it certainly were not. In this respect, an examination of the club’s development offers a fresh perspective from which to explore the contested evolution of association football more broadly.

Martin Johnes observes that sport ‘is about the agency and emotions of individuals’, including ‘the personal decisions they take and face.’³ Like other clubs, Ipswich Town’s history was shaped by the convictions of those who administered, played for and supported it. Among them were the social elite of the county of Suffolk, individuals with important roles in football’s national bodies, and thousands of citizens with an emotional attachment to the team. On important issues consensus proved hard to achieve, with tensions spilling over into the local press and raucous public meetings. Both wars cost the club dearly in terms of human loss. Among the victims of the latter conflict were influential figures who had done so much to shape the two interrelated phenomena at the core of this essay: Ipswich Town’s unconventional response to the outbreak of war and its late transition to the professional game.

A bastion of ‘gentlemanly amateurism’

Both before and after the Great War, the Ipswich Cricket, Football and Athletic Ground Limited – founded in 1905 and subsequently referred to as the ground syndicate – was in charge of subletting the Portman Road facility to the town’s amateur sports teams, including Ipswich Town Football Club.⁴ While the latter was established in 1878, it did not make a permanent move to Portman Road until the late 1880s.⁵ Throughout its history as a sports ground, Portman Road has always belonged to the Corporation of Ipswich. With the objective of raising the necessary funds to improve the multi-sport facility, the new ground syndicate – which included members of the football club – succeeded in obtaining a lease from the Corporation on the understanding that it would be preserved as a sports ground.⁶ A surviving photograph provides

an impression of how it would probably have looked in 1914. Behind the ensuing tug of war competition the newly erected grandstand is visible [Figure 1].



Figure 1: ‘Tug of War’ at Portman Road, Ipswich (Circa. 1908). Reproduced with kind permission of Suffolk County Council, Ipswich branch, Ref. K681/1/262/1186.

Though separate organisations, both the football club and the ground syndicate were presided over by men from the town’s elite families, with many of the early players and officials coming from the locally revered Ipswich School. The first president of the football club was M.P. Thomas Clement Cobbold, while Philip Wyndham Cobbold was the first vice-chairman of the syndicate. Both were descended from the eighteenth century brewer John Cobbold and, as will be seen, belonged to a prestigious Suffolk family with a flourishing brewery. The Cobbold association with the football club would be a long one.⁷ Other notable early figures include G. S. Sherrington and S. A. Notcutt. Sherrington captained the Ipswich School team in the 1870s, before serving in the same role for the club that would become Ipswich Town shortly afterwards. He also played for the first eleven of Cambridge University and the legendary amateur side, the Corinthians.⁸ Notcutt, who became secretary of the ground syndicate, had also been recruited to the football club from Ipswich School.⁹ Both would be influential in preserving a particular strain of the amateur game at the local and national levels.

Following the establishment of the Football Association in 1863, ex-public school and university teams enjoyed a considerable degree of success. However, as the popularity of the

game spread, working class sides rose to the challenge, with Old Etonians' FA Cup victory of 1882 proving to be the last of its kind. Of more concern to many influential southern amateurs was the legalisation of professionalism in 1885. It is true that ex-public school men were well represented on both sides of this controversy but, as Tony Mason notes, their disagreement was of a tactical nature:

Did you fight the monster and refuse to recognise its existence or did you accept that it had grown too large to fight but might be tamed by a controlled environment?¹⁰

By the 1900s, fears over professional domination of the governance of the game sparked a backlash by those who Dilwyn Porter refers to as the '[s]elf-appointed custodians of amateurism'. These men 'fought a long rearguard action' against the influence of commercial forces.¹¹ Even working class amateurs, who played the game in a manner that was unbecoming of a 'gentleman', were deemed to be a threat. The 'gentleman amateur', with the common traits of 'birth, breeding and a public school/Oxbridge education', longed for a purer game, untainted by commercial interests.¹² Retaining governance in the hands of the leisured class was viewed as a highly important element of this. There was also resistance to the professional game at club level, especially in the south of the country. At Ipswich, Sherrington successfully saw off a supporter-initiated move to join the Southern League in 1895.¹³

Disagreement over how the game should be governed came to a head in the 'Great Split' of 1907. Although events leading up to the Split were highly complex, the final straw came when the Middlesex and Surrey county associations challenged the FA by refusing to admit professional clubs as a matter of principle. With no compromise in sight, the newly formed Amateur Football Association severed ties with the FA. Despite protestations to the contrary, the AFA was clearly a 'class movement' from the outset.¹⁴ Its official history declares that 'the great soccer-playing Public Schools played a tremendous part' in the AFA's establishment, adding 'great prestige to the campaign'.¹⁵ Its members believed that amateurs ought to regulate the amateur game, objecting to the increasing power of professional clubs. Dominated by old boy teams in the southeast of England, the AFA had 900 affiliated clubs within a year. This was facilitated by the fact that several county FAs defected *en bloc*. Suffolk was among them.¹⁶ This meant that two rival associations – one affiliated to the FA and the other to the AFA – operated in the county for the duration of the Split.

Suffolk's Notcutt and Sherrington both relinquished senior positions at the FA – the latter had been a vice-president for ten years and the Suffolk and Norfolk representative for twenty – and welcomed the breakaway organisation. They were elected life vice-presidents of

the AFA in 1908.¹⁷ With this in mind, it is perhaps unsurprising that the county's flagship club also embraced the Split. Members of Ipswich Town unanimously voted in favour of joining the AFA, despite the fact that the Norfolk and Suffolk League remained loyal. Sherrington and Notcutt addressed fellow members on the evening of the vote. Town's committee reported that their 'high reputation' in the country was 'largely founded upon the strong amateur traditions which have always prevailed in the management of the club'.¹⁸ Consequently, it was deemed imperative that they continued to be associated with the 'best type' of amateurism. Crucially, well-connected members had also secured an invitation for Ipswich Town to become a founder member of the AFA's Southern Amateur League.¹⁹

During the seven years of AFA independence, Ipswich played an important role. As the 'most popular A.F.A. centre outside London', the town's respected ground hosted showpiece matches, including AFA internationals.²⁰ In 1909, England beat Bohemia 10-1 at Portman Road, bettering this performance the following year via a 20-0 demolition of France. The town also hosted AFA Cup Finals and visits by the Corinthians.²¹ A convenient train journey from London, Ipswich was a favoured venue for visiting Southern Amateur League teams, offering 'the sort of hospitality that has always been a feature of the A.F.A. game':

What memories these outings recall. Dinner at the Golden Lion, Ipswich, the Gildridge Hotel at Eastbourne, or Lewcocks Restaurant at Hastings. Speeches, singing, exchanging of Club ties, followed by home players and officials seeing the visitors off at the station.²²

With Portman Road as its home, Ipswich Town competed in the Southern Amateur League for the seven seasons leading up to the First World War. By this time professional clubs were operating all over the country, with later East Anglian rivals Norwich City having turned to professionalism in 1905. However, within a few years of the establishment of the AFA, the quality of amateur football that it encompassed was poor. Porter notes that late kick-offs were a problem and that 'some spectators, used to stronger meat, may have regarded the AFA game as rather tame.'²³ Nevertheless, the Southern Amateur League embraced the creed of gentlemanly sportsmanship. It was a competition that prided itself on the rarity of fouls, while its players were representative of the idealised sporting all-rounders and servants of Empire produced by the country's public schools. Town's Charlie Fenn was reportedly 'equally gifted at cricket, rowing, athletics, and lawn tennis. He sailed for India in 1912'.²⁴ Despite a growing desire for a higher standard of football in the town, the committee of Ipswich's amateur side refused to abandon their ethos. The club finished the 1913-14 season in third place, behind rivals Civil Service and The Casuals.

The AFA and FA settled their dispute in 1914. Under the Terms of Reconciliation, the former continued to exist, but as an affiliate organisation. The floundering breakaway body secured seats on the FA Council and on important committees, but was forced to accept stringent conditions that severely limited its capacity for expansion. Indeed, the 'old boys' clubs and their allies ... were being preserved in aspic'.²⁵ To make matters worse, the outbreak of the First World War interrupted the implementation of the agreement before the AFA could consolidate its new position.²⁶

The First World War

Following the outbreak of war, Ipswich played just three friendly matches during the ill-fated 1914-15 Season. Across the country grounds were used for recruitment drives, while wartime fixtures between military and civilian teams were arranged with the complementary objectives of raising money for charity and providing entertainment on the Home Front.²⁷ On 17 October Ipswich Town played an away match against Harwich & Parkeston in aid of the Belgian Refugee Fund.²⁸ Ipswich's next wartime fixture saw the club face a Norfolk Yeomanry eleven at Portman Road on Boxing Day.²⁹ It was intended to donate the proceeds from this friendly to the camp funds of the Eastern Counties' Y.M.C.A.. Yet awful weather meant that only a hundred spectators attended the game, which started with a ceremonial kick-off by the commanding officer of the Yeomanry. Ipswich won the match 4-0, a remarkable achievement considering the fact that the team had three less players than their opponents for a considerable period. Three of the amateur footballers had failed to show up, with military substitutes eventually taking their place on the field later in the match.³⁰

The poor weather and pitiful takings resulted in the arrangement of a second fixture against Norfolk Yeomanry in January 1915. The admirable objectives of the club were explained in the local press:

It is to be hoped that the afternoon will be fine, so Ipswichians can attend in their thousands for the double purpose of having a little recreation and assisting the movement which is doing so much for those on active service, both at home and abroad.³¹

Nevertheless, while the weather was much improved, the attendance at this second match was still less than 300. Among them were a number of wounded Belgian soldiers and English nurses. After the match, the visiting Belgians were entertained by the club's officials in the Portman Road Pavilion.³² This was neither the first nor last time that soldiers frequented the building during the war. By contrast, this January afternoon in 1915 was to be the last wartime action for Ipswich Town. War came to East Anglia directly just three days after Ipswich's final

match, with a fatal zeppelin raid on Great Yarmouth.³³ Noting that it was not receiving rent from its usual tenants, the December 1914 ground syndicate Directors' Report explained that both the football and hockey clubs were in abeyance for the season.³⁴

In stark contrast to Town's withdrawal from football, the professional game continued to be played at the highest level for the first war-affected season, with a full programme of Football League fixtures taking place on Christmas Day, 1914.³⁵ The competitive season culminated in the 'Khaki Cup Final' of April 1915, after which professional League football also succumbed to the war effort.³⁶ By contrast, with its proud allegiance to the gentlemanly amateurism espoused by the AFA, it is not surprising that the competitive activities of Ipswich Town came to such an immediate end, with the three fundraising games constituting the club's only wartime action. Given the public school bent of the AFA, a better comparison might be made with the measures taken by an elite amateur sport such as rugby union. The latter's governing body had welcomed the formation of the AFA in 1907 and its wartime conduct was markedly different to that of professional football.³⁷

By the beginning of September 1914, rugby union was effectively abandoned in England, with players enlisting for the Armed Forces *en masse*. The game's governing body formally recognised this situation and cancelled all domestic and international matches.³⁸ Although players enlisted in defence of the Empire, even this self-proclaimed patriotic game continued to flourish through friendlies and especially within the confines of the military. While the differing responses of professional football and amateur rugby union can undoubtedly be assigned in part to prevalent class divisions embodied by the respective games, it is important to note that the majority of football clubs were also amateur organisations.³⁹ In early September *The Times* stated that the 'appeal which has been made to footballers and others to put the national interests before sport is meeting with a sympathetic response in many quarters.'⁴⁰ In these circumstances the FA's decision for the professional game to continue came under attack. Colin Veitch explains that this controversy, involving supposedly unpatriotic players and their spectators, 'was no doubt fanned ... by the actions and press coverage of their amateur and educated counterparts, the public school sportsmen.'⁴¹ Ipswich's *East Anglian Daily Times* also carried stories which agitated against the continuance of professional football during wartime. One such piece reproduced correspondence from Field-Marshal Lord Grenfell. His words complement the actions of the town's amateur club: 'While friendly games doubtless do much to keep players fit and well, this is not the time for great football organisations to continue their proceedings.'⁴²

Nevertheless, it must be noted that the Football Association wrote to the War Office in September 1914, offering to abandon all football, only for the latter to reply that the responsibility for such a decision lay with the sport's organisers.⁴³ One newspaper made its views clear when it announced that its football edition would cease publication until 'the fight' was won:

This is no time for football. This nation, this Empire, has got to occupy itself with more serious business. The young men who play football and the young men who look on have better work to do. The trumpet calls them, their country calls them, the heroes in the trenches call them. They are summoned to leave their sport, and to take part in the great game. The game is war: for life or death.⁴⁴

Professional football continued to face abuse until competition was finally abandoned in 1915, with amateur sports associations held up as shining examples which ought to be followed by their paid counterparts.⁴⁵ As an organisation which did not play competitively for the duration of the war, the amateur Ipswich Town was not subject to the criticism which professional sides endured.

In an attempt to counter clamorous media calls to cancel competitive football on patriotic grounds, the FA placed its administrative structure at the War Office's disposal. It also offered the facilities of all Football League grounds for the purposes of recruitment and training.⁴⁶ Sporting and military authorities harnessed pitches for the war effort, with many being used as Drill Grounds, storage facilities and pasture for livestock.⁴⁷ Rugby clubs had also been quick to offer their grounds in the opening weeks of the conflict, and some rugby pitches were certainly harnessed by the military.⁴⁸ It is evident that Portman Road endured a similar fate.

The Portman Road ground syndicate held its Annual General Meeting in December 1914. By that time the company's activities had been affected, with the ground being requisitioned for military purposes in early August. This meant that 'lettings to the various clubs had to be terminated'. Portman Road's pavilion and other parts of the ground had been used for billeting soldiers, with the syndicate receiving limited payment in return.⁴⁹ By late 1915 the army had become a more permanent, and detrimental, feature: 'the greater part of the Ground has been occupied by the Military for parking guns and wagons, tethering horses, and other purposes, including games.'⁵⁰ The 'occupation' was causing considerable damage to the facilities:

Early in the year it became apparent that it was useless to attempt to keep the ground in repair, and that it would be impossible to let it for games and sports in the summer...⁵¹

Although the armistice of November 1918 brought the First World War to an end, it was not until September 1919 that Portman Road was finally vacated.⁵² However, the syndicate's ongoing compensation claims against the military authorities further delayed the reinstatement of the ground for sporting use.⁵³

As a result of these drawn-out negotiations the football club did not function at all in the immediate post-war period. Although the recovery of local football was slow, by September 1919 there were plenty of matches in Suffolk, with 52 sides entered in the Ipswich and District League alone.⁵⁴ Meanwhile, deprived of Portman Road, Town's amateurs were 'anxiously waiting for some kind of friend to provide them with a temporary ground' while negotiations continued.⁵⁵ Such charity evidently did not materialise. The final claim was not settled with the War Department until August 1920.⁵⁶ This allowed the footballers of Ipswich Town to return to action after an absence of more than five years on 4 September. On that occasion the team played a friendly match against Old Bancroftians. An emotional local reporter captured the feel of the occasion:

It was quite like old times to be watching a match on the Portman Road enclosure, with the difference that it was an altogether new Ipswich Town which took the field. Alas! the old team suffered from war casualties greater, probably, than any other local club in the Eastern counties.⁵⁷

As 1,500 spectators watched the resumption of football, the First World War finally ended for Ipswich Town.

In addition to the ground saga, Town suffered losses of a far more serious nature. Pre-war players Cyril Fenn and E. R. Pallett were killed in the fighting, Alf Liffen also died, while Ernie Bugg lost a limb.⁵⁸ Three of these players had featured in the wartime friendly matches against Norfolk Yeomanry, with Bugg – the club's top scorer in 1913-14 – scoring in the club's final game in January 1915. The AFA survived the First World War, but as a shadow of its former self. Having rejoined the FA at an inopportune moment, the number of member clubs fell to a third of pre-war levels as the affiliated counties deserted to the parent body. The organisation's patriotic response to the First World War, and consequent neglect of administration, also made resumption more difficult 'as football was unimportant compared with the urgency of the war effort.'⁵⁹ Resuming competitive play a year later than comparable sides, Ipswich participated in the Southern Amateur League in the 1920-21 season, competing against such teams as Reigate Priory and Westminster Bank. However, during the years which separated the two world wars Town would make the transition to professionalism and, by 1939, would appear to be a very different organisation to that which had bowed out of the Great War

in January 1915. The 1930s were a formative period of great significance for the war to come. It was a time when traditionalists fought tenaciously to preserve the club.

The turn to professionalism

By the mid-1930s the Football League contained 88 professional clubs across four divisions, while others existed in competitions such as the Southern League. Nevertheless, as working class amateur sides thrived below the professional game, gentlemanly amateurism also limped on through the inter-war era. Mike Huggins and Jack Williams note that ongoing hostility to professional sport from the English elite was ‘a carry-over from pre-war years’.⁶⁰ Amateurism continued to be championed as a haven of sportsmanship that stood in stark contrast to the “sordid grasping after easy money” that was professional football.⁶¹ Shorn of hundreds of ordinary county clubs by the upheaval of war, the streamlined AFA was even more socially exclusive than it had been during its years of independence.

As the division between amateur and professional weakened in many sports during the 1920s and 1930s,⁶² Ipswich stood as one of the last bastions of gentlemanly amateur football. This was Town’s most successful period as a member of the Southern Amateur League. The club won the competition four times between 1922 and 1935, and they were runners-up on three other occasions.⁶³ However, despite Town’s success, it is clear that the league was running out of steam. The 1922-23 season ended in an unsatisfactory manner, as Eastbourne were crowned champions in controversial circumstances. The club’s home fixture against Ipswich was postponed due to cup commitments and never rescheduled. This denied second placed Ipswich the opportunity to win the league at Eastbourne’s expense. A local journalist, who was clearly uncomfortable with the decision ‘to elect incomplete champions’, quoted a prominent football official on the matter: ‘What is the use of belonging to a League which cannot fulfill its fixtures?’⁶⁴ By 1926 there was renewed talk of establishing a professional side. While the amateur committee steadfastly refused to contemplate a switch to ‘third rate’ professional football, Town did appoint a professional trainer in the summer of 1927.⁶⁵ It was during the 1930s, however, that the inhabitants of Ipswich finally lost interest in the Southern Amateur League. Attendances went into a decline matched only by the club’s bank account.⁶⁶ Town’s 1934 AGM was dominated by the desire to find a new competition in which to compete. The club had received a petition from its supporters demanding it withdraw from the unattractive Southern Amateur League, but it had been unsuccessful in its applications to join the stronger Athenian and Isthmian Leagues.⁶⁷ Match reports written by a local journalist who

was clearly enthusiastic about the AFA game provide a sense of the disharmony over the fare on offer:

Apparently Ipswich football fans neither appreciate friendlies nor league matches. On Saturday the weather was good enough to attract a big crowd to Portman Road ground, but, no – only about 1,400 were there to see Ipswich Town easily defeat Westminster Bank 5-2. The Town team is now shaping well to attract double this number of people. Admittedly, the Bankers were not a good side, but they pegged away sufficiently to make the game interesting.⁶⁸

This would transpire to be the club's final season in the Southern Amateur League.

In addition to waning interest in AFA competitions, the club was also concerned about its ability to attract new members from its traditional strongholds. In 1923 both the Ipswich School and Framlingham College – another well-heeled Suffolk institution – abandoned association football and embraced rugby. The former's headmaster declared that 'soccer lacked the prestige necessary for a successful school.'⁶⁹ This was part of a wider trend which saw many public schools desert the game in the wake of the Great Split and the widely held view that, unlike rugby, football had 'blotted its copybook during the war' with its unpatriotic response.⁷⁰ The Town committee voiced concerns, but were unable to reverse the decisions. Alongside these external developments the club's composition was also changing, as some of the giants of gentlemanly amateurism were leaving the stage. Town legend and AFA life vice-president Notcutt died in 1923, while the club's president since 1914, Herbert Jervis-White-Jervis, passed away in 1934.⁷¹

The pace of change accelerated during the 1930s, at the same time as professional football enjoyed a partial rehabilitation of its image among the middle and upper classes.⁷² In February 1935 representatives of the largest clubs in East Anglia, with the exception of Football League Norwich City, gathered together in Ipswich to form the Eastern Counties League. The founder members were united by a common dissatisfaction with 'declining gates, lack of interest, and a falling off in the general standard of play' in their respective competitions.⁷³ There was also some discussion as to whether Norwich City should enter a side, on the basis that it consist solely of amateur players, but nothing came of it. Town ended what would transpire to be their only season in the twelve team Eastern Counties League in mid-table.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, having taken the momentous step to abandon AFA football many saw an opportunity to press for more drastic evolution at the club.

Although the Eastern Counties League was undoubtedly far more competitive than the AFA game, for a growing number of Ipswich's residents the lack of a professional club, along with the disappointing performances of the amateur side, was a matter of civic embarrassment.

Outspoken critics regarded the refusal to embrace professional football as a glaring failure to move with the times: 'The world changes, but alas! Ipswich Town Football remains in the rut.'⁷⁵ Letters on the matter regularly appeared in the newspapers, as correspondence columns provided the platform for a fierce debate that went well beyond the boundaries of football. However, the club's heavily criticised committee tenaciously defended its amateur status.⁷⁶

While some writers sought to improve the existing side, others were more forthright in proposing a turn to professional football. A considerable amount of dissatisfaction with the quality offered by Town's amateurs is immediately apparent in the local press.⁷⁷ The extent to which the club was in disarray was highlighted by various contributors:

Much has been written of late concerning Ipswich Town Football but surely the climax was reached last Saturday, when nine men, ten minutes late, started the match against Sudbury, in full view of their very loyal supporters and sundry county officials.⁷⁸

Supporters of the amateur ideal fought back tenaciously. Attacking the low level of enthusiasm afforded to the amateur side, one reader firmly asserted that 'Ipswich gets far better football than it deserves': 'I am afraid that it is ridiculous to talk of a professional side for Ipswich. A town which gives such poor support to its present club would be equally luke-warm over a paid side.'⁷⁹ Another reader responded that the amateur club 'has had her public, but failed to hold it'.⁸⁰

Letters suggested a range of measures for improving the situation, including appeals to local businessmen to find jobs for quality amateur players. One reader stated that 'the tradesmen and employing class have not yet realised that a good football team is an asset to any town.' Accordingly, jobs had to be found to enable the amateur club 'to import players from other districts'.⁸¹ This was just one of the issues on which correspondents disagreed. In response to such appeals to attract players, 'Fair Play' defended the local unemployed, with wartime sacrifices clearly on his mind:

I notice already we have a certain number of strangers here from so-called distressed areas taking work which should be ours by right. ... I fail to see eye to eye with those ... sportsmen, because I sincerely believe our local unemployed should have the first option, many of them being ex-Servicemen, and having played their part in 1914-18, and it was not all football either.⁸²

The fact that Norwich had enjoyed a professional team for many years was harnessed as evidence that Ipswich could successfully support a Football League side. Moreover, the existence of a sizeable group of Ipswich residents that regularly journeyed to Norfolk served as further impetus for action:

At the present time it is estimated that between 2,000 and 2,500 people from Ipswich, travel to Norwich to see a football match. How about keeping those 2,500 people in Ipswich, and the shillings they spend when at Norwich, and serving something that would invite an additional 2,500 people and their shillings to come to Ipswich? Ipswich has a footballing public. Watch the Station every Saturday and see the crowds who can afford it making their way to Highbury, Fulham, White Hart Lane, and most of the London grounds.⁸³

Indeed, Norwich City purposefully targeted this support among Suffolk residents via advertising in the local press. While the potential for increased trade in the town was certainly a point made in favour of calls to abandon the amateur game, the issue had also become a matter of civic pride. The town's position as a significant and progressive urban centre was at stake:

It is deplorable that a large town like Ipswich can only provide fifth-rate or sixth-rate football for Saturday afternoon spectators to enjoy. Lincoln, Exeter, Watford, Luton, and many smaller towns supply the class that people are prepared to support ...⁸⁴

This letter was published on 26 February 1936, and contained a prescient appeal to the newspaper and its readers: 'Is it not possible with your valuable help, backed up by a few influential local sportsmen, to convene a public meeting so that something might be done to put this town of Ipswich on the football map?'⁸⁵

Just two days later there was a breakthrough. Leonard Thompson, the secretary of a local building company, wrote to the *Evening Star* and suggested that those interested in improving the quality of football meet in order to take the matter further.⁸⁶ By the end of March 1936, the resultant group of discontented football enthusiasts had formed a new club – Ipswich United FC.⁸⁷ On 9 April, an impressive crowd of around 1,500 citizens gathered in the Ipswich Public Hall to continue the debate which had raged for so long in local newspapers. The meeting's chairman, Philip Thompson, directly discussed the extensive correspondence in the local press, including his son's invitation to take concrete action. Thompson senior informed those present that the objective of the meeting was to determine whether the town should have a professional club, and also whether residents would support the proposed Ipswich United. Nevertheless, he was careful not to burn bridges with the existing amateur organisation. Civic pride was undoubtedly at stake: 'A professional team puts a town on the map. I believe that Ipswich is one of the largest towns, if not the largest, without a professional team'.⁸⁸

Despite overwhelming support for the introduction of professionalism, there were also lingering signs of affection for the 'purity' of its amateur counterpart. For example, when Alderman Jackson took the floor, he stated: 'I make no apology as one who up to a point has

preferred amateurism in sport'. However, he recognised 'that we are living in changing times. In sport, particularly in football, things are moving. Ipswich must move with the times. She always has done.'⁸⁹ The criticism that was directed at those running the amateur club carried over into the public meeting. Discontent echoed around the hall whenever Town was mentioned. Representatives of Ipswich Town were present and the club's treasurer, Charles Bunn, was invited to address the gathering. He was mercilessly heckled as he attempted to defend the conduct of the amateur club, while conceding that it had not enjoyed enough support. Yet even some of those closely associated with the existing amateur club had clearly been persuaded of the case for professionalism. Lieutenant-Colonel Hooper, a vice-present of the club, spoke out in support of professional football. Indeed, he was convinced that there would 'be an amicable arrangement ... which sooner or later would see a successful professional team running in the town, with, amongst its keenest supporters, those men who had for so many years kept the spirit of amateur football alive'.⁹⁰ One speaker contrasted the traditions of the amateur side with the stubborn conservatism of its present committee, asking: 'Was it necessary to sink the club for the shortcomings of a few men?'⁹¹ In a jubilant atmosphere, the meeting concluded with an almost unanimous resolution in favour of professional football, while approving the formation of Ipswich United FC. Nevertheless, it was also made clear that the new venture would be far more successful with Ipswich Town on board.

A week later the amateur club rejected the invitation to merge with the proposed Ipswich United in preference of adhering to its principles. At a meeting of over one hundred members, a defensive Charles Bunn explained that 'it was not for anyone to say that such an organisation could be wiped out in a few hours'.⁹² Eventually, an amendment proposing that the club continue as 'a purely amateur organisation' was carried by 64 votes to 37. This was hardly a unanimous outcome, with one member highlighting that the desire for professional football 'could not be described as the whim of a few'. He was evidently concerned that the amateur side would drift into insignificance if it did not embrace the prevailing public mood.⁹³

However, by 2 May there had been a stark change of opinion. Members rescinded their previous resolution and reluctantly agreed to join forces with those advocating professionalism.⁹⁴ How can we explain this rapid about-face on such an emotionally charged issue? The influential Captain John Murray Cobbold, president of Ipswich Town, played an important role.⁹⁵ Owner of a large Suffolk estate, the well-connected Cobbold was also chairman of the family brewery. A keen cricketer during his Eton days, he fought on the Western Front. During the inter-war period he indulged in sport shooting on his extensive

properties in Scotland, where he entertained both King George VI and Neville Chamberlain.⁹⁶ Therefore, he appeared to be a highly suitable figurehead for the esteemed amateur organisation. In 1933 he was elected president of the Suffolk Football Association, taking up the same role at Ipswich Town in 1935.⁹⁷

Returning from a trip to Canada after the initial meetings had taken place, Cobbold threw his weight behind the professional cause, publicly expressing his opinion in a letter to the local press: 'For many years I have been convinced that a town the size and importance of Ipswich, must have professional football'.⁹⁸ While he may have held this view 'for many years', Cobbold gave a rather different account four months later. At a sumptuous banquet to mark the turn to professionalism, he told those present that 'it was a conversation with [FA Secretary] Mr. Rous on the occasion of [the] Suffolk Jubilee match with Arsenal that sowed in his head the germs of professional football.'⁹⁹ Rous, who was a guest at the banquet, was himself a Suffolk man, while the Jubilee match in question was played at Portman Road in March 1935 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Suffolk FA.¹⁰⁰ Another explanation for Cobbold's embrace of the professional game relates to his friendship with Arsenal chairman Sir Samuel Hill-Wood. The latter supposedly convinced Cobbold of the joys of the professional game during a visit to Highbury.¹⁰¹ However, the pair may also have discussed the matter along with Rous at the aforementioned Jubilee match, given that Arsenal were the opponents of the Suffolk XI and that Hill-Wood was among the guests of county president Cobbold on that day.¹⁰² It is clear that Cobbold's interest in professional football coincided with both his election as Town president and the club's tentative steps beyond the narrow-confines of the gentlemanly AFA.

The press described such a blessing from the president of the amateur club as 'a bombshell in the local football controversy'.¹⁰³ It was evidently pivotal in altering the stance of the Town committee. Just a week after Cobbold's letter an agreement was made for Ipswich Town to amalgamate with the proposed Ipswich United.¹⁰⁴ In this way Ipswich Town Football Club Limited was born, the amateur club embraced professionalism and the name Ipswich United was consigned to the history books. Complex and occasionally ill-tempered discussions over the use of Portman Road, and the necessity to find a suitable alternative for the town's other amateur sports teams, dragged on until the ground syndicate was finally wound up in 1939. The newly professional football club had signed a 21 year lease directly with the Corporation of Ipswich three years earlier.¹⁰⁵

Even though the resistance to professionalism had finally been broken, the management of the club remained idiosyncratic. In important respects it differed from the great wave of

professional sides that emerged around the turn of the twentieth century. In his examination of 46 such businesses in the period between 1888 and 1915, Tony Mason found that shareholders were largely middle-class, while their occupations mirrored the prevalent industries of the urban area in question. Moreover, of 740 directors, just 4.3% were gentleman.¹⁰⁶ It is true that, like many clubs, local industry was well represented on Ipswich Town's board. However, as Table 1 shows, gentlemen were the dominant group, with the nobility and military featuring in a formidable list. A shareholding of £25 was required to take up the position. The Prospectus of the aspiring new company made much of their social standing in an attempt to attract shareholders. Like many other clubs across the country, the brewing industry featured heavily, albeit via a group of directors that can be categorised as 'gentlemen brewers'.¹⁰⁷ Though the late nineteenth century witnessed the bestowing of honours upon a number of brewers in what was referred to as the 'beverage', the brewing families connected with Town were more longstanding features of the Suffolk gentry.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, Lord Tollemache was 'horrified' to learn that his sons had entered the 'degrading' industry in 1888.¹⁰⁹ By contrast, the role of director at a professional football club had become an important civic responsibility by the 1900s.¹¹⁰ Mason notes that it is possible to look upon the stereotypical football club as 'a family firm with both shares and directorships being passed down the generations.'¹¹¹ This is something that certainly developed at Ipswich Town, as the Cobbolds' relationship with the club came to resemble the continuity across generations of the dynasty's brewing business and public service.¹¹²

In addition to social class, there was also a considerable degree of human continuity between the committee of the amateur organisation and the new professional club. Alongside former club president Cobbold and vice-presidents Hooper and Ganzoni – all of whom became directors of the new company, with the former also serving as chairman – many other committee members crossed over into the professional club. Among them were individuals who had initially expressed deep opposition to the idea of abandoning the amateur ethos. A notable example is Charles Bunn who, as treasurer of the amateur side, had been jeered at the public meeting. Despite his reservations, he accepted a position on the management committee of the new venture.¹¹³ However, Bunn's eventual acceptance of change did not prevent him from voicing his disappointment over the extent to which the contribution of the amateur side had been undervalued.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, continuity in terms of personnel and class affiliation would prove to be hugely significant when war broke out once again.

Table 1: 1936 board of directors	
[Compiled from: 'Ipswich Town Football Club Company Limited. Prospectus', 1936, ITA; <i>Kelly's Directory of Ipswich and Neighbourhood</i> (London, 1936); <i>Who's Who in Suffolk</i> ; The Peerage, < http://www.thepeerage.com > [Accessed July 2015]; The Cobbold Family History Trust, < http://cobboldfht.com > [Accessed July 2015].]	
Director	Role
Captain John Murray Cobbold	Director of Cobbold & Co., Ltd. (Brewers); Educated at Eton; Married daughter of the Duke of Devonshire; Served in Great War (Scots Guards); former High Sheriff of Suffolk; Justice of the Peace (J. P.), Suffolk
Bertram Francis, Baron Cranworth	2 nd Baron Cranworth; Educated at Eton and Cambridge; Served in South African War (Norfolk Artillery) and Great War (Norfolk Yeomanry and R.F.A.); Croix de Guerre; Mentioned in Dispatches twice; Military Cross; J. P. and Deputy Lieutenant (D. L.), Suffolk
The Hon. Douglas Alfred Tollemache	Director of Tollemaches Breweries Ltd.; Educated at Cambridge; Major (Suffolk Yeomanry); County magistrate [Son of 1 st Baron Tollemache]
Sir Charles Henry Napier Bunbury	11 th Baronet Bunbury; Served in Great War (Coldstream Guards and Royal Wiltshire Yeomanry); High Sheriff of Suffolk in 1936; J. P. and D. L., Suffolk
Sir Francis John Childs Ganzoni	1 st Baronet Ganzoni (1929); 1 st Baron (1938); Educated at Tonbridge School and Oxford; Member of Parliament for the Borough of Ipswich; Served in Great War (Captain, Suffolk Regiment); D. L., Suffolk
Major Robert Nevill Cobbold	Director of Cobbold & Co., Ltd. (Brewers); Major in Welsh Guards [Son of Philip Wyndham Cobbold: Educated at Eton and Cambridge; former Mayor of Ipswich; Served in Great War; J. P. and D. L., Suffolk]
Lieutenant-Colonel Harold Ridley Hooper	Architect; Officer commanding 4 th Battalion Suffolk Regiment; Military Cross
Robert Frederick Jackson	Secretary; Alderman
Nathan Shaw	Draper; Proprietor of Suffolk Stadium (Greyhounds)

In August 1936, Town kicked-off in the Southern League. The club's opening match as a professional side took place at Portman Road, and Tunbridge Wells Rangers were the opponents. The gate of 14,211 broke the existing ground record at the time.¹¹⁵ In the matchday programme chairman Cobbold explained that: 'To-day marks a very important milestone in the history of football in Ipswich'.¹¹⁶ While the team went on to compete successfully in the Southern League, its ultimate ambition – as stated in the aforementioned Prospectus – was

election to the elite company of the Football League. The process by which teams could gain election was an uncertain one. League clubs which finished at the bottom of the regional Third Divisions were forced to seek re-election, with those that were unsuccessful being replaced by aspiring sides from beyond the League's jurisdiction. The case of Ipswich Town's election has been used by historians Matthew Taylor and John Coyle in order to demonstrate how sophisticated and expensive such applications were by the mid-1930s.¹¹⁷ The club applied for admission for the first time in 1937. This initial application proved unsuccessful, but Town tried once again the following season, gaining admission to Division Three South at the expense of Gillingham.¹¹⁸

Although it had been floundering in the Southern Amateur League just three seasons earlier, by 1938 the well-financed club had a strong case for Football League membership. The glossy brochure that was distributed as part of the application process explained that Town's average Southern League attendances rose from 7,564 in 1936-37 to 9,415 for 1937-38, while logistically Ipswich was an attractive destination for Third Division South sides. The brochure also made much of an affluent industrial town, with a population approaching 100,000: 'It is no idle boast to claim that there are few towns in the kingdom which can show during the past 100 years a growth more steadily or more rapidly achieved'.¹¹⁹ Moreover, Portman Road was famed for the quality of its turf, something which Hill-Wood – who was among the vice-presidents of Ipswich Town by this time – had drawn attention to after the visit of his Arsenal side back in 1935.¹²⁰ All of these features, alongside assistance from Cobbold's valuable personal contacts within the Football League and Football Association, contributed to the club's successful campaign.¹²¹ Once in the League, Ipswich enjoyed a remarkable inaugural season, finishing in seventh position. However, despite its initial success, the team's second season would be a disastrous one, albeit as a result of developments beyond the world of football.

The Second World War

Ipswich Town's third fixture of the 1939-40 Season was the eagerly awaited Division Three South derby match against Norwich City, played on 2 September. A 1-1 draw was watched by what initially appears to be a disappointing crowd of just over ten thousand.¹²² By contrast, the existing ground record of 28,194 had been set in January at an FA Cup reply against Aston Villa.¹²³ However, on closer inspection it becomes apparent that this particular match was a very poignant one indeed. Aside from being the first East Anglian Derby between the two clubs in the Football League, it was also Town's last fixture for six years.

Neville Chamberlain addressed the nation on 3 September, solemnly declaring that ‘this country is at war with Germany.’ Although the last round of Football League matches took place the day before, it was already apparent that circumstances had drastically altered. The *Evening Star* noted that in ‘normal circumstances’ the fixture against Norwich would have smashed the League attendance record at Portman Road:

Even with the clouds of war threatening to break there was quite a big crowd to greet the teams, and although hundreds of Norwich supporters were unable to make the journey, excursion trains and booked buses having been cancelled, the Canaries were not without local support ... Few people had brought their gas masks with them, but there was a sprinkling of boys in khaki and blue who apparently had managed to get time off.¹²⁴

It was a remarkably fluid situation. Clubs in the eastern counties struggled to fulfill their fixtures due to a shortage of available transport. The amateur game was hit the hardest, with no play whatsoever in the Eastern Counties League, among others. Following the Norwich fixture the Football League was suspended, with members being notified that all players’ contracts were automatically frozen. The Town manager had passed this information on to his players and, just one day after the announcement of war, the town’s public were informed that the ‘goalposts have been removed from the playing pitch’ at Portman Road.¹²⁵ The immediate impact upon club employees was considerable. The players received their last wage packets on 2 September.¹²⁶ A clause allowing clubs to cancel contracts ‘on any reasonable grounds’ had originally been introduced by the League during the First World War and, though envisaged as a temporary measure, it remained in force throughout the inter-war period.¹²⁷

The declaration of war initially resulted in a ban on the assembly of crowds. On 6 September the League Management Committee held an emergency meeting to discuss the situation, while a subsequent meeting between the League and the Football Association decided that all civilian football under FA jurisdiction ‘would be suspended until official notice to the contrary was given’.¹²⁸ The professional game was eager to avoid the abuse that it endured at the outbreak of World War One.¹²⁹ A special meeting of Town’s directors took place on 13 September, when the initiative discussed at the beginning of this essay was taken: Captain Cobbold’s announcement that all footballing activities would cease for the duration of the conflict.¹³⁰ This move was viewed as a matter of principle by a man who has been described as the ‘patrician chairman’.¹³¹

Although Town’s move may appear logical, given the actions of the League and the FA, the stances of these organisations swiftly changed and games were soon taking place at most League grounds. On the day of Ipswich’s decision several friendlies were played, while

plans were soon being drawn up for regional competitions. Ground capacities were initially limited to 8,000, but a restriction which capped travel to a fifty mile radius was lifted towards the end of September.¹³² Plans for the Football League's regional competition were finalised on 2 October, and of the 88 League clubs just six decided not to take part. Ipswich were among them.¹³³ With such a recent transition to professional football, it is unsurprising that lingering attachments to the perceived values of gentlemanly amateurism continued to have an impact. We know that the AFA affiliated Ipswich Town acted in a similar manner during the Great War. Indeed, there was direct human continuity stretching back to this period, as the long-serving local M.P. Sir Francis John Childs Ganzoni, who had been added to the list of vice-presidents of the amateur club in July 1914, continued as a director after the transition to professionalism.¹³⁴ As a professional outfit, the composition of the board – with its nobility and army officers educated at the best public schools and universities – was such that calls to fulfill patriotic duty came before desires to maintain elite football at Portman Road during a time of war. Among others, club chairman and war veteran Cobbold embodied the upper echelons of the British establishment.

Understandably, the club's decision to act differently from most other Football League clubs was not a popular one with supporters. Indeed, the Supporters' Association contacted Captain Cobbold to voice their disappointment and to express the hope that the board would reconsider, stating that the game was vital for morale in the town.¹³⁵ A debate, with striking parallels to the earlier one concerning the transition to professionalism, raged in the correspondence columns of the local press, with the board enduring heavy criticism for a decision that was deemed 'more hasty than wise'.¹³⁶ In the light of Home Office announcements on the morale-boosting benefits of wartime entertainment, and extensive lists of friendly fixtures involving other professional clubs, the *Evening Star* ran an editorial on the situation. It questioned why Ipswich Town was taking a unique path: 'Is Ipswich alone to remain unaffected by the changed conditions, and by a quite unnecessary act of abnegation ... to rob thousands of loyal supporters of a means of distraction from their war worries?'¹³⁷ Even local amateur clubs were eagerly continuing to organise football matches in the context of a very different kind of conflict.

Changing circumstances at the national level, the pleading of supporters and a sustained appeal in the media had no impact upon the board's resolve. Cobbold again harnessed the local press as a forum for airing his views. He justified their actions along economic lines, and it is not unlikely that pragmatism played an important part in the initial decision. However, the tenacious adherence to the resolution in a rapidly changing situation, as well as the refusal to

play friendly matches, suggests that there was far more to the story. His frustration at the ongoing criticism hints at the emotion underlying the conduct of Town's socially elite board members: 'It appeared to the Board that their decision was so obvious as to require no further comment.'¹³⁸ Unlike the rollercoaster of 1936, on this occasion the opposing sides were not able to accommodate one another's stances and the team remained inactive. While Cobbold had embraced the turn to professionalism, there were still many at the club who cherished the ideals embodied by the AFA game. The chairman was undoubtedly a progressive force in many respects, but his social status, education and engagement with sport offer an explanation for his stance at the outbreak of war. A man who Hill-Wood had described as 'a gentleman in every sense of the word' clearly felt that football was not a priority as he prepared to rejoin his regiment.¹³⁹

Besides, the company suffered considerable financial difficulties as a result of the war and the decision to suspend play. Already nurturing a substantial debt at the outbreak of hostilities, Town's continuing obligation to pay rent on Portman Road, alongside other unavoidable expenses, resulted in heavy losses during the years of inactivity. As guarantors, the board demonstrated that their patriotic position did not diminish a sense of duty towards the football club. In order to avoid liquidation, the directors agreed to pay off an overall sum of £14,195 at the end of 1942. Captain Cobbold's contribution was £11,195, a percentage of the total which – although data on respective shareholdings are unavailable – hints at the power he wielded within the company.¹⁴⁰ He also made assurances about the post-war future, noting that 'if I am spared I shall endeavour to get the club started again and producing reasonably good football as soon as possible'. This would transpire to be a rather poignant statement.¹⁴¹

If the objective of abandoning the game was to encourage players and spectators to contribute to the war effort, this certainly paid off with regards to Town's employees. By March 1941, nine of the club's footballers were serving in the Army, with an additional three on active duty in the Royal Air Force. Among them were four players who had started the last match against Norwich City.¹⁴² However, it ought to be stated that Ipswich was by no means unique in this sense. Large numbers of professionals enlisted across the country, even though the majority of clubs continued to function. By April 1940, 629 professional footballers had joined the Armed Forces, many serving in the Army Physical Training Corps. Indeed, even prior to the outbreak of war the FA was proactive in its relationship with the military. In the spring of 1939, the organisation was already assisting the War Office with recruitment and it appealed to each of its affiliated clubs to 'provide a patriotic example to the youth of the country'.¹⁴³

Whatever the motivation for the board's decision to suspend its activities for the duration, it undoubtedly made Town an unusual case. Specific circumstances and the effects of war meant that various League clubs were inactive for prolonged periods during the conflict, but only Ipswich Town and Exeter City were absent from competitive football for the duration.¹⁴⁴ Even in the case of Exeter, the team was not entirely dormant, with three friendly matches against local rivals Plymouth taking place in the opening months of 1945. As with other clubs, Exeter needed to rely upon guest players for these fixtures and, ironically, one of those who participated in their first wartime action was Town's Fred Mitcheson.¹⁴⁵

The establishment of regional competitions, the League War Cup, and numerous representative fixtures involving the Armed Forces resulted in an abundance of football throughout the war years. Further relaxations in the extraordinary measures imposed at the start of the war also enabled important matches to be watched by large crowds. The government quickly recognised that the Second World War was a very different conflict to the First. The nature of the fighting meant that servicemen were present in Britain in much higher numbers, while there were also many more non-combatant roles. Although professional football had been viewed with disdain during the Great War, the pressing need to maintain high civilian and military morale, while also providing entertainment, meant that the game was embraced in World War Two.¹⁴⁶ Despite the considerable constraints imposed by the conflict, football thrived at all levels. An FA survey, conducted in 1943, found that there were 6,570 active clubs.¹⁴⁷ As this large figure suggests, amateur football also continued to be played across the country, with long lists of fixtures appearing alongside their professional counterparts in the national press from a very early stage.¹⁴⁸

While Ipswich Town was dormant, the club's ground and even its players continued to be involved throughout, as football thrived in testing circumstances. As in the previous conflict, Portman Road was harnessed for war purposes, with the Navy formally sub-letting the ground at one point.¹⁴⁹ The club even encouraged military occupation in an effort to ease its rent burden.¹⁵⁰ However, in contrast to the abuse it received during the Great War, in the early 1940s the ground was utilised extensively for football. At least twenty-one wartime fixtures were played at Portman Road, most of which were 'representative games' involving teams from the three principal strands of the Armed Forces. Perhaps one of the greatest ironies of the war is that Norwich City played at Portman Road on more occasions than their inactive rivals. As early as 8 May 1940, the Norfolk side played Chelmsford City there. This fixture, in aid of East Suffolk and Ipswich Hospital Funds, is recorded in Town's Gate Receipt Book, and was watched by a healthy 7,282 spectators.¹⁵¹ Norwich played at Portman Road on at least five

occasions during the war, facing the Navy, among other sides.¹⁵² In May 1941, the club even played an Ipswich XI there, in a charity match which attracted a crowd of 6,500. Not to be mistaken for Ipswich Town Football Club, the home team was hastily put together by Town captain Jimmy McLuckie and featured only two of the club's players.¹⁵³

Like most institutions, Town endured loss during the conflict. In particular, Ipswich mourned the death of the most important individual at the club. In June 1944 chairman Captain Cobbold, who had become a Lieutenant-Colonel during the course of the war, was killed by a bomb while attending a service at the Guard's Chapel in London. In addition to this monumental loss, club director Major Robert Cobbold was killed in action in Italy earlier in the same month. These deaths were poignantly marked at a board meeting in August.¹⁵⁴ As we have seen, John Murray Cobbold was an influential figure who provided continuity between the original amateur side and its professional descendant. He also played a pivotal role in the transition to professionalism, proposed the suspension of club activity for the duration of the Second World War, and provided substantial funds to ensure the club survived the enforced period of inactivity.¹⁵⁵ In the spirit of the old amateur club, Robert Cobbold was remembered as a lover of games and a true amateur, who played 'without thought of scores or personal distinction'.¹⁵⁶

Ipswich Town's board was swiftly replenished, as the late Robert's father, Philip Wyndham Cobbold, was coopted and elected as the new chairman.¹⁵⁷ By October 1944 the club had received enquiries from both Chelmsford and Norwich asking whether it was prepared to resume activities. Nevertheless, the board steadfastly adhered to its original decision 'not to do so until the war with Germany had ceased.'¹⁵⁸ This did not prevent Town from making plans for the future and raising the necessary finances to resume was a high priority for both the board and the Supporters' Association. In December, a mass meeting of supporters was arranged with the objective of securing financial backing. The venue was the same Public Hall where the tumultuous debates on professionalism had taken place back in the 1930s.¹⁵⁹

By the end of April 1945, the board was ready to accept that the war was reaching its conclusion:

...considering the European War was nearing a finish and also that our Supporters were desirous of us making a start as soon as possible it was unanimously agreed to resume playing next August.¹⁶⁰

At the same meeting it was decided that the manager would return to full-time duties, as soon as he could secure a release from his wartime position at the neighbouring Churchman's tobacco factory.¹⁶¹

The Gate Receipt Book which recorded Ipswich's final pre-war game back in 1939, as well as the anomaly of the Chelmsford versus Norwich fixture, resumes where it left off, in the autumn of 1945. The club's first competitive action at Portman Road for six years was a Division Three South match against Port Vale. Although Town lost, the crowd were presumably just as happy to welcome a return to normality as their predecessors had been back in 1920.¹⁶² When Ipswich finally resumed competitive football in this transitional period a remarkable nine of twelve players from the 1939-40 first team featured in at least one match.¹⁶³

Conclusion

The late transition of a single football club tells us much about evolving perceptions of amateurism more broadly, as well as the evolution of sport in Britain during the first half of the twentieth century. Indeed, though exceptional in so many ways, it is difficult to conceive of a more illustrative case study for exploring the retreat of gentlemanly amateurism in British football. Ipswich Town's history was fundamentally entwined with, and altered by, the rift that divided the game in 1907. Developments at Ipswich unfolded very late by comparison to the professional turn elsewhere, but they offer an alternative vantage point from which to examine the fading attraction of gentlemanly amateurism and the stubborn resistance of the AFA. The club's actions in both conflicts were shaped by the renegade body's ethos. This was direct in the First World War, when Town's conduct was entirely in line with that of other socially elite amateur sports clubs. Moreover, it is my contention that – contrary to the economic justification that was provided – Cobbold's proposal of 1939, the lack of resistance to it from the board, and the subsequent refusal to revise the club's stance in the face of changing circumstances, were also fashioned by the pre-war experiences of its officials. The decision, that appears anachronistic on first glance, becomes more comprehensible when the turbulent developments of the previous thirty-five years are taken into account.

As was the case with the professional turn more generally, Town's conversion was a complex one that was full of contradictions, while there were gentlemen on both sides of the argument. Ready to embrace professional football by the mid-1930s, these men were not prepared to abandon the ethos of public school sport when it came to the patriotic defence of the country. Cobbold – a gentleman, an industrialist, an Eton cricketer, and chairman of a professional football club – was the embodiment of the complex dynamics that shaped Town's evolution and its wartime behaviour. Moreover, the late and reluctant transition to professionalism offers a rare prism for exploring the impact which war had on both an amateur and professional sports club, albeit an untypical one. It illuminates the importance of individual

experience and attitude, while providing a much needed case study in terms of examining the relationship between football clubs and war. Town's inactivity in both conflicts offers a contrasting picture to the manner in which wartime football flourished elsewhere and is potentially significant beyond the historiography of British sport. While the survival of football under the most testing circumstances is clear evidence that it was a highly valued activity, the inhabitants of Ipswich were no less passionate for the game. Although Town abandoned competitive fixtures, sporadic wartime matches, an eagerness to resume at the end of both conflicts, and the desire of supporters and staff to overturn the unpopular decision to cease play at the beginning of the Second World War, offer evidence of this.

Beyond the war years, the case also offers an opportunity to look into the perceived relationship between professional football and progress, something that was clearly on the minds of both club supporters and the gentlemen who administered it. As was the case elsewhere, it is evident that the game served as an important source of civic pride – or embarrassment – for those with a stake in the club, even if they disagreed about what to do at seminal moments in its history. Decades after the majority of the country's sizeable urban centres had embraced the Football League, Town's committee was still holding out against the professional game. When considering the organisation's evolution over the first half of the twentieth century one recalls Alderman Jackson's comment that 'Ipswich must move with the times', made during the debate concerning the transition to professionalism. As far as that transition and the team's wartime conduct are concerned, it is perhaps more accurate to conclude that Town's reactions were somewhat behind the times in both matters. Its evolution was shaped by both continuity and change. This was a remarkably dynamic period in the club's history, encompassing two world wars and singling out Ipswich Town as an exception in both war and peace.

Notes

¹ After some initial confusion, the board agreed to pay the manager, but not his players, a fixed annual sum during the suspension. Meeting of the Directors, 29 September 1939, Minute Book, 2 June 1936 – 25 August 1947, Ipswich Town Football Club Ltd. GC426/2/2/1, Ipswich Record Office (subsequently IRO), 139-143.

² *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, Ipswich, 13 September 1939.

³ Martin Johnes, 'Mushrooms, scandal and bankruptcy: the short life of Mid Rhondda Football Club', *The Local Historian*, 32:1 (2002), 41.

⁴ Minute Book, 1 November 1904 – 17 December 1914, Portman Road Ground Committee/Ipswich Cricket, Football and Athletic Ground Ltd., Ipswich Town Football Club Archive [subsequently ITA]; Minute Book, 16 December 1915 – 8 June 1936, Ipswich Cricket, Football and Athletic Ground Ltd. GC426/1/6, IRO.

⁵ Simon Inglis, *Football Grounds of Britain* (London, 1996), 195; John Eastwood and Tony Moyses, *The Men who made the Town – The Official History of Ipswich Town F.C. from 1878* (Sudbury, 1986), 23 and 30.

⁶ ‘Indenture between The Mayor, Aldermen and Burgesses of the Borough of Ipswich and The Ipswich Cricket, Football, and Athletic Ground Limited’, 5 September 1906, GC426/1/13, IRO.

⁷ T. R. Gourvish and R. G. Wilson, *The British Brewing Industry, 1830-1980* (Cambridge, 1994), 223; Brian Scovell, *Football Gentry: The Cobbold Brothers* (Stroud, 2005), 18. The famous nineteenth century amateur Corinthian and England international, William Nevill Cobbold, was a descendant of the same family. J. L. Smith-Dampier, *East Anglian Worthies* (Oxford, 1949), 47.

⁸ I. E. Gray and W. E. Potter, *Ipswich School: 1400-1950* (Ipswich, 1950), pp.170-171; *East Anglian Daily Times*, Ipswich, 17 August 1907; Rice, *Ipswich*, 9.

⁹ Ken Rice, *Ipswich: An illustrated history of Ipswich Town Football Club* (Norwich, 1973), 9; Eastwood and Moyses, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 63.

¹⁰ Tony Mason, *Association Football and English Society, 1863-1915* (Brighton, 1980), 75.

¹¹ Dilwyn Porter, ‘Revenge of the Crouch End Vampires: The AFA, the FA and English Football’s “Great Split”, 1907-14’, *Sport in History*, 26:3 (2006), 406.

¹² Dilwyn Porter and Stephen Wagg, ‘Introduction to Special Issue: Amateurism in Britain: For the Love of the Game?’, *Sport in History*, 26:3 (2006), 345-351, 349.

¹³ Rice, *Ipswich*, 11.

¹⁴ Mason, *Association Football*, 249, n.56. See also: Porter, ‘Revenge’; W. E. Greenland, *The History of the Amateur Football Alliance* (Harwich, 1965), 17-37.

¹⁵ Greenland, *Amateur Football Alliance*, 31 and 41.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 39-43; Porter, ‘Revenge’, 417-419.

¹⁷ Greenland, *Amateur Football Alliance*, 46.

¹⁸ *East Anglian Daily Times*, 17 August 1907. F. C. Peacock – a former Ipswich School captain, Town player and future member of the General Committee of the AFA – was also present.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*; Greenland, *Amateur Football Alliance*, 39.

²⁰ Greenland, *Amateur Football Alliance*, 41.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 35 and 41; Porter, ‘Revenge’, 420; Rice, *Ipswich*, 16.

²² Greenland, *Amateur Football Alliance*, 48; Porter, ‘Revenge’, 419.

²³ Porter, ‘Revenge’, 420-421.

²⁴ Rice, *Ipswich*, 17.

²⁵ Porter, ‘Revenge’, 424-425.

²⁶ Greenland, *Amateur Football Alliance*, 58.

²⁷ Tony Mason and Eliza Riedi, *Sport and the Military: The British Armed Forces, 1880-1960* (Cambridge, 2010), 84.

²⁸ *East Anglian Daily Times*, 17 October 1914. See also: Tony Kushner, ‘Local heroes: Belgian refugees in Britain during the first world war’, *Immigrants & Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora*, 18:1 (1999), 1-28.

²⁹ Since the beginning of the war, the visiting team's regiment had been billeted in Suffolk, eventually settling in Rendlesham, from whence they fulfilled their duties of patrolling the coastline. Jeremy Bastin, *The Norfolk Yeomanry in Peace and War, 1782-1961* (Fakenham, 1986), 24-26.

³⁰ *East Anglian Daily Times*, 26 December 1914; *East Anglian Daily Times*, 28 December 1914.

³¹ *East Anglian Daily Times*, 14 January 1915.

³² *East Anglian Daily Times*, 18 January 1915.

³³ Nick Forder, 'The New Technology: Threat from Air and Sea' in Gerald Gliddon, (ed.), *Norfolk & Suffolk in the Great War* (Norwich, 1988), 33-37. Ipswich was also bombed later in the war.

³⁴ The Ninth AGM, 17 December 1914, Minute Book, 1 November 1904 – 17 December 1914. See also: *East Anglian Daily Times*, 18 December 1914.

³⁵ *East Anglian Daily Times*, 26 December 1914.

³⁶ Colin Veitch, "'Play up! play up! and win the war!'" Football, the nation and the First World War 1914-1915', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 20:3 (1985), 374.

³⁷ Greenland, *Amateur Football Alliance*, 31.

³⁸ Tony Collins, 'English Rugby Union and the First World War', *The Historical Journal*, 45:4 (2002), 802.

³⁹ Veitch, "'Play up!'", 375.

⁴⁰ *The Times*, London, 3 September 1914.

⁴¹ Veitch, "'Play up!'", 373; John M. Osborne, "'To keep the life of the nation on the old lines": *The Athletic News* and the First World War', *Journal of Sport History*, 14:2 (1987), 143-144; Matthew Taylor, *The Leaguers: The Making of Professional Football in England, 1900-1939* (Liverpool, 2005), xiii.

⁴² *East Anglian Daily Times*, 14 October 1914.

⁴³ Osborne, "'To keep the life'", 144.

⁴⁴ *Evening News*, cited in: *The Times*, 3 September 1914; Veitch, "'Play up!'", 370.

⁴⁵ Veitch, "'Play up!'", 370.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 370-371; *The Times*, 3 September 1914.

⁴⁷ Brandon Luedtke, 'Playing Fields and Battlefields: The Football Pitch, England and the First World War', *Britain and the World*, 5:1 (2012), 100-104.

⁴⁸ Collins, 'English Rugby', 801.

⁴⁹ The Ninth AGM, 17 December 1914, Minute Book, 1 November 1904 – 17 December 1914.

⁵⁰ The Tenth AGM, 16 December 1915, Minute Book, 16 December 1915 – 8 June 1936.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* By this stage the syndicate had made a considerable claim to the War Office, and a monthly rent was being offered by the following year.

⁵² Meeting of the Directors, 10 September 1919, Minute Book, 16 December 1915 – 8 June 1936. Reluctant military withdrawals from sporting facilities were not unique to Ipswich: Luedtke, 'Playing Fields', 114.

⁵³ Meeting of the Directors, 20 November 1919, Minute Book, 16 December 1915 – 8 June 1936.

⁵⁴ *East Anglian Daily Times*, 8 September 1919.

⁵⁵ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 5 September 1919; Eastwood and Moyses, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 57.

⁵⁶ £2435 was paid to cover damage to the playing surface in January 1920, with an additional claim for repairs to buildings and the replacement of equipment being settled in August. Meeting of the Directors, 15 January 1920 and 23 August 1920, Minute Book, 16 December 1915 – 8 June 1936.

⁵⁷ *East Anglian Daily Times*, 6 September 1920.

⁵⁸ Eastwood and Moyses, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 59.

⁵⁹ Greenland, *Amateur Football Alliance*, 58-60.

⁶⁰ Mike Huggins and Jack Williams, *Sport and the English, 1918-1939* (London, 2006), 18.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, 136.

⁶³ Rice, *Ipswich*, 16.

⁶⁴ *Football Edition of the Evening Star*, Ipswich, 6 October 1923.

⁶⁵ Eastwood and Moyses, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 66.

⁶⁶ Rice, *Ipswich*, 16.

⁶⁷ Eastwood and Moyses, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 73.

⁶⁸ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 4 February 1935.

⁶⁹ J. Blatchly, *A Famous Antient Seed-Plot of Learning: A History of the Ipswich School* (Ipswich, 2003), 322; Eastwood and Moyses, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 62.

⁷⁰ Eastwood and Moyses, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 62; Greenland, *Amateur Football Alliance*, 58.

⁷¹ Jervis-White-Jervis, heir presumptive to 4th Baronet Jervis-White-Jervis, was educated at Cambridge. He served as a director at Lloyds Bank and as a member of Ipswich Town Council. Eastwood and Moyses, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 63; *East Anglian Daily Times*, 3 December 1934; *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage*, 74th edn (London, 1912), 1058.

⁷² Pierre Lanfranchi and Matthew Taylor, 'Professional Football in World War Two Britain' in Pat Kirkham and David Thoms, (eds), *War Culture: Social Change and Changing Experience in World War Two Britain* (London, 1995), 189-190.

⁷³ *East Anglian Daily Times*, 27 February 1935. Alongside Ipswich, the first season was contested by the following clubs: Lowestoft Town, Harwich and Parkeston, Crittalls Athletic, Great Yarmouth, Chelmsford, Bury Town, King's Lynn, Gorleston, Clacton Town, Colchester Town, Thetford Town. Rice, *Ipswich*, 99.

⁷⁴ Rice, *Ipswich*, 99.

⁷⁵ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 18 February 1936.

⁷⁶ Eastwood and Moyses, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 74-75.

⁷⁷ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 18 February 1936.

⁷⁸ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 3 March 1936.

⁷⁹ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 12 March 1936.

⁸⁰ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 17 March 1936.

⁸¹ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 22 February 1936.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 17 March 1936.

⁸⁴ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 26 February 1936.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 28 February 1936; See also, Eastwood and Moyse, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 74-75.

⁸⁷ Eastwood and Moyse, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 74-75.

⁸⁸ *East Anglian Daily Times*, 11 April 1936; *Football Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 11 April 1936.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *East Anglian Daily Times*, 18 April 1936.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *East Anglian Daily Times*, 2 May 1936.

⁹⁵ Eastwood and Moyse, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 74-75.

⁹⁶ ‘John Murray (Ivan) Cobbold (1897-1944)’, The Cobbold Family History Trust, July 2010, <<http://www.cobboldfht.com/files/feature34.pdf>> [Accessed October 2014]; ‘Ipswich Town Football Club’, The Cobbold Family History Trust, October 2007, <<http://cobboldfht.com/files/feature1.pdf>> [Accessed October 2014]; *Who's Who in Suffolk* (Worcester, 1935), 48-49.

⁹⁷ Eastwood and Moyse, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 74.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 74-75; *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 24 April 1936. Cobbold's embrace of the professional game can be contrasted with the conduct of gentlemen in similar positions. Decades earlier, a strong advocate of amateur sport had reluctantly accepted evolution. The man behind the Thames Ironworks Football Club, which became West Ham United – Oxford educated factory owner and amateur sportsman A. F. Hills – voiced his deep misgivings about the turn to professionalism. However, he became a major shareholder of the newly limited company in 1900. Charles Korr, ‘West Ham United Football Club and the Beginnings of Professional Football in East London’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, 13:2 (1978), 211-232.

⁹⁹ *East Anglian Daily Times*, 31 August 1936.

¹⁰⁰ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 21 March 1935.

¹⁰¹ Scovell, *Football Gentry*, 35-36.

¹⁰² *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 21 March 1935.

¹⁰³ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 24 April 1936.

¹⁰⁴ *East Anglian Daily Times*, 2 May 1936.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Resolution ... Passed 13th day of March, 1939’, Ipswich Cricket, Football and Athletic Ground, Limited, Minute book, 16 June 1936 – 13 March 1939, ITA; Eastwood and Moyse, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 77 and 83.

¹⁰⁶ Mason, *Association Football*, 37-49. See also: Taylor, *The Leaguers*, 53-54.

¹⁰⁷ Mason, *Association Football*, 43; Gourvish and Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, 239.

¹⁰⁸ Gourvish and Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, 223.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 241.

¹¹⁰ Taylor, *The Leaguers*, 58-59; Korr, ‘West Ham’, 227.

¹¹¹ Mason, *Association Football*, 49.

¹¹² Gourvish and Wilson, *British Brewing Industry*, 247, 261, fn.91. Discussing the composition of club ownership in Sheffield, Richard Holt notes that ‘a small, interconnected group of industrialists dominated football, passing

down their directorships from father to son like family property.’ Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History* (Oxford, 1992), 284. Similar practices developed at Ipswich Town after 1936.

¹¹³ Meeting of the Directors, 2 June 1936, Minute Book, 2 June 1936 – 25 August 1947, 1-2.

¹¹⁴ Eastwood and Moyses, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 77.

¹¹⁵ *Football Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 29 August 1936.

¹¹⁶ John M. Cobbold, ‘Introductory Letter’, in Ipswich Town Football Club Official Programme v. Tunbridge Wells Rangers, 29 August 1936, 3.

¹¹⁷ Matthew Taylor and John Coyle, ‘The Election of Clubs to the Football League 1888-1939’, *The Sports Historian*, 19:2 (1999), 1-4; Taylor, *The Leaguers*, 19-20.

¹¹⁸ Eastwood and Moyses, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 79.

¹¹⁹ ‘Season 1937/38 – Ipswich Town Football Club Co. Ltd.’, HD2272/153/8/7/9, IRO, 4-5, 8-11.

¹²⁰ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 21 March 1935.

¹²¹ Taylor and Coyle, ‘The Election of Clubs’, 5; Taylor, *The Leaguers*, 20.

¹²² ‘2nd Sept. 1939, III Division Match v. Norwich City’, ITFCC Ltd. Gate Book, 17 August 1938 – 12 September 1951, ITA.

¹²³ Rice, *Ipswich*, 35.

¹²⁴ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 2 September 1939.

¹²⁵ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 4 September 1939.

¹²⁶ Wages book 1936-1948, Ipswich Town Football Club Ltd. GC426/2/3/5, IRO.

¹²⁷ Taylor, *Leaguers*, 97-98.

¹²⁸ Jack Rollin, *Soccer at War: 1939-45* (London, 2005), 6.

¹²⁹ Tony McCarthy, *War Games: The Story of Sport in World War Two* (London, 1989), 41; Lanfranchi and Taylor, ‘Professional Football’, 188-190.

¹³⁰ Meeting of the Directors, 13 September 1939, Minute Book, 2 June 1936 – 25 August 1947, 136.

¹³¹ Inglis, *Football Grounds*, 196.

¹³² Rollin, *Soccer*, 7-9; *The Times*, 9 October 1939; *The Times*, 30 October 1939.

¹³³ The other clubs were Aston Villa, Sunderland, Derby County, Exeter City and Gateshead. All were active later in the conflict. Rollin, *Soccer*, 9; *The Times*, 9 October 1939.

¹³⁴ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 4 July 1914; ‘Ipswich Town Football Club Company Limited. Prospectus’, 1936, ITA.

¹³⁵ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 19 September 1939; Eastwood and Moyses, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 84.

¹³⁶ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 25 September 1939.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 27 September 1939.

¹³⁹ *The Evening Star and Daily Herald*, 21 March 1935.

¹⁴⁰ Eastwood and Moyses, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 85; Meeting of the Directors, 8 December 1942, Minute Book, 2 June 1936 – 25 August 1947, 153-158.

¹⁴¹ Eastwood and Moyses, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 85.

¹⁴² Meeting of the Directors, 25 March 1941, Minute Book, 2 June 1936 – 25 August 1947, 144-151.

¹⁴³ Mason and Riedi, *Sport*, 183-185. An advertisement for the Regular Army appeared in the Town programme: Ipswich Town Football Club Official Programme: Reserves v. Colchester United, 6 May 1939, 14.

¹⁴⁴ Rollin, *Soccer*, 236.

¹⁴⁵ Maurice Golesworthy; Garth Dykes and Alex Wilson, *Exeter City: A Complete Record, 1904-1990* (Derby, 1990), 25 and 328.

¹⁴⁶ Mason and Riedi, *Sport*, 178-179.

¹⁴⁷ Rollin, *Soccer*, 31.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 199-204; *The Times*, 21 October 1939; *The Times*, 30 October 1939.

¹⁴⁹ Meeting of the Directors, 8 December 1942, Minute Book, 2 June 1936 – 25 August 1947, 153-158.

¹⁵⁰ Meeting of the Directors, 29 September 1939, *Ibid.*, 139-143.

¹⁵¹ ‘8th May. 1939, East Suffolk and Ipswich Hospital Funds Match v. Chelmsford City v Norwich City’, ITFCC Ltd. Gate Book, 17 August 1938 – 12 September 1951, ITA.

¹⁵² Eastwood and Moyses, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 84-85.

¹⁵³ *East Anglian Daily Times*, 3 June 1941; *East Anglian Daily Times*, 29 May 1941.

¹⁵⁴ Meeting of the Directors, 22 August 1944, Minute Book, 2 June 1936 – 25 August 1947, 162-166. For more on J. M. Cobbold’s death see: Scovell, *Football Gentry*, 51-52.

¹⁵⁵ *The Evening Star*, 20 June 1944; Eastwood and Moyses, *Official History of Ipswich Town*, 85.

¹⁵⁶ *The Evening Star*, 20 June 1944.

¹⁵⁷ Meeting of the Directors, 22 August 1944, Minute Book, 2 June 1936 – 25 August 1947, 162-166.

¹⁵⁸ Meeting of the Directors, 25 October 1944, *Ibid.*, 167-172.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ Meeting of the Directors, 30 April 1945, *Ibid.*, 178-182.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² ‘1st September. 1945, III Division (North Section) Match v. Port Vale’, ITFCC Ltd. Gate Book, 17 August 1938 – 12 September 1951, ITA.

¹⁶³ Rollin, *Soccer*, 348.